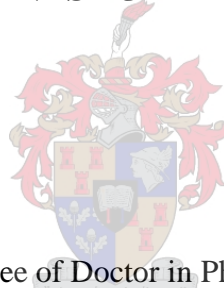


APPRAISAL AND EVALUATION IN ZIMBABWEAN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

BY

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Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and
Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

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March 2013

DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 3 September 2012

ABSTRACT

“Unofananidza Jesu naKombayi here? (Lit. Are you comparing Jesus with Kombayi?) (Condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4, line 350)

This Shona interjection during the debate on the motion on condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi (MDC- T) in the Zimbabwean parliament presents the speaker stance taking, appraising and strategically manoeuvring advancing certain argumentative positions. Considering the impact of the outcome of these debates on governance, discourse-analytic researches have to be carried out in order to explore the sorts of appraisal and argumentation principles that are realised. This study makes a multifaceted theoretical approach to a comprehensive exploration of debates and speeches in the Zimbabwean parliament and their representation in newspaper articles. The appraisal theory, the extended pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation and controversy analysis have been integrated to uncover important linguistic insights on parliamentary discourse and news reporting. The analysis is based on a corpus of debates and speeches in the Zimbabwean parliament within the period 2009 and 2010.

Another corpus consists of newspaper reports on these debates and speeches in this period. A thematic approach informed by theoretical principles is utilised in the selection of reports, debates and speeches.

Firstly, I examined parliamentary discourse. Focus have been on the critical discussion model, argumentative strategies- forms of strategic manoeuvring, how the dialectic- rhetoric relation can be understood, how appraisal resources are realised in the argumentation process and on examining how appraisal resources employed reflect the type of a debate or speech.

Secondly, I explored newspaper articles from four Zimbabwean newspapers reporting on the same themes on debates and speeches. Focus has been to make comparative analysis of news reporting examining how appraisal resources are utilised in the representation of parliamentary discourse in different newspapers (independent versus government or state owned newspapers and English versus Shona newspapers) and to examine the nature of argumentation and strategic manoeuvring principles that are utilised in news reporting and

how controversial (divergent) debates or issues are represented. This multifaceted analysis offered varied dimensions in the exploration of parliamentary discourse and news reporting and expansions of the appraisal and argumentation theories.

OPSOMMING

“Unofanidza Jesu naKombayi here? (Letterlik: Vergelyk jy Jesus met Kombayi?) (Medelye ten tye van die dood van senator Patrick Kombayi, 28 Julie 2009, Bylaag B4, reël 350)

Hierdie Shona-uitroep gedurende die debat oor die mosie van medelye ten tye van die dood van senator Patrick Kombayi (MDC-T) in die Zimbabwiese parlement wys hoe die spreker standpunt inneem, en sekere beredenerende posisies opper, beoordeel en op strategiese wyse manipuleer. Met die uitkomst van hierdie debatte oor bestuur in gedagte, moes diskoersanalitiese navorsing gedoen word om die soorte waardebepalende en beredenerende beginsels wat gerealiseer is, te verken. Hierdie studie het 'n veelvlakkige teoretiese benadering tot 'n omvattende verkenning van debatte en toesprake in die Zimbabwiese parlement en hulle uitbeelding in koerantartikels ingeneem. Die teorie van waardebeplating, die uitgebreide pragma-dialektiese teorie van beredenering- en geskilsanalise is geïntegreer om belangrike linguïstiese insigte oor parlementêre diskoers en nuusrapportering bloot te lê. Die analise is gebaseer op 'n korpus debatte en toesprake in die Zimbabwiese parlement uit die tydperk 2009 tot 2010.

'n Verdere korpus bestaan uit koerantberigte oor hierdie debatte en toesprake uit hierdie tydperk. 'n Tematiese benadering wat deur teoretiese beginsels geïnspireer is, is gebruik by die keuse van berigte, debatte en toesprake.

Eerstens het ek parlementêre diskoers nagegaan. Die fokus was op die kritiese besprekingsmodel, beredenerende strategieë, vorme van strategiese manipulering, die wyse waarop die dialekties-retoriese verhouding verstaan kan word, die wyse waarop hulpbronne vir waardebeplating tydens die beredeneringsproses verwesenlik word en op 'n ondersoek na hoe hulpbronne wat vir waardebeplating gebruik word, die soort debat of toespraak uitbeeld.

Tweedens het ek koerantartikels uit vier Zimbabwiese koerante verken wat oor dieselfde temas oor debatte en toesprake verslag gedoen het. Die fokus was op die maak van 'n vergelykende analise van beriggewing om na te gaan hoe hulpbronne vir waardebeplating gebruik word by die uitbeelding van parlementêre diskoers in verskillende koerante (onafhanklik teenoor koerante in besit van die regering of die staat en koerante in Engels teenoor ander in Shona) en om die aard van beredenering en strategiese manipulerings-

beginsels wat by beriggewing gebruik word en die wyse waarop kontroversiële (uiteenlopende) debatte of kwessies uitgebeeld word, te ondersoek. Hierdie veelvlakkige analise het wisselende dimensies by die verkenning van parlementêre diskoers en beriggewing en uitbreidings van die waardebeplating- en beredeneringsteorieë gebied.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my loving and caring wife, Tariro Chido Jakaza and our three children; Tinomudaishe, Maitaishe and Mufarowashe. Thus far the Lord has taken us!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Indeed ideas are like a “kind of benign intellectual infection, spread in different minds in all sorts of ways” (Widdowson 2004: vii), my feeling after such a lengthy process of nurturing this baby.

Firstly, I would like to sincerely thank my thesis promoter Professor M W Visser, who expertly guided and motivated me in this long journey. Your enthusiasm is infectious, your guidance unparalleled and your humour is energizing. You have constantly challenged me to go another milestone. I am honoured to be counted among your supervisees. I will always cherish every moment we had mum!

Secondly, I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Stellenbosch University, other universities in the PANGEA group, the African Doctoral Academy (ADA) and the graduate school. This project is a reality because of the generous scholarship I received from the **African Doctoral Academy**. I cherish the workshops that we had as they laid a strong foundation for my current and future researches. Under the mentorship of extra ordinary professors, I immensely benefited from these workshops and seminars. I urge you to continue giving HOPE to African academics, generating knowledge for Africa and giving a future to countless professionals.

Thirdly, I would also want to acknowledge the support that I also received from the Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and the postgraduate bursary office at Stellenbosch University. Your support for me to go and present a paper at the Rhetoric in Society 3 conference cannot go unmentioned. Thank you for assisting me in flying all the way to Belgium and be infected with sound theoretical knowledge from varied presentations, discussions and comments on my presentation.

The role played by my institution, Midlands State University (MSU) cannot be ignored. I really appreciate the support I got from the university, the Faculty of Arts Executive Dean- Professor C. Pfukwa, Chairperson in the English and Communication Department- Dr T. D. Javangwe and Professor D. Z. Moyo- director research and postgraduate office. Without the study leave and the support to visit my supervisor, this project could not have been a success.

Additionally, I would like to acknowledge the contribution that was made by Mr Z. Mudzingwa (Deputy Editor *Newsday*), Audacious (*Newsday* and *The Standard* archives librarian) and Shepherd Tashaya (*The Herald* and *Kwayedza* archives librarian). I appreciate your efforts in photocopying and scanning newspaper articles for me. That was incredible. I thank you. Level 4.2 May 2012 students at MSU I honour your support in translating some of

the *Kwayedza* stories into English. I am grateful. Many thanks also to Professors Agris and Villy Tsakona. Your reading material really made a difference in my study.

I also acknowledge, with thanks, the Zimbabwean Parliament for granting me permission to use the debates and speeches for the purposes of this linguistic research. I would particularly thank Mr Isheanesu Moyo and Mr Moses Chibaya for the assistance in getting this permission.

Many thanks also go to my fellow ADA and other doctoral students at Stellenbosch University. Over the past three years we have been sharing ideas, encouraging and motivating each other. The discussions and those fascinating experiences we shared propelled me this far. It was a health academic family.

Finally my heartfelt thanks go to my family and friends. Firstly to my wife, Tariro your patience, love and support is unequalled. You have been a mother and father to our children while I was busy nurturing our 'fourth child'. I know I cannot thank you enough! To Tinomudaishe, Maitaishe and my little one Mufarowashe, daddy is coming home now! I have achieved, I have fought a good fight my children. To my mother and father, you never doubted me, I know you will have great joy, you will delight and rejoice. My in-laws Sr Tariro, Mrs A Munyaradzi, Mr S. Munyaradzi just to mention a few, I greatly appreciate your trust and faith in me. To Majors S and E Rutanhira, Majors J and J Muchenje, Retired Majors Ndlovu and Bure, I know I can always count on you for prayers and kind words. A big thank you also goes to my all time friends- come brothers Vincent Tsvande, Zvidzai Kajokoto, Professor A Chahwanda, Hugh Mangeya, Cuthbert Tagwirei, Felix Masunungure and everyone who made this project a success. Thank you all.

Lastly, I give thanks to the Almighty God for He knew the plans that He had for me, and He is steadfast to His word. He continually renews my strength day after day, invigorating me and directing my path. I adore you!

'NdinokutendayimosemuwanirwenyashanaJehovha'

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List of abbreviations and symbols

APNAC- African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

GNU- Government of National Unity

GPA- Global Political Agreement

MDC- Movement for Democratic Change¹

MDC- N- Movement for Democratic Change- Ncube

MDC-T- Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai

MP- Member of Parliament

PM- Prime Minister

POSA- Public Order and Security Act

RBZ- Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe

SADC- Southern Africa Development Community

SFL- Systemic Functional Linguistics

TIZ- Transparency International Zimbabwe

U.K- United Kingdom

ZANU- PF- Zimbabwe African National Unity- Patriotic Front

The following type face conventions have been utilised to mark appraisal resources in the text:

Bold- attitudinal resources (affect, judgement, appreciation)

Italics- engagement contract values (deny, counter, concur, endorse, pronounce)

Underline- engagement expand values (entertain, attribute)

UPPERCASE- graduation values (force and focus)

+**ve**- positive attitude (affect, judgement, appreciation)

-**ve**- negative attitude (affect, judgement, appreciation)

¹ MDC is used interchangeably with MDC- T in the texts that have been analysed. Thus, it is either used to refer to MDC- T political party or the two MDC formations (MDC-T and MDC-N).

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The study examines Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and the discourse-analytic ways it is represented in the Zimbabwean newspapers from an appraisal and evaluation linguistic perspective in conjunction with the extended pragma- dialectic argumentation theoretical perspective. Focus is on parliamentary debates and speeches and newspaper articles reporting on these debates and speeches for the years 2009 and 2010. Analysis of these debates and speeches and their representation in newspaper articles is conducted according to themes that have been deliberated in parliament and later on represented in newspaper articles.

1.2 Parliamentary discourse as field of study

Parliamentary discourse is the focus of this study for a number of reasons. The importance of the study of parliamentary discourse is emphasised by Ilie (2010a, 2010c, 2010d) who observes that, with the increasing paradigm shifts and political polarisations, it has become increasingly important to examine the language and discourse that express the political agendas, the argumentation strategies, the deeper motivations and the ultimate goals of actors on the political stage in general, and in parliamentary institutions in particular. She further argues that in spite of all this importance, not much research on the linguistic strategies, argumentation patterns and rhetorical structures on parliamentary discourse have been conducted (Ilie 2010d). Varied linguistic strategies realised in the debates and speeches impact on the laws, general order of business of government and on people's real lives. These recurring linguistic patterns and rhetorical strategies which are preferred by parliamentarians have to be studied in order to reveal their hidden agendas and ideological bias (Ilie 2010c). Such studies will enable researchers and linguists or discourse analysts, in particular, to review varied interpersonal positioning, parliamentary roles, rules, and practices in parliamentary discourse. Considering that parliaments are institutions which are dedicated to talk with members of parliament debating legislative proposals and scrutinising the work of government through adversarial questioning (Bayley 2004), research should unveil the various appraisal and argumentation strategies employed in these debates and speeches.

Research on parliamentary discourse has been much concentrated on European, American and Middle Eastern parliaments with the United Kingdom (UK) parliament argued to be the most studied (Ilie 2010d, van Dijk 2010). Very little, if any, has been researched on African

parliaments in general and Zimbabwean parliament in particular yet parliaments vary substantially in their design and practical development in the course of history. Furthermore, Bayley (2004) aptly observes that parliaments differ along several key lines: the balance of power between the legislative and executive branches of government, their role in policy making, their systems of representation, the nature of the constitution being used, number of parties in the system and their relations and general differences in political culture. These differences are reflected in the way language is used in different parliaments and parliamentary settings. This study focuses on the language of the Zimbabwean parliament in full sitting under the current constitution which came into force in 1980 and its amendments. Even, though Zimbabwe is in the process of writing a new constitution, under the current constitution, members of government are largely drawn from parliament, electors vote for individuals representing different constituencies and the elected members are tasked with policy making. In this framework, the elected members are “trustees” or “holders” of a mandate from a political party and from the constituency. The Zimbabwean parliament is constituted by members from three political parties, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU- PF), Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai (MDC- T) and Movement for Democratic Change- Ncube (MDC- N), who were elected in the March 29 2008 harmonised elections².

The political- historical culture of Zimbabwe and the composition of the parties in the Zimbabwean parliament constitute another reason it is important to understand the appraisal and argumentation strategies that are realised in the discourse. That is, the very nature of the Zimbabwean parliament and the context in which the debates and speeches are represented in newspaper articles is interesting from a linguistic point of view. The role of context in the use, interpretation and understanding of discourse is undisputable. According to Bayley (2004) parliaments are sensitive to the context of culture and history in the wider sense besides the fact that parliamentary discourse is ritualised and rule bound. The political culture in the Zimbabwean parliament is largely influenced by its history of the liberation struggle and fight for democratic governance. Though the parliament is operating under the inclusive government a Government of National Unity (GNU) which was formed after the disputed election of June 28 2008 - the different political parties still have their different orientations, general beliefs, policies and values³. The environment and context provides parliamentarians with the opportunity to employ the witty in appraising and evaluating the other advancing

² The only independent MP who was elected later on joined ZANU- PF.

³ This study takes a purely linguistic perspective to the study of the political discourse in Zimbabwe. As a result much of the political situation that characterises the Zimbabwean politics is not the focus of this study.

certain argumentative points. Differences are prone to be reflected in parliamentary language as parliamentarians defend policies informed by and based on their beliefs, values and ideologies. These ideologies and interests are recorded in official documents, in the Zimbabwean case the debates and speeches are recorded in The Hansard, the official report of the proceedings in the Zimbabwean parliament. According to Bayley (2004), these activities of politicians or parliamentarians such as seeking consensus, mediating conflicts, representing interests are linguistic activities. Thus, the focus of this study is on the discursive strategies employed by Zimbabwean parliamentarians in defending their view points in parliamentary speeches and debates through appraisal and evaluation of a wide range of government activities which include (non-) effective implementation of policies and issues of policy formation.

The study of parliamentary discourse sheds more light on it as a genre or sub- genre of political discourse. Parliamentary discourse has been unduly constituted as a sub-genre of political discourse, which is typically formal, and predominantly argumentative (van Dijk 2002, Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). In characterising parliamentary discourse as a sub-genre of political discourse, debate amongst scholars is on exclusive linguistic features (van Dijk, 2002). However, Bayley (2004) argues that some characteristic features of parliamentary discourse occurs which include turn taking, authorised terms of address, use of particular epistemic modals, explicit expressions and interaction strategies. Fenton- Smith (2008) also argues that the question format followed in parliament distinguishes parliamentary discourse from other discourse. Parliamentary debates and speeches are also characterised by rhetoric in which members of parliament “resort not only to legal and political argumentation, but to informal and emotional registers” (Archakis and Tsakona, 2009: 362). Utilising an integrated approach to parliamentary discourse, the researcher reviews the discourse- analytic ways in which parliamentarians utilises in evaluating and advancing argumentative points.

Moreover, research should be undertaken to explore the phenomenon of evaluation in language⁴. Bednarek (2006: 4) admits that “nothing is settled: the ground is still shifting beneath our feet, and evaluation remains a mostly unexplored territory within linguistics”. In

⁴ Appraisal is employed in a similar way to evaluation (Bednarek, 2006; Hunston and Thompson, 2000). Bednarek (2006) further notes that stance is also a competing term for evaluation. Evaluation is defined as “the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker/ writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he/ she is talking about” (Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 5).

the same vein, Malrieu (1999: 114) declares that “Despite this variety of approaches **to dealing with meaning in linguistics** very little attention has been paid to evaluation in language” (emphasis mine). Evaluation has been argued to be able to express the speaker’s opinion and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and community. Through evaluation the researcher is able to reveal the speaker or writer’s certainty or uncertainty, commitment to the truth value of the proposition. More so, White (2007) also admits that extensive research should be conducted in the area of appraisal and evaluation in language. Taking into account the way that texts are constructed, this argument shows a gap in scientific literature in this area. No scientific literature exists on how Zimbabwean parliamentarians evaluatively and argumentatively use language in the parliament. Thus, no literature in this area occurs to inform not only the Zimbabwean community, but the Academic community in general. This research will help ease the gap in the scientific study of parliamentary discourse in Africa.

This study of parliamentary discourse is not only limited to the institutional context of the parliament, rather it is extended to how it is represented in the media. According to Ilie (2010c) parliamentary debates are increasingly taking central role in media reports but few systematic investigations have been carried out. Some linguistic studies that have been carried out recently on news representation employed different theoretical approaches including critical discourse analysis (Archakis and Tsakona 2009, van Dijk 2004), corpus linguistics (Ilie 2010b), descriptive metaphorical model (Santibañez 2010); Implicature (Jakaza 2009), discursive psychology (Iñigo- Mora 2010), pragma- rhetorical approach (Ilie 2010d) and argumentation theory (Plug 2010, Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). Thus, it must be pointed out that those studies that have been carried out are either limited in scope or have a different focus and theoretical perspective altogether. This study is of importance especially considering that “...citizens normally resort to the press rather than the official parliamentary issues” (Ilie 2010a: 881). In support for research in news representation, Chari (2010) exploring the representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in the press from a media perspective, observes the power of the media to shape public opinion. While studies that have been conducted are on English, Greek and other European and American languages, few studies have been carried out on Zimbabwean newspapers and nothing on the Shona language from a linguistic and appraisal perspective. Research on the representation of parliamentary discourse is also very relevant considering how words or acts of actors are multiplied and mediated through varied intertextual techniques. A reconstruction of discourse reviews varied evaluation framings involved in the writing of news. In addition to this reconstruction, the

study conducts an analysis of how journalists create dialogical networks involving parliamentary speeches and newspaper articles and how they select what they consider their readers should know. Archakis and Tsakona (2009: 362) point out that “different newspapers quite often present the ‘same’ events in different ways or with a different focus, so that each article reflects the political and ideological stance of the newspaper in which it appears.” This view shows that newspapers are ideologically constructed, hence for a fair and balanced analysis of media reports on parliamentary discourse, newspapers with different political and ideological orientations are comparatively analysed.

In a nutshell, Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in the newspaper articles is the focus of this research. However, in as much as parliamentary speeches and debates are recorded in official documents which record all the importance of parliamentarians in policy making, no linguistic research has been carried out on Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse. The electorate, or citizens, resort to the newspaper for information on parliamentary debates and proceedings (Ilie 2010a). Yet, it has been observed that “many newspapers publish a digest of parliament” (Bayley 2004: 10). MPs’ words are reframed, multiplied and an evaluated version of parliamentary affairs is presented for public digest. Thus, the problem addressed by the study is Four-fold: First, the study will address the problem of how appraisal and evaluation devices are expressed by parliamentarians in parliamentary speeches, debates and (adversarial) questioning and (argumentative) discussions in pragma-dialectical context of the Zimbabwean parliament. Second, the study examines the argumentation strategies employed by Zimbabwean parliamentarians in debates and speeches. Third, the study examines the problem of the representation of parliamentary discourse by journalists with respect to the appraisal and evaluation-analytic devices employed in the language of newspaper articles, taking into account the different audience-orientations and stance of journalists. Fourth, the study will explore the principles and properties of appraisal and evaluation that emerge from a comparative analysis of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles.

1.3 Objectives of study

This study on Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in printed news media intends to:

- Explore the notion of appraisal and evaluation in Zimbabwean Parliamentary speeches and debates;

- Examine how Zimbabwean Parliamentary speeches and debates are represented in Zimbabwean newspapers;
- Examine the nature and entextualisation of journalistic stance in newspaper discourse;
- Make a comparative analysis of (i) parliamentary discourse and newspaper discourse (ii) the use of language between MPs with different political orientations (iii) presentation of parliamentary discourse in newspapers with a different ideological and audience orientation (iv) the linguistic characteristic features utilised in the Shona newspaper (*Kwayedza*) and the English newspapers (*The Herald, Newsday and The Standard*);
- Examine argumentation strategies employed by Zimbabwean parliamentarians in parliamentary speeches and debates;
- Examine the meta-theoretical principles in the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation in Zimbabwean Parliamentary debates.

1.4 Research Questions of the study

The study focuses on the following research questions in the investigation of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles:

- How are the appraisal theoretical devices of affect, judgment, and appreciation manifested in: (i) parliamentary speeches and debates? (ii) newspaper articles reporting these debates?
- How are the appraisal devices of invoked and inscribed evaluation exhibited in: (i) parliamentary speeches and debates? (ii) newspaper articles that report on the latter?
- How are the appraisal theoretical devices of engagement and graduation realised in: (i) parliamentary speeches and debates? (ii) newspaper articles concerned with the latter?
- What are the properties of appraisal and evaluation that characterise strategic maneuvering in political argumentation in parliamentary debates?
- How can the pragma- dialectical theoretical device of critical discussion manifested in parliamentary debates be accounted for in terms of appraisal and evaluation-theoretic principles?
- How do speakers/ writers discursively construct communities of shared values, constructing for themselves particular identities or personae while at the same time aligning with or disaligning from those they address in parliamentary debates and in newspaper articles?

- How do journalists create dialogical networks involving parliamentary speeches and (a sequence of) newspaper articles?

1.5 The Zimbabwe language situation

The focus of this section is to give a general and brief description of the Zimbabwean language situation in order to contextualise the analysis of Shona and English⁵ texts in this study. Thus, focus is on providing the rationale for the analysis of Shona newspaper reports in conjunction with Zim-English reports. The important aspect to state is that Zimbabwe, like many other African countries, is multilingual. Multilingualism is being understood in the context of “the state of a person who can speak many languages or the community whose members speak many languages” (Batibo 2005: 4). Even though Chabata (2008: 13) argues that “Zimbabwe’s linguistic situation is rather complex in that it is difficult to draw watertight lines of demarcation on where language starts or ends,” a survey by Hachipola (1998) shows that the Zimbabwean linguistic situation has Zim-English as the national official language, Shona and Ndebele as national languages, Shangani, Venda, Kalanga, Tonga and Nambya are recognized indigenous languages, Sotho, Chikunda, Sena, Xhosa, Barwe, Hwesa, and Tshwawo are minority languages and Chichewa/ Chinyanja as the only recognised migrant language. Most researchers agree that Shona (Chishona) is a Bantu language spoken mainly in Zimbabwe with five dialect clusters of Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Korekore and Ndau (Doke 1931, Guthrie 1948, Dembetembe 1976, Chimhundu 2002). Shona is a written standard language with an orthography and grammar attributed to Doke’s (1931) work which was further revised in the 1950s. Even though Shona has been argued to have more than 75% speakers of the total population in Zimbabwe, Zim-English is the predominant language of function in government, education, parliament, media, and commerce and so on. The dominance of Zim-English is attributed to the Zimbabwean Education Act of 1987, as amended in 1990. The act stipulates that,

1. ...the three main languages of Zimbabwe namely, Shona, Ndebele and English, shall be taught in all primary schools from the first grade as follows:
 - a. Shona and English in all areas where the mother-tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona;

or

- b. Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother-tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.

⁵ Hence forth to be referred to as Zim-English, a variety of the English language

2. Prior to the fourth grade, either of the languages referred to in paragraph (a) or (b) of sub-section (1) may be used as the medium of instruction, depending upon which language is more commonly spoken and better understood by the pupils.
3. From the fourth grade, English shall be the medium of instruction provided that Shona or Ndebele shall be taught as subjects on an equal-time allocation as the English language.
4. In areas where minority languages exist, the Minister may authorize the teaching of such languages in primary schools in addition to those specified in sub-section (1), (2) and (3)⁶.

This act does not only show the primacy of Zim-English over local languages in Zimbabwe, but also confirms the fact that even though languages have the same expressive power, Zim-English has been accorded the international language status. It is the official language or language of business in the Zimbabwean parliament and generally the medium of communication in the national press. The heterogeneous linguistic context in Zimbabwe has seen Zim- English developing to ‘become the country’s most powerful and most important language’ (Chabata 2008: 14). This view shows that one cannot ignore such a language if they are exploring language use in contexts like the parliament and media.

The role of English or Zim- English in this highly complex linguistic situation is still a central question to be addressed. Antagonism amongst scholars is on how language pluralism⁷ in African states should be addressed. Some scholars like Chabata (2008) foresee some ‘linguistic discrepancy’ in the way the language situation is being handled and that multilingualism is posing a multiplicity of challenges yet others like Chimhundu (2002) see a mutual relationship between Shona and Zim-English and Marten and Kula (2008: 309) see multilingualism in Zambia as “an asset, rather than an impediment to national development.” Making a survey of the languages of Africa, Batibo (2005) observed that the African continent and nations are generally plurallingual though exceptions of quasi- monolingual states like Lesotho, Swaziland, Seychelles, Cape Verde and Burundi occurs. He argues that even though some governments are “playing down the realities of plurallingualism and multilingualism,” (p. 14) this language complexity should be accepted. Further confirming the language complexity in African countries, Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008) argues that English

⁶ However, it should be noted that in the current draft constitution fourteen languages have been recognised as national languages.

⁷ Plurallingualism is understood in this context as a “state of having many languages in one country or continent.” (Batibo 2005: 4) As opposed to multilingualism where focus is on a person or community speaking many languages, in plurallingualism focus is on the number of languages spoken in a country or community. However, the distinction is a fine one and not our concern at the moment.

is not only recognised in Ghana as an official language, but is fast developing to be a marker of Ghanaian identity. In their survey, they also found out that in Ghana “Hausa is certainly not a language of ethnic identity, any more than English is” (p. 145) and that “English is perceived as in some sense a Ghanaian language.” (p.147) The observation being made by Anyidoho and Dakubu is that English should cease to be recognized as a foreign language, but as an ‘African’ language, a call for a revisit to the issues of language policy and planning in African continents. The language dynamism that is being witnessed in African countries results in some bidirectional linguistic interference amongst languages. According to Batibo (2005) one of the results of this linguistic interference are varieties of English such as Nigerian English, South African English. This multilingual situation clearly shows that conducting a research focusing on Shona and Zim- English texts provides the researcher with more insights on the discourse- linguistic organisation of texts. A comparison of Shona and Zim-English newspaper articles is also conducted to examine various forms of appraisal and argumentation in these languages, exploring the nature of the languages’ intertextuality properties⁸. An analysis of the argumentative nature of code mixing and code switching in the debates and speeches in the Zimbabwean parliament is also conducted.

1.6 Research design and methods

This section outlines the research design and methods that have been utilised in this research.

1.6.1 Research design

Research design is an overall plan for a piece of research including four main ideas; the strategy, the theoretical frame work, the questions of who or what will be studied, and the tools used for collecting and analysing materials. Design situates the researcher in the empirical world. This study employs the discourse-analytic method of research. Discourse analysis as a design type (Henning et al 2004) “is a recent version of textual analysis which aims to study the meanings of words but within larger “chunks” of texts such as conversation or discourse” (Mouton 2001: 168). The study makes an empirical enquiry investigating a contemporary discourse phenomenon in depth and within its real life context. A discourse analytic approach suits this study because the intent is to critically explore parliamentary debates and their representation in newspaper articles, examining the ways in which meanings are created and communicated in context. Discourse analysis ‘account for ‘text’ in ‘context’:

⁸ For other comparative studies see Elorza (2009/10) and Duc Duy Vo (2011). Elorza did a comparative study of the reporting of the world food summit in the Spanish and English newspapers. Duc Duy Vo examines the style and structure of English and Vietnamese business hard news reporting.

that is the analyst views these levels of abstraction as interrelated ‘strata’ (Fenton- Smith 2008: 103). The term context is being used here to refer to the “textual, the situational and socio- cultural environment of linguistic expressions” (Bednarek 2006: 10). The role of context in the interpretation and understanding of meanings being communicated is central in this study as “we will never understand the function of evaluation in a culture if our studies are based, however qualitatively, on the analysis of ‘de-contextualised’ examples” (Martin 2003: 177).

1.6.2 Data collection method

The corpus for this study is drawn from Zimbabwean parliamentary debates, speeches and newspaper articles⁹. These speeches, debates and newspaper articles are selected along thematic lines and in terms of theoretical principles. In this analysis focus is on major themes or topics that are salient in Zimbabwean political discourse within the period 2009 to 2010 as they are debated in the Zimbabwean parliament and represented in Zimbabwean newspapers. Thus, in the selection process, the researcher also considered the speakers’ ranks (i.e ministers, President) and whether the debate or speech was of national interest, emotional, and of public interest and also the number of speakers or contributors to the topic being deliberated. According to Elspaß (2002) these factors allows for a more representative picture of language used by politicians in the parliament. The period (2009 to 2010) was chosen deliberately because it captures the ‘historic’ parliament in Zimbabwe formed after the disputed elections of 2008 which put to an end a twenty- eight year period of ZANU- PF dominance as a ruling party and led to the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU). This pragmatic context calls for parliamentarians to resort to strategic moves in parliament in order to win debates marketing themselves and their political parties. The thematic approach informed by theoretical principles is suitable as a method in this research as it allowed the researcher, making use of the theory, to select the debates and newspaper articles that helped to answer the research questions. Thus, the debates, speeches and articles were selected on the basis of their topicality during the period under research in the Zimbabwean context. The themes or topics that have been considered which were debated in the Zimbabwean parliament and reported in the Zimbabwean newspapers are; gender equality, political violence, corruption, hero status, Chiadzwa diamonds, indigenisation, financial stability (RBZ bills) and the constitution making process.

⁹ The Zimbabwe parliament is bicameral, that is, it has two houses: the lower house (House of Assembly) and upper house (Senate). Debates and speeches from both houses have been considered in this study.

Permission to use newspaper articles was requested and to analyse parliamentary debates and speeches was granted. Zimbabwean parliamentary debates are published in the Hansard. The hard copy and electronic version of the Hansard is published the next afternoon each day parliament sits. The Hansard is the only official material available containing the written proceedings of the debates (www.parlzim.gov.zw). However, as it was observed by Ilie (2003) with regard to the British Hansard records, the reports are edited for false starts, pauses, repetitions and in some cases contributions in Shona or Ndebele are translated into English¹⁰. However, interjections in Shona and Ndebele are not translated. Unedited reports with contributions in Shona and Ndebele were unavailable from the Hansard section. On the other hand, even though journalists sit in the press room of parliament and watch the debates live, they are also provided with the printed version of the proceedings for their reference. Thus, journalists also rely on the edited copies of the Hansard in their reporting of the activities of the parliament. According to Archakis and Tsakona (2010) most of the debates and speeches are published as ‘hardnews’ with a few coming in as opinion. Taking into consideration this view, I concentrated more on the ‘hard news’ stories in the print media. White (2006) states that a ‘hard news’ story is generally associated with such notions as ‘neutrality’ and ‘objective’ and the texts are most frequently found in the news coverage page as opposed to commentaries and opinions¹¹. However, some newspapers have specific pages for parliamentary reports.

Cohen- Almagor (2008) also observes that newspapers are not value- free representation of reality. Before a story is published it goes through a process that Archakis and Tsakona (2009) call ‘digestion’ of news resulting in what Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) call mediated political discourse. Considering all these dynamics in the way news is represented, newspapers with different political and ideological orientation have been utilised in order to make a comparative analysis of the way news is reported. Newspaper publications are generally divided along the dimensions of government or independent newspaper, national or community newspaper, daily or weekly newspaper and on the language of communication- English or Shona or Ndebele. Focus in this study is on the print media or in particular newspaper reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches. The newspapers that were selected on the basis of the given dimensions are *The Herald* (daily paper);

¹⁰ English is the official language and language of business in Zimbabwe. Parliamentarians make their contributions in English except for the fewer cases in which some use the African languages.

¹¹ For a detailed account of the ‘hard news’ structure and/ register refer to White (1998, 2005a), Martin and White (2005), Bednarek (2006).

*Kwayedza*¹²(weekly paper); *The Standard* (weekly) and *The Newsday* (daily paper). *The Herald* and *Kwayedza* are national newspapers published under the Zimbabwe Newspapers Group (Zimpapers), a company with the government as the majority shareholder. *The Standard* and *Newsday* are private or independent papers published nationally under Alpha Media Private Ltd label, a company with Trevor Ncube as the majority shareholder. Past newspapers of all the four were accessed at the newspaper archives at the newspaper headquarters in Harare or electronically on the internet at the newspapers' websites. At the headquarters of these newspapers an archives library is found and is open to the public. Through the help of the archives librarians, I had to go through the stacks of the newspaper editions selecting and photocopying the stories. These stories were later on typed or scanned in order to attach them as appendices.

1.6.3 Data analysis method

The corpus is analysed from two theoretical frameworks, the appraisal theoretical framework, pragma- dialectic theoretical resources and from controversy analysis. As argued above, the debates, speeches and newspaper reports are analysed under themes informed by the theoretical principles being realised. Focus is on understanding how the appraisal and argumentation theoretical principles are realised in Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and speeches as well as in their representation in newspaper articles. The pragma- dialectical theory has been utilised in the analysis to provide the 'pragmatic' and 'argumentative frame' for analysing discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012). On the other hand the appraisal theory brings in the systematic way of analysing discourse (White 2006, Hyland 2005). Both theories have been utilised in the analysis of parliamentary discourse and newspaper articles.

In the analysis the debates and articles have been categorised either as controversial (divergent) or quasi- controversial (consensus); highly attitudinal or highly engagement¹³ in order to have a critical evaluation in terms of how the theoretical resources are realised. The following creed has been used to mark appraisal resources in the text during analysis:

- attitudinal forms are in bold for example, I am **happy**.
- engagement contract values are italicised for example, You may want it *but* it's bad.

¹² The Kwayedza is the only national paper published in Shona; one of Zimbabwe's national languages.

¹³ However, the categorisation has been argued not to be as binary as the terms imply especially on the stories with more attitudinal resources versus those with more engagement resources. The approach has been taken to enable the researcher to focus on a particular principle in depth before considering the other principle(s).

- engagement expand values are underlined for example, You may go.
- graduation values are marked with uppercase. I am VERY happy.

In order to have an in depth analysis of how parliamentary debates are represented in the Zimbabwean newspapers, a four-tier comparative analysis is conducted. The first comparison is between MPs with different political orientations. Another, second comparison, is done between newspapers with different ideological orientations reporting on similar themes. The third comparison is on how the theoretical principles are realised in parliamentary discourse and the print media. Lastly, I also made a comparison between newspapers written in English (*The Herald*, *The Standard* and *Newsday*) and in Shona (*Kwayedza*). The comparisons are set to show the different linguistic aspects that characterises the different discourses and languages. These comparisons have been carried out concurrently with the analysis of data on how appraisal and argumentative resources are realised.

1.7 Organisation of Study

Chapter 2 focuses on parliamentary discourse and its representation in the media. A survey of literature on parliamentary discourse noting the areas, methods and theories that have been employed is contacted.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of appraisal and argumentation. These are the theories that have been utilised in the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspapers. The first section focuses on the appraisal theory showing its tenets and how it can be applied for the analysis of language use in contexts like parliaments and newspapers. As parliamentary discourse is generally argumentative, the second section of chapter three presents the argumentation theory. The last two sections focus on relating appraisal theory with argumentation theory and also situating controversy analysis within argumentation theory.

Chapter 4 is the first analysis chapter of parliamentary discourse. Focus is on exploring how the theoretical notions of appraisal and argumentation are manifested in the Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse. The analysis of debates and speeches under themes has reviewed varied linguistic notions of appraisal and argumentation in the Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse in particular and parliamentary discourse in general.

Chapter 5 is the second analysis chapter exploring the representation of parliamentary

discourse in newspaper articles. Focus is on examining how the attitudinal and graduation resources are realised in the representation of parliamentary discourse in newspapers. A comparative analysis of the way news is reported is conducted concurrently with the analysis of how the attitudinal resources are realised.

Chapter 6 is the third and final data analysis chapter. Main focus is on how the engagement and graduation resources are realised in the representation of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles. As is the case in chapter five, a comparative analysis of news reporting by different newspapers is also concurrently conducted. Argumentation principles that are realised in news reporting are also discussed.

Chapter 7 gives a summary of findings; conclusion and future directions for further research. Thus, it gives answers to research questions that have been raised in the study and suggestions/ recommendations that can be taken to address the problems.

CHAPTER TWO

PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

2.1 Introduction

The main focus of this thesis has been explicated in the first chapter, which is to examine Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its discourse-analytic representation from an appraisal and evaluation linguistic perspective in conjunction with an extended pragmatic-dialect theory. The previous chapter set clear why parliamentary discourse is the focus of this study. In order to buttress that position, this chapter reviews literature on parliamentary discourse and its representation in the media. The review situates the study of parliamentary discourse in wider discourse, discuss the salient properties of parliamentary discourse in general and show a great diversity of (scientific) researches in the study of parliamentary discourse and media reporting. A contextualisation is given of other concepts like power and dominance, text and talk, media discourse, text and identity, language and institutions as they are sometimes 'confused or misused' (Grad and Rojo 2008). As pointed out in chapter one, parliaments are sensitive to the context of culture and history in the widest sense (Bayley 2004). It is then imperative to also review literature on the role of culture and history in the exploration of parliamentary discourse. This review sheds light on how the history of a given culture impact on the kind of language that can be used in parliament.

2.2 Situating parliamentary discourse

This section reviews two aspects, the notion of discourse (analysis) and the concept, political discourse (analysis). A review of these notions situates parliamentary discourse within wider discourse. This view is based on the understanding that parliamentary discourse (talk) has been unduly claimed to belong to the genre of political discourse/ language (Bayley, 2004, van Dijk 2010). Apart from that, political discourse is so broad and ambiguous as is the notion discourse or discourse analysis. Hence, the review sheds light on the perspective and understanding that is assured in this study. Varied definitions and understandings of the term discourse can be observed. However, it is not the intention of the investigator to join the debate on the nature and description of discourse and discourse analysis because its nature is inherently complex and its description is therefore problematic as it derives its scope from various orientations. To fully explore the notions discourse and discourse analysis definitely

distracts the focus of this study. Thus, the review given here only establishes the niche and place of the notion of discourse (analysis) in the context of this study.

According to Ilie (2006: 190) “Current discourse- analytical approaches envisage discourse as language use relative to social, political and cultural formations- it is language reflecting social order but also shaping social order, and shaping individuals’ interaction with society.” This definition takes the functional (social) perspective to the study of discourse where the context of use is explicitly central. As earlier on argued by van Dijk (1985), discourse analysis provides us with rather powerful while subtle and precise insights to pinpoint the everyday manifestations and displays of social problems in communication and interaction. Though he was utilising discourse analysis as a method, the pragmatic dimension is clearly brought out. In the same understanding, Cameron (2001) argues that discourse analysis deals with socially situated language use in any channel or medium. However, she contends that discourse (analysis) is understood as the study of the formal organisation of language in a particular context. The perspective here is that language has a certain kind of formal organisation because of the purpose it is designed to serve. This view is a formal (textual) perspective to the study of discourse. The definition and description of discourse and discourse analysis is not so simplistic in that it involves a number of dimensions and perspectives.

The varied interests in discourse and discourse analysis include work by scholars from different disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology. The aim or objective of the study of discourse by these scholars is quite different. According to Cameron (2001), linguists study discourse as an end in itself and other disciplines such as sociology and psychology analyse discourse as a means to some other end. This study as a linguistic study, studies discourse in its context in order to understand what and how language communicates. This study as a discourse- analytic study takes both the functional and formal approach in the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. Members of Parliament (MPs) and Senators are political actors in a society that is heavily informed by certain cultural beliefs, symbols and values. Their discourse has been duly situated within political discourse.

The study of political discourse is as old as politics itself. Wilson (2001) points out that the study of political discourse can be traced back to Cicero and Aristotle where concern has been on methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. He, however,

contends that the study of political discourse in broadly linguistic terms started in the early 1980s or 1990s. Political discourse covers a wide range of subject matter and analytical methods. The term is so ambiguous. According to Wilson (2001), the term refers to discourse which is political and also to an analysis of political discourse as an example of discourse type without explicit reference to political content or context. In the same vein, Wodak (2002) observes that discourse of any kind is a site of struggle, a terrain, a dynamic linguistic and semantic space in which social meanings are produced or challenged. This suggests that all discourse and analysis is political, hence all discourse analysis is political discourse. In an effort to avoid this over generalisation, Wilson (2001) argues that the subject matter of political discourse can be limited to formal/ informal contexts and political actors, for example politicians, political institutions, political media, governments. However, this is still problematic. Apart from analysing the contexts and actors, one has to consider the language used first as discourse and then as politics. In a more linguistic definition, Chilton (2008: 226) argues that political discourse is “the use of language to do with the business of politics and includes persuasive rhetoric, the use of implied meanings, the use of euphemisms, the exclusion of language to rouse political emotions and the like.” Chilton is suggesting the link between language and political behaviour. However, his study, using the truth- conditional semantics as one of the theories, was merely trying to develop a theory of political terms, a focus which is totally different from the research conducted in this study.

In a study of the contribution of critical linguistics to the analysis of discriminatory prejudices and stereotypes in the language of politics, Wodak (2008) points out that politics is the use of language by politicians in various settings and in political institutions. This definition describes parliamentarians as politicians using language within the parliament as an institution. She, however, acknowledges that the notion of politics is defined in many different ways depending on the theoretical framework. In the same understanding, Chilton (2004) observes that politics is “viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert their power and those who seek to resist it.” (pp 3) In the same vein, Holly (2008) argues that politics is about a “constrained use of social power” (pp 317). In Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 1)’s understanding, “politics is fundamentally about making choices about how to act in response to circumstances and goals” which are “based upon practical argumentation.” These multidimensional perspectives on the understanding of the term politics serves to show the problems that come with definitions. The definition by Fairclough and Fairclough is informed by their integrated approach to political discourse in cooperating insights from critical discourse analysis and argumentation theory. However, in this study the

term is understood in relation to the use of language by parliamentarians in the parliament to establish and maintain relations.

According to Holly (2008), parliamentary debates have long been acknowledged as 'the original centres of political processes' (pp 317). He observes that in the European nations parliaments have been observed to have lost the 'persuasive force' and 'are now merely seen as institutionalised and staged' with all its intents and purposes having been replaced or displaced by the media, especially the television. He, however, acknowledges that this view is not really the same in African parliaments where debates and speeches are still published in newspapers with few talk shows being televised. He then concludes that because of this situation, "political language has become the subject of professionally developed strategies" (pp 318) and that linguistic signs are used strategically. This conclusion is somehow a call for a systematic analysis of parliamentary speeches and debates focusing on the manoeuvring strategies and linguistic signs employed.

In a study tracing the themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse, Chilton (2002) makes invaluable insights on the different perspectives or dimensions on the study of political discourse. He presents the Aristotelian and Marxist views on the relationship between language and politics. According to Aristotelian and Marxist perspectives, language evolved to perform social functions such as political ones. They also argue that social or political behaviour is not genetically based and political activity does not exist without the use of language. However, language instinct is not bound by the political instinct. According to Chilton (2002) the linguistic and discourse based approach to politics veers from normative orientation to the empirical and often blends them. Discourse is argued to deal with empirical evidence, and political science dealing with hard evidence such as voting figures and constitution arrangements. In this understanding, politics is being viewed as a struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. Iñigo- Mora (2010) identifies two kinds of power, hard power and soft power. She argues that 'hard power' is related to military and economy whereas 'soft power' is a rhetorical weapon which makes someone want what you want. This study as a discourse analytic study employing the appraisal and the argumentation theory blends the empirical and normative approaches to the study of parliamentary discourse with a focus on 'soft power' as it is realised in discourse.

Chilton and Schäffner (2002) also make a distinction between micro-politics and macro-politics. Micro-politics is understood as obtaining when individuals use different techniques such as persuasion, threats, and bribes as they will be resolving clashes of interest over such aspects as money, power, and liberty. On the other end, macro-politics relates to political institutions of the state as they are used to resolve conflicts of interest, assert the power of a dominant group or individual. From this distinction, parliamentary debates have been classified under the macro-level type of discourse. However, distinguishing institutional politics from everyday politics is still fuzzy. Chilton and Schäffner (*ibid*) observing this fuzziness in the distinction contends that examining politics from a linguistic and discourse perspective can throw special light on the distinction between the state and the civil society. Apart from this perspective, a linguistic and discourse analysis of the language of politics will definitely give a better evaluation of the strategies employed in the struggle for political mileage. Chilton and Schäffner (2002) also observe that the analysis of political discourse in general gives insight into the directionality of flow between institutionalised and non-institutionalised discourse. They argue that in the selection of sources available one need not to rely on the Hansard which provide a verbatim report and do not represent the paralinguistic features which are part of the communicative activity in parliamentary discourse. They also state that the Hansard is just a way of record keeping for referential and propositional cases focusing on conceptual accuracy rather than momentary realities of political interactions. This is a valid view, but they overlooked the fact that unedited reports or other recordings of the debates and speeches are not easily accessible to researchers.

The study of political discourse has also been carried out from a rhetorical perspective. Reisigl (2008) in a study of rhetoric in political speeches focuses on characterisation of political speeches from a rhetorical and a politico-linguistic point of view. He defines a speech as a “structured verbal chain of coherent speech acts uttered on a special social occasion for a specific purpose by a single person and addressed to a more or less specific audience” (Reisigl 2008: 243). Reisigl examines a speech as a communicative event with specific communicative purposes and audience. He argues that speeches are texts which are rarely produced adhoc. They are compositions after the speaker’s desired pattern to be delivered, in most cases, in formal situations. He, however, observes that speeches differ remarkably from each other on a number of things, for instance, length, topic, function, audience, speaker, style, structure, occasion (time and place) et cetera. Observing that speeches have long been analysed from a rhetorical genre theory (since Aristotle), Reisigl (2008) contends that the rhetorical view of political language and political speeches gains a lot if complemented by a

framework that tries to connect and synthesis rhetoric, linguistic analysis and argumentation. In other words, Reisiigl is calling for a multi- dimensional approach to the analysis of speeches. Though he acknowledges that these speeches are quite different from parliamentary speeches in terms of their structure, audience, length, function just to mention a few, all the speeches can be ‘political’ in a threefold sense; polity, policy or politics that is from a polito-linguistic framework. However, Reisiigl only focuses on characterisation of these political speeches, yet I intend to focus not only at the characterisation of speeches and debates but also to analyse the structures, strategies, style and the evaluation that is in these speeches and debates. What is important to deduce from Reisiigl’s research is that parliamentary speeches and debates are characterised as political speeches, hence spoken genres.

2.3 Parliamentary discourse as a spoken genre

This section reviews literature on the term parliament and other factors that impact on the use of language in the parliament. Thus, this section will argue that parliamentary discourse is a communicative event, that is, a genre or a sub-genre. The other two factors to be reviewed in this section are the role of culture and history as well as that of power and dominance on parliamentary discourse. The argument here is that culture and history influence the type and nature of discourse to be used in a parliament. This review gives a general picture of the etymology of the term parliament and an understanding of the factors that make parliamentary discourse ‘distinctive’.

Parliamentary discourse, as stated above, has been unduly recognised as a genre or a sub-genre. According to Ilie (2010c: 7) “the notions of discourse and genre are central to the study of interaction practices in institutional settings like Parliament.” The notion ‘discourse’ has been explicated in section 2.2 above, now it is in order to explore the notion genre in relation to parliamentary discourse as a genre or sub-genre. Richards and Schmidt (2002) argue that genre, as a communicative event, is a type of discourse that occurs in a particular setting, that has distinctive and recognisable patterns and norms or organisation and structure and that has particular and distinctive communicative functions. Quite a number of aspects have been raised in this definition. In other words they are arguing that in a genre distinctive and recognisable patterns must be observed and that this particular structure serves a particular communicative function. In a more related definition, Martin and Rose (2003) observe that genre as a staged, goal- oriented social process, refers to the various types of social contexts. They argue that it is social because we participate in genres with other people, goal- oriented because we use genres to get things done and staged because it usually takes us a few steps to

reach our goal. Their perspective of genre is informed by systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and appraisal theories where they are considering genre as a process taking place in a particular social context serving a particular social function.

In a simplified way, van Leeuwen (2008) defines genre as a type of text or communicative event and genre analysis as a study that aims to bring out the characteristics of types of texts. However, observing the problems that comes with definitions, Swales (2004) prefers the notion metaphor than definition when talking about genres because definitions are not 'true' in all possible worlds and all possible times and they may prevent us from seeing newly explored or emerging genres for what they really are. The observation is valid as it points to the problems that emanate as a result of trying to define terms, but is somehow vague at the same time. A working definition should be given. From an argumentation theoretical perspective the notion of genre is understood as an activity type. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), debates are activity types which draw upon or implement genres which can be reconstructed according to the rules of a critical discussion. Thus, a genre as an activity type is understood to be a complex speech act which is dialogically aimed at the rational persuasion of an interlocutor by giving reasons. The argument in relation to the study of debates as activity types or complex speech acts is further explored in the review of the pragma- dialectical theory in chapter three.

Further compounding the problem on the definition or description of genres, Bhatia (2004) observes that genres vary in terms of their typicality such that a text may be a typical example of a genre or less typical, yet still an example of a particular genre. On top of that, relating to what he calls genre embedding; one genre can be placed in another. This point to the fact that genres within genres occurs and that sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between genres and sub- genres. Thus, for instance, if one takes parliamentary discourse as a genre, sub- genres like parliamentary speeches, debates and question time can be identified. Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) argue that these genres vary across cultures, historical eras, social classes and sub- cultures and they are indicators of social change. This view implies that even though genres might be important as they provide a context for understanding the communicative meaning at the particular point in time as texts themselves offer varied reading positions, the term genre or genre analysis is itself problematic. The view of whether parliamentary discourse is a genre with distinct patterns and norms is still questioned by some scholars like van Dijk (2000). This study argues that recognisable patterns and norms of organisation and structure in parliamentary discourse are observable. However, the question of the

identification of genres and sub- genres of parliamentary discourse is not of primary concern to this study which is a discourse- analytic study. Genre is different from discourse and style though the same text can be analysed in all three of these ways (van Leeuwen, 2008). Thus, the focus of the study is not to prove whether parliamentary discourse is a distinct genre, but to examine the notion of appraisal and evaluation as employed by Zimbabwean parliamentarians and the argumentation strategies employed in the debates from a discourse-analytic perspective.

According to Ilie (2006) the etymology of the term parliament derives from the Old French *parlement* which is originally from *parler*, meaning to speak. However, the term has come to refer to both the activity and the building that holds such an activity. In this building it is the duty of parliamentarians to engage in debates, discussing issues that will directly or indirectly affect the general populace. Among other duties, parliamentarians are tasked with discussing legislative matters in the house, raise constitutional matters and also socio- economic issues from their constituencies. Ilie (2003a) argues that an incentive for actively participating in these debates occurs as it is an opportunity to promote one's image in a performance- oriented institutional interaction. This incentive will definitely call upon parliamentarians to employ varied linguistic resources at their disposal when advancing and defending their standpoints.

The Members of Parliament (MPs) and Senators, as elected members from different constituencies, are obliged not only to raise their ethos but also to know that as 'trustees' and/or 'holders of a mandate' they have a duty to perform, as a result, "the MPs' interaction in parliament is a competition for power and leadership roles" (Ilie 2003b: 30) as well as for fame and popularity. The Members of Parliament (MPs) and Senators are very aware that these debates and speeches will be publicised in the Hansard, the official report of the proceedings of the Zimbabwean parliament. According to the Zimbabwean parliament website (www.parlzim.gov.zw), the Hansard is published the following day in the afternoon after every parliament sitting. As with other parliaments, such as the United Kingdom, Swedish Riksdag and Greek, the Hansard reporters sit in their gallery and take down every word that is said in the chamber. However, as argued in chapter one, some editing of the debates and speeches before they are published occurs. Ilie (2006: 190) points out that this editing is "meant to do away with some of the formal shortcomings of any oral delivery". As argued earlier, the researcher in this study had access only to the Zimbabwean Hansard and was unable to access the tape recordings of the proceedings. No video recordings yet and the Hansard is the only public document for the proceedings in the Zimbabwean parliament.

However, this aspect will not be of significant impact for the research conducted on Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse in this study.

Among other paradigms, parliaments the world over differ in their political culture. Culture as a concept has been defined and analysed from varied perspectives. Goodenough (1957: 167) defines culture as everything that “one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members.” This idea is one of the views on culture that favours a cognitive perspective in which focus is on the knowledge shared by a culture’s members in order to operate within a particular community. Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007: 7) argue that culture is also understood as the

“worldview reflected in the classification systems of languages as systems of belief, values, and attitudes shared by the members of a community, as shared ways of doing things or as the sum of the artefacts produced by the members of a culture overtime.”

However, they also observe different understandings of the term culture within political discourse. They contends that in terms of political discourse analysis “culture is the premise that members of a speech community know about their community’s appropriate ways of producing and interpreting explicit and implicit meaning” (pp 8) sharing certain knowledge systems and discourse practices. This view implies that if one takes parliamentary speeches and debates as constituting a speech community, then parliamentarians as members of this speech community share certain knowledge systems and discourse practices which are better understood by parliamentarians as members of this speech community. In other words, a store of interactionally relevant knowledge which members of a culture can choose for the realisation and interpretation of contributions to discursive events is evident. However, as Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) further argue, if asymmetries between members’ stores of interactional knowledge occur, a lot of miscommunications, misinterpretations and misunderstandings are bound to happen. In terms of the appraisal and evaluation theory, members are subject to wrong or misguided evaluations regarding the other group members’ personality, social status, actions, and intelligence. This argument clearly shows that this stored knowledge system heavily impact on the members’ general perspective of the world. It is of linguistic interest to explore how parliamentarians from different political parties and orientations interact within the parliamentary institution.

In order to get rid of misinterpretations, miscommunications and misunderstandings, members of a speech community must be sharing the same political culture. According to Bayley (2004:5), “Political culture is determined by long- term orientation to government and general beliefs, symbols and values”. The argument by Bayley seems to suggest that the histrionic nature of parliaments is largely reflected in the agonistic nature of parliamentary dialogue. Members of Parliament and Senators have to go through some orientation process where they are introduced to the general beliefs, symbols and values within the government and parliament as an institution. What Bayley also observes is that parliaments are sensitive to the context of culture and history in the widest sense. The context of culture and history and the strength of different political parties will determine to some extent the kind of language that is used in parliament. This point suggest that parliaments are prone to differ in general rules of politeness, tolerance of aggressive linguistic behaviour, preferences towards abstract or concrete political language, concepts of irony or humour among other evaluation and argumentative frames.

Bayley (2004) further observes that the British political culture greatly impacted on its electoral system resulting in her being a two party system for quite a long time, with only two parties alternating in government and opposition. On the other side Zimbabwe had been more of a one party state since its independence in 1980. ZANU PF, a liberation party, had been in power based on the political culture of the day among other reasons. However, with a slight change on the nature of political culture in the 21st Century, since the formation of the MDC in 1999, a considerable contest between ZANU PF and MDC-T has been observed. The MDC-T, with its notion of democratic governance, rule of law, human rights abuses among others, has brought antagonism in both the House of Assembly and the Senate. Thus, Zimbabwean political culture is now being defined along two poles, that of the liberation struggle and that of democratic governance. The Zimbabwean situation is almost the same in other African countries like South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Namibia which have liberation war parties in governance. From Bayley (2004)’s analysis, the Italian parliament appears to replicate the Zimbabwean one. He observes that in Italy since the inception of the constitution of 1948 up to the beginnings of the 1990’s, dominance of one party in governance, the *Democrazia Cristiana* and the *Partito Comunista Italiano* being the largest opposition, was evidenced. One of the features that will emerge from the study is how the context of culture and history impact on the Zimbabwean parliamentarians’ appraisal of others’ arguments and their general argumentation strategies.

Another significant aspect that greatly impact on the discourse of parliamentarians is identity or national identity. Identity as a concept is so broad, “an extremely complex construct” (De Fina 2003: 15), “widely studied but also fundamentally controversial” (van Dijk 2010), “notoriously elusive” (Wetherell 2010: 1) and has been studied from varied perspectives (linguistics, sociology, literary studies, psychology, discourse analysis et cetera). Vast literature on identity in general is evident. It is out of the scope of this study to review all that. Literature with a linguistic- discourse perspective is going to be briefly reviewed here. Paltridge (2006) argues that identity is something that is constructed through the use of discourse, as something that is constantly constructed and reconstructed as people interact with each other. In other words identity is something that is created by discourse, such that the uses of names or nicknames, for instance, are forms of group identity markers.

In a study of fragmented identities, Wodak (2002) do focus on discursive construction of national identities. Making use of focus groups and in-depth interviews, she observes that national identities are discursively produced. However, she contends that no such thing as one national identity is a reality as different identities are constructed according to contexts though dynamic, ambivalence and vulnerability are evident. In this perspective nation is viewed as imagined communities- only limited by boundaries, cut off from the surrounding nations, a community of congenial similar, regarded as sovereign. National identities are then viewed as being built from a collective memory- a common history. She, thus, concurs with Paltridge (2006) on the role of discourse on identity and concludes that discourses may serve to construct national identities, restore or justify a certain social status quo, perpetuate and reproduce the status quo, transform or destroy that status quo. However, van Dijk (2010) argues that varied forms of identities are evident. In his study he examines some of the discursive formulations of political identities in parliamentary debates analysing the Spanish and United Kingdom parliamentary debates on the war in Iraq. He observes that political identities, as a specific type of social identity, are defined by ideologies- what we believe as it is influenced by our norms and values. In this case members of a political party are defined by certain activities- distinct identities. These distinct identities are expressed in discourse. However, his study is limited to social identities, European parliaments and employed a socio- cognitive theory of context. Apart from the fact that his study is limited in scope, this study examines Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and speeches utilising the appraisal and argumentation frameworks. As earlier on observed, parliaments differ invariably on key issues like culture, historical development and power relations. These differences have been argued to impact on the way language is utilised in the parliament. Thus, employing different

theoretical frameworks on different data will provide important insights on parliamentary discourse and general language use in context.

One other issue that has figured prominently in research on parliamentarians and parliamentary discourse is power and dominance. One approach that has been developed and widely used for the exploration of the relationship between language and power is the critical discourse analysis (CDA) as envisaged by Fairclough (1995), Van Dijk (2002) and Wodak (2008). This approach will be briefly reviewed in section 2.5 below. Within the parliamentary setting, parliamentarians engage in protracted debates not only to advance interests of their constituency, oppose the policy of others but also to cede power to control the behaviours and material lives of others. In Fowler (1985: 61)'s point of view, "power is the ability of the people and institutions to control the behaviour and material lives of others." Thus, MPs and Senators thrive for power to control not only the people they represent but also other MPs and Senators. This struggle for power and dominance can be easily observed in their use of language in the parliament as they evaluatively and argumentatively present or advance their arguments.

Moosmüller (1989) observes that a connection is evidenced between language evaluation and language use as envisaged in the speech behaviour of politicians, who, for professional reasons, not only want to be as positively evaluated as possible, but for whom positive evaluation is a necessity. Parliamentarians, knowing this necessity, try to accommodate their speech behaviour to the group of people they want to address. This evaluation presents good data for appraisal and argumentation analysis. It is the thrust of this study to explore within the framework of Appraisal theory and the Extended Pragma- Dialectic theory of argumentation the evaluative meanings being derived from this power- dominance struggle amongst MPs and Senators. Thus, Fowler (1985:61) observes that "language is used as a tool to consolidate and manipulate concepts and relationships in the area of power and control". This observation is of importance in this research as the current researcher wants to critically evaluate the use of language in the parliament by parliamentarians. The question that this study explores is on the nature of appraisal resources that are employed in this consolidation and manipulation of relationships in parliamentary debates and speeches. The other focus is on examining the nature of maneuvering strategies that are realised in the discourse of parliamentarians in their struggle for dominance.

2.3.1 Institutionalised discourse

Parliamentary talk has been observed to take place in various institutional contexts which include a full sitting of the chamber, in committee and corridors. However, focus in this study is on parliamentary discourse as it takes place in full sittings in the house and partially in committees. According to Bayley (2004), the study of language and institutions is of interest to scholars recently, in particular the activities of a politician or parliamentarian such as seeking consensus, mediating conflicts, representing interests which are linguistic activities. As pointed in chapter one, most of the studies that have been carried out are on European, American and Asian parliaments. This view clearly stipulates that research in this area, especially from African parliaments will significantly add to the body of existing research on parliamentary discourse.

A notable aspect in the research on parliamentary discourse is the rule that stipulates the use of language in the parliament. As Ilie (2009a) observes, parliament as an institution has a code of conduct that is supposed to be followed during the proceedings. In other words, rules regarding forms of address, turn-taking, form/ type of language to be used et cetera are evident. This view suggests that parliamentary talk is an institutionalised discourse. The role of the institution in shaping parliamentary discourse is, however, not well studied though some studies on the role of the institution in shaping the discourse are evident (see Snoeck Henkemans and Mohammed (2012), Bickenbach (2012) for example). Snoeck Henkemans and Mohammed (2012) argue that the institutional goal imposes the preconditions for the argumentative exchanges. Though their study is from the healthcare institutional context, they observed that institutional requirements are what they called 'institutional burden of proof'. Within the parliamentary setting, the mover of the motion carries this institutional burden of proof were s/he supposed to give evidence to why the motion is supposed to be debated.

The institutionality of the parliament is also considered by Ilie (2003a) who argues that parliamentary discourse is rule-regulated. The Speaker (Deputy) or President (Deputy) of the house will be in charge to see to it that the code of conduct is being respected. It is the duty of the Speaker (Deputy) or President (Deputy) to open or close parliamentary proceedings. Thus, "the Speaker has to monitor the MPs' turn-taking by announcing the speakers, allocating time and calling MPs to order when necessary" (Ilie 2003b: 77). This point also suggests that the exchanges that take place in the house are well regulated. Even though one might have something burning to say, if s/he has not been given the chance by the Speaker or President, they may not contribute to the debate. This, however, prompts parliamentarians to interfere or

interject when one is talking. As Moosmüller (1989) aptly observes, these interruptions during a speech are ‘only’ made by politicians of the opposite parties and in most cases are not very polite but very interesting from a linguistic point of view. These interruptions are also argued to be random. This randomness is a call for a systematic analysis of these interruptions during parliamentary speeches and debates to examine their evaluative and strategic nature. In this study, employing the appraisal theory and the argumentation theory, the researcher will analyse this evaluative language and strategic nature of these interruptions during parliamentary proceedings.

Moosmüller (1989) further observes that contributions in parliament usually start with an ironical reference to the previous speaker of the opposing party with the aim of making him and his statement ridiculous and therefore politically irrelevant. This is a common strategy that can be observed in political debates and speeches meant to raise the value of one’s own statements. As a competitive environment, generally the manner in which the discussion is carried out is not cooperative but competitive. Members of parliament exploit the other’s weaknesses and vulnerability attacking or challenging their ethos and improve their own pathos (Ilie 2001). According to Moosmüller (1989), two levels of interaction can be distinguished in parliamentary talk:

1. A subject- related level which refers to one’s own statement and is more or less thoroughly prepared.
2. A private level in which the politician reacts to the spontaneous attacks of his opponents.

While this is a valid observation pertaining parliamentary talk, an analysis in terms of the actual or type of language that is used and the evaluative meanings that are communicated thereafter is not conducted. Apart from that, a study of these interaction levels from an argumentative perspective is required. All these questions or gaps can best be filled if a study from an appraisal and argumentative perspective is carried out as is the goal of the research conducted in this study.

In order for parliamentarians to be able to participate as competent members in parliamentary debates and speeches they need knowledge. Van Dijk (2003) observes that parliamentary debates presuppose that MPs have knowledge of parliamentary procedures, about parties, other MPs, the political system among other types of knowledge. He, thus, argues that though known studies about “knowledge representations and the process involved in the uses of knowledge in understanding, there are still vast areas of inquiry that remain virtually

unexplored” (2003: 94) are evident. Working within the framework of a multidisciplinary project on discourse and knowledge, he argues that multidisciplinary frameworks make explicit the discursive, cognitive, social and cultural dimensions. Van Dijk (2003) rejects the classical epistemological definition of knowledge as ‘justified true beliefs’ and defines it as “the beliefs shared by the competent members of epistemic communities and which have been ‘certified’ as such on the basis of knowledge criteria of an epistemic community” (pp 95). In other words it is undeniable that when we are talking about knowledge we are talking about beliefs of particular members of a community. The question or problem is on whether these beliefs are true and justified. This view also suggests that a close relation between knowledge and the notions of text and talk occurs. In support of this perspective, van Dijk (2003) observes that in as much as “people need knowledge to produce and understand discourse, MPs need general and more specialized knowledge to be able to participate as competent members of parliamentary debates” (pp 100).

In an analysis of some fragments of a parliamentary debate in the British House of Commons on ‘International Terrorism and Attacks in the USA’, van Dijk (2003) observes that Blair’s speech was hardly programmatic and barely going beyond asserting that the British will firmly stand by their US friends. The other observation he makes is that apart from personal experience, very little new information is given in these speeches. He classifies this debate under what he calls consensus debates. However, he argues that in these consensus debates at least a slight difference of opinion and assessment may appear in rhetorical or real questions. This view implies that even in consensus debates there will be a difference of opinion calling upon one to engage the argumentation theory in their analysis. Of importance to consider from van Dijk’s study is that debates can be classified according to the levels of the participants’ difference of opinion. Another aspect again is the role of knowledge, the parliamentarians’ knowledge, in the debates and how this knowledge influences text and talk. These insights from van Dijk’s study are important, though the study has a different focus from the researcher’s. However, even though van Dijk (2003) actually singled out that knowledge influences many aspects of text and talk, he did not explore how. It is the focus of this study to examine argumentative strategies and evaluative resources employed by parliamentarians in the Zimbabwean parliament in their quest to make explicit what they know.

The Zimbabwean parliament is not an exception to the conventions regarding participation and general behaving in parliament. According to the Zimbabwean parliamentary website

(www.parlzim.gov.zw) Zimbabwe has a bicameral parliamentary system implying two levels; the House of Assembly (lower house) and the Senate (upper house). The role of the Speaker (Deputy) or President (Deputy) is also to monitor the proceedings as well as to open and close them. Of importance to consider at this point is that, though these rules are evident, parliamentarians have devised varied linguistic and non- linguistic ways of surpassing the code of conduct and have their message passed to the intended audience.

2.3.2 Audience in parliamentary discourse

The notion of audience has been observed to be multi- layered in parliamentary institutional settings. In her study of the British parliament, Ilie (2003a) argues that in the parliament three types of audience occurs, the insider audience of fellow Members of Parliament, the outsider audience of visitors in the strangers' gallery and the outsider audience of television viewers. However, in terms of the Zimbabwean scenario, at the moment no outsider audience of television viewers occurs as the parliamentary proceedings are yet to be screened on television live during the debate and speeches. An exception of the Presidential Speech in the opening of parliamentary sessions and the Minister of Finance's Budget statements is evident. On the contrary, Ilie (2006) argues that for Members of Parliament, though they recognise the outside audience, their targeted audience is the insider audience of fellow Members of Parliament. She further observes that the main reason for Members of Parliament to target fellow Members of Parliament in argumentation is that the outsider audience "is normally a random and continuously changing audience." (Ilie 2006: 194). Though this could be the case, this view seems to do with the topic under discussion, that is whether the topic has direct impact on the outsider audience or not. As envisaged by the extended Pragma- Dialectic Theory (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002), speakers strategically manoeuvre in argumentation adjusting to audience demand. Thus, these adjustments can be made to accommodate the outside or inside audience depending on the topic under discussion among other things.

In their study of Rhetorical aspects of discourse to the present day, Dam et al (2008) present an overview of the development of rhetoric starting from Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, then to Perelman and Olbrechts- Tyteca (New Rhetoric) to Black and Bitzer (Rhetorical criticism). They observe that in rhetoric argumentation has to be regarded in relation to a public and to the specific culture in which it is embedded. In this case, they identified two aspects which are important in rhetorical argumentation, which are audience (public) and culture. They argue that "a physically present audience is not necessarily identical to the imagined public created

by the rhetorical text” (Dam et al (2008: 2). Each text has to be analysed in the context of a particular culture and imagined public in order to aptly interpret and understand the meanings being communicated. They further argue that a distinction has to be made between the universal and the particular audience. In this case the universal audience is understood as the mental image of all competent human beings as they may be created by the rhetorical text and that the particular audience is the public imagined by the text and the one which has to be persuaded. The rhetorical perspective in the study of discourse is incorporated in the extended pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) and van Eemeren (2010). As already argued, a text will be analysed in a specific culture and in relation to a particular audience. However, instead of considering only two types of audience, the universal and the particular, the characterisation given by Ilie (2003a) seems to be more plausible.

The role of audience cannot be under estimated. In the setting like the parliament in which the debates are carried in the public eye, contributors to the debate and speeches are subject to audience adjustments (Van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002). Ilie (2006) observes that

...MPs who are taking the floor to address the House, as well as those MPs who are being directly addressed and act as interlocutors, can be regarded as active participants (pp 193).

This argument presents the different sets of participants in the argumentative process; active versus passive. Thus, outsider audience, in this regard, and those Members of Parliament that are not directly involved are the passive participants. They can only watch and observe the debate as it unfolds. Parliamentarians actively involved in the debate will be by default ready to market themselves as well as to defend party ideologies and also ready to foster an adversarial and confrontation with the other Members of Parliament from the opposition or Government. A key aim of the present study is to examine how Zimbabwean parliamentarians in a Government of National Unity (GNU) appraise and manoeuvre in argumentation, noting the ‘distinct’ characteristics of Zimbabwean parliament discourse.

2.3.3 The nature of parliamentary discourse as a spoken genre

The study of parliamentary discourse as a sub- genre of political discourse has reviewed important insights on the characteristics of the genre. Though van Dijk (2000) argues that no exclusive linguistic features in parliamentary discourse are evident, studies by Bayley (2004)

and Ilie (2009a), among others, have shown otherwise. Quite a number of features can be identified that make parliamentary discourse stand alone. The question is on whether these features are really 'distinctive'. Thus, focus in this section is on exploring some of the features that have been identified in literature that make parliamentary discourse a sub- genre of political discourse. However, as earlier on pointed out, the question of whether exclusive features of parliamentary discourse are evident falls outside the scope of this study.

As has been alluded to in section 2.3.1, turn- taking is one typical aspect of parliamentary discourse that has been discussed in researches. Though the parliament is indeed a site for the struggle over meanings, contributions during proceedings have to be sanctioned by the Speaker (Deputy) or President (Deputy). Ilie (2006: 194) points out that the speaker (deputy) "is in charge of monitoring speaker selection and turn assignment, so that MPs take it in turns to speak and present their standpoints in an orderly manner." This argument alludes to the fact that participation in the House is not haphazard, but rule- regulated and conventionally guided. In the event that the member wants to contribute to the debate, they have to try to catch the speaker's eye to be accorded the chance to air their own views. However, as Ilie (2003a) observes, though parliamentary interaction can be regarded as rule- regulated and convention based dialogue, in heated debates there will be rather spontaneity and unexpected interventions. When such interjections occur, van Dijk (2010) argues that the Speaker (Deputy) or President (Deputy) intervene calling for order. He argues that 'Order!' is not only found in the courts but also in the parliament. However, the interjections sometimes make the MP reposition and re-evaluate their statements. The contributing MP or Senator will in some cases respond to these interjections. Argumentatively they are meant to destruct one from advancing a particular argument, indicating that the raised argument is either invalid or not well supported. Interjections aid to the resolution of the problem as they make both parties re-evaluate their standpoints and also clearly show dis/agreement with a particular standpoint. Thus, interjections in argumentation can be used to express a different point of view with the speaker hence disalignment or agreement along party lines. The present study examines how Zimbabwean parliamentarians manipulate interjections to strategically position themselves and manoeuvre in argumentation.

The other characteristic feature of parliamentary discourse relates to the use of address forms. According to Bayley (2004) different ways are evident in which MPs and Senators, alike, are addressed emanating from the multiple roles and relationships they assume as parliamentarians. As discussed under section 2.3.1, institutional rules constrain the terms or

forms of address that are supposed to be used in parliament. Ilie (2003a) argues that Members of Parliament (and Senators) are “normally not addressed by their actual names but by the names of their constituency” such as Member of Parliament for Sanyati in the Zimbabwean context or they are also addressed by their official position. Another notable feature in parliamentary discourse is that Members of Parliament and Senators do not directly address each other. In this regard, Ilie (2006) contends that the use of the third person singular through the intermediary of the Speaker (Deputy) or Senator (Deputy) is evident. Ilie (2009a) observes that it is only the Speaker (Deputy) in the House of Assemblies or the President (Deputy) in the Senate that is addressed in the second person. The argument is that among other forms of address used in parliament, the use of the parliamentarian’s constituency, the third person and second person are evident. However, Ilie (ibid) further argues that with the French and Italian parliaments, parliamentarians are normally referred to in the second person pronoun. The use of such an address form reflects some cultural- based differences in which in one language the 2nd person plural is used as a honorific form. The Zimbabwean parliament takes after the British in which the members address in each other in the 3rd person. In the analysis of the debates and speeches in the Zimbabwean parliament, the research will examine how the Zimbabwean culture impacts on the address forms as the Zimbabwean languages, Shona for instance, has the use of the honorific 2nd person plural prefix form *va-*.

The ritualised form of address used in most parliaments, including the Zimbabwean parliament, is ‘The Honourable MP/ Senator/Gentleman/Lady, The Right Honourable Gentleman/ Lady’. According to Ilie (2010b: 885) all these multiple forms of address are not random or incidental, rather they are

“ instantiated in context- dependent, addressee- targeted and audience- oriented choice of forms of address, which have not only deictic, but also relational, interpersonal and strategic functions.”

Thus, Ilie is arguing that forms of address are strategically used in speeches and debates even in rule- regulated contexts like the parliament. This view suggests that parliamentarians make use of address forms to manoeuvre aligning and disaligning with certain ideologies and positions. Thus, within this convention- based and rule- regulated setting, parliamentarians employ address forms as discursive tools to assert their standpoints in the resolution process. Ilie (2010b) observes that instead of breaking these conventions and rules, they bend or abuse them. This bending of conventions and rules presents an important perspective in the analysis

of debates and speeches from an argumentation and appraisal point of view. One would want to understand the discursive role that forms of address play in resolving a difference of opinion as well as dis/associating interlocutors in this communicative event.

Apart from the two ritualised forms of interaction, address forms and turn-taking procedures, Archakis and Tsakona (2010) observes that politeness norms that are supposed to be observed in parliamentary settings are evident. In as much as parliamentarians would want to achieve a number of “institutionally specific goals such as negotiating, persuading and position-claiming both along and across ideological and party lines” (Ilie 2001), they also want to promote their own image. However, in engaging in these rational and emotional discursive undertakings, they are called upon to desist from unparliamentary language. Unparliamentary is a term that has been used to refer to forms of language use that are not in accordance with the rules and conventions of parliament. According to Ilie (2001: 239) parliamentarians are “expected to observe general principles of selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness and leadership and avoid conflict between personal and public interest.” Members of Parliament and Senators alike, though privileged with the freedom of speech, they are supposed to desist from the use of unparliamentary language. The use of insults or abusive language is not allowed in parliament. Ilie (2001: 240) further argues that in cases in which the member has used unparliamentary language, “The Speaker may ask any member who uses unparliamentary words or sentences to withdraw them.” This argument suggests that Members of Parliament and Senators are required by the code of conduct to be polite when advancing their stand points. They are supposed to find ways of expressing their views without offending or insulting the other. For instance, instead of calling a member liar, one has to say s/he is being ‘economical with the truth’. However, unparliamentary language has been used as a confrontation strategy in debates. In rhetorically persuading the other, parliamentarians have used unparliamentary language to negotiate disagreements. As Ilie (2001) observes,

Most MPs have become experts in choosing rhetorical strategies which may be highly offensive but in a surreptitious and therefore, less conspicuous way (pp241).

The varied linguistic ways presence Members of Parliament and Senators with an opportunity to communicate their messages in this rule-regulated setting. Coming from disputed elections, bound by the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and in a brokered unity

government (GNU), the Zimbabwean parliamentarians are by no means emotionally charged but called upon to desist from hate speech or unparliamentary language.

Among other rhetorical strategies that are employed by participants in election political debates, Adams (2008) observes that candidates' reference to their families is a rhetorical strategy. She argues that candidates' reference to their families as a rhetorical strategy is used to "create ideological and oppositional identities for the audience and the debate participants" (pp 10) and that family members are used to create ethos for candidates. In other words, she explores identity as something that is available for use, something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity and not something they 'are'. She contends that this approach to identity allows us to understand the situations, reasons and ways in which reference to families in debates is used. This view is based on the perspective that debates are part of a discourse of contest where a candidate or speaker can win in many ways. In this case, a winning identity is argued to be the one that is constructed based on ethos, facts, reasons, values and emotion. Adams (2008) examines political debates from a rhetorical perspective focusing at only one rhetorical strategy employed in debates. The present study examines parliamentary debates from an extended pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation and an appraisal and evaluation perspective with the focus of exploring various acts of strategic manoeuvring and aspects of appraisal utilised. This study on Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse entails an in-depth and broad examination from a wider perspective and large amounts of data.

Another important argumentative strategy employed in parliamentary discourse is the use of metadiscourse. Ilie (2009b) observes that parliamentarians employ metadiscourse as a strategy to "provide supplementary indications about the intentionality, implications and goals of their own discourse" (pp 61) as well as showing a shift in discourse levels. Observing the purpose of metadiscourse in parliamentary settings, Ilie argues that metadiscourse "highlight the co- occurrence and confrontation of competing ideological and personal representations" (2009b:62). Among other forms of metadiscourse, there are parentheticals. Parentheticals are inserted as comments clarifying and reinforcing the meaning of particular statements in the message that is being communicated. Another aspect that can be observed in the use of parentheticals is a shift from the speaker role to the role of observer and commentator. This shift provides multidimensional perspectives of examining the message that is being communicated. In the context of parliament, parentheticals gives parliamentarians

opportunities to evaluate and assess what they are saying as well as being assessed and evaluated by fellow parliamentarians. As Ilie (2003b: 253) earlier observes,

By means of parentheticals, speakers adjust their ongoing discourse to the situation, to their interlocutors and to their audiences, as well as to their own end- goals.

Thus, as already been discussed on metadiscourse in general, parentheticals are discursive strategies employed in argumentation to clarify and emphasise certain standpoints or claims. They indicate one's political allegiance as they signal the underlying implication of one's statements or arguments. In this regard, Ilie (2009b) observes that parentheticals can also be used as a strategy to attack one's political adversaries targeting their shortcomings. In the context of Zimbabwean parliamentary debates, through parentheticals, parliamentarians' allegiances will be observed and the extent to which it is used as a manoeuvring strategy will also be examined.

Ilie (2009b) also observes that parentheticals operate rhetorically on several levels of discourse marking either a rhetorical shift from topic to another, or an extension/ narrowing down of focus/ scope of a topic. In as much as Ilie (2009b) has argued for a rhetorical shift as a result of the use of parentheticals, I would want to argue that once a rhetorical shift is evident there should be a dialectical shift as well. Thus, this shift is another dimensional approach to be taken in the analysis of Zimbabwean parliamentary debates exploring how this works as a discursive strategy towards resolving the difference of opinion. However, Ilie (2003b) mentions that three main considerations have to be taken to account when identifying parentheticals as argumentative strategies. The first consideration pertains primarily to the field of rhetorical *logos*. As parentheticals make disruptions in the normal sequence of words in which they occur, they draw attention to a specific aspect of its topic and/ or subverting other aspect(s) or implications of the same topic.

The second aspect relates to the field of rhetorical *ethos*. According to Ilie (2009b: 66) this recurrent phenomenon in institutional discourse relates to the "level shifts between a speaker's varying voices, such as voices corresponding to his/ her private and/ or different institutional roles/ positions." In Appraisal theoretical terms, parentheticals mark shifts between an external/ authorial voice and an internal voice. It serves to mark or show the speaker/ author's involvement or engagement in a text. The last feature regards primarily to

the field of rhetorical pathos. In this case Ilie (2009b: 66) argues that “parentheticals signal shifts in focus between co- existing levels of interpersonal interaction with multiple audience.” This argument implies that a shift from an interlocutor- focused discourse to an audience focused discourse is evident. This view can be equated to the second aspect under the notion of strategic manoeuvring, the aspect of audience- directed adjustments. Thus, parentheticals can be identified and analysed to show how they have been used strategically for one to manoeuvre in argumentation. Quite a number of argumentative uses of parentheticals fall under the three broad categories of rational appeals, ethical appeals and emotional appeals which, however, will not be further explored in this review. As already argued above that the approach to parentheticals is rhetorically biased, the same analysis can be examined dialectically. Thus, employing the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation in the analysis of parliamentary debates shifts in the levels of discourse and metadiscourse can be clearly accounted for. A review of the extended pragma- dialectical theory of argumentation as one of the theories to be employed in this study is given in Chapter Three.

The other aspect that has widely been considered as a basic human strategy of dealing with the environment is the metaphor. Metaphors have been widely researched and studied from many perspectives, from the traditional view where metaphors were only seen as ‘poetic’ and rhetoric or stylistic forms of language to the cognitive approach where metaphors are viewed as “a mapping of the structure of a source model to target models” (Mberi 2003: 77). Archakis and Tsakona (2009b: 365) argues that traditionally metaphors in political oratory have been viewed as a “figure of speech used to attract the attention of the audience (and the media) and to make a speech memorable.” In the cognitive approach, metaphors are central in the production of linguistic meanings and so pervasive in language in general. Mawadza (2000) contends that from a pragmatic and sociolinguistic perspective, metaphors have been argued as being able to construct and define the social world through implementing certain interpretations and excluding others. On the other hand, Santibáñez (2009) observes that the standard rhetorical approach to the term ‘metaphor’ only describes and reduces the trope to “changing a word from its meaning to one not properly applicable but analogous to it” (p. 974). It is from this perspective that Aristotle has argued that one can best get hold of something fresh from metaphor. This study explores metaphors from an argumentative perspective examining the argumentativeness of metaphors in parliamentary discourse and in newspaper articles.

In analysing various metaphors used by women writers to communicate HIV/AIDS and sex related messages, Kangira, Mashiri and Gambahaya (2010) argue that if metaphors are contextually used they enhance communication and show the relationship that occurs between language use and culture. They contend that “cultural norms and conventions render some words taboo, thereby making it imperative for the language user to use metaphors” (2010:1). In this case metaphors are being viewed as vehicles of indirectness. Words and phrases that are considered disrespectful, offensive or taboo by a cultural group are replaced or substituted with metaphors to indirectly communicate the message. Once the speaker/ writer have used a metaphor, Pongweni (1989: 30) argues that the listener/ reader have “to consciously do something to discover its meaning.” In the same vein, Mawadza (2000: 97) also argues that metaphors have “the potential to push the boundaries of human thought and experience” providing a (re)conceptualisation of information that is already available. However, all these studies on metaphors were merely focusing on metaphors as utilised in everyday life or non political discourse. Few studies that have explored metaphors as there are used in political contexts and in parliamentary discourse in particular are evident. In this study metaphors are explored from an argumentative and appraisal perspective.

Tsakona and Archakis (2009) explore a metaphor as “a form of political cross- discourse creating a more conversationalised style”¹⁴. They observe how a metaphor can be dialogic, making it easier for the speaker to communicate certain messages and the hearer able to conceptualise and respond accordingly. Thus, they argue that a political metaphor is

...essential to persuasiveness, since it offers new and/ or simpler conceptualisations for complex or problematic notions and activates positive or negative connotations aroused by the words used in it, ... provoking affective responses and contributing to bonding between the speaker and the audience (Tsakona and Archakis 2009: 919).

In this regard, a political metaphor can be argued to be creating a common ground under which both the speaker and hearer conceptualise ideas and create evaluative frameworks- arousing “unconscious emotional associations governing our systems of evaluation” (Archakis and Tsakona 2009: 365). Both the speaker and hearer, utilising the new and simpler

¹⁴ A review of various literatures on the representation of parliamentary discourse in newspapers will be extensively done in section 2.5 below. Political cross- discourse has been considered one of the typical characteristics of parliamentary discourse. It involves the strategic use of certain conversational resources and particular themes and topics that comes from the local social networks (Archakis and Tsakona 2010).

or easy-to grasp conceptualisation of the political field provided by the political metaphor, assesses and evaluates the other parties. Political metaphors are not accidental, they are strategic. Tsakona (2009) argues that as an argumentative strategy in parliamentary settings, the political metaphor can be used as a form of criticism and identity construction by parliamentarians. Thus, metaphors can also be used to reinforce solidarity amongst parliamentarians along party and ideological lines as well as create political myths.

In a more related study, Santibáñez (2009) conducted a study on metaphors and argumentation focusing on the uses of conceptual metaphors from an argumentative perspective. He argues that "...the phenomenon of metaphor has not received sufficient attention" especially in parliamentary settings (Santibáñez 2009: 974). In the same vein, he purports that in contemporary argumentation theory the notion of metaphor has been examined from analogy argumentation. In examining analogy argumentation, van Eemeren et al (2007) claim that "characteristics of analogy argumentation is that in this type of argumentation someone tries to convince someone else by showing that something is similar to something else" (p. 138). What can be deduced from this argument from analogy is similarity- argument by similarity. Van Eemeren et al (2007) identified three sub- types of argumentation from analogy: figurative comparison, rule of justice, and principle of reciprocity. In this regard van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002: 99) presented a formal scheme of analogy argumentation as shown below.

Y is true of X
Because Y is true of Z
And Z is comparable to X

However, Santibáñez (2009) argues that analogy argumentation is different from arguing from metaphor. Similarity is quite secondary in metaphor analysis. Instead of examining a metaphor as a similarity, he argues for correlations- as "conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experiences" (Santibáñez 2009: 977). Thus, he further argues that in political discourse the use of a conceptual metaphor defines the way in which a politician or political party conceives of or conceptualises the issue at hand. This view is a valid argument which can be considered in the analysis of metaphors in parliamentary debates in order to examine how parliamentarians and their respective parties conceptualises the aspects that are being discussed.

In another study on the use of metaphors in political debates, Plug and Snoeck Henkemans (2008) argue that metaphors are a regular phenomenon in political debates. They argue that metaphors contribute to persuasiveness of an argument in that they “make it possible to comprehend one kind of thing in terms of another and thereby enable a speaker to highlight or hide specific aspects of a concept” (Plug and Snoeck Henkemans 2008: 102). In other words, metaphors simplify aspects as well as complicate some. According to Plug and Snoeck Henkemans (2008), though advantages of using metaphors are evident, risks occur as well. They argue that as an indirect way of communication, they ‘may at times give rise to problems of comprehensibility’ hence considered unacceptable or inappropriate by an opponent. In other words, a general understanding is evidenced that metaphors should be appropriate, comprehensible and clear for them to be persuasive. However, as Plug and Snoeck Henkemans (2008) further argue, even if a metaphor is comprehensible to the audience, it does not follow that it will also be acceptable to that audience. In that regard, they identified three requirements in the use of metaphors, of which politicians are aware of. The requirements are:

1. The image should, in all relevant aspects, be in agreement with the matter it is supposed to express.
2. The metaphor should be appropriate, not too commonplace, tasteless or too insensitive, should not be too obvious and should not depend too heavily on world play.
3. When using metaphors, one has to have a sense of moderation: a metaphor should not be repeated too often in the course of one debate, and within one passage different metaphors should never be mixed.

From the three requirements, they concluded that metaphors must be used moderately and that it is more prudent to evoke just one forceful image than ‘mixing’ two or more metaphors as it distracts the listener’s attention and evoke unintended associations. This study by Plug and Snoeck Henkemans (2008) and the researcher’s focus on various acts of strategic manoeuvring in parliamentary debates will definitely complement each other. Though Plug and Snoeck Henkemans (ibid) were merely focusing on only one aspect of strategic manoeuvring, insights given by their study on the expectations and the way metaphors are supposed to be used and interpreted should be acknowledged. However, the researcher’s area of investigation is a bit broader and employs a multi- perspective approach to the study of debates and speeches.

In a study of phraseological units in parliamentary discourse Elspaß (2002) concentrated on the role of phraseology in the language of politics based on data from historical post-war parliamentary debates in the West Germany Bundestag. Of interest in his study is the modification of phraseological units in speeches and their stylistic potential. He also observes that non-intentional deviant use of phraseological units can lead to stylistic and rhetoric blunders so that deviance itself can be thought of as the apparent lack of phraseological competence. In other words, the use of phraseological units is one of the characteristics of parliamentary discourse though one would also want to understand the strategic nature of these phraseological units. In his study, Elspaß draws on transcriptions of speeches and official transcriptions published in the stereographic reports in order to make a reconstruction of edited speeches from their spoken originals. He had to select the debates considering the topic that was being deliberated on and considering the number of speakers or contributors which allows for more representative picture of the language used by politicians. Apart from the number of speakers, he argues that one has to consider the speakers' ranks or positions and the nature of debates that is, whether they are emotional, of national interest or attract large public audience. These aspects are crucial in the analysis of parliamentary discourse as parliamentarians want to display their best rhetoric and evaluation in such contexts which is interesting from a linguistic perspective. This research differs from Elspaß (2002)'s study in terms of theory, objectives and the case study. However, his insights on parliamentary discourse are important. His insights in the selection of debates and speeches and the strategic use of phraseological units will be considered in the analysis of the Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles.

2.4 Parliamentary discourse as written genres

The previous sections were devoted to reviewing literature on parliamentary discourse as a spoken genre. The major focus was on literature revealing the characteristic nature of parliamentary discourse and situating it within wider discourse. In this section, focus is on the reporting of parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles. This view is based on the perspective that the arena for political debate has shifted in the last fifty years from parliament to the mass media which have arguably become the principal organ for the communication of political ideas (Bayley 2004). However, as already pointed out in Chapter One, this study is a linguistic investigation of the media discourse or news representation in newspaper articles to be specific. Focus is on the exploring of the linguistic devices employed by journalist when reporting parliamentary debates and speeches. Thus, in as much as they might be quite a number of researches on media discourse in general and newspaper articles in particular, this

section will be devoted more to literature on media discourse or newspaper articles with a linguistic perspective.

A recent increase in the study of the representation of parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles is evidenced in research. The studies employ a number of diverse approaches and theories that ranges from critical discourse analysis, systematic functional linguistics, constructionist paradigm, appraisal theory to text- linguistic approach. The present study, as already alluded to in the previous chapter and sections, takes an appraisal and evaluation approach to the analysis of the representation of parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles which is a new framework for the linguistic analysis of evaluative texts by which readers are positioned to favour or disfavour a particular attitudinal stance. Simon- Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007: 31) identified three groups of research lines in media political language:

1. One that examines the ways in which language reflects explicit or implicit ideologies- CDA approaches
2. Those that focus on the mechanisms of interaction and ways in which participants engage in talk- Conversational analysis approach
3. And those that focus on the linguistic means, lexical and grammatical aspects of persuasion- Functional approaches to discourse.

From the three groups of research lines, the appraisal theory, the theory that is employed in the present study for the analysis of the representation of parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles, falls under the third group; a group of approaches that focus on the analysis of the linguistic choices in discourse. Simon- Vandenberg, White and Aijmer (2007) further argue that Martin and White (2005)'s engagement system is an all encompassing approach accommodating a heterogeneous group of evidentials, hedges, concessions and negations. Though they only commented on only one of the appraisal resources, the engagement system, the theory itself is very much appropriate for a study like the present study.

As White (2006) correctly observes, the appraisal framework is the apt mechanism to analyse typical hard news reporting. Thus, in as much as they are so many researches that have been done on the representation of parliamentary discourse, these researches have been employing totally different theories and focusing on European parliaments or newspapers. For example, Archakis and Tsakona (2009) did a research on Greek parliamentary proceedings exploring

how and why the debates are transformed into newspaper articles with a narrative-like format. Apart from the fact that the present study investigates the Zimbabwean parliamentary proceedings and the representation of the debates and speeches in newspaper articles, Archakis and Tsakona employed the critical discourse analysis and social constructionist paradigm-theories and approaches that are totally different from the one being taken in this study. However, a study by White (2006), Martin and White (2005) and Bednarek (2006, 2008b, 2009) are set to immensely benefit this research as they have adopted more or less the same approach and theory in the analysis of news reporting. However, in this section, focus is on exploring the way in which journalists report news and the general nature of newspaper discourse.

2.4.1 Journalistic reporting and worldview

The role of the media and journalists in society cannot be underestimated. Archakis and Tsakona (2009: 360) argue that “our knowledge about the world is, to a considerable extent, mediated and shaped through media discourse” and that “...journalists and media people in general are the ones who decide on the significance of the reported events.” This argument seems to point to the fact that journalists, in their reporting of news events, choose what they want the readers or audience to get. This view is in support of the well held perspective that newspapers are not value-free representation of reality but ideological constructs (Archakis and Tsakona 2010, 2009, Bell 1991, White 2006). In this case, events are chosen and reported on the basis of a certain ideological perspective.

Catenaccio et al (2011) focus on the linguistics of news production. Instead of exploring the ‘products’, they focus at the process of news production. They argue that linguistic analysis has been limited to close analysis of what can be referred to as news products. They employed varied methodologies from linguistics and discourse analysis among them critical discourse analysis (CDA), ethnography, textual analysis and social constructionism. They explored news as text in co(n)text viewing it as a series of processes of entextualisation and contextualization. According to Catenaccio et al (2011) news is a term that refers to “a wide range of genres in journalism” (pp 1844) such as features, opinion, columns, letters to the editor etcetera. This broad spectrum of understanding news is problematic as one would want to know the perspective from which it is being defined from (media practitioners, researchers, public relations professionals) and the potential audience. Though news can be linked to quite a number of aspects, focus in the present study is limited to the newspaper, the print media. In the newspaper, focus is only on the reporting of parliamentary proceedings not letters to the

editor or features. They further point out that news is defined through its relation with time and that “news is all about retelling, intertextuality and, by extension, entextualisation” (Catenaccio et al: 1844). As is with the present study, they took context as integral arguing that context should be treated as a key issue in the examination of meaning making. They argue that “The full meaning of a news text will never be fully tapped by deploying the rules of linguistic analysis alone since such texts are the outcome of a series of discourse processes” (Catenaccio et al 2011: 1845). The present study, as a discourse analytic study actually recognises the role of context in meaning making. Instead of examining the actual process of news production, the present study focuses at what Catenaccio et al called ‘products’. Research on the reporting of parliamentary speeches and debates in the print media, especially from the appraisal and evaluation perspective, is something that still requires further analysis.

The role of the media in the representation of language related issues has been cited by a number of scholars as a source for potential mis-understandings and mis-representation. Johnson and Ensslin (2007: 11) argue that “our daily lives are increasingly both characterised and determined by the production and consumption of diversely mediated meanings.” What they are noting in this argument is that the media is both positively and negatively impacting on the industry itself and the audience. Thus, not only contexts of production are affected but also contexts of reception. In order to understand the meanings coming out of the media, Johnson and Ensslin (ibid) points out that an exploration of the role of language in the media in relation to the question of language representation requires a fairly liberal conceptualisation of metalanguage. According to them, metalanguage has to do or encompass three aspects:

1. Consist of language about language. When people comment on language, for example pronunciation
2. Involves a less explicit form of linguistic commentary where there is simply a mention of talk itself, for example, do you understand me in other words?
3. Consists of more general body of shared beliefs and attitudes around language structure and use that obtain within a given speech community.

Though this might be a plausible approach in the analysis of media texts, adopting the meta-zone is insufficient for a critical and systematic analysis of newspaper articles. In analysing mediated meanings, the appraisal and evaluation theory is the best theory and approach as shall be explored in chapter three.

In the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches, Archakis and Tsakona (2010) observe that journalists do not report everything that happens in the parliament and in the order in which the events have happened. Rather, as Archakis and Tsakona (2010: 919) further observe, journalists reconstruct the discourse by “selecting specific extracts, by paraphrasing, by using evaluative framing devices reflecting their political orientation and audience.” This view implies that journalists employ quite a number of evaluative devices when reporting on the deliberations of the parliament, some of which will be discussed below. It is important to also observe that these evaluative devices are used purposefully to serve distinct function in news reporting.

White (2006: 37), investigating news reporting as a mode of rhetoric, argues that news reporting is a “value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience’s assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be.” This perspective is widely demonstrated in literature. However, so much variation in rhetorical functionality of endorsing, perpetuating and making seem natural particular systems of values and beliefs is evident. Thus, according to Archakis and Tsakona (2010), stories are selected on the basis of certain values and beliefs and evaluated differently depending on the ideological construct of that newspaper. Hence, the differences that are reflected by different newspapers reporting on the same event are not merely a result of the different stories that are selected for publication but also the linguistic encoding of each newspaper. In support of this point, Bell (1991) argues that newspaper articles are narratives based on the selection of specific events and on the suppression or omission of certain others. The use of different linguistic devices in the reporting of news events based on the reasons and goals of a particular publication also show why they are different reports of the ‘same events’. Thus, in Labov’s notion of evaluation, Archakis and Tsakona (2009: 363) point out that certain events are ‘tellable’ “when it is breaking the expectations of the audience or violates some widely held norms, values and beliefs.” Expanding on Labovian perspective, Bayley (2004) argues that tellability seems to be a yard- stick or decider. He states that journalists seem to report on what is interesting and important for readers as well as ‘unusual’ and ‘frame breaking’ events taking place during parliamentary sessions such as quarrels, walkouts. The investigation conducted in this present study will give evidence of how the Zimbabwean media or journalists report on parliamentary proceedings, especially considering that they were quarrels and walkouts in the parliament during the period under investigation.

In their reporting of news events, Bell (1991) observes that journalists follow what is called audience design. This audience design is a process by which journalists strategically adapt their linguistic encoding and meanings to the value system and expectations of their assumed audience. Thus, when journalists are reporting news stories they adjust their language and even selection of stories on the basis of the audience or readership they are writing for. Cohen- Almagor (2008), in support of this argument, points out that the language that is chosen is used on its ability to inform the reader. He further argues that journalists, with the pressure they will be getting from their editors, thrive to come up with exciting stories and will also try to sensationalise certain events. However, this pressure will have an effect on the journalists' objective reporting of news, an aspect that is examined in the following section. This view implies that one of the major communicative goals in journalistic reporting is to write for the audience not anything else. In the present case, the focus is on understanding how journalists from various newspapers that have been selected for study select whatever they consider newsworthy for their readers.

Varied ways in which journalists report events to capture the readers' interests are evident. Bednarek (2008b) explores two ways in which news producers report speech events to capture the reader's interest: Firstly by focusing on the speech event itself as one of the stages of a battle. She argues that journalists reconstruct the statements of politicians not simply as part of a dialogue but as being part of an argument. Thus, an argument is viewed or presented as a battle. A battle has so many stages including attack, defence, retreat, counter attack and victory/ defeat. This dramatisation of the stories makes them more exciting, impressive and sensational. Secondly, she points out that news producers report speech events focusing on the reported statements. These statements have a rhetorical effect. The way journalists utilise direct speech in newspaper reporting is discussed below.

Research on how journalist position readers in newspaper discourse has also been carried out from a corpus linguistic perspective. In a corpus- based analysis of Spanish and English newspaper discourse, Elorza (2009/10) identifies dissimilarities in the reporting of the world food summit which was organized by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation. She was focusing on "how different newspapers use different cultural patterns in their representations and construction of real world events as news" (2009/10: 2). In other words it was a comparative study of the Spanish and English newspapers. Using both qualitative and quantitative analysis as well as corpus linguistic methodology and Discourse Analysis, Elorza (2009/10) observes that newsworthiness was higher in El Pais (Spanish newspaper) than in

the Guardian (English newspaper) and that each newspaper aligns with different participants and readership giving a different account and positioning readers differently. She contends that key meanings could be found in relation to a keyword, a key participant or a textual prominent position. She argues that “readers can be positioned into a certain opinion by means of different strategies” (pp 13). These strategies include key evaluation, meaning extension and meaning accumulation. At the end she concludes that the differences that are there in the two papers are as a result of the different agendas they followed and are culturally determined. She concludes that the two newspapers, the El Pais (Spanish) and Guardian (English), had different sources of attribution in order to give credence to the information they are giving.

Elorza (2009/10)’s study is of significance to the present study. However, quite a number of differences can be observed. Apart from the difference in theories being employed, the studies also differ in terms of their objects of study. Elorza conducted a contrastive analysis of newspapers from different cultural patterns noting the cross-cultural reader positioning in these newspapers. The comparative analysis of the representation of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse conducted in the present study is not based on newspapers from different cultural patterns, but on newspapers within the ‘same’ culture and using different languages in their reporting of news. The findings will shed more light on how journalist position and align readers when reporting news. Another significant difference in the two studies is that instead of only focusing at one event, the present study explores a number of debates and speeches. This difference will also stand to give an in depth analysis of how different newspapers report news based on their ideologies and readership.

Archakis and Tsakona (2009) observe that direct speech is used rhetorically to communicate political and ideological orientation of each newspaper. In this case journalists construct events based on these direct speeches coming from parliament or any other source model. They argue that direct speech as one of the categories of speech presentation has degrees of authenticity depending on whether the original discourse is oral or written. They further suggest that it is difficult or impossible to reproduce accurately if the original discourse belongs to the oral mode than when the original text belongs to the written mode. In case of reporting parliamentary proceedings, journalists initially rely on the oral mode as they normally sit in the press room and take down notes though they are later on provided with copies or printed version of the proceedings in the written mode. The question that comes into mind is then how journalists select the particular direct speeches and also conversationalise

these speeches in the press. Conversationalisation has been defined as a way to bridge the gap between the press as an institution reporting ‘formal’ events (for e.g. political ones), and the reader, who are used to everyday informal interaction (Archakis and Tsakona 2009, Fowler 1991, Fairclough 1995). Thus, Archakis and Tsakona (2010) did not explain how journalists appraise and evaluate when reporting parliamentary proceedings in a narrative form format. However, Archakis and Tsakona (2009: 364) observes that direct speeches

“...gives the impression of a natural and authentic word- by- word reproduction of the original words, thus, engaging in rapport and involvement between the teller and the audience, and contributing to the dramatisation of the reported words.”

This observation captures the view that when journalists are reporting news they would want to present something that appeal to the audience as ‘natural’ and ‘authentic’. The belief and general understanding is that readers would want objective reporting of news hence, unbiased. However, though presented as ‘natural’ or authentic, it is still constructed more or less to serve a variety of communicative goals. Once the direct speech is used in the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches, Archakis and Tsakona (2010: 920) propose that it becomes a cohesive link providing an “evaluative and ideologically driven account of political affairs” reinforcing the bonds between politicians and the wider audience. Again, as Archakis and Tsakona (2009) observes, once direct speech is extracted from its original context it loses its initial meaning and interpretation and acquires new ones coming from the new context created by the journalist who is reproducing the ‘original’ utterance. In the present study then, focus is on making explicit the kind of meanings and interpretations coming out of the new context. In other words focus in the present study is to explore the kind of appraisal devices utilised by journalists in creating the new context and in communicating the ideology of a particular newspaper or political party.

Apart from direct speech, Ilie (2006) points out that news reporters use other forms of political cross- discourse when reporting on parliamentary proceedings or in their writing in general. These different forms of political cross- discourse include metaphor, metonymy, polyphonic and dialectal speech and humour narratives. These forms of crossing are usually employed by MPs or politicians in general when they cross the boundaries of their official role, social status and language, by switching to a more informal style and discourse. According to Archakis and Tsakona (2010: 913) this kind of discourse serves to give a more

personalised view of political affairs, avoid political argumentation and to ‘hide’ the unequal distribution of discursive resources along social groups. Thus, in an effort to convince their readership that their accounts are the most ideal or valid and create solidarity bonds, journalists also employ these various forms of political cross- discourse. The present study intends to make explicit how journalists strategically and evaluatively use these crossing forms in their reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches and to explore the nature of appraisal resources journalists use in order to create these solidarity bonds with their readership.

Metaphors, as argued above, are one of the forms of political cross- discourse. They are not only a common strategy found in parliamentary debates and speeches as discussed in section 2.4, but also in its representation in newspaper articles. Exploring conceptual metaphors and event construals in news stories, Bednarek (2008b) argues that conceptual metaphors are particularly important for strategically building up event construals. Taking a text- linguistic approach to the study of metaphors, she explores the question of how metaphors as creative stylistic device in news stories helps to establish these so called event construals in text¹⁵. These construals are brought about by language, for example, she observes that, *to be in the bus* implies that the bus is not in service and *to be on the bus* means that it is in service. She concludes that metaphors are arguably important for establishing construals of newsworthy events in news stories in that they provide a conceptual metaphoric representation of the world. She rather admits that further research in systematic textual analysis of news stories is required. The present study, utilising the appraisal theory, is a systematic textual analysis of how news is reported in newspaper articles. Apart from that, the present study will not only explore conceptual metaphors, but will focus at metaphors in general examining how they are utilised to engage the reader and invoke attitudes in text.

Heywood and Semino (2007: 25), in their corpus- based study of metaphors for verbal communication in the British press, explored the question of how verbal communication in their data was “conventionally constructed metaphorically via source domains that are to do with physical, concrete experiences...” They observed that conceptual metaphors, as with metaphors in general, are exploited to make complex and problematic aspects of communication more accessible and easier to express. This point, as earlier on discussed in the extensive and intensive discussion of the role of metaphors in parliamentary discourse, is

¹⁵ Bednarek (2008b: 6) defines event construals as “the way in which a particular event in the ‘real world’ is construed via textualisation.”

well accepted. However, as Heywood and Semino (2007:25) further discovered in their data, “the authors of news reports tend to favour metaphorical expressions that dramatize and sensationalise the verbal behaviour of participants in news stories.” This seems to suggest that in reporting news, journalists employ metaphors not only to make meanings accessible or easy to grasp, but also to make news ‘attractive’ to its readers. An overall evaluation of the studies on metaphors indicates that they do not simply investigate metaphor as a general linguistic and cognitive tool but explore the possible reasons and implications of the choice of particular metaphors within particular forms of communication at particular historical and political junctures. Some of the studies, for instance Heywood and Semino (2007), were examining the main metaphorical patterns in their data and reflecting on these patterns to the ways in which communication is conventionally constructed in the press. The varied ways in which communication is constructed in the press include; communication as transferring objects, communication as constructing objects, communication as object manipulation, communication as enabling vision, and communication as movement among others. According to Heywood and Semino (*ibid*), communication as transferring objects is a process of speaking or writing which is presented as involving the insertion of thoughts or feelings into words. For example, Try to get your thoughts across better. Yet on the other hand, communication as enabling vision is based on the general conceptual metaphor: knowing is seeing, for example, Can you see the point I am trying to make? These varied ways of communication definitely gives an idea in terms of how journalists convey meanings to the public or their audience. This approach is a general or descriptive analysis of how communication is constructed. However, in the present study communication is examined from a theoretical perspective, that is, in terms of the appraisal and evaluation resources.

The other important aspect in journalistic reporting of news is the way in which attitudes are inscribed or invoked in texts as well as how journalists engage with their readership. The general explanation and illustration on these aspects has been done during a review of the appraisal theory in Chapter three, the following chapter. Thus, in this section a review of literature on the use of these appraisal notions in journalistic reporting of news is done to show some of the researches that have been done as well as the gap that is still present in this area. However, to avoid repetition of the theory and literature that had already been reviewed, this discussion will be very brief. In his study on evaluative semantics and ideological positioning in journalistic discourse, White (2006) examines attitudinal inscription (inscribed) versus attitudinal tokens (invoked/ evoked). He argues that overt inscribing of authorial attitudinal viewpoint is a common feature of journalistic commentary which is totally the

opposite of attitudinally constrained news reporting. Thus, he further points out that if overt inscription is to be used it will be confined to material attributed to external voices or sources. This is an important observation pertaining attitudinal inscription and attitudinal tokens in news reporting. However, one would want to find out whether this scenario is the same with journalists from different newspapers reporting on the ‘same’ stories, whether it is both cross-linguistic and cross-cultural and whether journalists strive for objective reporting of news.

2.4.1.1 Objectivity and news reporting.

This section is devoted to the notion of objectivity in news reporting. As is the case with the study of news reporting in general, quite a number of approaches can be used in the study of objectivity in news reporting. The approach that is taken in this study is in line with the theory that has been selected, the appraisal theory as developed by Martin and White (2005), and White (2006). The theory alludes to ‘journalistic voice’ as it is inscribed or evoked in the text. Thompson et al (2008: 220) observes that the notion of ‘journalistic voice’ is an approach that views “news media texts according to the use they make of certain key evaluative meanings... the various ways in which positive or negative assessments are conveyed or activated.” Thus, the insights of the appraisal theory which are important for the understanding and analysis of journalistic discourse (objectivity) from this perspective will be outlined in the following chapter. In this section focus is on the review of previous research on what is objectivity, what constitute objectivity, what kind of factors that affect objective writing and the general evaluative meanings activated in news media texts. However, this section will be brief as the notion of objective in news reporting is not one of the major goals of this study.

The study of objectivity in news reporting or journalism is arguably as old as the field itself. Cohen- Almagor (2008) points out that it has been linked with the American Penny Press in the 1830s. They further argue that the Penny Press had been claimed to be giving dependable and authentic journalism, not tainted by political, economic and social values as the daily papers used to do. In this case White (2000) argues that objectivity has been explored as ethical reporting, professional writing, authentic reporting, balanced reporting and so on. As a result, it has been observed to involve several dimensions; accuracy, truthfulness, fairness and balance, and moral neutrality. The notion that seems to recur in the way news is reported, from these dimensions, is the idea that ideal texts are ‘neutral’ in reporting ‘just the facts’. Thus, in objectivity one can and should separate facts from values, though it is quite problematic to distinguish the two. Giving a general definition of objectivity, Cohen-Almagor (2008:140) states that objectivity

...is concerned with the way news is created and reported in the selection of facts, their arrangement, their framing and formation on public agenda with or without relationship to values.

This definition alludes to the fact that the various dimensions of objectivity can be compromised or are difficult to realise. For instance, the notion of accuracy is compromised from the instance journalists start to select and interpret texts. Apart from that, Archakis and Tsakona (2010: 919) observes that “Journalists do not strive for accuracy; instead they aim at creating a reader- friendly and reader- attractive account of the specific debate.” This perspective implies that in the reconstruction of the debates and speeches, journalists do not focus on accuracy, but on communicating certain ideologies and reinforcing the solidarity bond with their readers. Hence, the language that is chosen is used on its ability to inform the readers and give them a particular worldview. In the process attitudinal evaluations may be more or less explicitly articulated. Thus, the journalistic voice may either be inscribed or evoked in the text. Exploring objectivity and hard news reporting, Thompson et al (2008) observed that the two, inscribed and evoked evaluation, are a feature in English language broadsheet news reporting. However, they openly state that their study was only giving some preliminary insights into the similarities and differences in the reporting of hard news across cultures. This argument is evidence that more is still to be done in the comparison of news reporting across languages and cultures. It is one of the major objectives in this study to make comparison of news reporting discourse in the English language medium newspapers and the Shona medium language newspaper. This examination will shed more information on cross-linguistic comparisons of journalistic discourse in Zimbabwe.

The use of emotive language or humanistic rhetoric in news reporting is one of the aspects that have been argued to be a hindrance to objectivity. Chari (2010) points out that in humanistic rhetoric the journalist employs too much of detailed information about a victim to the point that one will get to know about the victim’s mundane details. He, thus, observes that as a result of this approach or way of writing “these victims are then ‘humanised’ and their victimisation will receive detail and context that will generate sympathetic emotion” (Chari 2010: 138). This whole process will positively evaluate the victims and invite readers of such a paper to align with the victims and the paper’s ideology. Though this view is a good observation by Chari (2010), his study has a media perspective and was examining media reporting of the land issue in Zimbabwe. His study is also lacking in theory, it is just a

descriptive or explanatory study without a linguistic theoretical basis. A systematic textual analysis, a linguistic analysis, of journalistic language reporting on parliamentary debates and speeches is needed. Thus, the appraisal and evaluation of journalistic language in the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches will make explicit how journalists present this humanistic rhetoric. A systematic linguistic analysis can provide an in depth exploration of this humanistic rhetoric in news reporting in Zimbabwean newspapers. Emotive language falls under the affectual resource in the appraisal theory, one of the systematic theories to be utilised in the exploration of news representation in the present study. A review of the appraisal theory and the affectual resource is conducted in chapter three.

In a cross- cultural perspective on media communication, Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) explored political discourse in the media, particularly examining culture specific discourse practices of journalists and politicians as well as the ways in which the international media addresses the communicative needs of a culturally heterogeneous audience. Though their study is concerned with electronic media, the television, they were working within the framework of discourse analysis. They point out that the relationship that is evident between politics and the media negatively impacts on media reporting of politics, that is, instead of being partial, neutral and non- partisan, the media role in the society is subverted. According to Lauerbach and Fetzer (*ibid*), the relationship has been described as an ‘existential exchange system’ or ‘happy symbioses which generally refers to how information (on the part of politics) is later publicised (on the part of the media). In other words, a strong bond that has been created between politics and the media which, however, is negatively impacting on the objectivity of the later is evident. As Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007) further observes, criticism on the way news is reported in media, that is instead of being free, objective and inform the public on political decisions and issues it has fallen into rigid routine due to time constraints, production pressures, and commercial pressure is also evident. As already discussed above, audience rating and a number of copies sold has made journalists give in to a tendency of making political discourse more entertaining by trivialising, personalising, dramatising and conversationalising. The present study explores how journalists report on parliamentarians’ discourse as politicians within the institutional context of the parliament. The other aspect that is examined is how the different newspapers position and re-position the audience in relation to different political parties. These points show that Lauerbach and Fetzer (2007)’s research shed light on the researcher’s understanding of the understood relation that is evident between politics, media and the public sphere. However, even though the researcher is working within the discourse analytic framework, milestones of differences are evident. The present study is

on the print media, the newspaper articles. Instead of generally exploring political discourse in the media, this study is on how journalists report parliamentary speeches and debates. Apart from all that, the present study is conducted from an appraisal and evaluation theoretical perspective, a textual approach to news reports.

2.4.1.2 Intertextuality in the media

The previous sections on parliamentary discourse as a written genre have been much devoted to how the reporting of journalists impact on the reader's worldview and understanding aspects of moral neutrality, fairness and balance, truthfulness, accuracy in news reporting. This section reviews another dimension in the understanding of how news is reported and consumed. Focus is on briefly defining and discussing various approaches and perspectives in the study of intertextuality.

Intertextuality is argued to be 'a fuzzy yet powerful term' (Meinhof and Smith 2000: 1) and also "one of the most commonly used and misused terms in contemporary critical vocabulary" (Graham 2000: 2). However, general consensus is evident amongst scholars that it has to do with the 'relation each text has to other texts surrounding it' (Bazerman 2004: 83) or "connections between a text and other previous or synchronic texts across time and space" (Hiramoto 2010). These studies on intertextuality also point to the fact that it is a concept that has been coined and popularised by Kristeva on the basis of Bakhtin's work (Kristeva 1986, Bazerman 2004). Kristeva's understanding of intertextuality relates to the connections that a text has to other texts in terms of various semiotic codes, genres and the way in which meaning relations are combined and transformed. This dimension, in Kristeva's perspective, is based on two axes: a horizontal axis and a verbal axis. A horizontal axis links the creator or author and the audience or reader of a text. A verbal axis is used to connect texts to other texts (Hiramoto and Park 2010). Thus, the perspective that is being advanced by the two axes is generally the same with Bakhtin's notion of dialogism where texts are seen as constituted out of, and understood in relation to other texts in the same social context. This perspective made Hiramoto and Park (2010) to conclude that intertextuality is a semiotic concept. However, they agree that so many approaches, perspectives and contexts to the notion of intertextuality can be observed.

Scholars interested in the study of intertextuality can be grouped on the basis of their perspectives and purposes. Roughly two groups in the study of intertextuality can be observed. One group has a literary semiotic perspective to the study of texts, with Kristeva

(1986) as a key figure. Their concern is on exploring the way in which characters are created in the complex and heterogeneous literary works. As shown by Hiramoto's (2010) study, this perspective is now not only limited to literary works but has been extended to the media. Hiramoto and Park (2010) argue that the notion of intertextuality is apt tool for the understanding of complex issues of identity in the media. However, the other group takes a linguistic perspective. Scholars in this perspective include Bazerman (2004), Fairclough (1992, 1995), White (2005a, 2005b, 2007), Martin and White (2005) among others. Concern in this perspective is not only examining the relationship, explicit or implicit, of a text to prior, contemporary and potential future texts but also how a writer or speaker uses them to make their own statements (Bazerman 2004). This study as a discourse- analytic study falls in this category.

Notable approaches to the analysis of intertextuality are also evident. Fairclough (1995)'s three- dimensional framework for analysing intertextuality in the media is one of the outstanding approaches. He considers the notion of 'discourse representation' as a form of intertextuality, where a generic analysis of discourse types is conducted. The concepts discourse, discourse type, genre have been reviewed above in section 2.2. The notion of discourse representation is related to the two levels of intertextuality he had identified earlier, manifest and constitutive intertextuality (Fairclough 1992). He argues that manifest intertextuality relates to the way in which certain voices from particular texts are recognised in another text through the use of words or phrases in another text. On the other hand constitutive intertextuality focuses on the broader aspects like style, genre, and ideological positioning of others' discourse. Fairclough's perspective has a social and critical discourse analysis bias as he is mainly interested in revealing intertextual relations as power relations.

Exploring another perspective Bazerman (2004) identifies six levels of intertextuality and six techniques of intertextual representation. The levels of intertextuality are:

1. Drawing on other texts as sources of meaning to be used at face value. This process is done through the use of phrases or statements from other texts as authoritative.
2. Might draw explicit social dramas of prior texts engaged in discussion. This aspect relates to the notion of conversationalisation in discourse were texts, parties, voices dialogue in a text.
3. Use of other statements as background, support, and contrast. This is done through the use of quotations, reference to sources and giving certain figures.

4. Rely on beliefs, issues, ideas, statements generally circulated and taken as given or familiar to readers.
5. Use of implicitly recognisable kinds of language phrasing and genres. This relates to the incorporation of certain phrases which belong to certain worlds, texts, discourses.
6. Use of available resources of language. This relates to the use of 'language of the time' in a text.

These levels can be identified when invoking certain techniques of intertextual representation. According to Bazerman (2004) these techniques are direct quotation, indirect quotation, mentioning of a person, document or statements, comment or evaluation on a statement, text or otherwise invoked voice, use of recognisable phrasing, terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents and using language and forms that seem to echo certain ways of communicating, discussions among other people and types of documents. The outline can be utilised as a framework for the exploration of intertextuality in news representation.

The other perspective that has been recently popularised in the study of intertextuality is through engagement (White 2002, Martin and Rose 2003). Intertextuality is understood in relation to how a text is related to previous, current and future texts in the communicative context. Engagement is one of the appraisal theoretical resources which has been utilised in this study. A review of the theory and the engagement sub- system is done in chapter three. The notion of intertextuality, in this study, is understood and utilised within the perspective and context of the appraisal theory. Studies on intertextuality have been generally concentrated on literary works and the media, this study do not only explore intertextuality in the representation of parliamentary discourse in the media but also at intertextuality in parliamentary debates and speeches.

2.5 Theoretical approaches to the study of political discourse

The study of political discourse has been carried out from a number of theoretical frameworks among them systematic functional linguistics (SFL), critical discourse analysis (CDA), pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation and appraisal theory. This section is devoted more to a brief review of CDA theory and justify why this study is not using it for the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. A review of SFL, appraisal theory and the argumentation theory is done in Chapter three.

McCarthy et al. (2002) observe that the three theories, SFL, CDA and Appraisal, form a family of interrelated theoretical frameworks. Not only are they all socially oriented but CDA and Appraisal are a ‘development’ of the former. They, however, crucially focus on different areas of analysis. SFL seeks to explain the nature and organization of language according to what it has to do. An example is analyzing how utterances such as “Excuse me, do you know the way...” which serve the purpose of enquiring for directions. SFL also has the distinctive feature of being concerned with the accounting for the internal organisation of language in terms of the functions that it has to serve. Thus, as Martin and Rose (2003) observes, it analyses the relationship between language and social context and actual use of language. It achieves this function through the simultaneous operation of three modes on utterances. These modes are textual (which specifies the medium used-that is, spoken or written discourse), ideational (which specifies the communicative purpose of the discourse) and interpersonal (which according to Martin and White, 2005: 29, specifies the communicative participants in the discourse in terms of their statuses and roles, and how it influences the type of speech roles they take on in discourse). However, since it is the goal of the investigator to specifically evaluate how language use in the text represents the nature of the interpersonal relationships of the ‘discourse community’, as it were, a framework that specifically focuses on the interpersonal is preferred, hence the choice of Appraisal ahead of SFL.

CDA, like appraisal, is a framework that has its foundation in SFL (Fairclough 1989). Its main assumption, however, is that language and power are entirely linked. Paltridge (2006) argues that CDA examines the use of discourse in relation to social and cultural issues such as race, politics, gender, identity and explores the way discourse is utilised and the implications of using discourse in such a way. As it is with SFL and Appraisal theory, CDA explores the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. All the theories investigate the ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relation. From the CDA perspective, the theory and practice of politics and political talk is seen to be primarily concerned with power (Wodak, 2008). According to Bloor and Bloor (2007) CDA studies specific areas of injustice, danger, suffering, prejudice et cetera and tries to unearth these aspects in order to raise awareness and point people in the direction of change. It therefore provides insights on the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power and domination. In the same vein Fairclough (2006: 24) observes that CDA “is based upon a realist social ontology which sees both social structures as part of social reality.” In this case the relationship between social events and social structures is mediated

by social practices. These levels of abstraction (social ontologies) have parallels in the semiotic dimension of the study of texts. The relation is as follows:

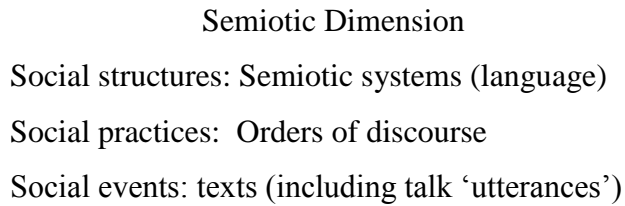


Figure 2.1: Semiotic dimensions

According to Fairclough (ibid), this relation shows that media texts can be (inter)- connected and sometimes removed from each other in time and space. He explores the question of how media discourse is viewed as a recontextualising principle where a number of discourses are brought together for the purpose of their dissemination and mass consumption. Thus, mediation is viewed as recontextualisation of discourses and the media as the platform at which discourses are disseminated and made public. In other words, through a critical theory like CDA, an analysis of the media discourse will show how parliamentary discourse is recontextualised and mediated. The study by Fairclough (2006) is quite different from the present study. Fairclough’s focus is on how particular conceptualisations of mediation and ideology can be accommodated within CDA. He is examining mediation as ‘the movement of meaning from one text to another, from one discourse to another’ and ideologies as “representations which contribute to the construction, reproduction and transformation of social relations of power and domination” (Fairclough 2006: 23).

Widdowson (2004:89) characterises CDA as a:

... type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and the social and political context.

The characterisation by Widdowson sums up the understanding by CDA analysts that the norms and values which underlie texts are often ‘out of sight’ rather than overtly stated. Hence, a critical approach like CDA intends to reveal all these ‘out of sight’ values, approaches and positions. However, in as much as CDA appears to be a plausible approach to the study of discourse, it has been heavily criticised. Widdowson (2004) criticises CDA to be elitist and prescriptive such that it claims to know only one reading of a specific text. Wodak (2006) tries to defend CDA arguing that “a good deal of research in CDA actually proves the

contrary: Audience research has become widely acknowledged” (pp 6) and identifies three interconnected social aspects endorsed by the discourse- historical approach in CDA. However, she acknowledges the other criticism that has been laid on CDA which relates to the fact that it has so many roots, bringing in scholars from different disciplines and different methodologies. Bloor and Bloor (2007) went to the extent of making a distinction between linguists and critical discourse analysts. They argue that linguists are concerned with the way in which language or discourse works, that is, their interest is in language for its own sake. Yet critical discourse analysts “are interested in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and change” (pp 2) sharing interests and methods with disciplines that studies social groups, social structures, human cognition and behaviour. In the same vein, Bartlett (2004) acknowledges quite a number of criticisms that have been levelled against CDA. He observes that criticism by conversational analysts, applied linguists and others regarding its lack of a clear methodology, and its conclusions made from small quantities of data among others is evident. In response to these accusations, Bartlett (2004) admits that CDA need a systematic analysis, quantitative and computational methods to linguistically ground the claims about discourse. This clearly shows that CDA, though it is argued to be cross- discipline and critical, it is problematic, its theoretical framework is not explicitly stated and its focus is parallel with the focus of this study. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) saw the problems with CDA being applied in the study of parliamentary discourse which is primarily argumentative and tried to integrate argumentation theoretical insights with CDA in their ‘new approach’ for the analysis of political discourse which is still hazy.

Even though parliamentary setting can be considered to be a site for participants to thrive for power, dominance and hegemony, the thrust of this research is on the interpersonal relationships, the evaluative meanings coming out of this context. The investigator also observes that the setting of the text, newspaper representation, is not the right platform to assert such issues as dominance and hegemony, at least in sustained and overt ways. As such CDA is not viewed as the right framework to use in the analysis of the debates and speeches. This then accounts for the selection of appraisal over the two frameworks due to its emphasis on how language can account for and reveal the nature of interpersonal relationships in discourse. Understanding that news and images are dialogic and oriented towards several audiences and offering many reading positions and that meanings are mediated on several levels, a theory like the appraisal framework is most apt when exploring the evaluative devices and other appraisal resources employed in the reporting of speeches and debates.

After exploring the number of approaches to parliamentary discourse, Ilie (2010d: 63) advocates for a pragma- rhetorical approach “for a more nuanced and effective analysis of interpersonal debating styles, shifting institutional roles and multi- layered identities of participants in a political and parliamentary interaction.” The multi- faceted approach taken in the present study involves the appraisal theory, extended pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation and controversy analysis.

2.6 Summary

The review on works on political discourse and discourse analysis has shown that parliamentary discourse is a sub- genre or type of political discourse if political discourse is to be understood as in relation to the use of language by parliamentarians in the parliament to establish and maintain relations. Parliamentary discourse as a (sub) genre has its own ‘distinct’ and ‘recognizable’ patterns, norms, organisation and structure with a particular communicative function. However, it has been pointed out that genres vary in their typicality (Bhatia 2004), hence differences amongst texts from the same parliament and those from different parliaments. General characteristics of parliamentary discourse that have been identified include turn- taking, interjections, metadiscourse, parentheticals, address forms, politeness norms, phraseological units and reference to family. Though this study is not a genre analysis study but a discourse- analytic study, insights from genre analysis will obviously benefit the researcher.

It has also been discussed that parliamentary talk or interaction takes place in an institutionalised context where parliamentarians are bound by a code of conduct which will obviously impact on their use of language. However, parliaments have been observed to be different in their political culture, history, orientation et cetera. Members of parliament are then expected to be sharing certain knowledge systems and discourse practices that influence aspects of text and talk. If members do not share these knowledge systems and discourse practices, miscommunications, misinterpretation and misunderstandings are bound to occur. One aspect that is supposed to unite parliamentarians is ‘identity’. However, national identity is not a homogeneous notion as identities are constructed according to contexts and are dynamic, ambivalent and vulnerable.

The review of parliamentary discourse as a written genre has indicated that journalists play a major role in shaping the readers’ worldview through their ‘digestion’ of what the audience should read. The ‘digestion process’ is conducted through a selection of what is ‘tellable’

(Archakis and Tsakona 2009) and following what is called 'audience design' (Bell 1991). Various forms of political- cross discourse are utilized in the reporting of news. These include use of metaphors, metonymy, direct speech, humour, emotive or humanistic rhetoric, rhetorical questions and polyphonic speech. These forms have been argued to impact on objectivity and how news is reported generally. As a result, these mediated meanings have been observed to be a source of potential misunderstandings and misinterpretation. However, journalists do not thrive for accuracy but for 'reader- friendly and reader- attractive accounts' of debates and speeches. Varied approaches have been discussed to have been employed in the analysis of media discourse, critical discourse analysis, constructionist paradigm, text-linguistic, systemic functional linguistics, but appraisal has been argued to be the apt mechanism to be utilized for the analysis of 'typical hardnews' reporting (White 2006).

CHAPTER THREE

ARGUMENTATION THEORY AND APPRAISAL THEORY: KEY ISSUES IN THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

The main concern of this study, as explained in Chapter one, is the analysis of the ways in which appraisal and evaluation resources manifest in parliamentary speeches and debates and in the representation of parliamentary speeches and debates in newspaper articles. The particular concern of this chapter is to explicate the mechanics of appraisal and evaluation outlining and explaining the tenets of the theory. A review of the theory in this chapter sheds light on its relevance and nature and how it can be applied in the analysis of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse. As a relatively new theory, this review is important as it confines it and show where it departs from the other discourse- analytic theories.

However, having observed that parliamentary discourse is typically argumentative (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012), the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation as developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 1992 2004), van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002, 2009) and van Eemeren (2009, 2010), is employed in the present study in conjunction with the appraisal theory. An integration of insights from argumentation theory and appraisal theory provides a new approach and method of analysing political discourse. Argumentation theory, with its notions of meta- theoretical functions, critical discussion and strategic manoeuvring, provides a complementary framework to appraisal theory. Taking into consideration that “Research into evaluation often highlights rhetorical effects” (Ethelston 2009: 683), the appraisal framework as a tool for the study of the language of persuasion (rhetoric) is employed in conjunction with argumentation theory to explore the rhetorical aspects in parliamentary debates. Argumentation theory provides a framework for the analysis of argumentative and pragmatic dimensions of parliamentary debates while appraisal theory is concerned with the evaluative ways of using language in argumentation. Employing the two theories provides a comprehensive multi- faceted framework for analysing and evaluating argumentative discourse.

3.2 Appraisal theory: An overview

Appraisal is a framework for the analysis of the language of evaluation which has been

developed from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)¹⁶ with the aim to describe various linguistic ways in which interpersonal meanings are realised. SFL assigns three broad types of social function to language (metafunctions), namely the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The *ideational metafunction* is concerned with the way in which language is used to construe experiential meaning, that is

... what's going on, who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how, and the logical relation of one going on to another. (Martin and White 2005: 7)

This view is in line with Halliday (1994)'s perspective that through the *ideational metafunction*, language is used to organize, understand and express our perceptions of the world and of our own consciousness.

The *textual metafunction* deals with the way that information is packed and distributed in text, making use of language to relate to what is said or written in the real world. The *Interpersonal metafunction* is realised through the resources that construe social reality- it refers to the way that social relationships are enacted in language. Thus, it allows members of a speech community to participate in communicative acts with other people taking on roles, expressing and understanding feelings, attitude and judgments. The complementary nature of these three metafunctions is usually modelled as in Figure 3.1 below.

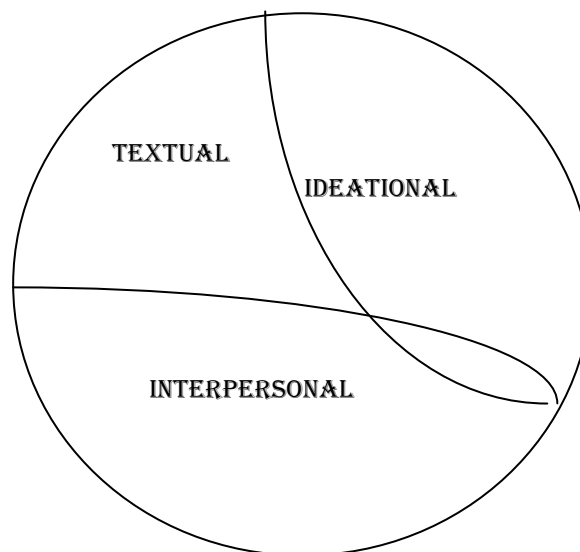


Figure 3.1 Metafunctions of SFL (Adapted from Halliday 1994)

¹⁶ SFL derives from the work of Halliday and Martin (1993); Halliday (1994).

According to White (2007) the Appraisal framework developed the interpersonal functionality focusing on the ways in which speakers/ writers construct particular identities and how they position themselves and those they are addressing. Generally, the framework is attributed to the Write it Right project of the 80s and 90s for the Disadvantaged Schools Program (Appraisal website). The project was aimed at exploring the “literacy requirements of the discourses of science, technology, the media, history, English literature studies, geography and the visual arts” (op.cit). In its development, the theory followed SFL tradition in qualitatively exploring individual pieces of discourse of relatively small size (White 1998). As a result it has been applied to small scale corpus as in a political speech, narratives, legal act (Martin 2002), stories, songs (Martin 2004), an act of parliament, a music review (Martin and Rose 2003), evangelical sermons (Ethelston 2009), a movie (Martin 1995, 2000), news reporting in newspapers (White 2006). According to Martin and White (2005: 95) emphasis in these studies is on the role of appraisal resources in construing personae, negotiating sociality and solidarity as well as aligning readers/ hearers ‘into a community of shared value and belief’. However, in as much as there are studies on parliamentary discourse (Ilie 2009b, 2010a, Santibáñez 2009, van Dijk 2010, Fantom- Smith 2008) and newspaper discourse (Archakis and Tsakona 2009, 2010, Bednarek 2006, 2008), there is hardly any research within appraisal on parliamentary debates *per se* and how it is represented newspaper articles.

According to Bednarek (2006) the appraisal theory is concerned with the subjective presence of the writer/ speaker in texts as s/he adopts stances towards both the material they present and those with which they communicate. It reveals the significance of context and the interpersonal character of evaluation as well as the communicative importance of evaluation itself. The analysis shows that, within the appraisal framework, context is given the central role in bringing out opinion elements. It “is given the full value... as a vital part of the meaning negotiation that is at the heart of all communication” (Hunston and Thompson, 2000: 143).

Martin and Rose (2003) observe that the other focus of appraisal relates to how writers/ speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities by the way they align with or disalign from actual or potential respondents and or audiences. According to White (2005a) authorial stance involves the speaker/ writer indicating how they have responded emotionally to the person, thing, happening or situation being evaluated. This authorial stance indicates the attitudinal positioning of the speaker/ writer towards person, thing or situation which triggers the emotion. However, the way the attitudinal positioning is conducted is

considerably complex as shall be explained further in the sections under attitude and engagement below. The framework provides the researcher with principles and devices on how to conduct a linguistic inquiry on the use of language in a particular context. This argument is supported by Martin (1998: 73) who argues that appraisal has “the potential to be more specific than general, to be more closely tailored to the communicative concerns of a particular context of situation.” The fact that it is ‘most systematic’ (Hyland 2005: 174) also gives it an urge over other theories for this study.

As a variable in interpersonal semantic systems, appraisal is regionalised into three interacting domains, namely attitude, engagement and graduation (Martin and White, 2005)¹⁷. Attitude is also divided into three sub- systems of **affect** (the characterisation of phenomena by reference to emotion); **judgement** (the evaluation of human behaviour with respect to social norms) and **appreciation** (the evaluation of objects and products by reference to aesthetic principles and other systems of social value) (White, 2005a). The appraisal overview is diagrammatically given in Figure 3.2 below as adapted from Martin and White (2005).

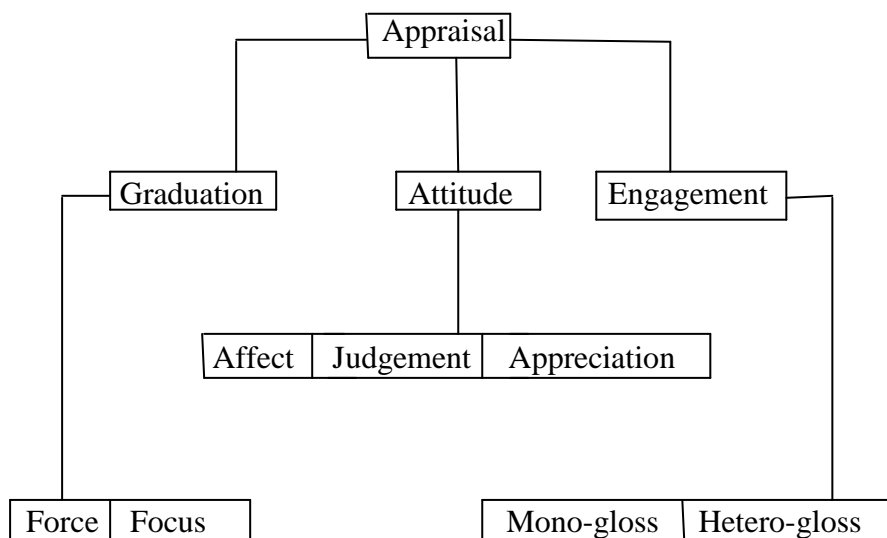


Figure 3.2 The appraisal system

3.3 The three systems of appraisal

This section gives an overview of the three appraisal sub- systems: attitude, engagement and graduation. Focus is on showing the overall sense in which the appraisal theory is formulated

¹⁷ Attitude includes values by which speakers pass judgments and associate emotional/ effectual responses with participants and process (Bednarek 2006, White, 2009a). Engagement concerns “the linguistic resources which explicitly position a text’s proposals and propositions inter- subjectivity” (White, 2009a: 8). Graduation involves resources used in the grading or scaling of meanings.

and the discourse semantic aspects that it is capable of handling. A review of these subsystems helps to show the areas still requiring further investigation and testing within the appraisal system as the project is a work in progress. The review further elaborates on the utilisation of the theory in its application to the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles.

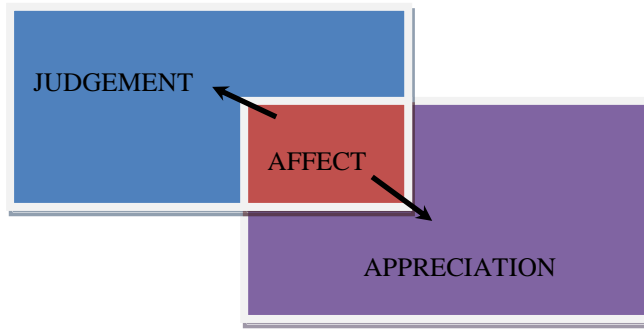
3.3.1 Attitude

Attitude is one of the major resources of the theory. It covers systems of meanings which are traditionally referred to as emotions, ethics and aesthetics. Thus, it is concerned with values by which speakers pass judgements and associate emotional/ effectual responses with participants and processes (Bednarek 2006, White 2005b). In other words it is concerned with evaluating things, people's character and feelings. These attitudes can be the writer's own or attributed to some other source (that is external voice). This view shows that attitude itself is also further divided into three sub- systems: affect (emotion), judgement (ethics) and appreciation (aesthetics). The distinction between affect and the other two categories and the interplay between these attitudinal modes is on one end "a relatively unproblematic one" (White, 2007), and on the other "a fine one" (Bednarek, 2006: 32, White, 2005a: 4).¹⁸ Attitudinal meanings have a potential to be intensified and compared as shall be fully discussed in the various sections under attitude and graduation. However, in as much as research in appraisal theory has recognised that attitudinal meanings can be grouped into the three broad semantic domains (White, 2007), affect has been argued to be at "the heart of these regions since it is the expressive resource we are born with and embody physiologically from almost the moment of birth" (Martin and White 2005: 42). This argument shows the primacy of affect amongst the three attitudinal resources. The following outline in Figure 3.2 as adopted and adapted from Martin and White (2005) shows how affect is at the heart of institutionalised meanings (judgement and appreciation)

¹⁸ For a discussion on the interplay between attitudinal sub- systems refer to section 3.3.1.4 in this chapter.

ethics/ morality (rules and regulations)

feeling institutionalised as proposals



feeling institutionalised as propositions

aesthetics/ value (criteria and assessment)

Figure 3.3 Judgement and appreciation as institutionalised affect.

The figure above shows the interplay between affect and the other two attitudinal sub-systems. Having provided an overview of the attitudinal sub-systems, the following sections are devoted to their detailed explorations.

3.3.1.1 Affect: Emotions

One of the goals of this research is to examine how affect as one of the appraisal resources is manifested in parliamentary discourse. Bednarek (2008b: 183) observes that “Much research has shown that affect clusters or patterns in text”. What should be explicated is the nature of affect so that one will be able to see where it patterns in text. According to White (2005a: 4) affect is “concerned with emotions, with positive and negative emotional responses and dispositions.” These emotions are expressed directly (explicit or inscribed) or indirectly (implicit or invoked). Thus, with affect focus is on the evaluation of feelings as **happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored** as they are expressed implicitly or explicitly in discourse in relation to a response to things, person or happening. Though it appears fuzzy or problematic to “assign universal values of affect and label them as positive or negative,” (Galasiński 2004: 46 cited in Bednarek 2008b: 157), “the difference between positive and negative emotions is discerned by many researchers” (Bednarek 2008b: 157). Affectual values have been argued to be construed as qualities (adjectives- *I am **happy** about what is happening*), behavioural or mental processes (verbs- *The whole process **pleases** me*) and sometimes as modal adjuncts (***Sadly**, I had to go*) (Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005, White 2005a, 2007). Apart from these, a range of grammatical metaphors that include nominalised realisation of qualities and processes (Halliday 1994, Martin and White 2005)

that are used to construe affect are evident. This view shows that emotions can be realised in texts through these various lexical items.

Taking the discourse semantic approach to attitude, many factors have been considered in the classification of affectual terms. In an earlier approach, Martin and Rose (2003) posited a three way classification of affect: (i) writers can either use words that label emotions (fear), or (ii) use words that denote ‘behaviour that also directly expresses emotion’ (Martin and Rose 2003: 26) or (iii) describe ‘unusual behaviour which we read as an indirect sign of emotion’ (Martin and Rose 2003: 27). This approach is too broad and a general way of classifying emotions. Research in emotions/ affect has shown that “emotions are complex physiological-affective- cognitive responses to the physical and social/ cultural environment” (Bednarek 2008b: 148) such that they cannot be classified in the way that Martin and Rose have done. The complexity of emotions calls the reader/ hearer to invest in some cognitive effort in retrieving the emotion.

In a more expansive classification, affect is classified along six dimensions which are foregrounded in the grammar of English (Martin 1997, 2000, Martin and White 2005, White 2007)¹⁹. The classification of the affectual variables below has been taken from White (2007) and Martin and White (2005).

- (i) Are the feelings popularly construed by the culture as positive (enjoyable) or negative ones (unenjoyable)? That is, under this factor feelings are culturally construed as positive or negative.

- Positive affect the student was **happy** [3.1]
- Negative affect the student was **sad** [3.2]

In this case evaluators are classified as belonging to one of the two poles on the scale of positivity and negativity. This view of affect shows the role of culture in the interpretation and understanding of discourse/ language. Context in general and context of culture in particular is relevant to the interpretation of texts (Cameron 2001). The role of context in the understanding of parliamentary discourse cannot be underestimated in this case.

- (ii). Are the feelings represented as a surge of emotions involving some kind of

¹⁹ The fact that these factors are based on English grammar does not imply that they cannot be applied on other languages. Human languages share so many universal properties. Though there are language specific properties, it will be discovered in the analysis of Shona articles whether this have any effect.

paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation (for example weeping or trembling), or more internally experienced as an emotive state or ongoing mental process? Martin and White (2005:47) state that “grammatically this distinction is constructed as the opposition between behavioural (e.g. *She smiled at him*) versus mental (e.g. *She liked him*) or relational (e.g. *She felt happy with him*) processes.” In the discussion of emotional topics in the parliament, parliamentarians are prone to show feelings through some paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation (for example shrugging of shoulders, grumbling, tears etc).

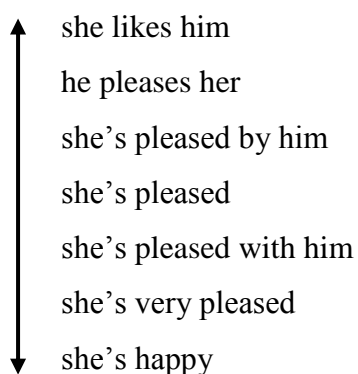
- behavioural surge *She broke down crying* [3.3]
- mental process/ state *He was distressed.* [3.3]

(iii). Are the feelings represented as targeting or responding to some specific emotional stimulus (reaction to other) or are they represented as a general ongoing mood (undirected mood)? This distinction is constructed grammatically to show the opposition between mental processes and relational one.

- reaction to stimulus *The need to investigate cases of perpetrators of violence in the period after the March 29 Elections is upsetting him.*[3.4]
- undirected mood *The MP is distraught.* [3.5]

On the same factor, Martin and White (2005) argue that some cases are difficult to categorise as either mental or relational such as the passive mental process of the ‘please’ type. They then came up with the following grading scale:

mental



relational

This grading shows that no one to one relation between grammatical constructs and the processes (mental or relational) occurs. However, it will be seen in the analysis sections whether this only applies to passive mental processes.

- (iv). Where do the feelings lie on a scale from low to high intensity? This relates to the fact that feelings are graded in terms of a cline of intensity. In this factor, Martin and White (2005) state that they “don’t want to imply that low, median and high are discrete values” but agree that “most emotions offer lexicalisations that grade along an evenly clined scale.” (2005: 48) The scaling is not an affect factor only but can be seen as an interpersonal coloration or tonality across Appraisal system (White 1998: 109, Bednarek 2006: 44). This view concurs with Martin and Rose (2003)’s observation that interpersonal meanings are often realised not just locally but tend to sprawl out and colour a passage of discourse forming a ‘prosody’ of attitude.

- low *I like that woman.* [3.6]
- median *I love that woman.* [3.7]
- high *I adore that woman.* [3.8]

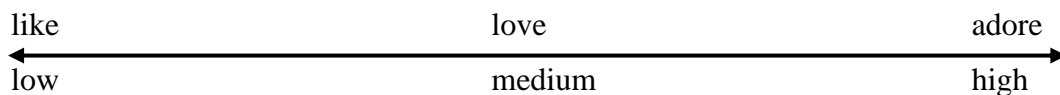


Figure 3.4 Cline of intensity

Following Martin and Rose (2003) as well as Martin and White (2005), Bednarek (2008b: 146) proposed a distinction of what she calls “portraying and creating emotion”. Predominantly focusing on portraying emotion, she then argues that the different ways of portraying emotions can be placed on a cline of implicitness as in Table 3.1. Following Martin and Rose (2003), she argues that behavioural terms and the description of unusual behaviour shows that the two are hardly distinguishable. In the study of evaluation “there is no scientifically valid method (yet) to enable an exact analysis of emotive evaluators i.e. to put them on a specific position on the cline, though to classify evaluators only according to whether they express ‘goodness’ or ‘badness’ would be to falsify the actual discourse semantics to some extent.” (Bednarek 2006: 47) This analysis shows the problem within the classification system of emotive values and is a call for further research to refine the whole process.


Describing emotions	Examples (from Martin & Rose 2003, Martin & White 2005)	less implicit (less inferencing)
the use of mental disposition terms	fear, worry, pain, ecstatic wild consuming fear	
the use of behavioural surge terms	restless, terrible, convulsions, shrieks, wept, smiled, tremble, shudder, cower, whimper, cry, wail, chuckle, laugh, rejoice, shake hands, hug, embrace, restless, twitching, shaking, start, cry out, faint, fidget, yawn, tune out, pat on the back, withdrawn, shake uncontrollably	
the use of description of unusual (physical) behaviour	very quiet, staring, ice cold, drinking too much, wander from window to window, rolls this way, that side of the table	

Table 3.1 Cline of Implicitness (From Bednarek, 2008b: 147)

(v). Do the feelings involve intention (rather than reaction), with respect to a stimulus that is not yet actualised (irrealis) as opposed to an actual stimulus (realis)? Thus, with realis affect the trigger is a present reality and for irrealis affect the trigger of emotion is future or hypothetical. This factor is grammatically constructed as “the opposition between desiderative and emotive mental process (*I’d like to* vs. *I like it*” (Martin and White 2005: 48).

- realis *I’m upset by what they are doing.* [3.9]
- irrealis *I fear what they might do.* [3.10]

In the categorisation of affect, irrealis is categorised as dis/inclination in which dis/inclination is not given as part of the classification of kinds of emotion (as in the three major sets in (vi)

below) (Bednarek 2008b) and seems to be treated on its own terms. The major reasons relate to the fact that “irrealis affect always seems to implicate a trigger” (Martin and White 2005: 48) and “its directedness” (Bednarek 2008b: 156). This irrealis affect mainly involves either fear or desire as can be illustrated in Table 3.2 below (taken from Martin and White 2005). This factor overrides parameter (iii) showing some fuzziness in the classification of affectual terms.

DIS/INCLINATION	Surge (of behaviour)	Disposition
fear	tremble shudder cower	worry fearful terrorised
desire	suggest request demand	miss long for yearn for

Table 3.2 Irrealis affect

- (vi). Finally, emotions can be grouped into three major sets having to do with un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’ (Martin and White 2005: 49)- *sadness, anger, happiness and love*. These are feelings that come to one’s mind just when one is introduced to the subject of emotion. They are moods of feelings which are either directed towards a trigger or not by liking or disliking it (Martin and White 2005) (see Table 3.3). The in/security variable “covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – *anxiety, fear, confidence and trust*” (White 2007) These feelings are invoked as “with respect to our environments (including people)” (Bednarek 2008b: 156) (see Table 3.4).

The dis/satisfaction variable covers “emotions concerned with *telos* (the pursuit of goals)- *ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect*” (White 2007). This dis/satisfaction, is one of the major categories, which “deals with our feelings of achievement and frustration in relation to the activities in which we are engaged, including our roles as participant and spectators” (Martin and White 2005: 50). This appraisal romps in both participant and spectator as all can be frustrated and charmed by the activity as visualised in Table 3.5. The oppositions that we have in dis/satisfaction

“take us to the borders of **affect** as it is popularly perceived” (Martin and White 2005: 50, original emphasis) (Tables (3.3, 3.4, and 3.5) were adapted from Bednarek 2008b:155).

Un/happiness			
unhappiness		happiness	
misery [mood: ‘in me’]	antipathy [directed feeling: ‘at you’]	cheer	affection
down, sad, miserable	dislike, hate, abhor	cheerful, jubilant, buoyant	be fond of, love, adore

Table 3.3 Un/happiness

In/security			
insecurity		security	
disquiet	surprise	confidence	trust
uneasy, anxious, freaked out	startled, jolted, staggered	together, assured, confident	comfortable with, confident in/ about

Table 3.4 In/security

Dis/satisfaction			
dissatisfaction		satisfaction	
ennui	displeasure	interest	pleasure
flat, stale, jaded	cross, bored with, angry, sick of, fed up with	involved, absorbed, engrossed	satisfied, charmed, pleased, impressed

Table 3.5 Dis/satisfaction

After a close analysis of the way Martin and White (2005) categorised affect types, Bednarek

(2008b) proposed a fuzzy system of modified affect. She proposes that emotion types can be categorised according to five categories rather than three. In this classification, core categories (i.e. un/happiness) and non-core categories (dis/satisfaction, surprise and dis/inclination) are evident. The broken lines in figure 3.6 showing modified affect system indicate that ‘this system is set up as a fuzzy system, with no clear boundaries between the affect types, and possible blends’ (Bednarek 2008b: 167). Martin and White (2005) made no comment as to why they did not classify dis/inclination as one of the major affect types but put it under kinds of un/happiness together with the other three categories. Meaning is so elusive a term to work with such that to give rigid categorisation of emotion types might be very problematic. Exploring affect types as a ‘fuzzy’ system as proposed by Bednarek (2008b) will hypothetically work better.

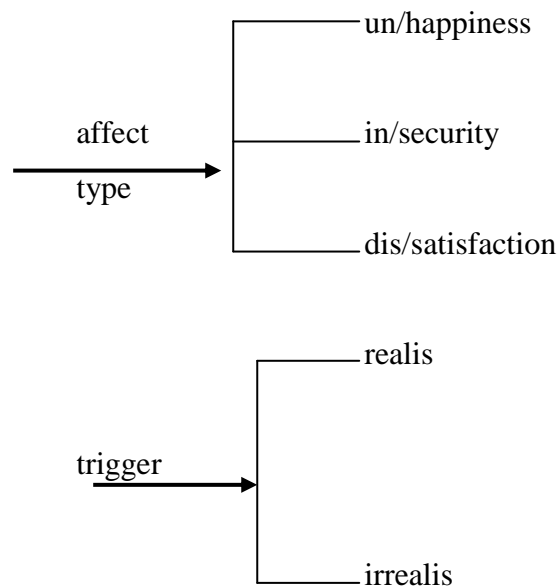


Figure 3.5 Affect types and (ir)realis trigger

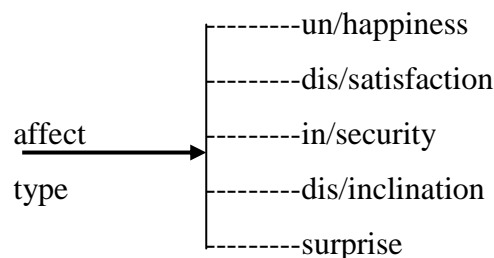


Figure 3.6 Modified affect types

3.3.1.2 Judgement: Ethics

Judgement is another sub- system of attitude. It is concerned with the assessment of human behaviour with reference to such aspects as legality/illegality, morality/immorality,

politeness/ impoliteness as they are more or less codified by culture. Thus, with judgement, concern is “with language which criticises or praises, which condemns or applauds the behaviour- the actions, deeds, sayings, beliefs, motivations etc- of human individuals and groups” (White 2005a: 17). As with affect, judgement can be positive (admiring) or negative (criticising) and can also be explicitly or implicitly portrayed. Personal or non personal judgements of social acceptability, norms and morals are also evident. Thus, in the process of telling people how one feels emotionally, speakers/ writers evaluate their character. An evaluation of the people’s character results in the evaluated raised or lowered in the esteem of their community (White 2005a, White 2007).

Judgement is divided into two major sub systems: social sanction and social esteem (see Table 3. 6). Social esteem construes “esteem in the eyes of the public” (Iedema et al 1994: 14). It has to do with ‘normality’ (how unusual someone is e.g. *Skilled members of the parliamentary committee on.....*), ‘capacity’ (how capable they are e.g. *Member of Parliament for Sanyati constituency is an able cadre*) and ‘tenacity’ (how resolute they are e.g. *The determined Prime Minister saw to it that the policies were implemented*) (Martin and White 2005, White 2007). Illustrative realisations for social esteem: normality, capacity and tenacity- including the positive and negative assessments are given in Table 3.6. Judgements of social sanction have to do with ‘veracity’ (how truthful someone is e.g. *Senators were very honest with each other in the discussion of the HIV and AIDS pandemic*) and ‘propriety’ (how ethical someone is e.g. *The arrogant member of parliament for Kadoma West continued to talk when she was told to sit down*) (see Table 3.7). Research on the judgement resource of social esteem have shown that esteem is foregrounded in the oral culture through various kinds of modes and mediums such as stories, jokes, chat, gossip (Eggins and Slade 1997, Martin and White 2005).

Certain norms and practices are expected in the parliament. The study will establish how MPs and Senators alike reflect this situation in their discourse considering that this parliament is a ‘historic’ parliament under the Government of National Unity (GNU). Social sanction resources have to be policed by the rules and regulations mainly coming from the church, state, discourse communities or institutions where members are expected to comply, otherwise penalties will be given to those who do not comply (Martin and White 2005, White 2005a). This resource is useful in the analysis of parliamentary discourse as parliaments are institutions with their own codes and regulations of conduct. It will be important again to observe how parliamentarians evaluatively sanction each other in the debates. Institutions

such as government, parliaments and media organisations are collectively judged according to ethical norms. This perspective presents another important aspect in this study, as the researcher would want to examine how journalists collectively judge parliamentarians and how they evaluatively judge themselves. Another important aspect in the study of evaluation of language use in context shows variation in the interpretation of lexical items such that a given lexical item will vary its attitudinal meaning according to that context. For instance **mature** can be evaluatively used either negatively or positively indicating capacity. As earlier discussed, the role of context in the interpretation of discourse cannot be underscored. This view implies that there is always the possibility of having different interpretations or evaluations by people from different ideological and cultural or historical backgrounds.

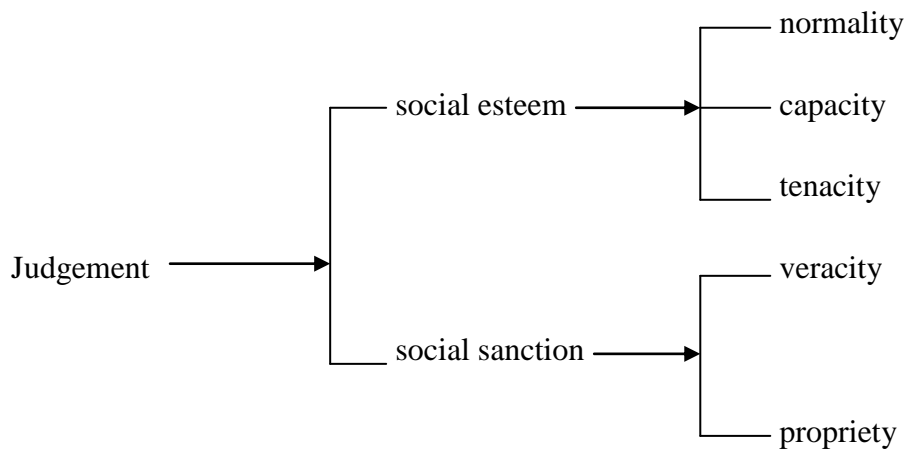


Figure 3.7 Judgement categories

SOCIAL ESTEEM	Positive (+) (admire)	Negative (-) (criticise)
Normality- ‘how special?’	talented, skilled, award winning, familiar, stable	mad, unpredictable, misfit, bizarre behaviour, erratic
Capacity- ‘how capable?’	expert, discerning, literate, educated, competent, sane	naive, sick, struggling, slow, ignorant, childish, weak
Tenacity- ‘how dependable?’	motivated, determined, loyal, flexible, resolute	indifferent, rash, unreliable, timid, hasty, gutless, wilful

Table 3.6 Judgement- social esteem

SOCIAL SANCTION	Positive (+) (praise)	Negative (-) (condemn)
Veracity- (truth) 'how honest?'	honest, frank, candid, Tactful, direct, credible	devious, dishonest, blunt, manipulative, deceitful
Propriety (ethics) 'how far beyond reproach?'	fair, just, humble, reverent, polite, charitable, ethical	immoral, corrupt, unjust, rude, greedy, arrogant

Table 3.7 Judgement- social sanction

These judgement values can be explored in terms of the modality systems they are connected. This exploration demonstrates the distinction between categories which refer to innate or involuntary behaviour abilities; and also to intentional behaviours or actions for which people can be held fully responsible. According to Iedema et al (1994: 12), assessments of capacity “relate directly to whether a participant can or can’t perform some action or achieve some result.” In this perspective, the category of capacity is related to the modality category of ability/potentiality (see also White 1998). On the other hand, tenacity is related to the modality category of inclination, veracity is connected to the modality category of probability and propriety related to obligation.

3.3.1.3 Appreciation: Aesthetics

The final category of attitude is appreciation. Appreciation is concerned with “evaluations which are concerned with positive and negative assessments of objects, artefacts, processes and states of affairs rather than with human behaviour” (White 2005a: 13). In this aesthetic evaluation, things are evaluated according to their value and worthy. In this case, appreciation has been argued to classify a speaker/ writer’s attitude toward things including “things we make and performances we give” (Martin and White 2005: 56). Though appreciation encompasses values which fall under the general heading of aesthetics, other “non- aesthetic category of ‘social valuation’ which includes meanings such as significant and harmful” (White 2005b:24) are evident. However, it is imperative to state that apart from appreciating things, human participants may also be appreciated especially “in cases where the assessment does not directly focus on the correctness or incorrectness of their behaviour” (White 2005a:

13) and “when viewed more as entities than as participants who behave” (White 2005b: 25). This view presents a potential problem in the distinction of attitudinal resources. The interplay amongst attitudinal resources is considered in section 3.3.1.4.

Appreciation values are generally divided into three: (i) ‘reaction’ to things (do they captivate us, please us, inspire us et cetera), (ii) ‘composition’ (balance and complexity) and (iii) value (how innovative, authentic, real, and genuine) (see Table 3.8). In the composition resource, valuation has been argued to be of necessity in the field where people want real, genuine, captivating and innovative things (Martin and White 2005). In this case valuations are based on the makeup of the product or process following set standards or conventions. On the other end, reaction has been viewed to be “interpersonally tuned. It describes the emotional impact of the work on the reader/ listener/viewer” (White 2005b: 25). Under reaction focus is on the impact or quality of products and processes on the reader/listener/viewer. Valuation has been argued to do with “the perceived significance of an entity” (Ethelston 2009: 686). For instance, in the reporting of news in media texts the key values are those of social significance or salience (whether the phenomenon is of important, noteworthy, crucial etc) and of harm (whether the phenomenon is damaging, dangerous, unhealthy etc). The present study will make explicit how parliamentarians value ideas and contributions given by fellow members when debating and how journalists value these debates. Table 3.8 below gives examples of different types of appreciation as they have been discussed.

	Positive (+)	Negative (-)
Reaction: impact 'did it grab me?'	fascinating, remarkable, dramatic, sensational amazing, thrilling	tragedy, distressing, scary, dry, monotonous, flat gruesome, emotionally draining,
Reaction: quality 'did I like it?'	fine, good, beautiful, pleasant, appealing	awful, unspeakable, dingy, plain, nasty, bad, repulsive
Composition: balance 'did it hang together?'	harmonious, balanced, well formed, logical	irregular, contradictory, shambles, exaggerated, a mess, jumbled
Composition: complexity 'was it hard to follow?'	clears, obvious, consistent, simple, plain, precise	extravagant, simplistic, unclear, complicated, woolly, monolithic
Valuation 'was it worthwhile?'	best, crucial, important, productive, effective, High- quality, key, ideal Authentic, real, exceptional	problem, risk, ineffective, worst, substandard, inadequate, difficult pointless, archaic, trivial, bogus, worthless, overdue, useless, Shoddy, shallow, prosaic

Table 3.8 Appreciation types (Adapted from Martin and White 2005)

The appreciation framework can be related to mental processes and interpreted metafunctionally (see Table 3.9 below). This relation shows the interplay between affect and appreciation on one hand and appreciation and SFL's metafunctions on the other (for a detailed discussion see Martin and White 2005). This leads us to the other aspect which is the interplay between attitudinal resources in the following section.

Appreciation	Mental process type	Metafunctions
Reaction	affection	interpersonal
Composition	perception	textual
Valuation	cognition	ideational

Table 3.9 Sub- types of appreciation (Adapted from Martin and White 2005)

3.3.1.4 The interplay between attitudinal values

The study of attitudinal values (affect, judgement, appreciation) has shown that the values are interrelated or interconnected. The attitudinal value of affect sprouts over the other two categories as all deal with the expression of feelings (see under the sections dealing with the different categories). As discussed earlier on, affect is the primary value of attitude as it is concerned with emotion. Thus, considered in their full textual context, it is difficult to conceive any judgement or appreciation which is emotionally free. However, it is possible to distinguish affect from these other two values. Affect meanings, as have been argued, are most realised through a verbal process undergone or experienced by a conscious human participant (White, 2007). On the other hand, judgement and appreciation “are institutionalised feelings which are recast as qualities which inhere in the evaluated phenomena itself.” (Martin and White 2005: 45) For example, *Thus a beautiful goal* (Appreciation: reaction (+), and *That’s a beautiful player* (Judgement: capacity (+)).

In the interplay between judgement and appreciation, the distinction is still hazy. However, it has been argued that a negative assessment of a particular thing (entity) (appreciation: valuation) implies negative evaluation (judgement) of the person who crafted that entity (Martine and White 2005). For instance,

[3.11] A **gifted** parliament (judgement: +capacity)

[3.12] A **well crafted** document (Appreciation: +valuation)

On the other end, as indicated from the above examples, judgment and appreciation can also be distinguished on the basis that judgement is the evaluation of the behaviour of conscious human beings where as appreciation “targets things, whether concrete or abstract, material or semiotic” (Martin and White 2005: 59). On a different perspective, a distinction between judgement and appreciation has been suggested using collocational frames, “It was X of Y to...” (White 2005b, 2007, Martin and White 2005) In this frame, the evaluative term is placed in the ‘X’ position, the evaluated participant/ thing is placed in the ‘Y’ position and the activity/ behaviour follows from ‘to...’. For example,

[3.13] It was **prudent/ discerning/ determined/ unjust** of the member to... (Judgement)

[3.14] *It was **balanced/ effective/ flat** of the member to... (Appreciation)

In a valid argument in support of the collocational frames, White (2007) and Martin and

White (2005) contend that **'beautiful'** is one of the terms that can be used either as judgement or appreciation, but when it is used as appreciation it will not fit in the frames. However, even though the collocational frames appear to be working in the distinction of judgement from appreciation, they do not properly work with other terms which can be used either as judgement or appreciation (e.g. remarkable, shoddy, and monotonous).

3.3.1.5 Invoking attitude

It has been pointed out in the introductory section that meanings are activated differently in texts, that is, through the use of explicitly attitudinal terms which are inscribed in texts and the use of inference to invoke meanings as they are interpreted by the reader/ listener. All along focus has been on explicit (inscribed) attitudes as they are construed in texts. As already highlighted, another way of activating attitudes is evident. This activation has come to be known as the implied/ invoked/ indirect way of examining evaluation in texts. The distinction between 'inscribed' evaluation and 'invoked' evaluation is based on the pretext that "it is difficult to conceive of any phrase which would be evaluation free." (Malrieu 1999: 134) In this regard, inscribed evaluation, as has been argued, relates to situations "where the positive/ negative assessment is directly inscribed in the discourse through the use of attitudinal lexis, and what it terms invoked evaluation where it is not possible to isolate such explicit attitudinal vocabulary" (White, 2007).

The role of implicit meanings in discourse semantics is very crucial. As Martin and White (2005: 62) describe it, "the selection of ideational meanings is enough to invoke evaluation even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how we feel." In this context ideational meanings are used not just to invite but also to provoke an attitudinal response in readers. On a rather stronger perspective, invoked meanings have been argued to be 'potentially manipulative' (Ethelston 2009: 687). The implicit perspective sets to provide a better way of exploring discourse in a polarised context, as is the case with the Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and media. In newspaper discourse in particular, where journalists may take pains to show themselves to be 'objective', examining invocations can provide a way of systematically describing the evaluative dimensions of texts which may lack inscriptions altogether. This argument shows that invoked evaluation is very common and that an analysis which ignores it misses out on a substantial amount of the evaluative content of the text.

Three ways in which attitudes can be invoked are evident (Martin and White 2005, White 2005a). Thus, attitudes are invoked through

- i. The use of **lexical metaphors**
- ii. The selection of non- core vocabulary- **flagged**
- iii. Other types of ideation- **afforded**

The approach taken by appraisal in the analysis of the different forms of meaning activation has been argued to pose major theoretical and analytical problems. However, White (2007: no page numbers) put it clear that trying to avoid this approach “would mean that much of the evaluative work being done by texts would simply be missed out”. This quotation presents a good and strong argument in support of appraisal as there should be a clear framework to carefully take account of the often rhetorically crucial interaction between direct and indirect assessment. The argument that because appraisal is very much rooted in SFL will give problems to analysts unfamiliar with the theory (SFL) (Bednarek, 2006) is unfounded. Knowledge of the theories in that area is and will remain ‘given knowledge’ for analysts. No one theory exists in a vacuum. As a relatively new theory, appraisal provides a proper foundation and theoretical bases for language analysis. Martin and White encourages further research in the appraisal framework, as “our maps of feeling (for affect, judgement and appreciation) have to be treated at this stage as hypotheses about the organisation of the relevant meanings- offered as a challenge to those concerned with developing appropriate reasoning” (2005: 46). In the same vein, White (2007) acknowledges the need for further researches in the nature of the three way taxonomy of the appraisal resources as he had presented “something to manage the analysis of evaluation in discourse” and his presentation is supposed to be a “challenge to those concerned with developing appropriate reasoning” (White 2007: no page numbers). This argument shows that the appraisal system has been especially developed to manage the analysis of evaluation in discourse and that it is something still requiring further research to develop it. Thus, in this study I intend to take up this challenge and critically discuss aspects of appraisal theory with respect to findings from parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles.

A further significant fact in the evaluation of attitudes is the source of emotions and how writers/ speakers portray their own (authorial) stance or others’ (non- authorial affect) emotions (Ethelston 2009, Hunston and Thompson 2000, Bednarek 2008a and 2008b, Martin and White 2005, White 2005b). With authorial stance, “the writer/ speaker invite their audience to share that emotional response or at least to see that response as appropriate and well motivated or at least as understandable” (White 2005b: 8). The resultant of having this invitation accepted results in solidarity, sympathy, or alignment between the speaker/ writer and the hearer/ reader. This alignment will invite the hearer/ reader to open up to share or

understand the speaker/ writer position (White 2005b, Martin and White 2005). Thus, interpretation of text depends on the ‘reading position’ of the reader. This perspective implies that different ‘reading positions’ will most likely result in different evaluations. However, such “emotional assessments reside, of course, entirely in the individual subjectivity of the speaker/ writer” (White 2005a: 7). The whole process enables the speaker/ writer to foreground his/ her subjective presence in the communicative process. Again this ‘reading position’ takes into account the fact that the hearer/ reader bring particular sets of beliefs and expectations to the process of interpretation.

3.3.2 Engagement

Engagement is another domain of appraisal that has been pointed out in section 3.3. Under engagement, meanings are construed inter- subjectively. Focus is on the linguistic resources which position a text’s proposals and propositions. This set of rhetorical resources shows the ways in which the speaker/ writer engages with their utterance/ listener/ reader. The rhetorical potential of texts shows that texts do not only persuade explicitly but also through implicit means explaining the various styles or strategies of inter- subjective positioning that operate in discourse domains. Thus, the system of engagement

...is concerned with the linguistic resources by which speakers/ writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address (Martin and White 2005: 92).

In this section concern is on examining the ways in which speakers/ writers “come to express, negotiate and naturalise particular inter- subjective and ultimately ideologically positions” (White 2005b: 25).

The meanings that are analysed under engagement have been explored in research under such headings as evidentiality, hedging, modality (White 1998). However, the appraisal system represents a departure from much of the modality and evidentiality research and from some of the hedging literature. Instead of assuming that the sole function of the wording is to reveal the writer/ speaker’s state of mind or knowledge or to indicate that the speaker/ writer is uncertain or tentative and is not committed to the truth value of the proposition, the appraisal framework takes the lexico-grammatical diverse wordings as resources which vary the terms of the speaker’s engagement with propositions and proposals (White 2007). The resources that are included under engagement are more expansive and intensive as shall be explained below.

The engagement system is informed by Bakhtin/ Voloshinov's widely recognised terms of dialogism and heteroglossia (Martin and White 2005). This foundational work on dialogism has the idea that all texts are dialogic, that is, they respond to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, and seeks support. In other words all utterances/ sentences are said/ written on the backdrop of what have been said and in response to actual, potential or imagined readers/ listeners (Martin and White 2005). This can be observed in such cases when speakers/ writers explicitly use terms as *obviously*, *I believe*, *admittedly*. In this, "the textual voice acts first and foremost to acknowledge, to engage with and to align itself with respect to positions which are some way alternatives to the that being advanced by the text" (White 2007: no page numbers).

The relationships that have been described above are divided into two broad categories, heterogloss and monogloss. Monogloss refers to utterances which do not explicitly reference the 'backdrop' of other utterances, while heterogloss do such referencing. Engagement sees texts as heteroglossic : that is, "they directly address or at least implicitly acknowledge a certain array of more or less convergent and divergent socio- semiotic realities" (White 2005b: 25). It is concerned with the linguistic resources which act as indicators of these other voices in text and the way the author views these other voices. The perspective taken by engagement provides a counter to the traditional understanding that certain utterances are neutral and hence 'factual' or 'objective' while others are interpersonally charged and hence 'opinionated' or 'attitudinal'.

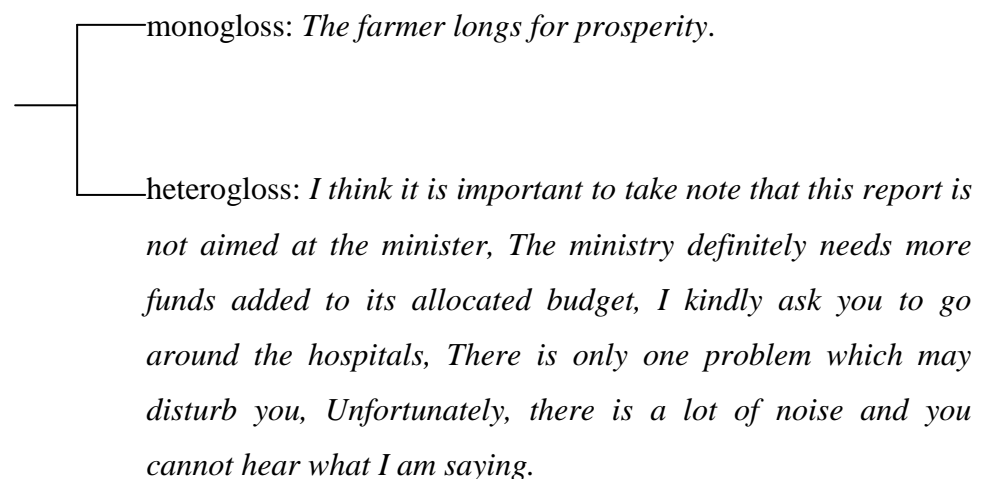


Figure 3.8: Engagement entry point

Within engagement, heteroglossic utterances are divided into two broad sub categories: the category of dialogic contraction (intra- vocalisation), which refers to the resources of rejecting or refuting alternative positions, and that of dialogic expansion (extra- vocalisation), which

comprises the resources which “actively make allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices” (Martin and White 2005: 102) (see figure 3: 9). The array of ways in which the textual voice vary with the way in which it engages with alternative voices and alternative positions that fall under these two broad sub- categories is discussed in the following sub sections. Below is a diagram (Figure 3. 10) of the general overview of the engagement resource.

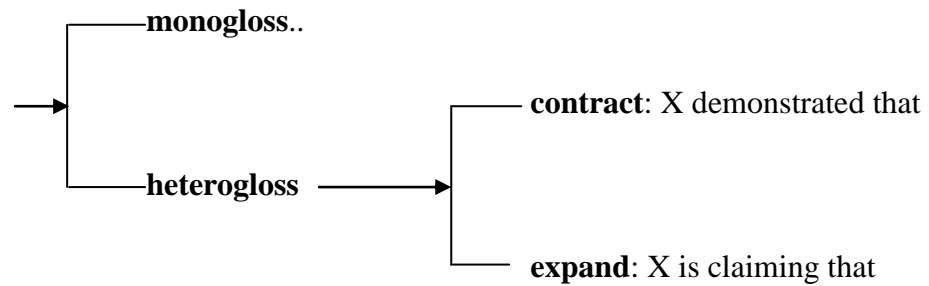


Figure 3:9 Engagement: contract and expand (adapted from Martin and White 2005)

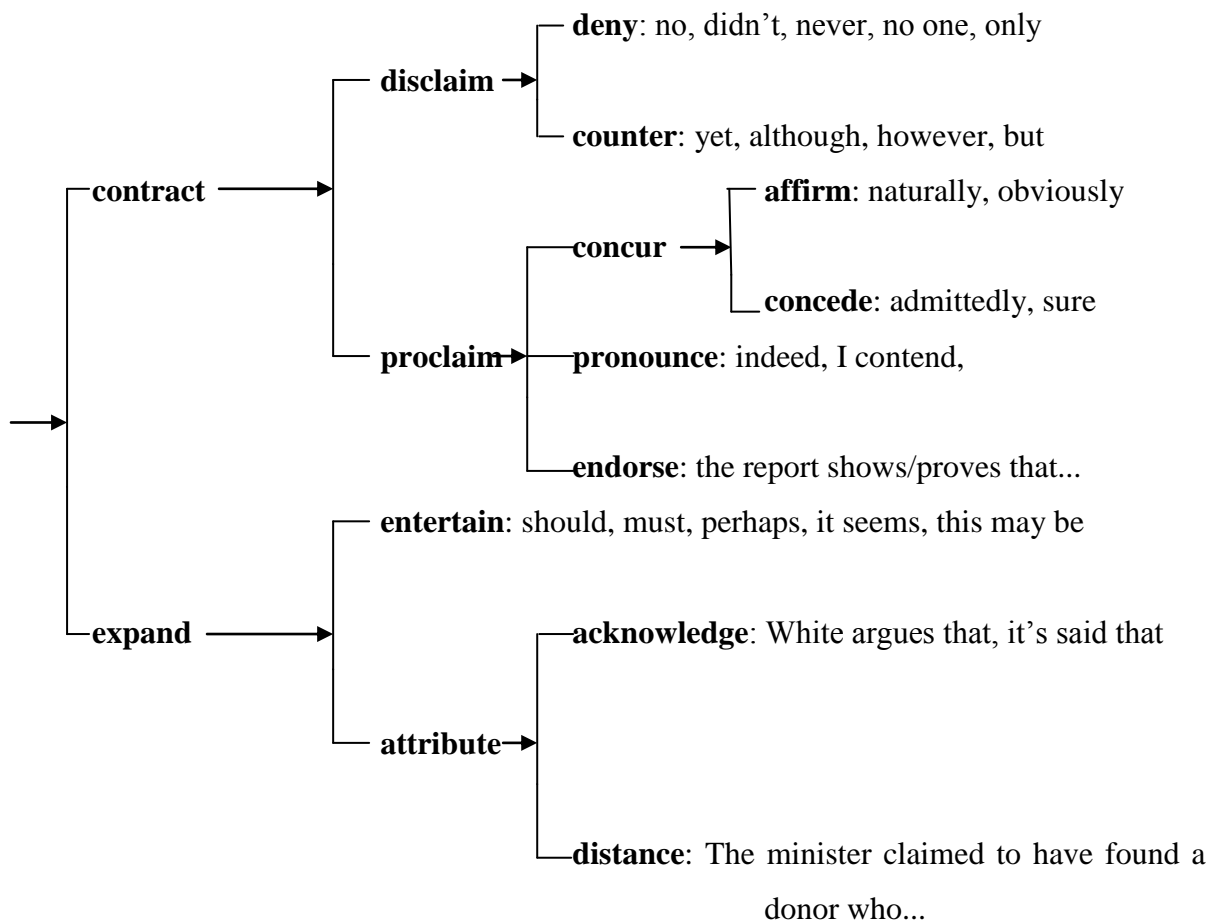


Figure 3:10 The engagement system (adapted from Martin and White 2005)

3.3.2.1 Dialogical contraction: disclamation and proclamation

The first category to be considered under heterogloss is that of dialogic contraction. Dialogic contraction has to do with closing down or fending off dialogical alternative voices in discourse. Under dialogic contraction, the authorial voice explicitly or implicitly invest in the current proposition as ‘true’ or ‘valid’ and set itself against an actual or potential propositions (White 1998). Dialogic contraction comprises two subcategories: disclamation and proclamation. Disclaiming resources concerns the ways in which “the textual voice positions itself at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary positions” (Martin and White 2005: 97). This resource is realised through lexico-grammatical items showing negation (*not, no, didn’t, never, no one*) and concessions (*but, however, while, although, even though*). For example,

[3.15] I will *never ever* allow such a thing to happen again.

[3.16] *Although* the issue of content of the new constitution should be best left to the people to decide, parliamentarians must be given leading role in campaigning for the inclusion of progressive clauses.

Both examples are dialogistic in that they explicitly reference the utterances and viewpoints of an internal voice. In [3.15] the speaker out rightly closes any hopes of such a thing to repeat. The authorial voice explicitly aligns with and invests in the current proposition. In [3.16] the authorial voice suppresses the traditionally held view or the previous proposition and elevates the current proposition as contingent. Thus, under dialogic contraction, the speaker/ writer explicitly refute/ reject the ideas or alternative propositions that the hearer / reader had on a particular proposition. They are two forms of dialogic contradiction: deny and counter.

3.3.2.1.1 Disclaim: deny

The resource of Disclaim: deny dialogically rejects alternative positive position after having been introduced in the dialog and acknowledging it. As observed by White (2005a: 2) and Martin and White (2005: 18), “the negative is not the simple logical opposite of the positive since the negative carries with it the positive, while the positive does not reciprocally carry the negative.” As with example [3.17] below, the positive position is that of recognising the languages. This positive view is carried by the presumed negative proposition of challenging this status quo. Thus, the denial resources invokes and presents as responding to some prior proposition which it engages with dialogically and then rejects it.

[3.17] We do *not* need to simply recognise our languages. They should be officialised and developed.

Resources of deny(negation) are also used to talk about things that have not been done (negated) and in doing so invite the hearer/ reader to share a particular assessment of the significance of these non- acts (White 2005a). Negation is a linguistic resource that has been commonly used in the critical assessment of institutions and actions/ performance of government officials. In the debates, MPs and Senators make use of this resource to invite the hearer/ reader to align with them in the condemnation of the government or fellow MPs and Senators. This scenario is the same in the media with journalists writing for a particular audience and advancing a particular ideological perspective.

3.3.2.1.2 Disclaim: Counter

As with the resource of Disclaim: deny, the resource of Disclaim: counter “project onto the addressee particular beliefs or expectations” (Martin and White 2005: 121). In other words it is a resource that is concerned with formulations which represent the current proposition as “replacing and supplanting a proposition which would have been expected in its place” (White 2005a: 3). The countering resources such as *but, while, despite, even though, although* and *yet* construe an audience who shares these beliefs and expectations with the speaker/ writer and consequently as surprised as the writer/ speaker when these expectations are not met. For instance, in

[3.18] *Even though* the views of the public have been collected in the constitutional outreach programme there are not going to be considered in the writing of the constitution.

The proposition that ‘there are not going to be considered in the writing of the constitution’, is in a countering relationship with what is expected in the writing of the constitution in a democratic state. The countering expectation is presented as being shared by the speaker and the hearer/ reader. On the other end, the countering expectation invokes some critical assessment of the situation at hand, in this case the constitutional writing process. This way of appraising tends to align than to disalign the speaker and the hearer as they will be sharing this axiological paradigm as a result they form a community of shared values.

3.3.2.2 Dialogic contraction: proclaim

The dialogic contraction: proclaim is divided into three sub- categories: concur, pronounce and endorse. In as much as these resources (proclamation) act to contract the dialogic alternatives, they do not do that directly or totally, rather they “limit the space of dialogistic alternatives in the ongoing colloquy” (Martin and White 2005: 121).

3.3.2.2.1 Proclaim: concur

The resource of Proclaim: concur concerns those formulations in which the speaker/ addresser do not only agree with the current proposition/ proposal but presents the current proposition as uncontentious. Thus, the speaker presents it as something that is “given, as being in accord with what is generally known or expected” (White 2005a: 4). There are two ways in which this proclamation is done: affirming and conceding. These are conveyed with such locutions as *obviously*, *of course*, *naturally*, *admittedly*, *certainly*, *not surprisingly* and *rhetorical or expository questions*. Consider the following examples.

[3.19] *Obviously*, Dynamos is going to take the championship this year.

[3.20] Sanyati is a very dry place. *Is there really life there?*

In [3.19] the speaker presents himself as simply echoing the generally shared knowledge or understanding that Dynamos are champions and no other team is good enough to take away their championship this year. The dialogic space is contracted as no one would want to put up an opposition to a generally held view by everyone. In this case, the hearer or reader is rhetorically aligned with the speaker’s proposition indirectly silencing potential alternatives. In [3.20] the speaker dialogically contracts the argumentation space and alternatives through the use of a rhetorical or expository question. The hearer or reader is confined to the held contingent that ‘Sanyati is a dry place’. Thus, in Proclaim: concur, the speaker/ writer is presented as in dialogue with the hearer/ reader echoing an uncontestable proposition which is widely held or known.

3.3.2.2.2 Proclaim: pronounce

Under pronouncement concern is with the values that indicate the authorial voice’s direct involvement in the text explicitly acknowledging being the source of the utterance. The value of pronouncement can be classified as indicating “heightened investment or involvement in the proposition by the speaker/ writer” (Martin and White 2005: 133). Pronouncement values

and projections can be conveyed via such formulations as *I contend...*, *The facts of the matter are that...*, *It's a fact that...*, *I'd say...*, or the use of intensifiers such as *really*, *indeed* and stress on auxiliaries (e.g. *did*, *is*) (see examples [3.21, 3.22] below). Pronouncement formulations like other proclamation values, they are dialogically prospective. The author with his/ her involvement and investment into the text raises “the interpersonal cost of any rejection/ doubting of their utterance in future communicative exchanges” (White 2005a: 4). Thus, these authorial interpolations are directed towards confronting and defeating a contrary position.

[3.21] *It is true that linguistics is a social science.*

[3.22] *It is indeed true that he is a legend.*

3.3.2.2.3 Proclaim: endorse

In engaging with the other voices and alternative positions in play, the authorial voice is also used to endorse the current proposition as correct and valid. In this regard, the external voice is construed as unwarrantable. The major lexico- grammatical realisations that are employed to convey this position include verbs (*show*, *demonstrates*, *prove*, *indicates*)²⁰ and nominalisations. In endorsements, the authorial voice aligns with the prior speaker and “takes over responsibility for the proposition or at least shares responsibility for it with the cited source” (Martin and White 2005: 127). Martin and White (2005) further assert that endorsement differs from attribution (a dialogically expansive resource we shall consider in the following sections) in that in attribution the internal voice will unambiguously disassociate the proposition which is not the case with endorsements. Thus, in endorsement, the authorial voice is heavily involved construing the proposition as uncontestable because it is ‘proven’, ‘shown’ and ‘demonstrated’.

[3.23] *The research has shown no signs of policy reversal in the way the project has been implemented.*

3.3.2.3 Dialogic Expansion: attribute and entertain

The categories under dialogic expansion are equally opposites of the categories/ resources of dialogic contraction. Instead of closing down alternative voices, dialogic expansion resources open up the dialogic space for alternative voices. The resources of dialogic expansion are divided into two: **attribute** and **entertain**.

²⁰ The verbs being discussed here have been considered in literature from a different perspective under the notion of ‘factivity’. (Martin and White 2005, White 1998)

3.3.2.3.1 Expand: attribute

One of the primary methods for introducing other ‘voices’ into media discourse or parliamentary debates is attribution of particular utterances or ideas to the various textual participants, frequently through mental or verbal reporting verbs which project them. Attribution within the engagement resource is subcategorised into two: acknowledge and distance. Acknowledging attributions are concerned with such “locutions where there is no overt indication, at least via the choice of framer, as to where the authorial voice stands with respect to the proposition” (Martin and White 2005: 112). On the contrary, distancing attributions are “formulations in which there is an explicit distancing of the authorial voice from the attributed material” (Martin and White 2005: 113). Reporting verbs such as *say*, *report*, *state*, *declare*, *announce*, *observes*, and *believe/ think* show attribution acknowledge where as ‘*to claim*’ and certain ‘scare’ quotes typically indicate attribute: distance. Thus, acknowledging attributions present the authorial voice as in engaging with the external voice/ proposition and at the same time advancing them where as in distancing attributions it is not clear whether the authorial voice is aligning/ disaligning with the position being advanced leaving it open for the hearer/ reader to deduce from the context/ text. An analysis of parliamentary debates and journalistic reporting will show the nature of attribution in Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and in Zimbabwean newspapers. The following are hypothetical examples of attribution.

[3.24] The doctor said that if he takes this medication for five days he is going to be fine.

[3.25] The minister claims that he widely consulted in his preparation of the second quarter budget

3.3.2.3.2 Expand: entertain

The final category within dialogic expansion to be examined is that of entertain. The category of entertain includes linguistic resources that have been explored in research under such headings as modality and evidentiality. It is concerned with the ways in which

...the authorial voice indicates that its position is but one of a number of possible positions and thereby, to a greater or lesser degree, makes dialogic space for these possibilities (Martin and White 2005: 104).

Entertain resources have been argued (Martin and White 2005, Martin and Rose 2003, White 2007) to encompass the use of modal auxiliaries (*may, might, must*), modal adjuncts (*perhaps, probably, definitely*), modal attributes (*It's likely that.., It's possible that..,*) and verb/attribute projections (*I think, I believe, I'm sure, I wish, I doubt*)²¹. Instead of exploring these modal values as indicating the speaker/ writer's committedness to the truth value, entertain resources grounds the proposition in the contingent, individual subjectivity of the speaker/ writer and thereby recognising that the proposition is but one among a number of propositions available in the current communicative context (White 2005a). Consider the following examples in which the Expand: entertain values 'I think' and 'may' have been used.

[3.26] We were all seized in that the problem that you are facing is not your problem and I think the challenge is on this Government, as a government of national unity, to move from political adventurism to what you have considered yourself as a national vision. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 394- 396)

[3.27] There is only one problem which may disturb you, that is the separation of powers whereby in one instant you behave like a politician and at other times you behave like a nationalist. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 335- 338)

In [3.26] the speaker is being dialogically expansive opening up the space for divergent views on who is to blame in the problems that the minister is facing. Although he invites the hearer/ reader to share with him the view that the challenge is with the government, s/he shows this proposition is but one of the many propositions. The speaker recognises that this is a contentious issue hence there might be an array of alternative propositions that either support or are against the current proposition. Under modality [3.27] can be assessed as lack of commitment to truth value by the speaker, yet within dialogic expansion the use of the modal 'may' indicates a speaker/ writer who is opening up the dialogic space proposing the current as one 'of the problems that might be disturbing the minister'.

²¹ Though some lexemes that have been noted under attribute crop up here, it is important to note that these values are easily distinguished in context whether they are conveying an attribute or entertain value. This again shows that it's not all about particular lexemes, though there are certain lexemes that convey a particular dialogic perspective.

3.3.3 Graduation

The final category in the taxonomy of the Appraisal system is graduation which encompasses meaning-making resources for scaling attitudinal meanings and engagement values. Gradability is a “defining property of all attitudinal meanings” (Martin and White 2005: 135) in that all the values of affect, judgement and appreciation construe higher or lower degrees of positivity or negativity with lexico-grammatical realizations. Gradability is also “generally a feature of the engagement system” (ibid) because engagement values scale for the degree of the speaker/writer’s investment in a given value position, as shown in Table 3.10. In this case, graduation is central to the whole system of Appraisal as “attitude and engagement can be regarded as domains of graduation that differ only in terms of the nature of the meanings being scaled” (Martin and White 2005: 136).

Graduation resources scale meanings along two semantic systems: that of force and that of focus. Force has to do with the lexico- grammatical terms that decrease or increase the volume of the scalable value. (e.g. I was NOT HAPPY, We were VERY UNHAPPY). On the contrary, focus applies to values of attitude and engagement which are usually non-scalable from an experiential perspective, focusing the meaning. (e.g. that is AN OMISSION, that is A SERIOUS OMISSION)²². The graduation resource is important in the evaluation of parliamentary debates as this graduation will indicate the speaker/ writer’s degree of involvement as well as dialogical contraction and expansion in relationship to current and potential propositions. Graduation in journalistic reporting is examined in Chapter 5 and 6 respectively. An overview of graduation resources is given Table 3.10 below.

²² For further reading on this, refer to Martin (1997), Martin and White (2005), Martin and Rose (2003) and White (2007).



Judgement	COMPETENT player REASONABLY good player	GOOD player QUITE good player	VERY good player	BRILLIANT player EXTREMELY good player
Affect	CONTENTEDLY SLIGHTLY upset	HAPPLY SOMEWHAT upset	JOYOUSLY VERY upset	ECSTATICALLY EXTREMELY upset
Appreciation	A BIT untidy ATTRACTIVE	SOMEWHAT untidy	VERY untidy BEAUTIFUL	COMPLETELY untidy EXQUISITE
Entertain	I SUSPECT she betrayed us POSSIBLY she betrayed us She just possibly betrayed us	I BELIEVE she betrayed us PROBABLY she betrayed us She possibly betrayed us		I am CONVINCED she betrayed us DEFINITELY she betrayed us She very POSSIBLY betrayed us
Attribute	She SUGGESTED that I have cheated	She STATED that I have cheated		She INSISTED that I have cheated
Pronounce	I'D SAY he's the man for the job	I CONTEND he's the man for the job		I INSIST that he's the man for the job
Concur	ADMITTEDLY he's technically proficient (but he doesn't play with feeling)			CERTAINLY he's technically proficient (but....)
Disclaim	I DIDN'T hurt him			I NEVER hurt him

Table 3.10: The Gradability of attitudinal and engagement values (adapted from Martin and White 2005)

3.4 The pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation

The focus in the discussion so far has been on outlining one of the theories, the appraisal theory, that is employed in the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. As pointed out in Section 3.1, this research employs two theories in the

analysis of parliamentary debates²³. This section is devoted to a review of the other theory employed in this study, the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation as was developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 1987, 1992, 2004)²⁴ and extended by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002, 2009) and van Eemeren (2009, 2010). In this outline major aspects within the theory that include, meta- theoretical principles, critical discussion model, analytical overview, and the notion of strategic manoeuvring are critically examined. The pragma- dialectic theory incorporates two related perspectives, namely rhetoric and dialectic. Thus, in this section, I also focus on the historical development of rhetoric and dialect which culminated in the pragma- dialectical theory, which was later extended with the strategic manoeuvring perspective.

3.4.1 Meta- Theoretical Principles

Literature on the pragma- dialectic theory point to the fact that it builds on the other modern forms of dialectics that “hark back to classical dialectics in concentrating on critical scrutiny of standpoints” (van Rees 2000: 256). This pragma- dialectical analysis of argumentative discourse is guided by four theoretical principles which lay the foundation for the critical and empirical analysis of argumentative discourse. The four principles, externalisation, socialisation, functionalisation and dialectification, have specific methodological consequences.

Externalisation is a meta- theoretical principle which espouses the fact that the study of argumentation is on a constellation of statements put forward by language users and their interpretation by other users (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984). Thus, in externalising their statements, speakers show their commitments and obligations to do something in certain contexts. Considering argumentative discourse as a communicative activity type, externalisation also implies performing particular speech acts such as accepting, disagreeing

²³ The connection between the two theories is presented in section 3.4.5. I have argued for the link between appraisal and rhetoric, hence the counterpart relationship between appraisal and the pragma- dialectic theory. In which the appraisal resources can be looked at as the means in strategically manoeuvring in argumentation. The acts of strategic manoeuvring.

²⁴ The terms argument and argumentation have to be defined here in accordance with the ways they are going to be used in this study as there are an array of definitions on these terms. An argument is viewed at as a constellation of statements/ propositions that are advanced to resolve a difference of opinion. Taking a pragma- dialectic approach argumentation is defined as “a social, intellectual, verbal activity serving to justify or refute an opinion, consisting of a constellation of statements and directed towards obtaining the approbation of an audience” (van Eemeren, Grootendorst and Kruger, 1987: 7). In the same vein, it will also be understood as a “communicative and interactive (speech) act complex aimed at resolving a difference of opinion before a reasonable judge by advancing a constellation of reasons the arguer can be held accountable for as justifying the acceptability of the standpoint(s) at issue” (van Eemeren 2010: 29).

and doubting. In other words, argumentation theorists depart from logicians and guard against psychologising, by focusing on expressed (externalised) opinions. Though the theory states that focus is “on expressed opinions by verbal means” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984: 5), this view does not exclude other forms of communication from the pragma-dialectic analysis of argumentative discourse (van Eemeren 2010).

The principle of **socialisation** focuses on “treating the subjects of investigation communicatively and interactionally” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984: 9). In this case utterances that are made in the argumentative discussion or text are examined as parts of a dialogue to resolve a difference of opinion by having a critical argumentative exchange. This critical argumentative exchange, as adapted from van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984), can be represented as follows;

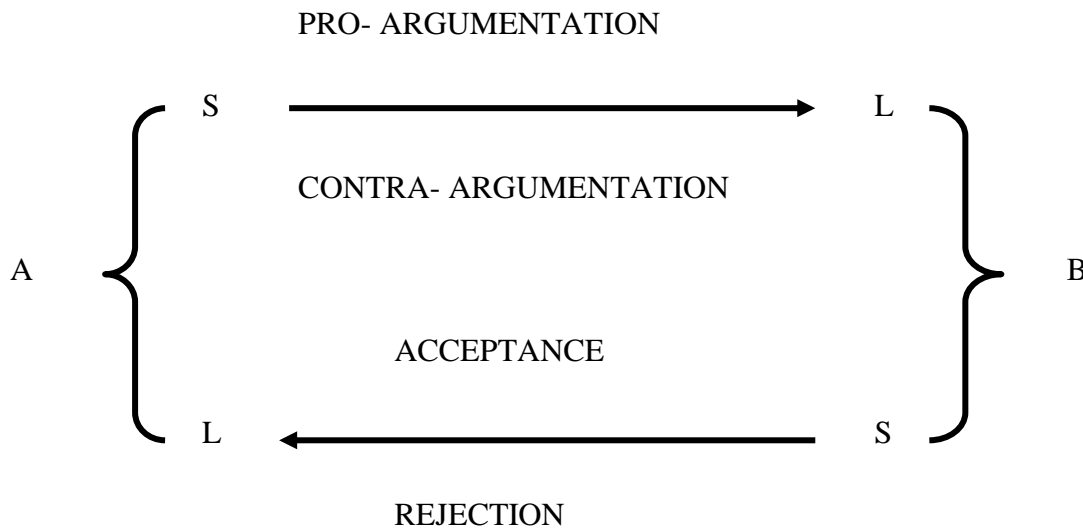


Figure 3.11: Socialisation in argumentation (adapted from van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984)

As van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans (2007) observe, argumentative moves made in this dialogue are related to the interactional roles the parties involved in the difference of opinion fulfil in the interaction. As shown in the Figure above, these interactant roles change as the argumentation unfolds.

The principle of **functionalisation** of argumentative discourse is concerned with treating the subject of investigation as a purposive activity. Considering argumentation as a verbal

activity²⁵, a constellation of utterances or propositions advanced in an argumentative discussion or text serve to perform a particular speech act. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992) argues that these utterances are considered as speech acts by specifying the ‘identity conditions’ and the ‘correctness conditions’ that apply to the performance of these speech acts. Considering “argumentation not only as a product of a constellation of statements but also as a process²⁶” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984: 8), enables the identification of particular argumentative moves that are performed at different stages in the resolution process. On the other side, being able to identify the identity conditions and the correctness conditions will “shed light on the disagreement space that exists in a particular case and clarifies the way this disagreement space is exploited in the argumentation” (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans 2007: 4).

Dialectification, the fourth meta- theoretical principle within the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation, takes into account the fact that a dialectical relation in argumentative discourse is evident. That is, in the argumentation, the arguers perform two-fold tasks when they advance arguments in the defence of a standpoint. The moves that are made with a constellation of statements are calculated to justify or refute an expressed opinion: pro- argumentation and contra- argumentation (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1984, 1992, van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck 2007, van Eemeren 2010)²⁷. The dialectification principle also applies to the language user being addressed. The listener adopts “the position of a rational judge and also reacts to the argument critically” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984:16). This argument sheds light on ways in which moves are made in an argumentative discussion and how these moves conform to the dialectical rules that are supposed to be observed in a critical discussion aimed at resolving a difference of opinion. The critical

²⁵ Levinson (1992) also introduced the term activity type for the description and analysis of institutional discourse. He alludes to it as a social activity that is culturally embedded. An activity type according to him, is a “any culturally recognised activity... whose focal members are goal- defined, socially constituted, bounded events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions” (1992: 69, original emphasis). Though this is based on institutional discourse in general, it also applies to argumentative discourse. Thus, argumentation can also be looked at as a social activity in which the members have certain goals they want to achieve. These goals are socially constituted and the arguers’ participation is constrained by the setting (in this case the parliament) and the norms allowed in that kind of activity.

²⁶ This aspect sets apart pragma- dialecticians from logicians. Logicians have been argued to ‘take a purely product- oriented approach to argumentation which is bound to be defective because they will be overlooking the fact that argumentation in colloquial speech is always committed and always will be committed to the specific conventions applying to ordinary everyday language’ (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984: 8). The other important point coming out from this is that pragma- dialectics’ s object of study is ordinary everyday language.

²⁷ Most theorists, logicians included, focus on pro- argumentation (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984). Taking the approach that argumentation is designed to establish how debates must be conducted for the critical testing of expressed opinions, the pragma dialectical theory considers argumentation as both pro- argumentation and contra- argumentation as focus is on the interaction created by both the protagonist and the antagonist. This socialisation and dialectification of argumentation is the same perspective that is being taken in the analysis of parliamentary debates, as the debates are a critical exchange in the discussion of the country’ policies.

discussion model, as shall be elaborated in section 3.4.2 below, “provides a standard to systematically examine in which respect, and to what extent, argumentative practice deviates from the critical ideal of reasonableness” (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans 2007: 5). This dialectification is one of the principles that are set to provide a guide as to how parliamentarians engage with each other in argumentative discussions. The present study will, however, explore how the rules and norms in the parliament impact on the rules within the critical discussion model during a debate in the parliament.

3.4.2 Critical Discussion Model

At the core of pragma- dialectics is the model of a critical discussion. This model has been formulated with the aim of resolving a difference of opinion on the merits (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984, 2004, van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002). The model is influenced considerably by the dialectical notion of reasonableness. The notion of reasonableness entails that nothing is a certainty, hence every claim is supposed to be subjected to a critical test²⁸. In critically testing the standpoints, the critical discussion model then specifies the dialectical stages that have to be distinguished in resolving a difference of opinion as well as the moves that serve a constructive purpose in the different stages of the resolution process (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans 2007, van Eemeren 2010). van Eemeren (2010) argues that standpoints can be conveyed by speech acts of all types distinguished in Searle’s (1979) taxonomy which can be reconstructed as being aimed at gaining acceptance from the addressee(s) (see also van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984), van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans (2007). However, an antagonism obtains as to the type of standpoints to be studied, with rhetorical (exclusionist) scholars arguing for the exclusion of descriptive and evaluative standpoints on the grounds that rhetoric is all about action claims and dialecticians arguing that all subjects can be the object of a reasonable discussion as to leave out the descriptive, for instance, will give politicians a “chance to minimise their standpoints against criticism by proclaiming them beyond discussion” (van Eemeren 2010: 2).

There are rules governing the conduct of the parties in this critical discussion. The pragma-dialectical code of conduct for a critical discussion consists of the following rules (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004: 190- 196, van Eemeren 2010: 7- 8): (1) The parties in the discussion may not prevent one from advancing standpoints or from expressing their doubts

²⁸ This perspective is the *Socratic ideal* that has been adopted in critical rationalism based on the premise that everything one believes should be put onto a dialectical test (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck 2007, van Eemeren 2010).

on standpoints in question (Freedom Rule); (2) If one has advanced a standpoint they may not refuse to defend it when called to do so (Obligation- to- Defend Rule); (3) Discussants may not attack a standpoint that has not actually been put forward by the other party (Standpoint Rule); (4) Only relevant argumentation may be used to defend a standpoint (Relevance Rule); (5) Unexpressed premises may not be the bases for raising doubts on the other party's argument nor for disowning responsibility; (6) The discussants may not falsely present or deny something as an accepted starting point (Starting Point Rule); (7) An explicit and complete reasoning in an argumentation may not be considered invalid in a logical sense; (8) Appropriate argument schemes are supposed to be applied correctly for a conclusive defence of a standpoint (Argument Scheme Rule); (9) Inconclusive defences of standpoints may not lead to maintaining these standpoints and conclusive defences of standpoints may not lead to maintaining expressions of doubt concerning these standpoints (Concluding Rule); (10) In a discussion, discussants must avoid ambiguous or insufficiently clear formulations and deliberate misinterpretation of the other party's formulations (Language Use Rule). These rules state the norms that are supposed to be followed in all the stages in the resolution of the difference of opinion. The parties involved in the argumentative discussion are bound by these rules. Deviation from the norm set by the rules in the argumentative process is taken as a 'discussion move that obstructs or hinders the resolution of the difference of opinion on the merits' (van Eemeren 2010: 7). This move is regarded as fallacious as it violates the 'code of contact', which are the rules set within the pragma- dialectic theoretical model of a critical discussion. Tracking on inconsistent statements or fallacies, the discussion model can explicitly "determine how an argumentative exchange of views deviates from the course of events conducive to resolving a difference of opinion" (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans 2007: 10).

Four stages are followed in the resolution of a difference of opinion within the pragma- dialectic theory model of a critical discussion. These stages are; confrontation, opening, argumentation and concluding stage. At the confrontation stage a standpoint which is expressed either explicitly or implicitly encounters doubts or objections. This objection indicates that there is a difference of opinion. Once a difference of opinion occurs then a critical discussion is expected to follow, but without the clash no possibility of a critical test occurs. In the parliament setting, this is usually presented as business of the day or as a motion that is moved by the other parliamentarian and parliamentarians will then express their doubts on that aspect as they want to contribute in resolving the difference of opinion. At the opening stage parties have to observe the starting points rule. They have to explicitly or

implicitly agree on the common point of departure with one party taking the protagonist side and the other the antagonist. As van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans (2007) point out, this stage is largely implicit. Everything is left to assumption, for instance the participants will assume that one has the knowledge of what is to be debated and knows the values and rules regarding the conduct of these debates. This assumption is actually the reality in an institution like the parliament, were the Speaker of Parliament or President of Senate will assume that the MP or Senator is aware of the norms governing the way debates are supposed to unfold and also that the MP or Senator has something important to contribute to the debate. The other assumption at this stage in a parliamentary setting is that all the members want to deliberate and take action in order to bring about certain valuable changes in society.

The argumentation stage is the stage where the parties have to critically exchange their ideas with the goal and being committed to resolving the difference of opinion. The protagonists will be advancing arguments in support of their standpoint at the same time trying to clear the doubts or critical responses from the antagonists. On the other side the antagonists will be critically following the arguments evaluating whether they are convincing or fallacious, at the same time responding critically to the expressed standpoints. Different structures of argumentation ranges from simple to complex such as multiple, coordinatively compound, subordinatively compound (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992)²⁹. Considering the nature of parliaments and how debates are conducted, Ilie (2001) observes that they are hierarchically-based and rule- regulated. As parliamentarians debate in this competitive and performance oriented institutional environment, they are called upon to master the art of verbal slaughter and reasoning in order to win the argument in their favour and promote their own image. In these critical exchanges,

...parliamentary debates are meant to achieve a number of institutionally specific purposes, such as negotiating, persuading and position- claiming, both along and across ideological and party lines (Ilie 2001: 235).

At the concluding stage, the parties reflect on the ongoing discussion to see whether the difference of opinion at hand has been resolved. That is “either the standpoint of the protagonist is accepted, doubts cleared (in favour of the protagonist) or the standpoint of the

²⁹ For more information on the different argument structures see van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992), van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck (2007) and van Eemeren (2010).

protagonist should be withdrawn- thus, resolved in favour of the antagonist” (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans 2007: 12). However, if the other party does not agree with the conclusion given there might not be a resolution. Thus, it can be observed that in as much as the arguers are committed to resolving the difference amicably, they also try to resolve it in their own favour. This way of resolving the problem can be witnessed in the parliamentary context especially during adversarial questioning time. However, with the debate on the presentation that would have been given by the president or a minister, it is the person (MP or Senator) representing that portfolio who gives concluding remarks. The person concluding the debate, who is usually the protagonist, will either withdraw their arguments or totally deny the other member’s argument or postpone the difference of opinion that has not been resolved. In this case one has to master the art of witty remarks and reasoning to avoid further antagonism.

3.4.3 Analytical Overview

The pragma- dialectic theory is also concerned with theoretically motivated reconstruction of the discourse. The reconstruction results in an 'analytic overview' of all elements that are pertinent to a critical evaluation (discussion) (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992, van Eemeren and Grootendorst 2004). The analytical component integrates two dimensions to the analysis of argumentative discourse: normative and descriptive. Thus, the study of argumentation can be explored from these two angles of research. The two dimensions can 'be bridged to integrate critical and empirical insights systematically' (van Eemeren 2010: 5). As regards the normative pragmatic approach to the analysis of argumentative discourse, the pragma- dialectical approach links the normative and the descriptive dimensions in the study of argumentation in a systematic way. An analytic overview is only applied to argumentative discourse. The analytic overview clarifies the difference of opinion at issue and positions of the participants in a critical discussion to resolve the difference of opinion (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, van Eemeren 2010). It also presents "the starting points of analysis, arguments and criticism (explicit or implicit) being advanced, the schemes, structures and the conclusion" (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2009: 1)³⁰. As stated in the outline of the stages that are followed in argumentation, the different arguments and criticisms that are advanced in parliament are done both explicitly and implicitly. The present study will explicate how Zimbabwean parliamentarians balance what they are expected to do in parliament (i.e.

³⁰ van Eemeren and Houtlosser argue that “people engaged in argumentative discourse are characteristically oriented towards resolving a difference in opinion and may thus be regarded as committed to norms instrumental in achieving this process” (2002: 9). However this does not override human nature concept of wanting to resolve the process in their favor.

selflessness, integrity, objectivity, accountability, openness) and their ideological and party orientations.

The analytic overview also makes a survey of the speech acts that operate in the various stages of the resolution process³¹. Thus, the reconstruction of discourse serves to show the different moves that are pertinent to the resolution process providing ways in which these moves can be analysed. As van Eemeren (2010) states, an analytical overview is crucial in judging the soundness of an argumentative discourse. Considering parliamentary debates, an analytic overview will serve to give a reconstruction of how the debates unfold noting those pertinent aspects within these debates. It will be an aim of the following chapter to explore how parliamentarians defend their standpoints or critically respond to advanced standpoints as well evaluatively concludes the debates. With an analytic overview of argumentative discourse the different strategies employed in the critical discussion will be put on the surface. Thus, in pragma- dialectics, argumentative discourse is reconstructed as an attempt to show how a difference of opinion has been resolved. This reconstruction can be summed up with van Eemeren's observation that

The pragma- dialectical theory is aimed at enabling the analyst of argumentative discourse to make a reconstruction of the discourse that results in an analytic overview of all the elements that are pertinent to a critical evaluation (2010: 19).

3.4.4 Rhetoric and dialectic: The relation

Literature on rhetoric and dialectic is in abundance as the study of the two fields stretches back to Plato and the Sophists (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, Krabbe 2002). However, there is no consensus in the literature on a number of salient points relating to the relationship that should be there between rhetoric and dialectic. In this section, the relationship is to be framed as a collection of family resemblances, as the relationship is complex and subject to change. For instance, their relationship and the way in which one may subordinate to, combined with or even integrated in the other are some of the aspects still not well defined.

³¹As earlier noted in Section 3.4.2, the pragma- dialectic theory developed Austin (1962) and Searle (1969)'s Speech Act Theory to encompass not only the communicative aspect, but also the interactional aspect of language (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1984). In support of this, van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck (2007) observes that verbal moves made in the various stages of a critical discussion to resolve a difference of opinion can be described as speech acts. However, it is important to note that though the pragma- dialectists 'added' the interactional aspect to the study of speech acts Austin(1962) and Searle (1969)'s position on speech acts is still sound. They laid the basis for the study of speech acts. For a detailed discussion of speech acts from a pragma- dialectic perspective refer to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) and van Eemeren (2010).

Given that the historical development of the two notions is broad and complex, in giving this overview, focus in this section is on those features of the relationship that show that the two theoretical perspectives can be integrated in the analysis of discourse.

Rhetoric and dialectic are the two main perspectives in the study of argumentative discourse that originate from Greek Antiquity³². Dialectic has been viewed as the practice and theory of conversations and rhetoric as the practice and theory of speeches. In this, Aristotle has been argued to characterise rhetoric as a ‘counterpart of dialectic’ or ‘an offshoot of dialect’ or a ‘sort of division’ (Krabbe, 2002: 29). This view shows that, according to Aristotle, the two fields can be integrated or combined in the analysis of discourse. However, it is Plato’s (Aristotle’s teacher) appreciation of rhetoric that gave rise to a tradition of mutual antagonism between the two fields. Instead of embracing the ideas of the Sophists, Plato considered rhetoric as a kind of ‘flattery’ and later Callicles also considered dialectic as something that is good for the young people, which should not be taken seriously (Krabbe, 2002, Leff, 2002). In all this development, one common criticism that is laid on rhetoric is that “it produces feigned and untruthful speeches addressed to man’s lower instinct, rather than to reason, and possessed of unnecessary bombast and flowery use of language.” (Krabbe, 2002: 30). On the other hand dialectic was described as “useless logic chopping, full of sophistry and leading to no practical gains” (Krabbe, 2002: 30). These criticisms led to the final separation of the two during the scientific revolution. However, this separation, as van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009) assert, has rather been counterproductive in the study of argumentative discourse.

Taking an Aristotelian perspective, rhetoric can be defined as “the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever.” (Krabbe 2002: 32). In this case, the ‘means’ encompasses three aspects: arguments (logos), display of character by the speaker (ethos) and arousing emotion in the hearers (pathos). Following these three aspects, Aristotle states three remarks on the usefulness of rhetoric: (a) to defend proper decisions (it does not matter whether you are right, you have to defend) (b) to convince those who cannot follow scientific arguments (c) to be able to argue both for and against the same proposition. Moving away from Plato’s sketchy program on dialectic as a tool for philosophical truth seeking, Aristotle provides ground rules from the dialectical question-answer game and the methods for winning such disputes (Leff, 2002). However, one feature that is found at the centre of classical and modern dialectic is its focus on the critical testing of

³² For a broader historical development of the two tracing from Antiquity, Middle Ages, their split during the Scientific Revolution upto the modern perspective, refer to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002, 2009), Krabbe (2002), Leff (2002), van Eemeren (2010).

opinions as advanced in the works of the 60's and 70's (van Rees, 2000). Thus, dialectic is viewed as the procedure for testing 'standpoints' in the light of commitments assumed in empirical reality of argumentative discourse (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002).

In all this development scholars are divided as to the way in which these two perspectives can be united. On one end, some scholars see rhetoric as more important than dialectic (e.g. Perelman and Olbrechts- Tyteca 1958/1969), others feel dialectic should have an upper hand in the integration (e.g. van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1984, 2004, van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002) and others feel there should not be integrated at all (Leff 2002). Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) starting from a theory of argument see dialectic encompassing rhetoric as they argue that in arguing one will be inherently aiming for rational resolution (dialectically), but in the process there will be need to adapt to that changing circumstances in order to achieve a resolution in your favour (rhetorically). From a rhetorical perspective, Leff (2002) argues that if one wants to persuade (rhetorically), they must subject themselves to the discipline of dialectical rationality (dialectically). Although this kind of disagreement or antagonism occurs as to which should encompass which between the two perspectives, what can be observed from the different approaches is that rhetoric and dialectic can be integrated in the analysis of argumentative discourse. Scholars have seen the need to have these two perspectives combined for a better analysis of discourse. This argument is echoed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002: 138) who reject "the sharp and infertile ideological division" between the two fields sighting theoretical connection and link in actual argumentative discourse.

3.4.5 Strategic manoeuvring: Bridging rhetoric and dialectic

This section outlines the notion of strategic manoeuvring as it was introduced by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002, 2009) and van Eemeren (2010). As has been argued in the historical development of rhetoric and dialectic in Section 3.4.4, there have always been scholars who saw the link between the two dimensions. This explicitly shows that the effort to bring rhetoric and dialectic together is not being done *ab initio*. However, these perspectives are not well defined, their relationship and how one may be subordinated to, combined with or even integrated in, the other is not clear (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002)³³. After an evaluation of the different perspectives on the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic, Hohmann (2002) concluded that "territorial claims could be eliminated even more decisively

³³ For a historical development of the theory refer to Section 3.4.4 and for different scholars with works on this refer to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002); Krabbe (2002); Jacobs (2002); van Eemeren (2009, 2010).

by treating dialectical and rhetorical aspects of argumentation analysis as complementary, rather than asserting primacy of one over the other” (p.49). Thus, Hohmann subscribes to the complementary relationship between rhetoric and dialectic. The basis at which he reached to this conclusion has been attacked by van Eemeren (2010), though it’s a valid judgement “Neither their independence nor their differences, however, prevent combining the two disciplines in any way” (Leff 2002: 85). However, though van Eemeren (2010) disagrees with Hohmann (2002)’s basis for putting together rhetoric and dialectic, he also sees the link between the two as he argues that

If rhetoric is viewed in the general sense of the theoretical study of aiming for communicative and interactional effectiveness in discourse... there is no reason to assume that the interpretation of the rhetorical norm of artful persuasion is necessarily in disagreement with the ideal of critical reasonableness that lies at the heart of pragma- dialectics (van Eemeren 2010: 89).

Thus, from this argument, van Eemeren sees no reason why the two dimensions cannot be intergrated in the analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse. Integrating rhetorical considerations into the dialectical framework, van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) argue that the primary interest is the resolution of difference of opinion by putting standpoints to the (critical) test. In extending the pragma- dialectical theory, by explicitly involving the discipline of rhetoric in the dialectic approach, van Eemeren and Houtlosser have observed that “vital insights concerning the effectiveness of argumentative discourse can be derived from rhetoric” (van Eemeren 2010: 89). However, they snubbed Krabbe (2002)’s ‘full integration’ approach opting for an integration based on functional bases- that is- incorporating only those aspects from rhetoric that will help one strategically manoeuvre effectively in argumentative discourse. Van Eemeren (2010) admits that they discarded the other approaches in the integration of rhetoric and dialectic because he intends to “achieve a systematic integration of rhetorical insights in a dialectical theoretical framework” focusing on a “selective integration of rhetorical insights in the pragma- dialectical method of analysis and evaluation” (p. 89). The argument by van Eemeren shows he adopts the dialectical perspective in analysing and evaluating argumentative discourse. He does values rhetoric to a lesser degree as he has opted for a functional integration not a full integration. From his argument it also shows that strategic manoeuvring is a dialectically biased notion as one

cannot talk of a balance between the two when there is not balance in their integration³⁴. The present study argues for Krabbe (2002)'s 'full integration' approach to the analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse. Considering how strategic manoeuvring manifests in argumentative discourse taking place in institutional settings like the parliament, Plug (2010: 306) observes that "the notion of strategic manoeuvring is poised to provide a fruitful starting point for the analysis of argumentative discourse."

The integration of rhetoric and dialectic gave birth to the theoretical notion of strategic manoeuvring³⁵ (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, 2009, van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans, 2007). According van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009) to strategic manoeuvring refers to the continual efforts made in principle by all parties in argumentative discourse to reconcile their simultaneous pursuit of rhetorical aims of effectiveness and dialectical standards of reasonableness. Thus, strategic manoeuvring was introduced to give justice to the 'argumentative predicament' of trying to balance effectiveness with reasonableness. In other words the notion has been developed to take into account the fact that "engaging in argumentative discourse always means being at the same time out for critical reasonableness and artful effectiveness" (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002: 4). This view is based on the fact that arguers do not only want their words to be understood but also accepted and dealt with accordingly. In other words, when language users perform speech acts they do not only wish to be understood, but also to be accepted. In this view the theory of speech acts is presented as serving both a communicative and interactional purpose. Language users will aim to balance effectiveness and reasonableness in each and every move that they make in an argumentative discussion. In balancing the two, individuals will not only do that for themselves but for someone else there might be representing. This situation is a reality in institutional discourse (Jacobs 2002). At this level arguments may be advanced to fulfil the general interests of the public. Taking an example of the parliamentary institution, an MP will strategically manoeuvre advancing not his own arguments but those of the constituency or party that they are representing. In this case, the MP will strategically manoeuvre at all the stages of the critical discussion to resolve a difference of opinion as at each stage a specific dialectical aim is evident and s/he would want to realise this aim rhetorically in the best

³⁴ Though maintaining their functional approach in integrating the two, there were quick to point to the fazziness or geariness in the term 'full integration' as there are no theoretical or practical effects known yet. This method only indicates how different scholarly backgrounds come in the way of analysing and evaluating discourse.

³⁵ Manoeuvre (N) is derived from latin *manu operari* meaning a planned movement or movement to win or do something and rhetoric is from Greek *stratêgikos* (Adj) meaning a commander's plans for attack or defence The noun *stratêgos* (N) with *strat* meaning army and *êgos* meaning leading refers to commander or general (van Eemeren 2010). Thus, taking it from the way the Greek commanders or generals plan their attack or defence at the battlefield, strategic is a movement done skillfully considering reasonableness and effectiveness .

possible way. This manoeuvring implies that at every stage of the critical discussion, the arguers have to balance dialectical and rhetorical objectives as the parties have “to reconcile their own preferences for rhetorical effectiveness with the dialectical requirements of reasonableness inherent in the stage concerned” (van Eemeren 2010:43). To realise this balance, three inseparable aspects of strategic maneuvering have been proposed: topical potential; audience- directed 'adjustments' and linguistic (or other) devices³⁶ (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008, van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2009, van Eemeren 2010).

Choosing from topical potential relates to the moves that the party makes in selecting the most advantageous topic for discussion- the aspect that they believe will not only make the difference of opinion resolved with merits but also to their advantage. This strategic move is done not only at the confrontational stage, but in all the stages of the critical discussion to resolve the difference of opinion. For instance, at the argumentation stage, both the protagonist and antagonist have to choose the best out of the arguments available in order to effectively defend or attack in light of the dialectical situation.

With regards to **adjustments to audience demands**, the parties involved have to make their moves “optimally acceptable to the other party in view of that party’s views and preferences” (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2009: 6). Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009) argue that in each stage of the argumentation process, the parties will make an effort “to create the required ‘communion’, relying on ‘*endoxa*’, specific ‘concessions’ and ‘contextual commitments’ where this is possible” (p.6). The other party in the resolution process is the immediate audience with listeners, viewers or readers forming the wider audience. However, with political debates or discussions, the parties might not be interested in convincing the immediate audience but the wider audience. This interest makes their adjustments directed towards the wider audience, the electorate in the case of election campaigns. With parliamentary debates, the audience encompasses the immediate parliamentary members, party colleagues, voters or the electorate and even the international community.

The third aspect of strategic maneuvering relates to the **presentational or linguistic devices**. The linguistic devices refers to the fact that in argumentation the party do not only select elements to be used, but also the way they are supposed to be presented to achieve the best

³⁶ These aspects run concurrently with the rhetorical notions of topics, audience orientation and stylistics. Though the aspects can be distinguished analytically, they are inseparable in actual practice. These aspects are followed in the resolution process. At different stages of the process, each of these has a specific dialectical objective and a rhetorical analogue (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2009, van Eemeren 2010).

out of the move that is being made. Amongst an array of linguistic devices that can be used in the argumentation process, van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009) observe the role that is played by figures of speech and thought in effectively presenting an argument. The particular figure of speech can only be regarded as strategic if it serves to win the argument effectively and reasonably. Thus, presentational devices that are employed in the resolution process are regarded as strategic if they are bringing a new perspective or view in the resolution process. This aspect shows the role that has been accorded stylistics or language use in argumentation. Thus, the arguers would want to win the argument not only reasonably but also effectively. The way that one uses language in argumentation to take particular positions, align or disalign with the other party or audience, or show their involvement in the argument being advanced is still to be investigated. Two perspectives are being put together here; the argumentative perspective and the discourse- analytic perspective. Considering the two perspectives, the present study utilises the appraisal theory and the extended pragma dialectical theory to explore Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. The rationale for adopting the two theories as complementary frameworks is the focus of the next section.

3.5 Connecting appraisal theory and the extended pragma- dialectical theory

The appraisal and the extended pragma- dialect theory are the theories utilised in the analysis of data. The previous sections have been devoted to a review of the salient features of the theories. In this section I argue for a connection between the two theories and suggest a complementarity relation in the analysis and evaluation of parliamentary debates or argumentative discourse. That is, to advance the position that the analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse from these two perspectives provides a heuristic rather than a constrained analysis of parliamentary discourse.

The two theories share similar starting points in the analysis of discourse. In the appraisal framework focus is on inscribed and evoked evaluation- the explicit (direct) and implicit (indirect) use of language (White 2007, Martin and White 2005). In appraising the discourse, the appraisal analyst's intent is to understand meanings being communicated that are either explicitly or implicitly expressed. In the pragma- dialectical theory, van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 2004) clearly points that at the core of the theory are the meta-theoretical notions of externalisation, socialisation, functionalisation and dialectification. The meta- theoretical notion of externalisation, as pointed out earlier in section 3.4.1, is all about

one making their thoughts known. Focus in the pragma dialectical theory is on arguments that have been explicitly or implicitly expressed. In both theories, focus on externalised language guards against psychologising. Sharing and agreeing on the starting points in the analysis and evaluation of discourse puts the two theories on the same footing to engage in a complementary study of parliamentary discourse.

Considering variation in the use of language in different contexts, the appraisal framework has at its core the analysis and evaluation of how speakers and writers, alike, assume certain positions and relations. The role at which linguistic resources are utilised to convey the different positions and relations that are assumed and formed in the communicative event is recognised in the appraisal theory. The theory advances the argument that selection of particular lexical or syntactic items serves to bring a new perspective and relation(s) between the parties involved in the discourse. This perspective is not in any way contradictory to the pragma- dialectical theory. In a critical discussion to resolve the difference of opinion, the parties involved have to express their doubts or disagreement at the confrontation stage and take positions at the opening stage. At the argumentation stage, as previously observed, the parties will advance their arguments to convince the other and resolve the difference of opinion at hand. In advancing their arguments, the parties will have to strategically manoeuvre adjusting to audience demands. Thus, as with the notion of alignment and disalignment in the appraisal framework, the arguers have to win the audience's hearts through the arguments advanced as well as the way linguistic resources are employed. Given the argumentative frame from the pragma- dialectical theory, the appraisal theory can best be utilised to show how parties in argumentative discourse take certain positions as well as align or disalign with the other party or audience at the different stages of the resolution process. For instance, using the graduation resource, the appraisal theory can show how one strongly expresses their doubts or disagreement at the confrontation stage.

The role of context in the analysis and evaluation of discourse is at the core of both theories. To understand attitudinal meanings being communicated or the different ways in which the speaker/ writer engages with the listener/ reader, one has to know the socio- cultural, situational or linguistic context of that discourse. For instance, dialogical contraction and expansion can best be understood in context otherwise dialogical expansion might be analysed and evaluated as lack of boldness or assertiveness. In pragma- dialectics the role of context in the analysis and evaluation of the use of language is one of the reasons why van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) incorporated the pragmatic aspect into the dialectic

perspective of the study of argumentative discourse. Observing the pragmatic and dialectic situation, both the protagonist and antagonist select the most optimal topic, adjust to audience demands and make use of the available presentational resources in pro- argumentation and contra- argumentation.

In bringing together dialectic and rhetoric, Aristotle saw rhetoric as a ‘counterpart’ of dialectic (Krabbe 2002). Explicitly integrating rhetoric into dialectic, van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) argue that the goals of rhetoric and dialectic are complementary than contradictory. This cordial relationship between the two perspectives made van Eemeren and Houtlosser to extend the pragma- dialectical approach with the notion of strategic maneuvering in order to bridge the gap that could be there between the two notions. Giving the study of argumentative discourse the heuristic approach, van Eemeren and Houtlosser also argue that in the resolution process the parties will not only want to win an argument reasonably but also effectively, balancing rhetorical and dialectical goals. Appraisal is a theory for the study of the language of persuasion. Utilising the appraisal resources (attitude, engagement and graduation), one can understand how language is used effectively to win arguments. Having the pragma- dialectic theory providing insights on the nature of argumentative discourse and the appraisal framework providing the resources for the analysis of the language of argumentation will definitely provide one with an opportunity to give an in-depth analysis and evaluation of parliamentary debates or argumentative discourse in general. The varied strategic moves the parties take in the resolution process such as dissociation, fallacies and tracking down the other party’s inconsistencies, can best be explored from an appraisal and evaluation perspective.

3.6 Relating controversy analysis with argumentation theory

The study of argumentation has been extended with an emerging field of study called controversy. The study of controversy has undeniably been connected with the methods and tools in the study of argumentation (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008). However, the study of controversy has also been considered to have been much concentrated on the history of science or scientific controversies. With Dascal arguably been considered as the ‘grand man’ in the study of controversy, the development of the field is biased towards scientific controversies. In support of this bias, Ferreira (2008) argues that the activities of scientists have always been ‘immersed in controversies’. However, this does not imply that the study of controversy is limited to the history of science. As a multi- disciplinary field, controversy has also been studied in other kinds of history and present- day controversies (Fritz 2008). In this

section focus is on exploring what constitutes a controversy and the methods and tools that can be used to understand controversies. The exploration is set to show the connection or relation that is there between controversy and argumentation. The present study argues that a controversy is a type of debate hence falls under argumentative discourse.

The general agreement amongst controversy scholars is that controversy “always has to do with confrontation and with tenacious efforts to put an end to the confrontation by means of argumentation” (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008: 2). There should be two antagonistic parties putting all their efforts to bridge that misunderstanding employing argumentation methods. From the onset argumentation is being accorded the status of the way to end the confrontation in a controversy. From this argument van Eemeren and Garssen (2008) have to conclude that in colloquial language the term controversy refers “to a difference of opinion that is “mixed” and has become a persistent conflict” (pp. 2). The difference of opinion will appear as if it is irresolvable as it will have developed into a state of ‘quasi- permanency’. However, controversies have to be classified as they vary in accordance with the nature of the degrees of being controversial. They have been argued to range from least controversial matters (mere squabbles) to deep controversies (where there are deep disagreements) (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008, Dascal 2001). Thus, mere squabbles might grow and end up as deep disagreements. Hence in a discussion to resolve a difference of opinion at hand the parties might find themselves in a controversy. From this point it can be argued that controversies are not planned speech events but are a result of cases or discussions that degenerate in their deliberation. In this regard, Dascal sees controversies as a challenge to philosophers as they are supposed to readjust when approaching the subject and not apply “pure reason to issues that lie beyond its capacity” (2001: 313).

Van Eemeren and Garssen argue that controversies belong to a different category of speech event denominators than ‘debate’ or ‘discussion’ though having its own “specific manifestations of argumentative discourse which has its own defining characteristics and conventions” (2008: 3). Thus, they agree that controversy as a speech event falls under argumentative discourse. However, Dascal (2001, 2008) for sees controversy as a type of debate different from discussion and dispute. In advancing this argument, Dascal categorised debates into threefold typologies: discussion, dispute and controversy³⁷. The three typologies are forms of dialogues in which there should be disagreement between two parties. As is the case in the critical discussion model of the pragma dialectic theory, in the three typologies

³⁷ Though Dascal’s arguments are biased towards the sciences the same argument is applicable in other fields.

there should be a protagonist and an antagonist. Dascal argues that a discussion is viewed as a “well- circumscribed topic or problem” aimed at correcting a mistake through giving proof. He further argues that in a dispute the difference of opinion is not viewed as a mistake but as “rooted in differences of attitude, feelings, or preferences and is irresolvable” (2001:315). It can only be ‘dissolved’ after the intervention of a broker³⁸. The dichotomisation that is there between a dispute and a discussion made Dascal to come up with an intermediary category of controversy. Thus, a controversy has been argued to be “a type of debate that occupies an intermediate position between a discussion and a dispute” (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008: 5). In controversies, as opposed to a discussion and a dispute, the difference of opinion is not viewed as mistake, but as divergent attitudes and preferences as well as varied methods for problem- solving. Parties involved in controversies believe that an increase in the amount of evidence or arguments will tilt the ‘balance of reason’ in their favour (Dascal 2001). Again as opposed to disputes which are either irresolvable or dissolved, controversies can be resolved. Thus, as opposed to van Eemeren and Garssen (2008)’s argument discussed above that controversies are irresolvable Dascal is of the contrary view that the controversy is resolvable if the participants agree on the context of the statement at issue. Summing up the differences amongst the three typologies of debates, considering their ends, Dascal contends that;

...discussions are basically concerned with establishing the truth, disputes with winning, and controversies with persuading the adversary and/ or competent audience to accept one’s position (2001: 316).

The parameters characterising the types of debates are given in the table below (as adapted from Dascal 2008).

	Discussions	Controversy	Disputes
Aim	Truth	Persuasion	Victory
Extension	Localised	Generalised	Localised
Procedure	Decision method	Method questionable	No internal method
Typical move	Proof	Argument	Stratagem
Strategy	Dichotomise	De- dichotomise	Dichotomise
Ending	Solution	Resolution	Dissolution

Table 3.11: Characterising the three debate typologies

³⁸ However this does not imply that the difference of opinion will have been erased in the minds of the two parties. van Eemeren and Garssen (2008) rather argue that the dispute can be taken up at another level or forum.

Exploring debates in the Zimbabwean parliament, the researcher is set to categorise them basing on Dascal's three-fold classification. Employing the pragma-dialectic theory, the researcher will be able to analyse the nature of the difference of opinion, the methods being employed in resolving it and the ends of such a debate. Following certain themes that have been tackled in the Zimbabwean parliament, the researcher will be able to categorise the debates in accordance with the three-fold classification.

Studies from various scholars indicate that focus in the study of controversy is on how the parties involved manage the difference of opinion argumentatively (Ferreira 2008, Regner 2008, Kutrovátz 2008, and Dascal 2008). The relation that is there between controversy and argumentation is not only evident but clear. As van Eemeren and Garssen assert "Just as argumentation theorists are by definition interested in controversy, the scholars who study controversy always pay a great deal of attention to argumentation" (2008: 13). This view clearly supports the argument that a connection between the study of controversy and the study of argumentation is evident. The argument that controversy "fall under a theory of argumentation" (Regner 2008: 51), is augmented by a number of studies that have been carried out employing argumentation theories and methods. In support of this valid argument, Kutrovátz (2008) argues that argumentation theory provides the means and methods of how to reconstruct arguments. In the same vein, Zemplén observes that "Using this approach"³⁹, texts in a scientific controversy in general and the Newton-Lucas correspondence in particular can be treated as small speeches that together constitute a dialogue" (2008: 254). However, as is the case with argumentation scholars, no consensus amongst controversy scholars as to how to relate or employ pragma-dialectic theory in the study of controversies is evident. Ferreira (2008) considers full implementation of the theory (a balance of dialectic and rhetoric) will increase plausibility and rationality in scientific contentions. However, for Kutrovátz (2008) the "dialectical framework has several significant advantages over the purely rhetorical framework of analysis that is customary" (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008: 16). Yet for Zemplén (2008) rhetorical insights are indispensable for a meaningful study of scientific controversies and can even go beyond its conception in the pragma-dialectical notion of strategic maneuvering. The important view emerging from all these scholars' observations is that the study of controversy falls under the stable-argumentative discourse and that the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation is but one of the theories that can be employed. Thus, in short, a controversy is a type of debate. As argued in section 3.4.2.4, this study

³⁹ The approach is the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation as developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 1992, 2004) and extended by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002).

argues for Krabbe (2002)'s 'full integration' approach in employing the pragma-dialectical theory in the analysis of Zimbabwe parliamentary debates and speeches.

3.7 Summary

The appraisal theory, a study of interpersonal meanings, has been developed from systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Studies in appraisal have been limited to small texts with a focus on how appraisal resources construe personae, negotiate sociality and solidarity as well as how readers are aligned and disaligned into a community of shared values and beliefs. The present study, utilising the appraisal theory, explores larger texts; parliamentary debates and speeches as well as newspaper articles. Focus on parliamentary discourse and newspaper articles provides more data and chances to come up with new dimensions in the understanding of the theory and parliamentary discourse. The role of context, especially context of culture, is indeed at the heart of communication (Cameron, 2001). In order to understand variation in the interpretation of lexical items, one should be specific in terms of the context in which this lexical item is being defined as lexical items vary in their meanings according to context. In appraising and evaluating the self and others, writers/ speakers have been shown to construe themselves authorial identities as they dialogise with actual or potential respondents and/ or audiences. The varied appraisal resources indicate writers/ speakers positioning themselves-taking a stance- towards something or someone.

The appraisal theory is categorised into three domains, attitude, engagement and graduation which are further sub-divided. A close interaction of these domains in actual discourse occurs such that it is difficult to dichotomise them sometimes, for example in the attitudinal subsystem affect is sometimes difficult to separate from judgement and appreciation and the distinction between judgement and appreciation is not clear cut. The ways in which judgement and appreciation are defined pose a potential problem in their distinction, for instance certain lexemes can be used as either judgement or appreciation for example beautiful, shoddy, remarkable. The suggested collocational frames, It was X of Y to..., sometimes do not work in the distinction of judgement from appreciation. In the classification of emotions White (2007) and Martin and White (2005)'s classification of affectual variables has been adopted and adapted in this research. However, it has been observed that more research is still required in order to come up with valid methods to be able to give 'exact' analysis of emotive evaluators in order not to falsify the actual discourse semantics (Bednarek 2006). On the other hand though meanings under engagement have been explored in other researches under such headings as evidentiality, hedging and modality, the

appraisal theory departs from these approaches taking the lexico- grammatical diverse wording as resources which vary the terms of the speaker's engagement with propositions and proposals at an expansive and intensive basis.

The other theory that has been reviewed is the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation. At the centre of this theory are two notions, namely dialectic and rhetoric. Dialectic and rhetoric relation stretches back to antiquity. Since then, the relation has been hazy with no consensus among scholars as to how the relation should be or if there should be one. However, the important thing from the division is that scholars had continuously seen the need to integrate the two. This need gave rise to the extension of the pragma- dialectic theory adding the notion of strategic manoeuvring (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002).

The notion of strategic manoeuvring has been introduced to give attention to the 'argumentative predicament' of trying to balance effectiveness and reasonableness considering that arguers do not only want to be understood (dialectic) but also accepted (rhetoric). Still, no agreement among argumentation scholars occurs on the integration of these terms. Two schools or approaches are outstanding, Krabbe's (2002) full integration approach and van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) and van Eemeren (2010)'s functional basis approach. The functional basis approach considers only those aspects from rhetoric that are believed to be helping one strategically manoeuvre- a selective integration, yet full integration relates to taking into consideration all aspects from dialect and rhetoric that are necessary for one to strategically manoeuvre. However, participants in a debate are supposed to follow the four theoretical principles- externalisation, socialisation, functionalisation and dialectification- and the four stages and moves in a critical discussion model- confrontation, opening, argument and concluding stages- in an effort to resolve a difference of opinion. The discussion is governed by rules of conduct which are supposed to be followed in all the stages in the resolution of the difference of opinion as deviation is considered to be an obstruction or hindrance- a fallacious move. The extended pragma dialectic theory is then related or linked with appraisal theory and controversy in section 3.5 and 3.6. The appraisal theory has been shown to have more in common with the argumentation theory such that they can be utilised complementarily in the analysis of discourse. Controversies have been argued to be a form of argumentation. Thus, they fall under the argumentation theory. The means and methods that are utilised in the argumentation theory can be applied in the understanding of controversies.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARGUMENTATION AND EVALUATIVE MEANINGS IN ZIMBABWEAN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES AND SPEECHES

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters, chapter two and three, have been devoted to the previous research on parliamentary discourse and newspaper reporting. The focus of Chapter three has been on the exploration of the theoretical frameworks that are employed in the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. This chapter examines a selection of Zimbabwean parliamentary speeches and debates utilising as framework the appraisal theory (Martin and White, 2005) and van Eemeren (2010)'s extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. The pragma- dialectical theory is utilised in examining the nature and properties of argumentation in Zimbabwean parliamentary speeches and debates. The appraisal theory is also utilised to examine the properties of evaluative language. Thus, one of the objectives in this analysis is to examine how English and Shona realise the appraisal principles in Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and speeches. The second objective is to examine the nature of argumentation in Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and speeches. In order to achieve these objectives, a thematic approach is followed in this analysis. This approach is intended to illustrate how Zimbabwean parliamentarians use language, English and Shona, in different contexts and situations of debates and speeches varying in relation to the topic under discussion and the parties involved (for the motivation for the analysis of English and Shona texts in this study refer to section 1. 5 in Chapter one). The present chapter is structured along the controversial and quasi- controversial themes that have been debated in the Zimbabwean parliament. These include the heroes' status debates, corruption debates, political and gender based violence debates and the presidential speeches.

4.2 Political and gender-based violence debates

This section is devoted to an analysis of debates on political and gender based violence, the debate on the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (21st October 2009, Appendix B6), and the debate on Violence after the 29th March 2008 (16th March 2010, 17th March 2010, Appendix B7 and B8). With Zimbabwe coming from a disputed election which was marred by all forms of violence and hate speech and under a government of national unity (GNU), a significant number of debates have been held in the parliament to resolve the mixed differences of opinion. Thus, the main purpose of these debates has been to resolve the

differences between the different political parties. This argument, in essence, implies that in an effort to resolve the difference of opinion, the different political parties would be subject to appraisal and evaluation of the other parties and personalities' ideologies and conduct. However, debates vary in terms of the level or intensity of the difference of opinion. Thus, the first subsection of this section will focus on consensus debates and the second subsection will be on divergence debates.

4.2.1 Argumentation in consensus gender-based violence debates

The debate on the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development which was held on the 21st of October 2009 in the upper house represents a striking example of a consensus debate. The debate was on the ratification of this Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) protocol. The Minister of Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development, Doctor O. Muchena as the protagonist presented the protocol to the President of the House and Senators as a report back on the position that was taken by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) heads on the protocol were Zimbabwe is a signatory. As the protagonist, the minister presented the protocol with the antagonist in mind. Thus, from the onset she strategically positioned herself in order to convince the other parties so that the protocol is approved and ratified. The confrontation stage is introduced with the movement of the motion on gender and development. This presentation of the business of the day calls for a critical discussion to follow. As van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans (2007) observe about the opening stage, it is also largely implicit in this debate. The minister, with the motion under her name, is implicitly assigned as the protagonist and advances her standpoints. The assumed antagonists are the senators and/ male chauvinists. The difference of opinion as regards the motion that has been tabled is also assumed. According to the Zimbabwean law, all acts have to be ratified in parliament for them to be considered as law. Thus, observing the freedom rule, Dr Muchena strategically manoeuvres citing legal documents or acts as evidence in support of her standpoint in the argumentation stage. Understanding the context in which the debate is being carried out, the minister cites these acts as evidence in support of the protocol in order to resolve the problem at hand, that is whether the protocol is supposed to be ratified or not by senators. She gives a run -down of the scope of the protocol balancing logic and persuasion. In order to convince members of the senate, the minister argues from an *ad misericordian* fallacy⁴⁰ showing how important the protocol is to women's life. Arguing from analogy and

⁴⁰ A fallacy is an argument which is considered to be a deficient move in argumentative discourse and hinders the resolution of a problem (Plug 2010).

ad misericordian, she further points out that the rights in the protocol are also found in other human rights instruments such as the UN convention on the protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

- [4.1] All rights contained in the Protocol are also found in other human rights instruments such as the United Nations Convention of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 65- 68).

The protagonist utilises rhetorical and dialectical strategies to convince the antagonist. Appealing to numbers and authority, Dr Muchena calls for gender parity. She makes the assumption that it is given knowledge that gender imbalance is evident with women being at the receiving end. The other assumption she also makes is that as a female, senators will understand her as someone who is talking from experience. In order to seal her argument, Dr Muchena analogously argues citing previous acts that have been ratified in the Zimbabwean parliament strategically dissociating senators from the understanding that this protocol is a bad instrument that should not be ratified. Among other acts she cites are the legal age of majority act (1982), the national gender policy (2000), the sexual offenses act (2001), and the domestic violence act (2007). Apart from concluding citing the previous acts that have been passed by the same parliament, the minister had earlier on advised the participants that they are debating a protocol that have been adopted by '**determined**' [**+ve judgement: tenacity**]⁴¹ heads of state. She states that,

- [4.2] "Mr President, the SADC Heads adopted the protocol on Gender and Development on 17 August 2008. ...The Heads of state were determined to ensure that the rights of women are promoted, realised..." (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 33- 39).

Participation in parliamentary debates is controlled by the Speaker/ Deputy Speaker of Parliament in the Lower House and by the President/ Deputy President in the Upper House. The first person to be given the opportunity to respond to Dr Muchena's presentation is Chief

⁴¹ In the analysis of appraisal resources in this dissertation, attitudinal values will be in bold as well as graduation values, expand values are underlined and contract values are italicised. This is how the values are marked unless stated.

Charumbira. Thus, in terms of the socialisation meta- theoretical principle (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004), interactional roles have been now exchanged with Charumbira being the speaker and Muchena the listener. Observing the externalisation meta- function theoretical principle, Charumbira endorses the protocol with reservations on some of the statements in the protocol.

[4.3] Mr President, I rise to render my support with subsequent correction of some statements made in this protocol. (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 139- 140).

As with consensus debates, Charumbira foregrounds the idea that he was in support of the protocol and back grounded the correction that was supposed to be done. Though showing disagreement with some of the statements, Charumbira aligns with Muchena (all ZANU- PF) and the ratification of the protocol. However, the fact that he does not agree with some statements in the protocol shows that there was a problem to be resolved, though the level of disagreement is low. Thus, his contribution to the debate is divided. At one moment he is in support of the protocol and at the other explicitly shows that a problem is evident as regards to some of the statements in the protocol.

In an effort to resolve the difference of opinion participants utilise both valid and fallacious arguments in order to convince the other. To van Eemeren (2010) a fallacy obtains when an arguer shifts or evades the burden of proof or wrongly accuses the other party of an inconsistency. From the perspective of strategic maneuvering fallacies can be described as derailed attempts to balance the dialectical and rhetorical aim. Arguing from a fallacy of false cause and authority, Charumbira advances the point that as a male, traditional leader and a representative of traditional leaders he stands to advise other senators that if they do not ratify this protocol they are prone to all sorts of ridicule.

[4.4] We are always accused of being anti- women, unprogressive implementing and crafting some outdated practices in the name of culture but I want to say let us prove these people wrong... (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 144-146).

In raising such an argument, Charumbira argues from a fallacy of poisoning the well. He strategically raised the cost of going against such an argument and aligns everyone, especially

males, with the idea that the protocol has to be ratified. He presented the protocol as a challenge before anyone in the house, as an obligation laid at the feet of every senator to show the true picture of gender relations in Zimbabwe. Implicitly, Charumbira argues that there was no antagonist in the house but somewhere else. However, as a traditional leader, Charumbira had to site some irregularities in the protocol. In advancing his stand point, Charumbira code-switches to Shona, “This statement is unfortunate because in either Shona, Ndebele or Nambiya, *Ti-no-ti mukadzi ha-a-rob-w-i*” (Lit. We say a woman must not be beaten) (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 155- 156) explicitly disagreeing with the opinion that traditional norms and other socio- cultural practices legitimise and exacerbate intolerance on gender basis in Zimbabwe. The plural pronoun ‘*Ti-*’ ‘we’ marks group or community identity, the present continuous tense ‘*-no-*’ shows the unchanging position, and the **disclaim: deny** engagement value ‘*ha-*’ ‘not’ dialogically constrain the dialogic space. The understanding is that this aspect is an important point on Shona cultural practices and can be best communicated in the Shona language. Claiming authority and knowledge of traditional and cultural norms Charumbira purports that these irregularities that have been cited in the protocol are a thing of the past.

Debates in parliament normally have more than two contributors. The debate on the ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development has other contributors apart from Charumbira. However, as a consensus debate, the contributors will only stand to support the protocol. Dete, one of the contributors, had to stand to fully support the protocol 100% and Mudzingwa is also supporting and to a considerable length, he suggests implementation measures implying that no debate on whether the protocol must be ratified is evident. However, though Chitaka and Muchiwa are in support of the protocol they cite missing pages as a point of disagreement. In other words, they are implying that they do not have any problem with the document once the missing pages have been availed.

The concluding stage is very explicit. The Minister of Women affairs, Gender and Community Development had to respond to the members’ contributions, disagreements and queries. In response to Chief Charumbira’s difference of opinion, Dr Muchena reminds the Chief of the assumed parliamentary knowledge. She states that this motion was a SADC protocol not a Zimbabwean one, such that quite a number of aspects that are in this protocol do not merely relates to Zimbabwe but to Southern Africa as a whole. Thus, she calls for Charumbira to widen his knowledge of parliament and parliamentary discussions. On the misgivings by Chitaka and Muchiwa, the missing pages are availed; “Hon. Chitaka, you must

now fully support after reading the missing information” (Ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development debate: 21-10-09, Appendix B6, line 212- 213). The debate is concluded with all the minor differences of opinion resolved.

4.2.2 Appraisal in consensus gender- based violence debates

The previous sub- section has been devoted to the analysis of argumentation in consensus debates. This section focuses on how appraisal and evaluative resources are realised in such types of debates. The general assumption being made here is that in the process of advancing certain standpoints, both the protagonist and antagonist appraise and evaluate each other even in a consensus debate. Thus, in other words, the focus is on identifying the appraisal and evaluative resources that have been employed critically analysing how and why they have been foregrounded or back-grounded.

The protagonist has to take a stance, even in consensus debates. Dr Muchena’s stance in this debate on Gender and Development is to try to balance the three attitudinal meanings. However, she slightly foregrounds appreciation over affect and judgement. Maybe this appraisal relates to the aspect being debated on, an artefact. The fact that the protocol is a product of a human design (craft) compounds the problem of distinguishing appreciation from judgement. Several instances of appreciation which can basically be read as tokens of judgement occurs in the debate. Rhetorically speaking, all the attitudinal forms are amplified with respect to graduation: quantity and graduation: intensity. In terms of affect, little emotional involvement by the protagonist occurs as opposed to the generally held belief that women are emotional when presenting aspects that affect them. The explicit positive affect (behavioural surge) cases are: fully **enjoy**, directly **affect**, very **happy**.

As far as judgement is concerned, it is mainly positive, focussing on social esteem:

Social esteem: the heads of state were **determined**, the above legislative measures and policies indicate **commitment** on the part of the government to promote gender equality and advance women’s rights, very **progressive**. However, those that do not support the protocol are negatively appraised and judged as **anti- women, unprogressive, outdated**.

Appreciation values have been fully utilised in this debate as the item under discussion is an artefact. As this debate was a consensus debate, more of positive appreciation than negative appreciation is realised. However, as argued above, some of the appreciation values are tokens of judgement:

Positive appreciation (reaction): tremendous efforts, overall good things, protocol is quite in line, best results.

Positive appreciation (composition): affordable legal services, very clear, equitable distribution.

Negative appreciation (reaction): this statement is unfortunate, very unfortunate, negative impact, very incorrect.

These values of affect, judgement and appreciation, as earlier on argued, are amplified by graduation values of force: intensification

Graduation (Force: intensification): MOST VITAL part, VERY incorrect, DELIBERATELY left out, EXACERBATE intolerance, CRUCIAL role of women, BROADLY speaks, PERPETUAL minors, KEY sectors, FULL incorporation, TREMENDOUS efforts, VERY clear, VERY unfortunate, QUITE in line, VERY progressive, VERY much, FAIRLY certain, the BEST results, ZEBRA situation, EASIER

What can be argued from these graduation values is that in the cline of intensification they are neither low nor high, but found in the middle or in between the two poles as shown in following cline of intensity:

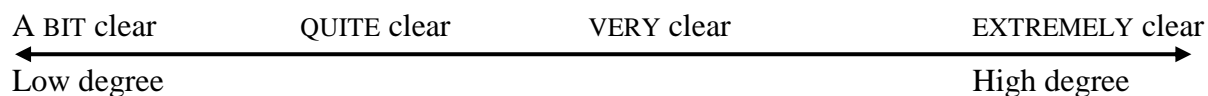


Figure 4.1: Gradable values

The language used in this consensus debate is largely heteroglossic. For the most part of the debate, the participants employ dialogically contractive values of **disclaim: deny, proclaim: concur (affirm)** and expand values of entertain.

Disclaim: deny- we *must* promote gender issues, we *must* elaborate on some of these issues to the people for our constitution making process, May be in other countries in the SADC and *not* in Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe has *not* yet ratified the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, we *should not* escape this, ...at the present moment the *only* question is

proportional representation, I am *not* trying to baffle my male counter parts that they are chauvinists, That is the *only* way forward,... *shall not* form, state parties *are* to adopt and implement,

Martin and White (2005) classified *must* as **expand: entertain** value and also as **proclaim: pronounce** value, indicating some fuzziness in the classification system. However, what can be deduced from their classification is that it has more to do with the context or situations where ‘must’ is being used. In this consensus debate, the value has been used in such a way that it contracts the dialogic space and aligns everyone to the opinion that the protocol must be ratified. The heightened investment of the speaker in the proposition is undisputable. It is, thus, dialogistically contractive than expansive. What need further investigation is on how it behaves in other cases so that it can be classified as either deny or pronounce value. Thus, tentatively, it is classified as **disclaim: deny** here. On the other side the modal values should and shall are clear cases of **expand: entertain** values. The values entertain other voices in the dialogical space. However, if these modal values are followed by a contract value they become contractive as in *shall + not*, *should + not*. Metaphorically, the minister also dialogically contracted the argumentative space aligning the other parties to her perspective of equal representation. The zebra metaphor did not only enhance communication in this context, it also enables both the speaker and the hearer to (re)conceptualise the facts at hand. As it is used in the concluding stage, the minister strategically employs this metaphor to conclude the debate with all differences of opinion resolved.

Apart from the dialogically contract values of **disclaim: deny**, other contract values of **proclaim: concur (affirm)** are realised.

Concur: affirm- *Tinoti mukadzi ha-arobwi* (We say a women must not be beaten), *We know* the attitude in our society; *Mainly*, the protocol provides for the protection of the women’s rights in..., *Indeed* we have seen that those countries where there is proportional representation it is easier for the women number to increase.

Shona, as a bantu language, is a highly inflectional language. Inflectional morphemes are either prefixed, infixes or suffixed. The prefix ‘*ha-*’ in *haarobwi* ‘must not be beaten’ marks negation manifesting as a **disclaim: deny** value shoving off other voices within the dialogic space. The values ‘*tinoti*’ ‘we say’ and ‘we know’ have been analysed as **proclaim: concur** instead of **proclaim: pronounce** because in this context the speaker is just affirming an

understood position by the community. The speaker is a traditional chief who is presenting this traditional norm as known or given knowledge by other senators who are members of this community.

As the debate was an 'open' debate where any member was free to contribute towards the resolution, the language that is being used by the senators is also largely expansive. The speakers are entertaining the other participants' views observing the freedom rule in argumentation.

Expand: entertain- I think in future, My solution is that we should have proportional representation 50/50 as it should be done in the next elections. , the legislation should enforce parties to put women on a part list in a zebra situation otherwise, in my view, I believe, I do not know whether this is going to be implemented later, I request that we be given missing pages, I therefore recommend this protocol for consideration and ratification by the government of Zimbabwe, Maybe in other countries, I think he got excited.

4.2.3 Argumentation and appraisal in divergent political debates

The previous section has been devoted to a review of a debate on Gender and Development, a debate that has been aptly characterised as a consensus debate. This sub-section focuses on argumentation strategies and all forms of appraisal in divergence political debates. An analytical overview of the debate on violence after 29th March 2008 elections reviews that the debate is representative of divergence political debates though Mr Bhasikati (ZANU PF MP) felt that it was now controversial. In divergence debates, the protagonist and antagonist negatively evaluate the other and positively appraise the self. In such a debate a lot of strategic manoeuvring and aligning of the audience to the speaker's side occurs. Thus, both the protagonist and antagonist employ all forms of strategic manoeuvring and appraisal resources at all the argumentation stages balancing reasoning and effectiveness in order to resolve the difference of opinion and win the debate.

The confrontation stage is set with Mr Gonese, an MDC MP, moving the motion under his name that 'A select Committee of the House be appointed to investigate the violence that took place after the March 29 elections and report its findings to Parliament' (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 27, 16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 23- 24) and Ms T. Khumalo, another MDC MP, seconding the motion. The support by another MDC MP definitely set the stage for a debate with MDC MPs on one side and ZANU PF MPs on the

other, a division that has been observed in other parliaments (Ilie 2010d) . As a ‘regulated talk’, a standpoint will only encounter doubts after the other participant has been given the opportunity to express their opinions by the Speaker of Parliament. However, when the other parties are given this opportunity, multiple differences of opinion are expressed. The difference is complex as expressed by the extra parliamentary motion of ZANU PF MPs walking out of the parliament in protest. Before walking out, Mr Gumbo had explicitly expressed his objection of the debate in general, dialogically contracting the argument space. **Proclaim: Pronounce-** It is **regrettable** that we are discussing the issue of what happened in 2008 today (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 27, 16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 560). However, the argument that followed this explicit expression of doubt sounds as if the disagreement is not on the motion but on the reference to history in argumentation, accusing the MDC legislature of breaching the relevance rule. The ZANU- PF leader in the House appealed to the Speaker of Parliament for adjudication but was not happy with the judgement and called for ZANU- PF parliamentarians to walk out. However, the following day is different with ZANU PF leader in the House, the Chief Whip Mr J Gumbo, being the first to explicitly express his and/ or the party’s objection of the motion dialogically contracting the argument space;

[4.5] I do *not* support that we should have a select committee of inquiry that should go out and start investigating what happened (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 55- 56)

This perspective is also shared by the other ZANU PF MPs.

[4.6] How do you expect us already to be a Committee when we are coming with **tainted** hands... we are *not* **worthy** to be part of this Committee... (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 376- 378).

[4.7] ...a select committee will *not* bring the results we are looking for because already we are accusing each other of acts of violence. (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 542- 544).

[4.8] ...the mover of the motion has to go and re- word the motion. He has put a **GOOD** motion but we *do not* want this house to be propagating this and to be a source of this. (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 1463- 1465).

The difference of opinion in the opening stage of parliamentary debates is in most cases anticipated. It is only expressed when each of the Honourable members is given enough time by the Speaker of Parliament or President of Senate to debate. The anticipated difference of opinion can be observed from the varied explicit difference of opinion expressed by the different ZANU PF MPs at different intervals.

The opening stage is largely implied. Knowledge of the 29th March harmonised election, 27th June Presidential run- off and all sorts of knowledge are implied. If we take knowledge as shared beliefs of particular members of a community (van Dijk 2003), it makes the assumption that MPs belong to a parliamentary community that share the same general beliefs. However, an outstanding aspect here is that in the same parliamentary community there are different political parties forming different communities of shared beliefs, sub-communities within a community. The two or more parties in this parliamentary community will not share exactly the same beliefs. The MDC community and the ZANU PF community do not share the same general beliefs. Thus, members from the two communities do not produce, interpret and understand political discourse in the same manner. The arguments that are advanced in a debate are an effort to narrow the difference in understanding. Once the difference is narrowed or totally cleared then the problem would have been resolved. The other implied aspect in this debate is that the mover of the motion and/ or the party he represents, the MDC, are the protagonist and ZANU PF or other MPs is the antagonist. There is also the assumption that all the participants in this debate are committed and want the difference of opinion be resolved amicably (van Eemeren 2010).

4.2.3.1 Aspects of strategic manoeuvring in political divergent debates

This sub- section does not disregard that there are strategic moves undertaken in the other stages. However, concern here is on examining all forms of strategic manoeuvring at the argumentation stage of the debate on violence after the 29th of March 2008. Strategic manoeuvring integrates effectiveness and reasonableness in argumentation (van Eemeren, 2010). An appraisal and evaluation analysis of the argumentative discourse reveals the various forms of strategic manoeuvring employed in a debate. These various forms of

strategic manoeuvring are efforts that are made in all the moves coined out in argumentative discourse. What is of interest in this case is not only identifying the strategic moves, but to analyse the effect of that move towards the resolution of the difference of opinion.

Accusing someone of employing the wrong or unwanted premises is a form of strategic manoeuvring. Addressing the Speaker of Parliament, Mr J Gumbo the leader of ZANU PF MPs in the House, vociferously called for the MDC MP to stop referring to history as ‘narrating our history from 1896 during the Shona- Ndebele war and those that follow- we *cannot* live in harmony’ (16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 563- 565). Dialogically contracting: denying, he accuses Ms T Khumalo of using the wrong premises in order to make conclusions on what happened after 29 March 2008 election. This strategy is a way of trying to stop the MDC MP not to expose the violent and brutal nature of ZANU PF as a political party. Strategically, Gumbo is also trying to weaken the evidences that the MDC might come up with in order to silence ZANU PF regardless of the fact that reference to history is something that have been sanctioned by the Speaker of Parliament that it is allowed to be used. The use of the speech act, accusation of using wrong premises, has the rhetorical and dialectical effect of making one retract their standpoint. Even though Mr Gumbo dialogically contracts the argument space, **disclaim: deny**, the proposal was turned down. However, as he did not have the final say, he also entertains other speakers’ views though still contracting the dialogic space, **proclaim: pronounce**.

[4.9] I am of the opinion that we confine debate to the motion... (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No.27,16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 565- 567).

As observed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002), if some efforts of strategic manoeuvring are noted by the opponent they will meet resistance. The illocutionary force of Mr Gumbo’s utterance is incongruent with its perlocutionary effect. Gumbo’s efforts met resistance and the unexpected perlocutionary effect of it ZANU PF walks out as a sign of total disgruntlement.

In a debate participants do not always explicitly call for one to retract their standpoint after noting that they have used the wrong premises in argumentation. In advancing his standpoint, Hon. Mazikana (ZANU PF MP) quotes the bible in order to convince the other opponents that they are supposed to forgive and forget. Reference to the bible is being done strategically

considering the motion being discussed and the Zimbabwean context. Thus, Mazikana is heteroglossically expanding the dialogic space by acknowledging the bible. The authority that the bible has in a Christian community makes one retract their standpoint. However, the bible can also be interpreted and used in ‘unholy’ circumstances. MDC Hon. Member, Mr Chitando also cites a long bible quotation that was wrongly used during the campaign for the June 27 2008 Presidential election rerun in order to sanction violence.

[4.10] I would like to say to Hon. Mazikana who was quoting the Bible and I want to also quote the Bible and read the verse which was read by these people [ZANU PF militia]...It is in Ezekiel chapter 9 verses 6 and 7 which says “kill the old men, young men, young women, mothers and children but do not touch anyone who has the mark on his forehead. Start here at my temple. So they began with the leaders who were standing there at the temple.” Verse 7 says “God said to them defile the temple. Feel its courtyards with corpses. Get to work! So they began to kill the people in the city”. That was the verse that was being read at the base (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 1327- 1337).

Dialectically this counter argument exposes Hon. Mazikana. The bible cannot be used as a premise for making certain conclusions in order to resolve the difference of opinion. Rhetorically, this counter reference to the bible strategically reinforces the MDC’s standpoint and aligns participants with the motion. Hon. Chitando evaluatively endorsed the verse explicitly putting his weight against using the bible as a reference point in order to resolve disputes as it can be wrongly interpreted and misused especially if employed out of context.

Dissociation and association are two categories of argument schemes that are strategically used in debates. In association “the speaker establishes a link between two independent entities in order to transfer judgements of the audience about the one thing to the other one” (van Rees, 2009b: 25). Yet in dissociation, van Rees (2009b) argues that the speaker splits up a notion considered by the audience to form a unitary concept into two new notions, one of which comprises the aspects of the original notion that the speaker considered real or central (term 2), the other the aspects that he considers apparent or peripheral (term 1). Thus, in other words in dissociation, speakers split an idea in order to foreground one and background the other. Both dissociation and association have been used as ways of strategically manoeuvring in argumentation. Presenting the motion Hon. Gonese as the protagonist, had

to associate events that had happened in order for the audience to appreciate the goodness of violent free elections

[4.11] Madam speaker, elections *should not* be a matter of life and death, elections *should not* be like a war. Let us look at Botswana- we had a motion in this august House where the SADC observer mission **commended** the people of Botswana for peaceful elections. *Not* a single life was lost in Botswana. More so, the elections in Namibia, *not* a single soul lost life as a result of elections (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 27, 16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 43- 48).

In employing association, the protagonist did not only negatively evaluate the presumed violent group, but also dialogically contracted the argument space aligning the audience to the idea that an election where a life is not lost is the best. The speaker establishes a link between the Zimbabwean elections and the two elections in Botswana and Namibia associating the audience with ‘**commended**’ elections negatively judging the Zimbabwean elections. The protagonist poses the idea that if Botswana and Namibia are also countries in the SADC, she must emulate them. Through graduation forms ‘a SINGLE life’, ‘not a SINGLE soul’, the protagonist immunised the motion against criticism. Metaphorically, as well, the Honourable member aligns the audience to his side by comparing an election to a war or viewing an election as a matter of life and death. Obviously, he knew that no one would want to be identified with a war like election. The metaphor does not only show the gravity of the problem but also associates the audience with the motion of setting up a select committee.

Still presenting the motion, the protagonist had to employ dissociation strategies to garner support for the setting up of a select committee. The idea that the motion could divide the house had to be split and a new idea emanating from that foregrounded.

[4.12] This motion is *not* about to divide us but it should actually bring us together... Most of the countries in our region have had elections which are *not* JUST **peaceful** but they invite all and sundry to come to observe their elections as opposed to a situation where you *only* want solidarity observers. Solidarity observers are those who are *only* your friends and sympathisers (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 27, 16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 146- 154).

The protagonist do not only split the idea, but also define terms in order to delineate the notion under discussion. For there to be violent free elections, the audience have to understand the meaning of solidarity and how it negatively impacts on elections. Again in dissociation, the speaker dialogically **contract: deny** the argument space ‘*not, only*’ and graduation: quantity ‘**MOST, JUST**’ to precisely define the situation and align the audience to their side. The term *but* is also employed discursively in debates. For the two instances in which it has been used in example 4.12, it splits an idea into two. It can be argued that the way ‘*but*’ is being realised is in such a way that what comes after ‘*but*’ is what is foregrounded in discourse. This argument implies that ‘*but*’ can be employed as a dissociation strategy in debates.

Debates in parliament, especially divergence debates, are characterised by sharp division of the House along part- lines. The participants will be very aware that there are just attacking each other and will not resolve the problem, “...we do not achieve anything by attacking each other” (Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections, Vol. 36, No. 28, 17th March 2010, pp 1951). Negation discourse is employed as a form of strategic manoeuvring with the parties negatively evaluating the other and positively appraising the self. Appraisal resources in the debate on violence after the 29th March reflect this negation discourse. Of the attitudinal sub-systems, judgement is the one that is realised more than the other two; affect and appreciation, though the motion is ‘emotive’ and ‘touches the soul’ as echoed by Mrs Matamisa (MDC Kadoma MP) when she says, “It is a sad story- [Mrs Matamisa in tears]- that is why you see my tears running down” (Violence after 29 March 2008, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 262- 263). The MDC MPs negatively judges ZANU PF MPs, leaders and their supporters as **dishonest, lazy, violent, immoral, evil, barbaric, hottentot, murderers, rapists, immature, mad, guilty, overzealous, notorious, thugs, lawless, and hooligans**. On the other side, ZANU PF MPs invites MDC to share responsibility of the violence that happened after the 29th March 2008 election which the MDC vehemently denies.

[4.13] The country was gripped by acts of violence from both sides of the parties and there is evidence (Violence after 29 March 2008 Election Vol. 36. No. 28., 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 499- 500)

[4.14] Our hands are not clean all of us (Violence after 29 March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 355)

The refusal by the MDC to share this blame results in ZANU PF alluding to the fact that the problem will be irresolvable, becoming controversial hence must be dropped. This argument suggests that a controversial debate is one with a problem which is irresolvable. A problem is irresolvable when one party refuses to retract its arguments, but rather calling for the other party to provide more evidence why the arguments must be retracted. Noting the stance with MDC MPs, ZANU PF retaliates negatively judging the MDC MPs, party, leadership and its supporters as **not constructive, young, immature, self-contradicting, insincere, careless, misguided, heinous, violent and thugs**.

Graduation values are utilised to raise the cost of going against any argument in a debate. In a debate on Violence after 29 March 2008 election both parties in the debate amplified the attitudinal and engagement appraisal values with graduation values. Of the graduation values, force: intensification is employed most than any other graduation values to scale affect, judgement, appreciation and engagement meanings. As Martin and White (2005) aptly observes, these assessments of intensity operates in two sub-categories of quality and process. Both the two sub-categories are aptly utilised in this debate. For example, VERY clear, TOO lazy, GRAVELY concerned, NOBLE objective, QUITE clearly, DOCUMENTED evidence, SOLIDARITY observers, THOROUGHLY investigated, WORST cases, MOST important, LASTING reconciliation, FALLACIOUS causes, SERIOUS atrocities, DECENT voice, HORRIFIC experience, WINNING councillor, HIGHLY alert, COMPLETELY burnt, WORKABLE solution, BIGGEST plea. The graduation values are used strategically to highly scale the meanings especially in a divergent debate.

Metaphors are a regular phenomenon in political debates (Plug and Snoeck Henkemans 2008). Apart from the ones that have been discussed in the debate on Violence after the 29th March election, a number of metaphors have been utilised to contribute to the persuasiveness of an argument. Metaphors are strategically utilised to associate the audience with a particular standpoint negatively evaluating the other participant, standpoint or political party. Contributing to the debate, Mr H Mudzuri positively judges the MDC as a **detergent** and categorically states that MDC as a detergent it washes and cleanses ZANU PF. Strategically manoeuvring, the MP uses different types of metaphors that shows that ZANU PF definitely needs the MDC detergent to clean it.

[4.15] We are helping them to be **repentant**, we want a **Damascus change-** a **change from Saul to Paul**. ...we should take political violence as the **evil** it deserves... what were the **root causes** of this violence so that if we get collective action of what we should do to correct this **anomaly**, to correct this **illness** that is pervasive in our society... We know we have those who underwent a **moment of madness**... (Violence after 29th March Election, Vol. 36. No. 27, 16th of March 2010, Appendix B7, line 595- 610)

Mudzuri does not only use different types of metaphors that complement each other, but also understands that a metaphor must not only be appropriate, but clear and understood for it to be persuasive. When he utilised the bible/ religious metaphor- Damascus change- he explains –a change from Saul to Paul- as the audience might fail to comprehend what he is saying. Whilst the audience is still contemplating on the Saul to Paul change, Mudzuri continues with his negation discourse calling ZANU PF MPs and party as being evil, ill, and underwent a moment of madness. There is a sharp division that is given. MDC and its MPs are positively judged good and ZANU PF and its MPs are evaluatively judged bad. This one- sided assessment and over generalisation of the violence after 29 March 2010 election does not only hinder the resolution of the problem but also exposes the speaker. Once noticed, the antagonist manipulates that and calls for the protagonist to retract their standpoint. The one-sided assessment that is being given by the MDC is observed by ZANU PF. ZANU PF took it up to be their disagreement point for not setting up a select committee of inquiry.

The use of pronouns is also another form of strategic manoeuvring in debates and speeches. The use of personal deictic is an obvious strategy of speaker- hearer alignment or alienation which has received much critical attention in academic circles (Miller, 2004). Pronouns are ‘always worth noting’ (Fairclough 1995: 145) as markers of identity and forms of strategic manoeuvring. When utilised, these personal and possessive deictics evaluatively dissociate and associate the audience with a particular standpoint. They are a form of identity construction or group identification (van de Mierop 2006). The ‘political pronoun’, (van Dijk 2010), ‘we’, is categorically employed to identify political parties at one moment and Zimbabweans in another. It is “the inclusive and exclusive 1st person plural pronoun” prone to ambivalent interpretations (Ilie 2010d: 66). In example [4.15], Mudzuri strategically employed the pronoun ‘we’ to show the division that is there. The pronoun ‘we’ is repeatedly used to refer to the MDC (group identity) and identify it as a party and people of good moral

behaviours, loving, committed, caring and helpful. The same dichotomisation is also done by ZANU PF MPs.

[4.16] We as ZANU PF welcome the motion that requests that all things that happened during the elections of 2008 be made known to the people... (Violence after 29th March 2008 elections, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 15- 18)

As van Dijk (2010) argues, the ‘political pronoun’ is sometimes made explicit, clearing all ambiguities. The ZANU PF Chief Whip makes sure that the pronoun ‘we’ is being used specifically referring to ZANU PF (group identity). In the same vein, Hon Mazikana observes how pronouns are being strategically utilised to divide the House and sees this division as an obstacle to the resolution of the problem.

[4.17] **Our** debate is focusing on “*we are innocent*”, “*they are guilty*”. John says “*if we have not sinned then we are not truthful*”. (Violence after 29th March 2008 election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 348- 350)

Wrongly quoting the bible, Mazikana does not only state the problem of one- sided assessment, but also illustrates how pronouns can be used to divide the House, something that van de Mieroop (2006) has referred to as ‘systematic vagueness’. However, instances in which the pronoun is used to refer to both MDC and ZANU PF MPs or Zimbabwean people at large are evident. As is the case with the use of ‘our’ in example [4.17], ‘we’ is also used to refer to all the parties in the debate, as in example [4.18] below.

[4.18] **We** do not want evil things to be advocated for or campaigned for in this House. **We** are not here for that, **we** are here to build **our** nation to set parameters for a good Zimbabwe and for good governance. (Violence after the 29th March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 1421- 1424)

The pronoun ‘we’, all- inclusive, is being used strategically to identify MPs with the Zimbabwean nation and instil a sense of belonging (national or institutional identity). In the same manner, the ‘political possessive pronoun’ (van Dijk 2010) ‘our’, in [4.17] and [4.18] above also unites and discursively calls MPs to be sincere in this discussion in order to

resolve the problem. Rhetorically the pronoun persuades one to identify with the good Zimbabwe and good governance. Apart from the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’, other pronouns are employed basically saving the same function. These are they, those, them and us. The three; they, those and them, dialogically distances the speaker from the particular group and its ideologies, beliefs and practices. On the other side ‘us’ saves to create a sense of belonging. The speaker identifies with the particular group. The other pronoun that has been used so rampant in the debates is ‘I’. Through the pronoun ‘I’, the authorial voice explicitly invests in the proposition and argument being advanced, explicitly showing professional or speaker identity. However, as have been argued by van de Mierop (2006), identity construction can be many-sided such that the different forms of identity manifests and interact with each other creating unique combinations of identity.

Proclaim: endorse dialogically contract the argument space in a debate to resolve a difference of opinion. Through the use of this engagement value, “those formulations by which propositions sourced to external sources are construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin and White, 2005: 126). It is another form of strategic manoeuvring that is prevalent in parliamentary debates. The speaker will be strategically persuading the other participant to retract their standpoints by reference to what might be accepted authorities, evidences or facts. Dialogically, this engagement resource is employed to align the speaker and the audience with a particular standpoint. The MDC MPs makes reference to reports, case studies, pictures and use figures/statistics to dialectically argue that their standpoint is valid.

[4.19] I have the evidence here before the House (*Bail forms are attached*). What does this mean? (Violence after 29th March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 100- 104)

[4.20] This report CLEARLY [**graduation**] *shows that* [**proclaim: endorse**] he had fractured legs and ribs and swollen genitals due to assault. (Violence after 29th March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 80-83)

[4.21] I wish to table [**expand: entertain**] some of the pictures which *show* [**proclaim: endorse**] some of the WORST atrocities [**graduation, - appreciation**] which took place (pictures showed to hon. Members). (Violence

after 29th March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 27, 16th March 2010, Appendix B7, line 257- 259)

In example [4.19] the speaker, through evoked appraisal, is saying ‘The bail forms demonstrate that...’ implicitly endorsing the external source. This evaluation is further supported by the rhetorical question which follows. The rhetorical question is a dialogically contractive value. It proclaims, limiting the scope of dialogistic alternatives in the ongoing debate. In example [4.20] graduation value ‘clearly’, further raises the cost of going against the evidences provided by such a report. In example [4.21] the speaker does not only semiotically argue, but also employs nominalisations to endorse the pictures. This strategy was working for the MDC as a number of its MPs employed it. The MDC MPs dialectically and rhetorically utilises the reports, case studies, statistics and pictures to advance their arguments in order to convince the rational judge who in this case is the Speaker of parliament. However, it is quickly noticed by the ZANU PF MPs.

[4.22] I have a 100 page report Madam President of acts of violence that were committed by members on the other side of the House. I have the pictures as well to prove the violence. (Violence after 29th March 2008 Election, Vol. 36. No. 28, 17th March 2010, Appendix B8, line 502- 504)

The antagonist shows dissatisfaction with the authenticity of the external sources. This dissatisfaction points to the fact that reports, case studies, pictures and statistics are forms of evidences that can be tempered with hence can be invalid or incorrect. The antagonist calls for the protagonist not to rely on these external sources, some other arguments or evidences to resolve the difference of opinion should be supplied or the protagonist has to retract this argument.

4.3 Condemnation of corrupt practices

The previous sections’ focus was on two important aspects in argumentation theory and appraisal theory; consensus and divergence debates. This section explores another important debate from both appraisal and argumentation theoretical perspective. The *raison d’être* of the study of argumentation in this case is the critical analysis of argumentative discourse. In other words, focus here is on the interpretation and evaluation of the debates condemning corrupt practices as they have been carried out in the Zimbabwean parliament in the light of normative standards for argumentative conduct. Thus, in the process of unbundling the

argumentative nature of a particular discourse, one would be also critically analysing the evaluative and appraisal nature of discourse. The nature in which the two theories complement each other is set to be seen again in the analysis of a debate on the condemnation of corruption that was held in the Zimbabwean parliament on the 10th of November 2009.

4.3.1 Argumentation and appraisal: A delicate balance

Section 3.4 in chapter three has been devoted to an overview of the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation where a balance between dialectic and rhetoric has been advocated for. The argument that has been put forward is that in the process of trying to resolve the difference of opinion the speaker do not only utilise reason but also persuasion. This is in line with Krabbe (2002)'s 'full implementation' approach. This section intends to argue that it is not only a balance of dialect and rhetoric in argumentation for the difference of opinion to be resolved amicably. Apart from balancing reason and persuasion in order to argumentatively resolve a difference of opinion, the speaker has to balance these with proper appraisal and evaluation.

The section focuses on a debate on the condemnation of corrupt practices, a motion moved by ZANU PF MP and African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC) Zimbabwean Chapter Secretary General, Honourable Bhasikiti (ZANU- PF). The task at hand was not simple. It called for the application of reason, persuasion and appraisal resources. The mover of the motion new this and from the onset he had to call for co-operation, non partisanship and unit during the debate.

[4.23] The motion I have is a motion which calls upon all hon. Members to be MORE focused and united in looking at it and be LESS partisan on dealing with issues presented in this motion. (Condemnation of Corrupt Practices, 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 34- 36)

Knowing the divisions that are evident amongst the different political parties, Mr Bhasikiti had to argumentatively present the motion as the one that is calling for unite. The motion on corruption is presented implicitly as a conscious being that is capable of performing certain actions. Dialectically the motion is presented as something that is pervasive, it is not a single part problem but a national problem though the premises for coming up with such a conclusion are not stated. With this introductory sentence, Mr Bhasikiti rhetorically reconditioned and refocused the minds of all the MPs in the house closing down any potential disagreements. Thus, in an effort to balance dialectic and rhetoric (van Eemeren and

Houtlosser, 2002), the honourable member ended up being more rhetorical than dialectic. Appraisal resources which tend to be rhetorical in nature can be identified in this introductory sentence. The MP positively appraised the motion as something that all parties should adopt. In other words this can be paraphrased as ‘The motion on the condemnation of corrupt practices is a very good motion that all MPs from different political parties must support.’ Apart from that the use of graduation forms of **intensification: focus**, MORE and LESS, raises the cost of against such a motion aligning all MPs across party lines with the perspective that all corrupt practices are evident in Zimbabwe and should be eliminated forthwith.

Knowing that the topic sentence is so powerful and inviting but lacking in the premises under which such a conclusion has been reached, Mr Bhasikiti had to continue by giving a background upon which the APNAC was formed to deal with the scourge in order to provide the premises upon which the conclusion had been reached. Apart from giving the all inclusive APNAC committee, the honourable member strategically manoeuvres by defining the term corruption. Definition of terms in an argument constrains the reader/ hearer to a specific mindset and ways of seeing things. The reader/ hearer is made to perceive the world within the paradigms of the given definition. Mr Bhasikiti firstly gave his own definition of corruption and then appealing to authority in order to rubber stamp his idea he also dialogically expand acknowledging the Oxford Dictionary Volume 1.

[4.24] ...the Oxford Dictionary Volume 1 defines corruption as a pervasion of integrity by bribery or favour. Or a pervasion of anything from its original state of purity. (Condemnation of Corrupt Practices, 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 82-84)

This is one of the premises behind the conclusion that has been made in the topic sentence. From this premise, the APNAC secretary evaluatively judged and appreciated corruption and the people involved in the act as bad. Through inscribed evaluation, a number of terms can be identified that describes corruption as a bad practice. According to Martin and White (2005) in inscribed evaluation attitudinal terms are utilised to invoke meanings as they are interpreted or inferred by the reader or hearer. The debate on the condemnation of corrupt practices is full of attitudinal terms inscribed in the text negatively judging the act of corruption and the people involved in this act as bad. The following table shows the list of terms inscribed in the text and the number of times they have been used.


Word or Phrase	Number of times used	(-) Judgement-Appreciation
Scourge	four	
Endemic	one	
Culture	two	
Disease	two	
Ugly face	one	
Evil	one	
Virus (HIV)	one	
Epidemic	one	
Pandemic	one	
Cancerous creature	two	
Bad practice	one	

Table 4.1: Negative judgement- appreciation of corruption

The above values are judgement values, judging the immorality of the act or practice of corruption and persons involved in the act. Judgement is concerned with the assessment of human behaviour (Martin and White, 2005) noting the particular language that criticises or praises, condemns or applauds the behaviour (White, 2005a). However, in the judgement sub-systems and categories the values that have been used to negatively appraise corruption do not fit. Though corruption is as a result of human behaviour, it does not fit well in the category **social esteem: normality**. Even if one analyses corruption as a state of affair, again under appreciation types it does not fall into any one of the categories. This calls for an addition of a category under judgement that caters for processes. The negative evaluation of corruption in this debate indirectly criticises and condemns the individuals involved in this act. Focus on corruption and not the political party or individuals is very much strategic. This approach unites all the parliamentarians in fighting against corruption and in adopting the motion. Rhetorically and dialectically parliamentarians are being called for to fight against corruption not a political party or individual. This approach limits the argumentation space and rhetorically makes antagonists, current and future, to withdraw their standpoints.

The contributors to this debate also employed a metaphor. The judgement values have been used metaphorically. The argumentative nature of metaphors has been fully explained in chapter two and in the previous data analysis sections. The metaphoric terms that have been used in this negative evaluation of corruption and corrupt practices vividly paints a picture of something that is bad and must be stopped. In terms of appraisal and evaluation, this negativisation of corruption is meant to align all the parliamentarians with the motion and raise the cost of going against such a motion. Rhetorically, the language persuades the MPs to adopt the motion. The reasons behind this negative evaluation given in the definition of the notion and other examples in which the ‘ugly face of corruption’ had been seen dialectically advance the idea that the motion is a good motion that should be adopted.

The contributors in the debate on condemnation of corrupt practices strategically utilises argumentative markers *if* and *so* to dialectically indicate the warrants and conclusions being reached in this debate.

[4.25] **If** [*conjunction expressing condition*] it is proved that you were part of the corruption, you can stand in this house and defend yourself. **So** [*conjunction expressing cause*] as APNAC, we would want a list of those members... (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 234- 238)

The argumentative marker *if* dialogically expands the argumentative space at the same time closing the argumentative avenues of the anticipated antagonist. The protagonist strategically gives the probable argument of the antagonist and advances an argument that clears that doubt. The use of the other argumentative marker *so* in this debate is conclusive. This argumentative marker dialogically contracts the argumentative space rhetorically aligning all the participants to the protagonists’ conclusion. The protagonist makes the reached conclusion undeniable. Apart from the two argumentative markers, the protagonists also employed other dialogically contractive engagement values.

[4.26] *As long as that* [**disclaim: deny**] thing exists, all efforts to stamp out corruption will be useless (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 330- 331)

[4.27] *It is important that [proclaim: pronounce] we start programmes to fight corruption (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 274)*

[4.28] *It is a well known fact that [proclaim: pronounce] if you want to start a business, everyone needs money to introduce you to their connections and this will cost the investor double the price to invest in Zimbabwe. (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 270- 272)*

In an effort to dialogically contract the argumentative space, the protagonists makes a fallacy of hasty generalisation. The fallacy of hasty generalisation is one way of strategically manoeuvring in argumentative discourse. The particular strategic function of this fallacy in argumentative interactions is dialectically and rhetorically to make one retract their standpoints (see also van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, van Eemeren 2010). No one would, for instance, want to be said they do not know the ‘well known fact’ otherwise they will be negatively appraised. Thus, the values, ‘*as long as, it is a well known fact that and it is important that*’, appraise and evaluate the decision to adopt the motion on condemnation of corrupt practices as good and aligns all parliamentarians across political party lines to unite against the ‘CANCEROUS creature’. The judgement- appreciation values have been amplified by graduation values in the evaluation of corruption and corrupt practices. The graduation values have been used strategically to show that corruption is undeniably bad and should be eliminated. Graduation values that have been used to sharpen and intensify the gravity of the problem include the following:

[4.29] CORRUPTION FREE environment, ENDEMIC culture, LARGELY useless, FAIR adjudication, EASILY enticed, QUICKLY bribed, MOST effective, UGLY face, VERY pertinent, LOGICAL position, LOGICAL conclusion, BIGGEST problem, ROUTINELY deny, CONSISTENTLY denied, FAST deterioration, CANCEROUS creature, CORRUPTION FREE society, SCOURGE of corruption, VERY clear, VERY important, CLEARLY separated, ERADICATE corruption COMPLETELY, VERY GOOD stance, MORE importantly

The graduation resources that have been used scale meanings in this debate generally range in the high side of the graduation scale. This indicates the parliamentarians’ degree of

involvement in the debate on condemnation of corrupt practices. In terms of engagement, the graduation values which are high on the scale dialogically act to close the space and rhetorically align participants with the speaker's view. The feelings in this debate have been presented as a surge of emotions which are internally experienced as an ongoing process.

[4.30] It is **saddening** to note that even most of the cases which gets to our courts some of them will not receive a fair adjudication they deserve. (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 130- 132)

Through the affect behavioural surge value 'saddening', the protagonist and mover of the motion appeals to emotion to exploit emotional triggers in the listeners. Emotions show the degree to which the speaker is involved or has been affected by something. Thus, appeal to emotion has been strategically utilised to align the listeners with the protagonist's line of thinking.

The other important linguistic aspect that shows a delicate balance between the two theories in argumentative discourse is the way the rhetorical question has been strategically employed in this debate. A consistent pattern is being followed by almost all the speakers in the condemnation of corrupt practices. The speakers utilises the question- answer format in advancing their arguments towards the resolution of the problem at hand. During the presentation one would ask a question(s) and gives answers to these questions.

[4.31] Does this Commission have the power? This Commission should have the powers to investigate and prosecute (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 400- 401)

[4.32] Execution! Execution! Execution! Where are we in terms of execution and planning? What we want to see in this country is our plan and implementing the ideas that hon. members have spoken about today. (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 618- 620)

The use of these questions is by design. Rhetorically, the question answer format confines the hearer to the speaker's ideological perspective. In this debate, the answers given highlight the

way the commission is supposed to operate and the support that it is supposed to be given. Dialectically, the speakers have suppressed any argument that could have been raised in relation to adoption of the motion as they are implicitly saying ‘we have passed the adoption stage we are now at the implementation stage’. This dialogically contracts the argument space and appraises the motion as good. Through repetition as a graduation mode of intensification, the speaker repeats the same lexical form to effectively send his message across (see example 4.32).

Appraisal and evaluation resources are effectively manifested in Shona as well. After code switching to Shona the alternative positive position is dialogically rejected – **disclaim: deny**. The speaker denies any alternative voice that might promote corrupt practices.

[4.33] What I am saying is that if we are not able to deal with corruption because we are not clean *hatingaiti nyaya yekuti kana usina wako waunoziva hapana chako*. (...we cannot have a situation where if you do not know anyone you will not get anything) (Condemnation of corrupt practices, Vol. 36 No. 8. 10th November 2009, Appendix B5, line 503- 505)

The positive view expressed in this example is that of eradicating corruption. This positive view is carried by the negative perspective of wanting to subvert the positive and promote corrupt practices. However, the negative proposition is dialogically denied and the positive foregrounded. Code switching from English to Shona is a strategic option employed by the speaker. Language is a carrier of culture. The use of Shona in this setting does not only enhance understanding and impact of message, but also shows how the authorial voice is strongly invested in the text. Among other possibilities, code switching also shows emotional attachment and the importance the motion has been given.

4.4 Conferment of hero status

The previous section has been devoted to the delicate balance that must be given to rhetoric, dialectic and appraisal in argumentative discourse. In order to fully explore this argument, this section focuses on one of the appraisal resource, attitude. The choice of particular lexis, phrases and sentence structures aids in the resolution of a difference of opinion. The argument taken in this section is that attitudinal resources have a role to play in argumentative discourse. Both the protagonist and antagonist have to be very careful in their appraisal for them to win the debate convincingly. The participant, through attitudinal evaluation, has to

convince the rationale judge of the validity of their claims. The use of attitudinal resources in argumentative discourse is a way of strategic manoeuvring. Thus, this section explores how attitudinal resources manifest as forms of strategic manoeuvring in the Zimbabwean parliamentary debates.

4.4.1 Attitudinal resources and argumentative discourse

Attitude is divided into three sub- systems; affect, judgement, and appreciation. This subdivision, already argued in chapter three, implies that it is mainly concerned with evaluating feelings, people's character and things or processes. Focusing on attitudinal resources in order to explore the delicate balance of the three notions in argumentative discourse is appropriate considering the debates that are being analysed in this section. This will be conducted through a comparative analysis of condolence debates on the death of parliamentarians from the two major political parties. Thus, the debates are very much representative of both parties. The first debate examined is on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi (MDC) and the other is a debate on the death of Member of Parliament, Resident Minister and Mashonaland Central Governor Ephraim Sango Masawi (ZANU PF). The MDC Senator passed on earlier and was not given a hero status burial and the ZANU PF Member of Parliament, Resident Minister and Governor who passed on later was conferred a hero status burial. The appraisal and evaluation in these debates concern the suitability of one being accorded a hero status, and the criteria being used or which is supposed to be used. Hence, appraisal is manifested in the speeches of the members of parliament evaluating those who have passed on and their political parties.

The two debates, debate on Condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi (Vol. 35 No. 39, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4) and the debate on Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi (Vol. 37 No. 13. 16th November 2010, Appendix B3), reveal quite intriguing aspects of argumentative discourse. The debates illustrate characteristic divisions that are expected in a parliament where a ruling party and opposition parties are present. Though Zimbabwe is under a government of national unity (GNU), the division of the house along party lines is evident in the debates. The judgemental value is mostly manifested to appraise the behaviour of the dead members and the activities of their political parties. ZANU PF parliamentarians were explicitly denigrating and negatively appraising the MDC Senator in order to justify why he did not find his way to the Heroes Acre. On the other hand the MDC also makes some efforts positively evaluating their member and expose ZANU PF's

hero status criteria. The two tables, Table 4.2 and 4.3, below illustrate negative and positive judgement of Senator Patrick Kombayi by parliamentarians from the two political parties.

Social Esteem	Positive (+) (extol)	Negative (-) (censure)
Normality	Clever, strategic planner, nationalist	Very quick to anger
Capacity	Brave, resilient, successful, revolutionary	
Tenacity	Brave, strong, noble, patriotic	Jumpy

Table 4.2 Judgement: Social esteem- Kombayi

Social Sanction	Positive (+) (eulogise)	Negative (-) (denounce)
Propriety	Well mannered, forgiving, selfless, giving	Not very straight, corrupt, immoral, greedy, arrogant, disobedient, power hungry

Table 4.3 Judgement: Social sanction- Kombayi

The two tables illustrate the positive judgement that fellow MDC MPs gave to Senator Patrick Kombayi. It is only one ZANU PF MP Mr Bhasikiti who appraised Kombayi positively as “...a successful business man, one of the first African business personnel who operated in Southern Rhodesia” (Condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi, Vol. 35 No. 39, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4, line 331- 332). However, he later on criticised and denounced this successful business man in the pretext of wanting to “...give correct information regardless of which party he belongs to”. All the negative evaluations in Table 4.2 and 4.3 are from the other ZANU PF parliamentarians. The positive and negative evaluations given by both parties are largely strategic. The debate on the criteria for a person to be accorded a hero status was still fresh in the parliamentarians’ minds. The criteria for according one a hero is one aspect that parties in the global political agreement had to resolve. As a result, the debate on Condolences on the death of Patrick Kombayi presented both parties with a platform to advance their standpoints regarding what should be done. In an effort to clear any doubt in the hearer’s mind, speakers ended up using wrong premises and warrants. Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) observe that if wrong premises have been employed, the antagonist would use that to attack and expose the protagonist. In the debate, the MDC parliamentarian argued that Ms Mahoko, a ZANU PF parliamentarian was making conclusions using wrong premises

“The unstable nature cited by the previous member of being power hungry is irrelevant...it only shows that he had potential to be a leader” (Condolences on the Death of Patrick Kombayi, Vol. 35 No. 39, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4, line 291- 294). Of importance to observe in the negative evaluation of Kombayi is that parliamentarians mostly criticised his ethical conduct than his capability, normality, and dependability. Neither positive nor negative evaluation of the senator’s veracity is realised.

The same scenario of fellow parliamentarians positively appraising their member and the other parliamentarians negatively criticising is also evident in the debate on the Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi. Some of the judgemental values employed in the negative and positive evaluation of Masawi by both parties are given in the Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 below.

Social Esteem	Positive (+) (admire)	Negative (-) (criticise)
Normality	Visionary, outstanding,	Ordinary, undeserving, <i>anatabve Mvuma</i> (non-special people),
Capacity	Gallant, successful, organised, focused, capable,	Purported gallant son, <i>Pombi yadonha</i> (a man of no value),
Tenacity	Resolute, true hero, nationalist, cadre, commander, patriotic	

Table 4.4 Judgement: Social esteem- Masawi

Social Sanction	Positive (+) praise	Negative (-) condemn
Veracity	NONE	NONE
Propriety	Generous, just, exemplary, caring, man of God, accommodative, respectful, humble, helpful, generous, supportive,	Dubious, violent, cruel, notorious patron, pick- pocket,

Table 4.5 Judgement: Social sanction- Masawi

The debate exhibits positive and negative evaluation of Masawi's Normality, Capacity, Tenacity and Propriety. The particular judgement values are supposed to justify the awarding of Masawi the hero status. ZANU PF parliamentarians positively evaluate Masawi arguing from the Shona cultural perspective; '*wafa wanaka*'. This expression implies that a person is not supposed to talk of the bad things that someone was doing before dying as this will not change anything but hate the living relatives. Thus, death is supposed to be viewed as something that is sorrowful and saddening. Members should sympathise and grieve with the bereaved family. This view is highlighted by one ZANU PF MP who states that "In our African culture we are not supposed to say anything bad about a dead person..." (Condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 28th July 2009, Appendix B3, line 352- 353) Culture is being strategically employed here to silence members and make them accept the status quo. However, the MDC argues that to praise Masawi on cultural basis is also taboo and old style thinking. Apart from reminding ZANU PF that they also scolded Kombayi, the MDC brings in another perspective in the understanding of death. The MDC parliamentarians aptly argue otherwise. They point out that in a situation in which the dead person had been tormenting the living, instead of death being sorrowful it becomes a eulogy. Exploiting the weakness in the proverb as a premise for calling upon all members of parliament to only positively appraise Masawi, Madzimore gave a counter Shona proverb "*zvinonzi ukaona pachitwa zvakadaro panguva yakadaro, pane azunza chidembo*" (Literally: It is said if you see such things happening at such a time it means that there is something wrong- someone shook the civet cat) (Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16 November 2010, Appendix B3, line 678- 679). Thus, Madzimore sources an undisclosed authority from culture and figuratively advanced his argument. Observing how ordinary and undeserving Masawi has been accorded the hero status, another MDC MP, Dumbu argues that

[4.34] If someone grows up to be a father, that is what he should do. If someone is fatherless it means he has been scolded by God. There is nothing very special about having children because that is natural for married people to have children. (Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16th November 2010, Appendix B3, line 70- 74)

Disregarding the authenticity of the premises being given in coming up with the simplicity nature of Masawi, Dumbu implicitly denigrated ZANU PF Politburo and the general leadership in the party. The negative appraisal is not only being levelled against Masawi, but

ZANU PF as a whole and the hero selection process. The process is appreciated through affectual values as sad and an embarrassment. The metaphorical argument presents Masawi as someone who had done the ordinary and did not deserve to be accorded the hero status.

As with the debate on the condolences on the death of Senator Kombayi, no appraisal occurs of **judgement: veracity**. This argument suggests that in terms of considering the criteria for a hero, **judgement: veracity** is not a crucial constrain. The attitudinal alignment only involves tenacity, capacity, normality and propriety. As Martin and White (2005: 215) observe, “Texts such as these are as much about personal recollection, observation and storytelling as they are about explicit development of an argumentative position.” In order to make informed evaluations and judgements, one has to trace lines of evaluative positioning. As have been argued above, the diverse perspectives in the heroes status debates are as a result of the different lines of evaluative positioning the different parties have such that one party believes the other party should just conform. This evaluative positioning clearly comes out when Mr Dumbu, an MDC parliamentarian, argues

[4.35] “*I know* [**proclaim: pronounce**] ZANU PF people have ears *but* [**disclaim: counter**] they *do not* [**disclaim: deny**] want to listen to advice. They *do not* [**disclaim: deny**] want to be told the truth. *I know* [**proclaim: pronounce**] this is a bitter pill to swallow for ZANU (PF) people. I would like to advise [**expand: entertain**] them that *if* [**conditional clause marker**] they are a party of the people, they should [**expand: entertain**] respect people’s views, that is why people are deserting the party” (Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16th November 2010, Appendix B3, line 208-213)

The MDC is not only sticking to its evaluative position but also tries to act as a watchman for ZANU PF. Though implausible the argument might be, it acts to rhetorically make ZANU PF parliamentarians rethink their in-house problems. On the other side ZANU PF is also adamant wanting change to come from the MDC. ZANU PF’s attitudinal value orientation is that death is sorrowful hence the MDC must be mature, forward- thinking and bury the bad things as “to err is human and to forgive is divine” (Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16th November 2010, Appendix B3, line 354- 355).

Parallelism is a strategy that is employed in argumentative discourse. It is a process by which the speaker/ participant juxtaposes the two or three items or people in order to implicitly judge one on the good of the other. The whole process enables the speaker to advance their standpoint in favour of a certain perspective. In terms of appraisal and evaluation theory, this process aligns hearers with the speaker's standpoint as there are made to see the good and ignore the bad aspects of a particular entity. This strategy rhetorically acts to persuade the hearer to agree with the speaker's way of thinking or value positioning or ideological positioning. The premise behind arriving at such a conclusion is being derived from parallelism. Of the two parties in the hero status debate, the MDC employed this strategy extensively. Parallelism is evidenced in the comparison of Kombayi and other non- ZANU PF cadres who had died but not recognised or awarded the national hero status including the likes of William Kona, Ndabaningi Sithole and Alderman Nicolas Madoboko. The same strategy is also employed to expose the arguments that have been advanced by ZANU PF in favour of the position of according Masawi the hero status. Dumbu argues that "*We have people like Titus Mhetu- this person fought hard and it is well known the whole country and it is in the records of PF ZAPU, but he was not given any hero status*" (Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16th November 2010, Appendix B3, line 95- 97).

The role of interjections in argumentative discourse is of considerable significance. Parliament as a rule- regulated institution constrains the behaviour of parliamentarians. As Ilie (2003b) states, the speaker/ deputy speaker has to monitor the roles of turn- taking by announcing the speakers. This monitoring suggests that even though the Member of Parliament has something to contribute to the debate they will not do it unless given the chance by the speaker/ deputy speaker of parliament. This constrained context, as discussed in the literature review, gives birth to interjections during presentations in parliament. This study argues that these interruptions are strategic ways of manoeuvring in argumentative discourse. They are either accusations of inconsistency in argumentation or just explicit disagreement points. According to Andone (2009) accusations of inconsistency perform a particular strategic function in argumentative interactions. Thus, interjections have been argued to be playing a pivotal role in either making the speaker retract their standpoint or refocus.

In the hero status debates legal and illegal interruptions are evident. Legal interruptions are the expressions sanctioned by the speaker or president during the presentation in the parliament and the illegal are the unsanctioned interruptions. Focus in this section is on the illegal interruptions as they are of interest from a linguistic point of view. In advancing their

line of evaluative positioning, ZANU PF called for all parliamentarians in the debate on Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi to respect the dead and not say bad things about their late hero. The MDC had to interrupt reminding ZANU PF about their inconsistency with matters relating to death.

[4.36] Hon. Members: Kombayi *maituka wani!* (Lit. But you were scolding Kombayi!) (Condolence on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi, Vol. 37 No. 13, 16th November 2010, Appendix B3, line 667)

The Shona exclamation or rhetorical question is not just an interjection, but is a strategic way of exposing an opponent's standpoint. Noting the inconsistency in argumentation the exclamation reminds the other part the importance of being consistent in argumentation. The speaker through the second person singular 'ma-' 'you' identifies all ZANU PF parliamentarians with this inconsistent argumentation. The use of this pronoun makes the speaker retract their standpoint. Observable in most interruptions is that they are in question form, spoken in Shona.

[4.37] An Honourable member: *Saka pane chakanaka chaakaita here?* (Literally: So is there anything good that he had done?) (Condolences on the death of Patrick Kombayi, Vol. 35 No. 39, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4, line 280)

[4.38] *Unofananidza Jesu naKombayi here?* (Literally: Are you comparing/ likening Kombayi with Jesus?) (Condolences on the death of Patrick Kombayi, Vol. 35 No. 39, 28th July 2009, Appendix B4, line 350- 351)

The use of Shona and Ndebele in debates is of strategic significance to the speaker. The participants believe that by using Shona understanding on the part of listeners is enhanced. As interjections have some emotional attachment, using Shona illustrates the speaker's attitudinal positioning. The implied affectual value in example [4.38] is that 'I will be hate if you liken Kombayi with Jesus. There are incomparable characters.' The other reason why the speaker uses these interjections in Shona can be understood from the consideration that all the parliamentarians are second language speakers of English. As second language speakers of English, they understand the impact of statements in their first language, which is Shona in this case, most accurately.

4.5 Finance Bill: Budget debate

The previous section has been devoted to attitude one of the sub- systems of the appraisal theory exploring how the two theories, argumentation theory and appraisal theory, can be advantageously used for the analysis of argumentative discourse. It has been argued that in condolence discourse, parliamentarians mostly employ judgemental values to negatively or positively appraise the dead. Parliamentarians manipulate the context or situation to strategically manoeuvre advancing their standpoints and evaluative positions. This section intends to examine how one can account for the pragma- dialectic theoretical device of critical discussion in terms of appraisal and evaluation theoretical principles. The critical discussion model is at the core of pragma- dialectic theory (van Eemeren, Houtlosser and Snoeck Henkemans, 2007). The subjection of every statement that has been advanced to a critical test is an idea that has been borrowed from the Socratic Ideal with the premise that everything that one believes should be subjected to a dialectical test. This view suggests that every utterance that is said is open to criticism and is an advance towards resolving a difference of opinion. The critical discussion model makes explicit the discussion stages and moves that are followed in the resolution process. When advancing their standpoints, participants employ varied appraisal principles to align or disalign with certain evaluative positions. The next sub section explores how the appraisal principles are realised in the four stages of resolving a difference of opinion.

4.5.1 The critical discussion model and appraisal theoretical principles

As pointed out above, a delicate balance in argumentative discourse between the pragma- dialectic theory and appraisal theory is evident. Within the appraisal theory there are three sub- systems. The previous section examined how attitudinal meanings are communicated in argumentative discourse to resolve a difference of opinion. In this section the principle of engagement is explored in relation to the critical discussion model. This approach is based on the assumption that there are varied ways in which the speaker engages with the hearer when advancing a particular standpoint in the four stages of a critical discussion. The way that the speaker employs engagement resources aids towards resolving a difference of opinion. The budget debate is going to be utilised in order to fully explicate this relationship. Focus is on the Finance Bill: Budget Debate which was held on the 15th of July 2010 (Appendix B1). This Finance Bill is a national budget which affects the day to day life of every Zimbabwean. It is considerably different from the other divergent debates where division is across party lines. In national budget debates the Minister of Finance stands as the protagonist and all other MPs

are antagonists. Members from the Budget Committee will be on the forefront in attacking, criticising or applauding the Minister of Finance on the national budget presentation.

The Budget Committee, before the presentation of the national budget, is supposed to be consulted in accordance with the Zimbabwean laws. The failure to consult by the Minister of Finance was the first disagreement point, with Mr Zhandu observing the Freedom rule. This disagreement was dialogically expressed through **disclaim: deny**;

[4.39] *Whilst* [**proclaim: counter**] the Minister did acknowledge that he consulted, this Committee was *not* [**disclaim: deny**] consulted in preparation for this Mid- Term Policy Review. It was *not* [**disclaim: deny**] given an opportunity [**expand: entertain**] to consult those who were consulted to have their views encompassed by the Minister. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 25- 28)

The argumentative indicator, 'whilst' (**proclaim: counter**) is dialogic indicating disagreement point with the Minister's Mid Term Policy Review at the confrontation stage of the critical discussion model. The deny engagement value do not give any room for the Minister to say otherwise. As the disagreement is at the Committee level, the Committee uses reason in a way that is appropriate for this situation exposing the minister's capabilities. The fact that the minister has not consulted shows his failure to act on important matters. However, the Committee later on entertained (**expand: entertain**) the other members' judgement on whether this failure to consult might be taken as a serious omission. Considering that this motion was a national budget, the Committee had to entertain the views of other parliamentarians.

As have been argued before, the opening stage is also very much implied in this debate. The Minister of Finance, as the presenter of the budget, stands to be the protagonist and the other members are the antagonists. It is not only the opening stage that is implied; even the rules that have to do with the conduct of the debate are also implied. The minister, observing the freedom rule, could not prevent members from expressing their doubts on the standpoints in question. The first responder in the debate, as a representative of the Budget Committee, strategically singled out his disagreement points fully utilising engagement resources to appraise the Minister of Finance's standpoint. After singling out the disagreement points, the antagonist utilises the available engagement resources in an effort to make the protagonist

withdraw his standpoints. The first disagreement point, as argued before, is the breach of the usual business approach by the Minister of Finance. To fully illustrate the breach of usual business approach, the antagonist argues from authority citing the Public Finance Management Act. The antagonist shows total misunderstanding with the minister. The only option that the committee had was to bring the issue before the rationale judge. Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) points out that the audience in an argumentative discourse acts as the rationale judge. In this case the committee brought their case before the other members of parliament who are the rationale judges, arbiters. They explicitly state that “We thought [**expand: entertain**] as a Committee, we should [**expand: entertain**] bring it to the House.” (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 41- 42) In other words to the committee’s understanding, this issue was becoming controversial. However, they had to present the idea of bringing the matter to the House through expand values, **expand: entertain**, opening the dialogic space for other voices to either affirm or disagree with such a decision.

In as much as the protagonist may be forced to withdraw their standpoints in an argumentation, the protagonist will always find ways to manoeuvre strategically disagreeing with the antagonist and at the same time making efforts for the problem to be resolved in their favour. In response to the first disagreement point the minister states that

[4. 40] I want to apologise [**expand: entertain**] that we were not able to see the Committee because it was on COPAC *but* [**disclaim: counter**] we did consult widely. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3. 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 735- 736)

The minister’s statement is ‘infelicitous’ to use Austin (1962)’s term. On the surface it appears like a genuine apology yet he strategically used this resource to silence the antagonists and at the same time maintaining his stance. He dialectically disregards the contribution of the committee as compared to his ‘wide’ consultation and the contributions they received which are on their website. The role that is played by conjunctions in appraisal theory is not well explicated. However, in argumentation theory, conjunctions or change of direction words have been argued to play a pivotal role towards the resolution of a problem at hand. It should be pointed out that in terms of appraisal and evaluation these change of direction words like ‘*but*’ dissociates the hearer/ reader from a particular view and associates

or aligns them with the speaker's. This **disclaim: counter** resource, 'But', is strategically utilised to contract the dialogic space in the communicative context.

The Budget Committee has been consistent in their use of the **Disclaim: Deny** engagement value. The engagement value "is a resource for introducing the alternative position into the dialogue, and hence acknowledge it, so as to reject it" (Martin and White, 2005: 118) Thus, a two- in- one, evaluation and appraisal is evidenced. The negative carries with it the positive. In this case the negation is foregrounded. Explicitly advancing another disagreement point in the argumentation stage, the antagonist strategically manoeuvres through **Disclaim: Deny** engagement value.

[4.41] Mr Speaker, I commend the Minister for an improved revenue formation of 37,6% of the fiscus which exceeded the budget. *However*[**disclaim: counter**], we **feel** [**expand: entertain**] that there are some issues which *did not* [**disclaim: deny**] receive adequate attention... The Minister should [**expand: entertain**] lead by example... There is *no way* [**disclaim: deny**] we are going to address the issue of economic turnaround... (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 49- 61)

The antagonist disaligns with the views of the protagonist and in the process strategically aligns the other MPs or the audience into a position of opposition with the Minister of Finance's presentation. Thus, the deny engagement resource is strategically employed in argumentative discussions to convince the rationale judge and also make the protagonist retract their standpoint. Apart from showing disagreement with the minister's budget presentation, the Committee tried to be reasonable by providing a number of submissions for consideration by the minister. In an argumentative context the points that are raised greatly contribute towards the resolution of the problem at hand though one would consider the validity of these points. The **Disclaim: Deny** engagement value is not a privy of the budget committee alone but a resource that was also being used by other members of parliament. Musundire says that

[4.43] We *also* [**disclaim: counter**] have the Diamond Act, there is *no doubt* [**disclaim: deny**] that the Diamond Act will bring sanity to the mining sector especially to our alluvial diamonds in Chiadzwa. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 278- 280)

Here the **denial** ‘*there is no doubt that the Diamond Act will bring sanity to the mining sector*’ is dialogic in that it invokes and presents itself as responding to claims/ beliefs that ‘there are some doubts on the Diamond Act’s role in the mining sector’.

The use of rhetorical questions is another dialogistic way of strategically manoeuvring in argumentative discourse. As has been discussed in the previous discussions, parliamentarians use rhetorical questions to enhance understanding of the problem at hand and force the other part to withdraw their standpoints. Examples of this nature can be observed in the committee’s presentation and the other members of parliament’s contributions.

[4.44] What is more important than the revenue itself? (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 97)

[4.45] Mr Speaker Sir, are we worse off than the Somalians? ...I can smell here some form of benzene ...Are we a benzene Parliament? ... Where are we going? (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 359- 356)

The rhetorical or pseudo- questions dialogically allude to a discussion or something that have been said before. Thus, it brings forward the foregone idea into a discussion only to discard it and rhetorically aligns the hearer with a new idea being introduced. The answers to the questions being raised by the speaker are not far away from the hearer, but through these questions the hearer is made to think about such aspects. For instance, in example [4.45] the answers to the first two questions will be ‘no’ and to the last question will be ‘nowhere’. These rhetorical questions can be analysed as an instance of **concurrency** than **entertainment** as the hearer is dialogically constrained to supply a particular answer. It is the opposite of expository questions which tend to **entertain** giving the hearer the room to provide an open-ended answer.

Some engagement values appear to be a property or distinct characteristic of parliamentary discourse. Explicit authorial interventions or interpolations are prevalent in parliamentary discourse. Parliamentarians seem to be carried over with their authorial emphasis when contributing in the House of Assemblies or the Senate. This authorial investment is referred to as pronouncement in appraisal theory. The MPs and Senators explicitly intervene so as “to

assert or insist on the value or warrantability of the proposition” (Martin and White, 2005: 128). This involvement is clearly evidenced in the following examples;

[4.46] The Hon. Minister referred to sanitisation of the RBZ, it *is* [**proclaim: pronounce**] a **good** [+ **appreciation**] thing. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 617)

[4.47] The *only* [**disclaim: deny**] constant variable in any particular society is change. We have witnessed in this fiscal review, a change from having a survival budget to a growth budget and the Minister has to be **commended** [+ve **judgement**] for that. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 251- 254)

[4.48] I think [**expand: entertain**] it *is* [**proclaim: pronounce**] important to take note that this report *is not* [**disclaim: deny**] aimed at the minister. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 43)

These examples, being responses to the budget presentation by the minister, acknowledge the heteroglossic diversity of such a communicative context and set the authorial voice as heading or challenging a particular alternative voice. The pronounce engagement value serves to close down any disagreement space and at the same time pushing for a resolution of the problem in favour of the speaker. In example 4.47, the speaker implicitly pronounced the warrantability of the budget. Martin and White (2005: 128) argue that as a result of the use of this engagement resource, “the interpersonal cost to any who would advance such a contrary position is increased and the dialogic space for this alternative in any upcoming dialogic interaction is reduced.” This argument then suggests the reason why parliamentarians mostly employ this engagement resource. They want to close the dialogic space and at the same time raising the interpersonal cost of going against their proposition.

The argumentation stage of the budget debate is based on formulations that limit the scope of the dialogistic alternatives. Apart from the pronouncement engagement value, the other two proclamation values have also been utilised in this argumentative discourse. **Proclaim: concur** and **proclaim: endorse** locutions are explicitly inscribed in the text.

[4.49] *Obviously*, [**proclaim: concur**] these are based on what is obtained in the economy. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 442)

[4.50] *This review has shown no* [**proclaim: endorse, disclaim: deny**] signs of policy reversal or inconsistency. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 258- 259)

In example [4.49] the speaker's use of the locution 'obviously' construes for the text an audience that shares with the speaker a number of imponderables which the minister had ventilated the previous day. As with pronouncement, concurrence values also raise the interpersonal cost of going against something that is 'obvious'. Both the addresser and addressee are presented as if they are highly aligned. Argumentatively, this way of using language closes down any future disagreements and forces the other party to withdraw their standpoints. On the other hand, the nature of endorsements in the budget debate is also interesting. In example [4.50], the authorial voice engages and aligns with the external voice. After aligning with the external voice, the authorial voice invites the hearer to align with it. While endorsing the external voice, the authorial voice denies any alternative voice and positively appreciates the 'review'.

In presenting the disagreement points as a matter of 'feelings', 'thoughts', 'concern', the antagonist dialogistically entertains (**expand: entertain**) the other voices or alternatives in this argumentative discourse. Both the protagonist and the antagonist are presented as 'concerned'. However, the 'concern' of the protagonist is negatively painted as not genuine as it lacks in depth research and the actual details of what happens at Beitbridge border post. Negation of the protagonist is strategically utilised to positively appraise the antagonist. This evaluation shows one aspect in argumentative discourse, that of winning a debate by negating the other and positively appraising the self.

[4.51] The Committee is **concerned** [+ **judgement, expand: entertain**] that reduction of Customs Duty on clothing and textile blankets, while making clothing available to the consumers *does not* [**disclaim: deny**] promote industrial growth. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 111- 113)

[4.52] The Minister is **concerned** [+ **judgement, expand: entertain**] that *if* [**conditional clause marker**] you go to Beitbridge, the warehouses are full of goods belonging to people who intended to smuggle. It *is not* [**disclaim: deny**] because of duty. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, Vol. 37 No. 3, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 121- 123)

Though the position of the minister has been exposed, the antagonist dialogically presents their position as one of the alternative ways of dealing with Customs Duty. Their position can also become invalid if a stronger position is presented. However, from another perspective, this way of using language can also be considered as **attitudinal: judgement** evaluation. This perspective suggests that engagement can also be realised through attitudinal values. The attitudinal values serve to show how a speaker engages with the hearer in a text. It again illustrates the delicacy with appraisal sub-systems. This analysis a clear departure from the way accounts of modality and evidentiality could have analysed these values.

Concluding stages in parliamentary debates follow a certain pattern. It can be observed that, at the concluding stage, even though the other parties might still have something burning to say, it is the protagonist who concludes the debate by responding to a number of points raised during the debate. In the budget debate, it is the minister of finance who had to respond. At one point he explicitly agrees with the varied points of disagreement raised showing that the problem has been resolved. This property echoes the view van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) points out. They argue that if no doubt or disagreement explicitly or implicitly is expressed over a particular standpoint a critical discussion will not take place. The minister concludes concurring with some of the arguments raised showing that the disagreement point has been erased.

[4.53] *I agree* [**proclaim: concur**] that *if* [**conditional clause marker**] *we do not* [**disclaim: deny**] pay people they become corrupt... *I agree* [**proclaim: concur**] with Hon. Chinyadza who mentioned that on these royalties, we are just scratching the surface. (Finance Bill: Budget Debate, 15th July 2010, Appendix B1, line 859, 863)

However, in some cases the minister had to maintain his stance, thus, concluding the debate in his favour. This way of concluding exhibits that though being the protagonist at one point, in parliamentary debates the protagonist will fulfil the role of being the rationale judge.

4.6 The Presidential speech: Official opening of parliament

The previous section has been devoted to a delicacy analysis of the two important aspects of the two theories, the notion of a critical discussion model and the engagement resource. The focus in all the previous sections has been on debates. Parliamentary discourse has been duly argued to have more than one sub- genre (van Dijk 2003). This section slightly differs from the previous sections and focuses on a different type of text; a speech genre. The study of speeches stretches back to Aristotle and Plato. However, their studies have been much devoted to the rhetorical nature of speeches and generally exploring speeches as monologues. In line with the argument taken by Jakaza and Visser (2011), this section argues that

“...all verbal communication, whether written or spoken, is ‘dialogic’ in that to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, take up in some way, what has been said/ written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/ listeners” (Martin and White, 2005: 92).

This perspective is also supported by van Eemeren (2010) who argues that speeches fall under argumentative discourse because participants involved in this communicative activity are guided by argumentative principles. This argument suggests that not only conversations with explicit participants can be regarded as argumentative. In Vološinov’s argument “Dialogue... can also be understood in a broader sense, meaning not only direct, face-to- face, vocalised verbal communication between persons, but also verbal communication of any type whatsoever” (1995: 139). Recognising that speeches are both dialogic and argumentative in nature, an appraisal theoretical analysis together with an extended pragma- dialectical analysis of speeches is poised to give interesting results.

4.6.1 Alignment, solidarity and the construed hearer

This sub-section analyses the linguistic resources by which the speakers align the hearer, seek solidarity and construe hearers. As pointed out above in section 4.5, the research takes after Bakhtin and Vološinov’s widely accepted concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia. The argument is that no utterance is evaluation free. Every utterance stands to respond to, refer to or anticipate the responses of the potential or imagined hearer/ reader. Thus, in this sub-section the researcher examines graduation, the other appraisal sub- system. Concern is on how graduation is utilised in argumentative contexts to resolve the difference of opinion. An analysis of the two presidential speeches in the opening of the second session (6th October

2009, Appendix B2) and the third session (13th July 2010, Appendix B9) of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe promises to give intriguing results.

The semantics of **graduation**, like the other sub-systems, is central to the appraisal system. The reason for this phenomenon is because locutions under **graduation**

play a dialogistic role in that they enable speakers/writers to present themselves as more strongly aligned or less strongly aligned with the value position along being advanced by the text and thereby to locate themselves with respect to the communities of shared value and belief associated with those positions (Martin and White, 2005:94).

These mechanisms by which the speakers graduate either the force or focus of the utterance are examined as instances of strategic manoeuvring. By strongly or less strongly investing in a particular value position, speakers strategically manoeuvre in argumentative discourse. In the two texts at the opening stage the president calls for solidarity and construes a hearer who also shares the same sentiments. The Inclusive Government is positively appraised as “**QUITE HISTORIC**” and had “ushered in a new era of **MUTUAL** collaboration and **TOGETHERNESS**” at the confrontation stage of the Second Session. At the confrontation stage of the Third Session, the formation of the Inclusive Government is presented as a respond to the “**people’s** wishes” and the help from “**SADC friends**” shrugging off “**PERSISTENT** actions” of detractors. Thus, from the onset, through graduation forms, the president up-scaled the meanings rhetorically aligning the hearer and construing the hearer as sharing the same values and beliefs. By name calling one group as friends and the other as detractors, the president raised the interpersonal cost of going against his standpoint as people would not want to be identified with detractors.

It has already been discussed in Chapter Three that **graduation** operates across two axes of scalability- “that of grading according to intensity or amount, and that of grading according to prototypicality and the preciseness by which category boundaries are drawn” (Martin and White, 2005: 137). The terms **force** and **focus** references the two axes of graduation. There are, however, subdivided as shall be exemplified in the following sections. In addition to identify instances of appraisal in these speeches it is also important to analyse the argumentativeness of these appraisal values.

4.6.1.1 Graduation: Force

Graduation according to **force** covering **intensity** and **amount** has been dialogistically employed in the two speeches. However, intensity is widely utilised as compared to quantification. Intensification values are utilised to up- scale/ down- scale qualities and processes.

Up/ Down scaling of qualities and processes: Force

UTMOST preparedness, MORE efficient, STEADILY improving, ADVERSELY affected, **too** clear, CURRENTLY carrying, MASSIVE exodus, DEEPLY concerned, MORE active, SERIOUS efforts, SIGNIFICANT progress, NOTABLE strides, CRITICAL factor, POTENT reality, MASTER plan, GOOD animal health, HUGE prospects, BEST practices, MORE importantly, VAST array of minerals, MAJOR driver, PERSISTENT ERRATIC power, GRADUAL easing of the situation, MOST enduring business sphere, MORE DETERRENT penalties, VERY DIFFICULT circumstances, PROFOUND PERSONAL appreciation, GREATLY stabilised, HIGH quality, GRAND objective, SOME agreement

Through intensification values a speaker can manoeuvre dissociating hearers from a certain ideology and associating them with his/ her ideology. In the two speeches, the president positively appraises the efforts being made by the different parties in the inclusive government. The government is presented as making ‘serious’ efforts and going to put ‘more’ deterrent penalties. As the speech that set the objectives of the parliamentary business for a particular period, qualities and processes have been highly up- scaled to set the tone for serious business. By up- scaling meanings in the speech for the official opening of parliament, the president is, responding to voices which have been saying a lot on the Zimbabwean economic, political and social situation, advancing his standpoint and prepares for future responses. This dialogism is clearly supported by **disclaim: deny** value realised at the concluding stage to close the dialogic space.

[4.54] *Only* that way can we REALLY succeed. (The presidential speech, Vol. 19, No. 1, 6th October 2009, Appendix B2, line 338)

A combination of the engagement value of **disclaim: deny** and a graduation value of **force: intensification** at the concluding stage reinforces the positive evaluation the speech is carrying, the solidarity the generality of Zimbabweans are expected to be and the nature of the hearer the speaker is construing.

Up/ Down scaling of qualities and process: amount

SEVERAL of the registered co- operatives, currently carrying, RECENTLY established, a MORE transformative medium

Quantification is also argumentative in that it either balloons the number or shows how recent something is. The assumption that is being made in the usage of these quantification values is that the bigger the number the more the force the value position will have and the recent the activity the more relevant it is. However, this does not always yield the same results in argumentative contexts.

4.6.1.1.1 Infusion mode of intensification

Lexicalisation is not the only mode of intensification. The other mode of intensification that has been dialogically and argumentatively utilised in the two speeches is that of infusion. Instead of having particular lexical items graduating both attitudinal and engagement values, graduation is infused within these attitudinal or engagement terms. In other words, I argue that in this case no lexical item can be singled out to be up- scaling or down- scaling meanings as in; PLEASING, MINDFUL, PURPOSEFULLY, KEY, SUCCEEDED. Thus, through the infused terms the speaker strategically manoeuvres strongly investing in a value position. The speaker either positively or negatively appraises rhetorically aligning or disaligning hearers. The reasons behind such an appraisal are provided, no matter how valid they are. This view implies that the premises behind either a positive or negative appraisal are provided supporting the conclusion that the speaker is for instance ‘MINDFUL’.

4.6.1.2 Graduation: Focus

Graduation according to focus values are also utilised to up- scale or down scale meanings in discourse. When up- scaling meanings, the value will be sharpening the specifications so that the prototypicality is indicated and when down- scaling meanings, the value will be softening the specifications so as to illustrate how marginal a particular member is in a category. It is not necessarily an either -or situation, but a matter of degree (Martin and White 2005).

Sharpening meanings

ENHANCED committee, HOME- GROWN economic blue- print, PREFERRED situation, GENUINE and WELL- MEANING partners, GENUINELY Zimbabwean, STABLE macro- economic

environment, SEEDBED of entrepreneurship, PRACTICALLY possible, TRULY independent Zimbabwe.

Softening meanings

SOME extent, SOME agreement

These values have been examined from the appraisal perspective as being dialogic. Thus, either the authorial voice is heavily invested in the proposition (sharpening) aligning the hearers with that value position or the authorial voice minimise its investment and indicate either a conciliatory gesture towards those who hold a contrary view or that the positive assessment is problematic. These values have not been examined from an argumentative position. Argumentatively they play a major role in resolving the disagreement at hand. By strongly investing in certain value positions, the authorial voice is not only aligning hearers to this position but is also argumentatively closing the dialogic space and raising the interpersonal cost of going against such a position. The terms ‘home- grown, genuine, and truly’ negates other positions and construes a hearer who want good services, products, leadership et cetera. ‘Good’ in the speaker’s sense implies ‘home- grown, genuinely Zimbabwean’. The president rhetorically and dialectically calls for parliamentarians across political lines to align with his value position.

4.7 Summary

The analysis has reviewed and confirmed important aspects on parliamentary discourse as well as the two theoretical frameworks, the appraisal and the argumentation theories. The confrontation stage has shown that debates vary in terms of disagreement levels. Some debates have been classified as divergent, quasi- divergent and others as consensus on the basis of the levels of disagreement. Apart from that most divergent debates have multiple disagreement points and these disagreements are premised along political party lines or committee basis. However, as a regulated talk, participants in a debate will express their difference of opinion at different intervals after having been accorded the opportunity to contribute by the Speaker of Parliament or President of Senate. As have been argued by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004), the opening stage is very much implicit in most debates in the parliament. The mover of the motion and/ or the party that he represents is in most cases implicitly assigned the protagonist role and the other members or political party assigned the antagonist role. The other assumption at the opening stage relates to shared knowledge in terms of how business is done in parliament. Parliamentarians are assumed to be conversant

with rules and norms as well as the code of conduct in parliament. However, the analysis has shown that not all parliamentarians are well versed with this code of conduct and how debates are supposed to unfold.

The analysis has also illustrated that some debates and speeches are not only more argumentative than others but are also more appraisal/ evaluation saturated than others. The correlation between the argumentativeness of a debate and appraisal saturation is evident. Thus, instead of only trying to balance dialect and rhetoric in argumentation, I argue for the inclusion of appraisal. Participants in a debate are not only focused on reasoning and persuading, but also on expressing their emotions, judgments, appreciation and engagement. These appraisal resources have a big role to play in an argumentative discourse. This argument is based on the understanding that the choice of certain lexis, phrases and sentence structures either contracts or expands the dialogic space advancing a certain proposition. For instance, in debates on artefacts, though appreciation values are realised more than judgement values, there are presented as tokens of judgement with an effort to discredit or commend someone in an effort to resolve the problem towards one's favour. The way that modals are utilised in these debates seems to indicate that they are gradable. Variation can be observed in the way *must* and *should* are employed. Even though Martin and White (2005) have bundled them as expansive, the analysis presented in this chapter has indicated that '*must*' is contractive and '*should*' expansive.

Various forms of strategic manoeuvring have been identified in all the argumentation stages. Strategic manoeuvring has been argued to be not only efforts to balance dialect and rhetoric but also appraisal. Notable strategic manoeuvring forms utilised in the parliament include accusing one of using unwarranted premises, reference to the bible as authority though its authenticity is repeatedly challenged once used, use of cognitive metaphors to enhance understanding and present a certain proposition as natural and warrantable, use of dissociation and association strategies to align hearers with a particular argument, use of graduation values which are high on the scale to raise the cost of going against such a proposition, use of pronouns to construct own identity and group identity as a result aligning and disaligning participants, use of pictures, reports, case studies and statistics in order to appear reasonable, the use of rhetoric questions in the question- answer format to confine the hearer/ reader to a specific proposition (as instances of concurrence as opposed to expository questions which are instances of entertainment), the use of parallelism to implicitly judge one aspect using the other, reference to culture has also been utilised as a premise and move to immunise the dead

against negative evaluation taking it from the Shona cultural norm- *wafa wanaka*. The other strategy that is utilised though discouraged is that of making one- sided assessments of matters at hand. However, quite a number of strategic manoeuvring forms were not going unnoticed by the other opponent. Once noticed it was retracted or the opponent will use a counter move. Intentionally and/ unintentionally parliamentarians were also making quite a number of fallacious moves in an effort to appear reasonable. Notable fallacies made include poisoning the well, false cause, reference to authority, appeal to numbers, analogy, *ad misericordian* and a fallacy of hasty conclusion and generalisation.

Debates in parliament are full of interjections and call to order by the Speaker of Parliament. The analysis has illustrated that interjections are a result of the constraining institution and in most cases accusations of inconsistency. These are legal and illegal interjections. The illegal interjections are the ones not sanctioned by the speaker or president. Interjections have been shown to have some emotional attachment and make one retract their arguments or refocus, that is, they are argumentative. These interjections in the Zimbabwean parliament are made in the Shona language and in a rhetorical question form structure or metaphorically. Code switching in this case is not an indication of failure to express oneself, but a sign of authorial investment in a proposition and a strategic move to enhance understanding advancing a certain argument. Having discussed these various aspects about parliamentary discourse in Zimbabwean parliament, the next chapter will examine how these debates and speeches are represented in newspaper articles in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARGUMENTATION AND THE ATTITUDINAL RESOURCE IN THE REPORTING OF ZIMBABWEAN PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES AND SPEECHES

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has been devoted to the analysis of debates and speeches in the Zimbabwean parliament. Focus has been directed towards exploring the argumentative nature of the debates and speeches and how the appraisal resources are realised in argumentation. This chapter introduces another perspective in the study of debates and speeches. The perspective is based on the argument that “all forms of knowing and talking about reality require position- taking” (Macdonald, 2003: 11) as it has been observed that “sometimes mirrors do not reflect the reality we wish to believe” (Helsby, 2005: 3). This position is an appraisal and evaluation perspective in the analysis of discourse. The appraisal theory has been explicated in chapter three. The aim of this chapter is to analyse how the attitudinal resource manifests in the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches. Focus is on the writer’s attitudinal positioning in news reporting. Apart from the attitudinal resource, the notion of graduation is also examined. Graduation has been argued to be a general property and feature of attitudinal and engagement resources (Martin and White, 2005). Thus, graduation values are examined together with attitudinal values in this chapter and with engagement resources in chapter six. In order to fully explore the nature of language use in the reporting of news, the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation is employed in conjunction with the appraisal theory. This, multi-perspective approach to the study, makes explicit the systematic analysis of the distinct argumentative properties of news reporting. The argumentation theory provides the discourse- analytic perspective in the analysis of the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches in newspaper articles.

The aspect of appraisal and evaluation in the reporting of debates and speeches in newspaper articles, as alluded to above, is examined in two chapters. There is an important reason for this approach. This approach enables the researcher to fully explore how attitudinal resources are realised in news reporting. Secondly, by focusing on a single sub- system of the theory, the researcher is able to examine how the attitudinal resources vary across themes in the stories being reported. It is a fact that no story can be purely attitudinal or only engagement

resources are realised, but undisputable that some reports are highly attitudinal and others employ more engagement values. Thus, I am arguing that a news article can contain all the appraisal resources, but there will be one that will be predominant. In terms of this position, it means that to examine an article from a particular appraisal resource point of view is most appropriate.

As discussed in chapter one, data for the analysis of news representation is drawn from the four Zimbabwean newspapers, *The Standard*, *Newsday*, *The Herald* and *Kwayedza*. As again pointed in chapter one, *The Herald* and *Kwayedza* are government or state -owned papers and *The Standard* and *Newsday* are private or independent papers. Thus, whilst analysing the appraisal and argumentative nature of the stories in these papers, a comparative analysis of news reporting in these newspapers is conducted⁴². The comparison is conducted along four axis as illustrated below.

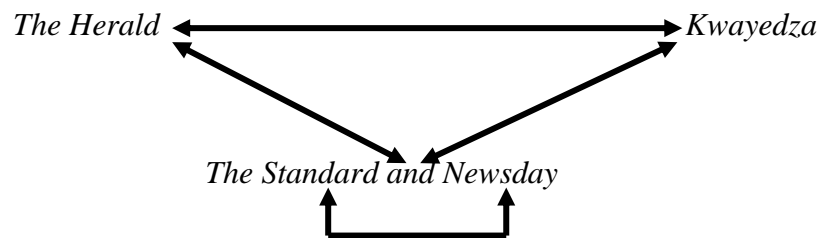


Figure 5.1 Four- tier comparison of news reporting

5.2 Attitudinal resources and news reporting

The appraisal sub- system, attitude, have been discussed in Chapter three. The sub- system consists of three semantic regions of affect, judgement and appreciation. These emotions are construed sometimes in different ways in both the English and Shona texts. As has been argued, all texts are attitudinal, and are not evaluation free (White, 2005a). Utilising the appraisal theory, this section examines how evaluative resources have been utilised in the reporting of parliament discourse in the Zimbabwean newspapers. Focus is on understanding the notion of evaluative ‘key’ and ‘stance’ as they are brought out through attitudinal resources. In other words, focus is on exploring patterns of attitudinal resources in the articles and their communicative or rhetorical effect in the dissemination of news. The other aim is to

⁴² As has been observed by Archakis and Tsakona (2010) about the Greek newspapers, the researcher also made an observation that newspapers do not necessarily report all the debates or speeches as they happen in the Parliament, thus, they do not report parliamentary news on a daily basis (for daily papers) or weekly basis (for weekly papers). I also observed that the weekly papers, *The Standard and Kwayedza*, have few parliamentary reports than the daily papers, The weekly papers mostly publish what Ilie (2009) calls ‘extra- parliamentary’ reports. As opposed to the other newspapers, *The Standard* does not have any page or reporter specifically for parliamentary reporting.

examine the argumentative function of using language in such a way discussing the particular role that attitudinal resources have in argumentation.

5.2.1 Attitudinal alignment

Journalists follow certain appraisal and argumentative patterns when reporting activities that have happened in the parliament. They follow discussions on ‘controversial’ issues and make audience adjusted reports. After identifying what seems to be newsworthy, journalists have to employ various strategies in reporting in order for it to appeal to the intended readership. They have to consider quite a number of factors for their position to be accepted by the intended audience. This view is also echoed by Elorza (2009/10: 5) who contends that,

“newspaper readers are positioned as to which events are important or more valuable according to the degree of *newsworthiness*.” and “are positioned into a certain interpretation of the news by means of *strategies*..., as well as the activation of *cultural patterns* during reading which involve meanings conventionally linked to some positive or negative social value.” (my emphasis)

The sanctions motion is one debate that has received unprecedented attention in the media both within Zimbabwe and internationally. The state -owned papers, *The Herald* and *Kwayedza*, rallied behind Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU- PF) party finger- pointing the Movement for Democratic Change- Tsvangirai (MDC- T) party of calling for the imposition of sanctions by western countries making evaluative collocations of the MDC- T and any ‘pro- sanction’ voice. ZANU- PF with its state- owned papers as its mouth-piece, has continuously referred to sanctions as being responsible for clearly devastating the economic and social fabric of the nation. Everything negatively affecting the country has been attributed to sanctions. On the other hand, the MDC- T has been openly contesting the ZANU- PF position arguing that there are only ‘restrictive measures’. This antagonism was being followed by the media closely. Following a debate on the unconditional removal of sanctions in the Lower House on the 2nd of March 2010, the sanctions motion was a topical story in newspapers the following day. *The Herald* (3 March 2010) had ‘**Sanctions motion gets MPs’ nod**’ and *Kwayedza* (4 March 2010) had two stories, ‘*Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai*’ (Lit. Economic sanctions must go-

Tsvangirai) and ‘**PM, *zadzisai enyu mashoko nezviito***’⁴³ (Lit. Prime Minister (PM), fulfil your words with actions).

The Headlines

Headlines in newspaper discourse constitute a story in their own such that the lead and the body are meant only to give the premises to support the conclusion or claim in the headline. White (1998) has discussed newspaper headlines as a summary, a synopsis and an abstract of the whole story. *The Herald* and *Kwayedza* are both government- oriented papers, though *The Herald* is an English daily and *Kwayedza* a Shona weekly newspaper. The headline in *The Herald*, ‘**Sanctions motion gets MPs’ nod**’ (3 March 2010, Appendix A19), positively appraises parliamentarians in their discharge of duties, an audience adjusted headline. Considering the context, the writer selects this headline as the best topical potential. The headline alludes to Members of Parliament (MPs) as if there were of one voice, yet it is in the same debate that the MDC-T parliamentarians walked out in protest⁴⁴. The motion itself is presented as positively appreciated and the MPs positively judged. The journalistic voice is explicitly invested in the headline positively judging the mover of the motion, Mr Bhasikiti (ZANU- PF), together with the MPs who supported the motion. The MDC-T MPs are implicitly aligned to the writer’s position. Argumentatively, the writer strategically closes down the argumentation space. The understanding is that something that received the ‘MPs’ nod’ cannot be denied. This evaluation attitudinally aligns the readers with the position that sanctions are bad and must be discredited. Related headlines in *The Herald* are a testimony of the paper’s position on sanctions: ‘**ZANU- PF reiterates call for lifting of sanctions**’ (*The Herald*, 13 May 2010), ‘**Stand up against sanctions, SA tells Tsvangirai**’ (*The Herald*, 3 May 2010), ‘**Minister pursues legal challenge against sanctions**’ (*The Herald*, 12 August 2010), ‘**MP calls for more sanctions**’ (*The Herald*, 11 November 2010), ‘**Remove sanctions on Zim: Sadc**’ (*The Herald*, 17 August 2010), ‘**GPA blast sanctions**’ (*The Herald*, 8 August 2010), ‘**Ball now in MDC-T’s court, says President**’ (*The Herald*, 21 August 2010).

Attitudinally marked headlines are a characteristic of newspaper discourse. They are not only eye- catching but manipulative as well. Sharing the same evaluative positioning, *Kwayedza* had two stories on the sanctions motion with attitudinally marked headlines. In one of the

⁴³ *Kwayedza* stories can be argued to be extra- parliamentary reports of the debate on the motion on sanctions that was held in the Lower House. The one entitled ‘Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai’ falls under hard news genre and the other one entitled ‘PM- *zadzisai enyu mashoko nezviito*’ is more inclined to a commentary than a hard news genre.

⁴⁴ However, one can say the journalist has been expansive by putting the headline in single quotations anticipating antagonistic voices on such a conclusion.

headlines; ‘*Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai*’ (Lit. Economic sanctions must go- Tsvangirai) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A3) the paper presents Tsvangirai as not only acknowledging the existence of sanctions, but as someone who is now aligned to Mugabe and ZANU- PF party ideology. By aligning Tsvangirai to ZANU- PF, *Kwayedza* implicitly calls for MDC-T supporters to rethink and follow their leader. The headline is also given as a direct quotation of Tsvangirai’s words thereby strategically augmenting their standpoint in calling for the removal of sanctions. Tsvangirai is implicitly judged positively. The other story headline in the same paper is presented as complementing the other such that the headlines can be joined with the conjunction ‘but’ and reads as ‘*Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai asika PM, zadzisai enyu mashoko nezviito*’ (Lit. Economic sanctions must go- Tsvangirai but Prime Minister (PM), fulfil your words with actions). Thus, the other story in the same paper is more of a comment on the Prime Minister’s (PM) call for the removal of sanctions. There is acceptance of what has been said by the Prime Minister but satirically calling for more from him. This evaluation is based on ZANU- PF’s position that MDC- T is the one who invited these sanctions so to only denounce them is not enough. This evaluation is in line with the Shona proverb; ‘*Muromo hauzarirwi nerwizi*’ (Lit. Saying something is one thing and doing it the other or it’s easier said than done). The heading also shares the biblical communicative meaning that ‘faith without deeds is useless’. It reveals the dissimilarities in the way news is reported in Shona and English newspapers which can be due to differences in cultural patterns and language, an analysis that was also made by Elorza (2009/10) on Spanish and English newspapers in the reporting of the world food summit. The differences between the English and the Shona headlines reflect that language is a carrier of culture. As such journalists thrive to utilise the cultural values and norms to align readers with a certain worldview. Though English is a language that is spoken in Zimbabwe, it is a foreign language, a language that was introduced to the Zimbabwean community through colonisation. In the Shona culture, if someone has done something wrong it is not enough to just admit that one is wrong. The words should be accompanied with deeds in order to satisfy the felicity conditions (Austin, 1962). The concept of culture being advanced by *Kwayedza* here is that

“...members of a speech community know about their community’s appropriate ways of producing and interpreting explicit and implicit meaning, about its discourse practices and genres and about the socio- cultural contexts of their use...” (Lauerbach and Fetzer, 2007: 8)

This argument implies that certain constitutive conditions should be satisfied by members of a particular speech community when successfully interacting with each other. Above all other forms of knowing, *Kwayedza* is advancing the argument that the Prime Minister is supposed to have shared knowledge about systems of pragmatic principles and social practices accepted in the Shona or Zimbabwean community. The Prime Minister is judged accordingly for lacking this foresight and capacity. This judgement resource is employed to evoke the attitudinal nature of the story to follow.

The narratives

The headlines ascertain the writer's standpoint in an argument, the evaluative position. The introduction and the body of the report present the argumentative structure of that debate or discussion. The protagonist and antagonists implicitly or explicitly take their roles in the discussion. However, the nature of argumentation in which the writer is reporting on a debate that had happened somewhere gives a challenge to the argumentation theory. Though the four stages might be realised, the protagonists and antagonists identified, various forms of strategic manoeuvring observed, it is within the journalist's prerogative to suppress the other party's arguments. The contributions or viewpoints of other participants are 'taken- for- granted' in the report. Members of Parliament from one party are only interviewed or their contributions in the House are the only ones cited either as direct quotations or paraphrased. This selectivity can possibly be taken as a form of strategic manoeuvring: strategic manoeuvring by suppressing the opponent's argument (denying the other) and foregrounding the other party's arguments. The balance between dialect and rhetoric seems to tilt more to persuasion than reason in the reporting of debates. The strategic manoeuvring triangle appears to be extensively employed in the reporting of news. The appraisal resources selected are the presentational devices utilised in advancing a particular standpoint.

The narrative of *The Herald* Headline '**Sanctions motion gets MPs' nod**' confirm the position taken by ZANU- PF on sanctions. In support of this position, the paper negatively evaluates sanctions as '**illegal**', '**discredited embargo**' and out rightly refutes the position taken by the MDC- T on sanctions as '**restrictive measures**' or '**travel bans**'. Even though these examples are instances of negative appreciation of sanctions, they manifests as forms of judgement with the journalists evaluating the actors rather than the act. The '**long- awaited acknowledgement**' by the PM overshadows the contributions that were made by parliamentarians towards the motion. Tsvangirai is positively judged (**judgement: veracity**), and appraised favourably by ZANU- PF MPs as he was '**congratulated**' and '**commended**'.

The paper went at length to cite the contributions of ZANU- PF MPs positively commenting the Prime Minister, Morgan Tsvangirai. The mover of the motion, Bhasikiti (ZANU- PF) is cited describing ‘PM Tsvangirai’s statement as an early Christmas present for the nation’ (*The Herald*, 3 March 2010) implicitly judging Tsvangirai. The paper strategically manoeuvres aligning readers with the statements of the PM and negatively discrediting any other discordant voices. This positive evaluation is explicitly echoed by Hurungwe East MP, Sarah Mahoko (ZANU- PF) who is cited as having,

[5.1] ...**commended** [+ve **judgement: tenacity**] PM Tsvangirai’s **voluntary** [+ve **judgement: propriety**] call for the removal of sanctions and said those against his new position were against Zimbabwe’s development. (*The Herald*, 3 March 2010, Appendix A19, line 30- 31) (my emphasis)

Rhetorically the argument being advanced closes down the room for contra- argumentation. Anyone going against ZANU- PF and the PM’s ‘new position’ is characterised and equally judged, [-ve **judgement: capacity**] as ‘odd’. The position by MDC-T legislators that there are no sanctions in Zimbabwe was brought into the narrative only to be refuted and silenced. The journalist strategically manoeuvres citing inconsistency in the MDC- T party’s position on sanctions. In discarding the MDC-T legislators’ position, the paper appeals to authority and numbers. It makes reference to another ZANU- PF legislator who responds accordingly giving a least of companies that have closed as a result of sanctions and the effects thereafter. The legislator then concludes strategically manoeuvring through definition of terms. The argument is sealed without any interview or direct quotation from the MDC- T legislators, strategically manoeuvring denying the other, breaching the critical discussion rules. Tsvangirai is presented as having been compelled to denounce sanctions by pressures from the ZANU- PF Youth League, Global Political Agreement (GPA), among other pressures and that the call he made was wrongly timed. Thus, he is again discredited as a leader and negatively judged: **capacity, normality** and **tenacity** in order to keep their reader aware that there is only one credible leader.

Taking judgement and appreciation as institutionalised meanings and affect as being at the centre of these meanings will help explain the nature of discourse in *The Herald* article. As have been observed in section 4.2.2, affect and appreciation are interwoven with judgement in the reporting of the sanctions debate (see also White 1998, Martin and White 2005). Positive affect spreads out and colours the text with the textual voice expressing satisfaction with what

had been said by the Prime Minister. Optimism is also shown through the interviews that have been cited. The article depicts a jovial mood as this was a ‘LONG **waited**’ moment. However, negative affect filters in when reporting the MDC- T legislators’ position and the wrong timing in the call for the removal of sanctions. This negative affect is, however, suppressed. On the other side, the internal voice is realised slightly appreciating (**appreciation: reaction**) the business of the Lower House the previous day and the sanctions motion in general. However, this appreciation manifests as judgment of the ZANU- PF MPs’ and the PM’s voices in denouncing sanctions at the same time negatively appreciating the behaviour of MDC- T legislators. Thus, the whole strategy was to positively appraise judging the behaviour of participants who openly denounced sanctions and negatively evaluate and disalign with any contrary voices.

Newsworthiness and audience adjusted reporting are real factors in the content that will make up the story, that is, facts are selected on the basis of their ‘tellability’ (Bell 1991) and their ability to appeal to the intended audience. The discussion between Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and the Danish Development Co- operation Minister Mr Soren Pind took centre stage in *Kwayedza* articles as compared to the debate that followed this meeting which was held in the Lower House the following day. In one of the articles on the sanctions motion; **Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai** (Economic sanctions must go- Tsvangirai), Tsvangirai is quoted denouncing sanctions two times; ‘*VaTsvangirai vakati...* (Mr Tsvangirai said...)’ (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A3, Line 4). He (Tsvangirai) is presented as having denounced sanctions for the first time; ‘*...vakataura **kekutanga pachena** (judgement: (+/-) tenacity) kuti zvirango zveupfumi zviri **kunze kwemutemo** (-ve appreciation) zvakatemerwa nyika ino zvibviswe pasina kupedza nguva*’ (Lit. ...he said openly for the first time that illegal economic sanctions imposed on this country should be removed without wasting time) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A3, Line 1-3). The adverbial phrase (AP) ‘*ke-kutanga pachena*’ ‘openly for the first time’ is utilised to positively judge Tsvangirai’s tenacity as a leader, but implicitly negatively appraising him as he should have done this denouncing long back. Credit for Tsvangirai to make this statement is given to Mugabe and ZANU-PF. He (Tsvangirai) is appraised negatively to have made this statement after having been compelled to do so by pressure from the general Zimbabwean populace,

[5.2] “*Mashoko aya anotevera **gombedzero** (negative judgement) iri kubva kuruzhinji rwenyika yakanangana nevatungamiriri veMDC- T kuti vazadzikise*

chibvumirano cheGlobal Political Agreement chekuti vaite kuti zvirango zveupfumi zvibviswe” (**external voice + negative affect**)

(Lit. These words come after the Zimbabwean populace **has begged (negative judgement)** the MDC- T leadership to fulfil what they have agreed in the Global Political Agreement that sanctions must be removed(**external voice + negative affect**) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A3, Line 11- 13).

In as much as *The Herald* explicitly singled out the various directions were pressure had been coming from, *Kwayedza* is implicit. The paper (*Kwayedza*) **attributes: distance** itself from the proposition that the MDC-T is the party responsible for calling for sanctions, “*Bato reMDC- T rinonzi (attribute: distance) ndiro rakakokera zvirango zveupfumi...*” (Lit. The MDC-T party is said/ claimed to be the one which called for sanctions...) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A3, Line 14). In this report, the reporter voice carries a positive affect but disaligning itself from this particular position acknowledging other voices in the communicative context considering that the matter is quasi- controversial. However, President Robert Mugabe is mentioned in the last paragraph strategically reminding the reader that Tsvangirai was also acknowledging the leadership of Mugabe. Tsvangirai is comparatively judged (-) against Mugabe’s uncompromised and astounding leadership.

The other article in *Kwayedza* (4 March, 2010) on sanctions, ‘*PM, zadzisai enyu mashoko nezviito*’ (Lit. Prime Minister, put your words into action) (Appendix A2), resembles a letter addressed to the Prime Minister than a parliamentary report. However, the writer follows the generic argumentation structure. The disagreement point is explicitly stated in the headline. This standpoint is followed by arguments which are well presented negatively judging and exposing the insightfulness and incapacity of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is given a welcome home reminder in terms of what is supposed to be done within the Shona culture. As argued in the analysis of these headlines above, the paper distinctly differs with *The Herald* by incorporating Shona cultural and social values in the reporting of news. The Prime Minister is addressed by a totem, Save and reminded of *kutanda botso*, a Shona cultural practice. The practice is performed by a person who has wronged their mother and did not ask for forgiveness before she passes on. One has to perform this act in order to appease the dead. This practice is utilised to implicitly negatively judge the Prime Minister as having done something terribly wrong to the country, which is metaphorically the mother who has passed on because of the illegal sanctions. *Kutanda botso* is employed strategically to give the writer

the licence, the poetic licence, to freely say anything to the Prime Minister “*Vamwe vangati ndave kuda kunyadzisa mukuru... kwete, (disclaim: counter) ndizvo (disclaim: pronounce) zvinoina kutanda botso*” (Lit. Others might say I want to embarrass the leader... no, that’s what happens when one is performing the practice) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A2, Line 19- 20). The external voice is acknowledged only to be shoved off through disclaim: counter value. The journalistic voice distances itself with the position that this negative evaluation is an act to embarrass the Prime Minister and heavily invests in the cultural position that this appraisal is the norm in such a practice. The calling for sanctions is unequivocally levelled to ‘*...kutsvagira nyika chakapedza mbudzi*’ (Lit. ...looking for a deadly pandemic for the country) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A2, Line 5).

Metaphorisation of sanctions in this report is not accidental. Metaphors, as argued in chapter four, are a popular way of simplifying complex issues and strategically manoeuvring aligning readers with a particular perspective. The writer, in a pensive mood, negatively judges (**-ve judgement: propriety**) the Prime Minister for having caused all the troubles the country has been facing. In the same manner, other participants that have been negatively appraised and castigated together with the Prime Minister are Barack Obama (American President), David Miliband (British Foreign Secretary), James Maridad (Tsvangirai spokesperson) and the MDC- T legislators, as ‘*...mapere akasimira matehwe ehwayana*’ (Lit. ...hyenas in sheep’s skin) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A2, Line 19). Though the Prime Minister is commended for denouncing sanctions as is the case in *The Herald*, the textual voice is demanding more from the Prime Minister. Apart from denouncing sanctions, the textual voice adds another ZANU- PF oriented standpoint, that of nationalisation and indigenisation or commonly referred to as black empowerment “*...chishuwo chaPresident Mugabe CHAICHO (graduation: focus)*” (Lit. ...real wishes of President Mugabe) (*Kwayedza*, 4 March 2010, Appendix A2, Line 42). The article again ends with an appreciation of Mugabe’s policies and positively judging (**capacity, tenacity and normality**) him as a capable, special and dependable leader. This evaluation is an effort to strategically align readers with Mugabe and raise the cost of making efforts to align with Tsvangirai, a rival leader in another political party.

Generally, the state- owned papers share the same reader position and only differs on the aspect in which *Kwayedza* takes a Shona cultural perspective in appeasing the spirits after a wrong doing and *The Herald* trying to develop its argument appealing to what was actually said in the Lower House during the debate of the motion. An extensive use of Shona

metaphors in *Kwayedza* is evident as compared to *The Herald*. Metaphorisation is employed at length negatively exposing the Prime Minister, MDC- T and any pro- sanction voice. In as much as *The Herald* **attributes: acknowledge** the call for sanctions to MDC- T, *Kwayedza*'s position is presented through **attribute: distance** values. However, all the papers negatively judge the Prime Minister either explicitly or implicitly. ZANU- PF MPs, ideas and their leader Mugabe are all positively judged and appreciated in the papers. They all omit reference to the walk out by the MDC- T legislators during this debate though *The Herald*, in an effort to maintain some objectivity, impartiality and factuality, just hinted on the MDC- T legislators' stance that there are no sanctions but 'restrictive measures'.

5.2.2 Judgement and affect: Appraising the dead

The attitudinal notions of affect and judgment have been explicated in chapter three when expounding the appraisal theory. The exploration has shown that speakers and writers pass judgements and associate emotional responses with particular processes, activities, events, beings et cetera. As pointed out in the discussion on the hero's status debate in chapter four, participants take hard stances in line with their party's political ideology in controversial and quasi- controversial debates. The other participants are negatively appraised and evaluated. Newspapers and journalists sharing the same ideological perspective strategically manoeuvre reporting the debates and speeches using language that is accepted in that 'discourse community'. This section is not merely examining the well known reporting styles in newspapers, but the discourse- semantic characteristics of the stories (for other works on journalistic reporting styles refer to White 1998, 2005b, Martin and White 2005).

Headlines

As argued above, a newspaper headline should inform the reader of what to expect in the story. It is in this headline that certain attitudinal stances are taken and argumentative positions adopted. However, depending on what the journalist regards as newsworthy, newspaper headlines on the same story can make one question the notion of objectivity in news reporting. Consider *The Herald* and *Newsday* headlines on a debate on Condolences on the death of Ephraim Sango Masawi that was held in the House of Assemblies.

- [5.3] (a) MPs pay *tribute* to Masawi (+ve **judgement**) (*The Herald*, 19 November 2010, Appendix 17)

- (b) Masawi *ghost* haunts Parly (-ve **judgement**) (*Newsday*, 18 November 2010, Appendix A21)

A parallel appraisal and evaluation of the debate presenting different argumentative positions of the two papers can be observed. The conferment of hero's status to Masawi is metaphorically presented in *Newsday* as a ghost that is causing 'pandemonium' in parliament negatively judging the dead person as a bad one. However, *The Herald* appraises the debate as a 'tribute' but acknowledging that the "...contributions on national hero...dominated the House of Assembly debate" (*The Herald*, 19 November 2010, Appendix A17, Line 1- 2). The divergence that has observed in the analysis of the debate in the House of Assemblies is reflected in the two newspapers. All the MPs across party lines are presented as affected either negatively or positively by Masawi's death and interment. Emotions are high with outright two poles- ZANU PF "...eulogising Cde Masawi" and expressing "profound sorrow on Cde Masawi's death" (*The Herald*, 19 November 2010, Appendix 17, Line 9- 13) and MDC- T seeing this conferment of hero status as a "...travesty of justice" (*Newsday*, 18 November 2010, Appendix 21, Line 22- 23). Graduation forms are fully utilised to convey this disparity.

Presenting the arguments

Though importing the external voice into the story writing, the journalist heavily invest in the source and evaluates accordingly. Contributions by MPs from the political party that shares the same ideological perspective with the newspaper make the better part of the story. However, contributions from the other MPs, those with a different ideological perspective, are only acknowledged in order to be discredit. As opposed to its misleading headline, in the body, *The Herald* explicitly states that it was ZANU- PF MPs who "took turns to pay tribute" not all the MPs. ZANU- PF MPs are then positively judged and appreciated as people who want to

- [5.4] "place on record its **deepest** and **sincere appreciation** of the **sterling services** Cde Masawi rendered to the nation" (*The Herald*, 19 November 2010, Appendix A17, Line 11- 12).

Through graduation values of intensity (**deepest**, **sincere** and **sterling**), *The Herald* positively judges Masawi as a deserving cadre to be at the National Heroes Acre. This positive appraisal is actually the same position and stance that was taken by ZANU- PF MPs in the House of

Assemblies. MDC- T legislators are negatively judged (**judgement: capacity**) as failures as they “...tried to discredit” but to no avail. By negatively judging the MDC- T MPs, the paper implicitly appraises ZANU- PF MPs. On the other side, *Newsday* reports the story painting a picture of mayhem as the debate “...turned into a no-holds- barred verbal showdown” (Appendix A21, Line 2) which *The Herald* acknowledges as just ‘tension’ without giving further details. In the same veil, *Newsday* adopts a negative attitudinal stance taken by MDC- T MPs discrediting Masawi and the whole process of conferment to hero’s status. Compared to other ‘preferred’ candidates for hero’s status, Masawi has been negatively judged as,

- ‘*purported* gallant son’ (Line 17)
- ‘*worthless* character’ (Line 29)
- ‘*notorious* patron’ (Line 34)
- ‘*nefarious*’ (Line 36)

Journalists also seek to expose all aspects of strategic manoeuvring that could have happened in the parliament. Efforts are on trying to show how that has contributed towards resolving a difference of opinion. *Newsday* reported efforts by an MDC- T legislator to manoeuvre through religion. The paper states that the contribution by Matimba (MDC- T) that “...if one died doing wrong things, they would go to hell in their suits and caskets bought by Zanu- PF even if they were buried at the Heroes Acre” (*Newsday*, 18 November 2010, Appendix A21, Line 32- 33) The argument being advanced is that Masawi was not living a noble life and does not deserve the status that he had been accorded. However, arguing from this perspective has been discussed in chapter four, to be conceding in nature. Though the newspaper has been trying to advance the point that Masawi was really bad and would be going to hell, arguing from this perspective alludes to surrendering the argument without the difference of opinion being solved. In other words the difference of opinion has become controversial and the other part then looks up to a higher being to be the rational judge. Taking such a stance, *Newsday* represents the conferment of hero’s status in Zimbabwe as controversial. Controversies, as have been discussed in chapter three and as has been argued in section 5.2.6, are a type of debate different from a dispute or discussion (van Eemeren and Garssen 2008).

Apparently, *The Herald* journalist reports a different instant of strategic manoeuvring. In this case, *The Herald* cites a case of strategic manoeuvring through definition which was unfortunately noted by the other participant. However, the language issue was an obstacle and the Deputy Speaker, Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo, as the rationale judge and adjudicator could

not comprehend the import of the word “*Pombi yadonha*” (Lit. A person of little or no value). The definitions that were given by the two MPs from ZANU- PF and MDC- T clearly show how a speaker can manoeuvre aligning hearers to a particular perspective and disaligning them from the other. Paradoxically, the two definitions are all instances of strategic manoeuvring with the aim to resolve the difference of opinion in one’s favour. However, in *The Herald* report the MDC- T MP’s definition is discredited and discarded. This appraisal confirms the point that newspapers with the same ideological alignment with a particular political party will advance the goals and perspectives of that party. Thus, *The Herald* negatively judges (- **capacity**) the MDC- T parliamentarian and positively appraises (+ **capacity**) the ZANU- PF MP dialogically inviting the reader to align with ZANU- PF.

5.2.3 Extra Parliamentary reports on the debate on Condemnation of corrupt practices.

The debate on Condemnation of corrupt practices, as presented in Section 4.3, revealed some interesting aspects of argumentation theory and appraisal theory. In a debate that MPs from different parties were united condemning corruption, explicit and implicit forms of judgement and engagement resources were realised. However, this condemnation of corrupt practices came to the lime light some time later as an extra parliamentary report in newspapers. The reason behind this extra parliament reporting is pointed out by White (2005b: 1). He argues that “Newspapers no longer see their role as principally conveying the “hard” news of the day,” but are interested on publishing what he calls ‘human interest stories’. However, this position does not mean that the debate was not newsworthy or human interest story. Debates in parliament like law will sometimes be referred to after a particular related incident has happened⁴⁵. Rather than reporting the facts as have been debated in parliament, newspaper pundits would want to argue a case in order to convince the audience and align them with a particular ideological perspective and world perception.

The *Kwayedza* headline, though it was not a direct report on the debate that was held in the House of Parliament, replicates the arguments raised during that debate. The paper’s headline, ‘*Huworu hwakashorwa nenhengo dzeParamende*’ (+ve **appreciation: valuation**) literary means ‘Corruption was condemned by Members of Parliament’ (*Kwayedza*, 11- 17 December 2009, Appendix A7). The writer implicitly positively appreciated the act of denouncing corruption and positively judged parliamentarians (from all the political parties) (+ve **judgement: propriety**) for denouncing corruption. Though it is a report on the

⁴⁵ The argument here does not disregard the fact that there are times in which the newspapers give instant reports on the business of the parliament, especially controversial debates. The debate on condemnation of corrupt practices falls under consensus debates, quasi- controversial debates.

commemorations of the International Anti- Corruption Day which is celebrated under the African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC), parliamentarians are presented as united and of one voice as it is in the debate on condemnation of corrupt practices. Evidence of positive appraisal of the day, members of parliament and their march commemorating the day can be observed. The day is positively appreciated, “...*rakapembererwa zvine musiyano (+ve appreciation: impact) gore rino...*” (Lit. ...it was celebrated with a difference this year) (*Kwayedza*, 11-17 December 2009, Appendix A7, Line 10- 11). The march by MPs is also positively appreciated, (+ve reaction: quality) through evoked evaluation and endorsed;

[5.5] “*Zvinoratidza kushanda pamwechete (proclaim: endorse) nekudyidzana kwemapato ose ari muHurumende yemushandira pamwe...*” (Lit. *This shows that (proclaim: endorse) all the parties in the Government of National Unity work together harmoniously*) (*Kwayedza*, 11-17 December 2009, Appendix A7, Line 16- 17).

The behaviour of MPs (both ZANU- PF and all the two MDC formations) marching in the streets as a unity or one government is positively judged (+ve judgement: propriety). Polarisation in reporting news can be attributed to the newly founded Government of National Unity (GNU), a coalition government that was formed on the 13 of February 2009. The Global Political Agreement (GPA) calling for reporters to desist from hate speech could have been still fresh in the minds of journalists. As such, the march by parliamentarians is marked as a sign and a benchmark for positively evaluating all parties, ZANU- PF, MDC- T and MDC- M. The march and the act of holding placards with various inscriptions denouncing corruption placed parliamentarians as torch bearers in the fight against corruption (- appreciation). The other person to be explicitly judged is the chairperson of the African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption in the House, Mr Madzimore. He is implicitly judged positively, judgement: capacity and judgement: tenacity, as someone who is going to lead parliamentarians and the Zimbabwean populace in eradicating corruption. The article carries emotions that have been triggered by the parliamentarians’ march and demonstration. This irrealis affect runs through the article though it is evoked. The writer voice implicitly carries the positive affect in the article and makes some effort to convince the audience of the [+ve tenacity] of the parliamentarians, painting a brighter future for Zimbabwe.

5.2.3.1 ‘Subjectivity’ and news reporting

This section explores the notion of subjectivity in the reporting of news. Focus is on exploring the various forms in which subjectivity is realised in news reporting. As discussed in section 2.4.1.1, subjectivity is the opposite of objectivity. The media has been argued to be after human interest stories (White 2005b). However, the way journalists present these stories makes the notions of ‘objectivity’, ‘factuality’ and ‘impartiality’ problematic. This argument is echoed by White (2005b: 3) who argues that “Even the most ostensibly “factual” report will be the product of numerous value judgements.” This view suggests that what is published in the papers are value judgements of the reporter or editor, that is, subjective news. The analysis is based on reports on the divorce dispute between Local Government, Rural and Urban Development Minister, Ignatius Chombo and his wife Marian was widely publicised in the Zimbabwean newspapers. This interest in the story can be attributed to the debate that was held in the House of Parliament where all political parties spoke with one voice condemning corruption and also the call by Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) to the inclusive government to come up with ‘effective’ anti- corruption measures. What is important is how the different papers represented Chombo and corruption. Focus here is to examine how the newspapers managed to construct subjectivity in text evaluatively judging and advancing their standpoints.

The reports in *The Herald*, *Newsday* and *The Standard* on Chombo and corruption are quite attitudinal. *Newsday* and *The Standard*, private or independent papers, took a hard stance negatively judging Chombo with their headlines explicitly calling for his dismissal; ‘**Corrupt ministers must resign**’ (*Newsday*, 12 November 2010, Appendix A22) and ‘**Chombo must quit over wealth- TIZ**’ (*The Standard*, November 28- December 4 2010, Appendix A29). Though *The Standard*’s judgement is through an authorially sourced voice or authority, the writer voice implicitly invests in this judgement. On the other hand *The Herald*, a state-owned paper, took a soft approach to the matter; ‘**Chombo, wife fight over assets**’ (*The Herald*, 5 November 2010, Appendix A32). *The Herald* evaluatively selects the fight over assets as its topics, *Newsday* selects the resignation of corrupt ministers as its topics and *The Standard* explicitly selects Chombo and his wealth to be its topics. These are different argumentative positions which are set to evoke varied evaluative meanings. Having different topics implies different disagreement points. By having the divorce issue at the centre of their argumentation and evaluation, *The Herald* opts to ‘save the face’ (Levinson 1983) of the minister (ZANU- PF MP) and categorically focus on arguing a case on why the two were divorcing and in that process negatively judging the actions of Marian, Chombo’s wife. The

marriage, divorce and property sharing process is appreciated negatively as **‘protracted’**, **‘contentious’**, **‘a wrangle’**, **‘embroiled’**, **‘acrimonious’**, **‘irreconcilable’** and **‘irretrievably broken down’**. Argumentatively this shifts readers from the aspect of corruption which was going to discredit the minister. The minister’s direct quotations are regarded as authoritative and he is positively judged, [**judgement: propriety**], as a **caring, reverent** and **fair** father or spouse who is unfortunate to have married an understanding wife. Consider the following:

[5.6] He **will take care** of his children’s educational requirements, including air fares once a year to and from school, tuition and ancillary expenses... (*The Herald*, 5 November 2010, Appendix A32, Line 30- 31).

These obligations are, in actual fact the duties of the father. The surface meaning or evoked meaning that can be derived from the statement, exposing the minister’s corruption, is that Chombo’s children are having their education out of the country, presumably Europe or in Asia, an aspect that has been heavily criticised by the Zimbabwean populace as a sign of corruption. The presentation by Chombo’s wife, in her summary of evidence, also exposes his husband’s corruption. The newspaper tries to be ‘factual’ making reference to court papers and the declarations filed by the two, advancing the viewpoint that the divorce wrangle is more important than the corruption aspect and presenting the vast asserts or properties as a ‘claim’ by Mrs Chombo, distancing itself from the external voice.

Newsday also employed various forms of introducing ‘subjectivity’ into their reporting of the minister’s corruption. Taking an explicit stance in their reporting, the paper allegedly attributes its evaluation based on ‘reports’ as sources of information giving ‘revelations’ of ‘massive wealth’ of the three ministers, Chombo (Minister of Local Government and Urban Development), Obert Mpfu (Minister of Mines and Mining Development) and Nicholas Goche (Minister of Transport and infrastructural Development). Chombo is negatively evaluated and judged [**judgement: propriety**] for amassing massive wealth, Mpfu is negatively discredited and judged [**judgement: propriety**] for soliciting bribes and Goche is similarly negatively judged [**judgement: propriety**] for “...corruptly allocating tollgate funds” (*Newsday*, 12 November 2010, Appendix A22, Line 43). The strategy in the paper is to bundle ZANU- PF ministers and expose their corruption, negatively appraising the three together with their party. The MDC- T party and its ministers are implicitly positively judged in the process. The readers are drawn to the writer’s position of castigating and negatively judging the three ministers and their political party, ZANU- PF. The writer strategically

manoeuvres through incorporating the voices of anti- corruption civic groups and opposition parties denouncing corruption. The ‘recent’ of the information provided is utilised as a manoeuvring strategy to convince the audience of the authenticity and impartiality of the article. Apart from making reference to ‘reports’ which have been presented as authentic here, the paper present a nation that has been deeply affected, **behavioural surge**, by the ministers’ corrupt activities as the

[5.7] “Reports... have **shocked** the nation and **sparked outrage** from the members of the public and civic society” (*Newsday*, 12 November 2010, Appendix A22, Line 5- 8)

Thus, ‘subjectivity’ in this case can be expressed by interpreting a state of affairs in terms of an emotional response. Negative appreciation of the ‘numerous’ reports about the three ministers and other senior ZANU- PF leaders is realised. **Judgement: propriety** is foregrounded in discrediting the ZANU- PF ministers. What can be drawn from the paper’s reporting style is that when reporting news, writers take a stance. The sources of information are very much selective and the linguistic devices utilised are those that foreground the paper’s ideological perspectives aligning readers to certain truth of the matter.

Subjectivity is introduced in a news report through attribution and commentator or reporter voice (White 1998, Martin and White 2005). Attribution is utilised to authenticate and naturalise reports. *The Standard* weekly published a story on Chombo’s wealth almost a month after the issue has been published in other papers. The reporter reflects on the other publications in the other newspapers and what the Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) was saying and categorised the debate as controversial. However, this conclusion is expressed through **expand: entertain** value, ‘should’, to dialogically open the space for other voices to advance their arguments towards the resolution of the controversy⁴⁶. The newspaper strategically manoeuvres through numbers in order to warrant its standpoint that the story is controversial. The issue of Chombo’s wealth is presented as over blown that it is being discussed everywhere.

[5.8] On the **popular [+ve appreciation: quality]** social networking site, Facebook, bars and workplaces, the properties that Chombo own have become a **subject**

⁴⁶ It should be noted that journalists categorise stories as controversial not necessarily considering the aspects that warrants a debate to be regarded as controversial. They do so, in most cases, only to steer debate around that issue or topic.

of animated [graduation: intensification- lexicalisation] discussions. **Many [graduation: quantity]** have wondered how the former university lecturer managed to acquire **valuable [+ve appreciation, graduation: focus-sharpen]** assets at a time when Zimbabwe was experiencing its **worst economic [graduation: intensification- maximisation]** crisis. (*The Standard*, November 28- December 4 2010, Appendix A29, Line 13- 16)

The reporter heavily invested in the external voice calling for Chombo's resignation. The external voice advances the argument that Chombo as an honourable minister he is expected to do something that is honourable. What is 'honourable' from the TIZ programme manager is for Chombo to resign. This appraisal is a form of strategic manoeuvring where a participant may appear as helping the other participant out of the quagmire yet they will be advancing their own standpoint. Gwemende, the TIZ programme manager, later explicitly advances his standpoint dialectically. Chombo is negatively judged to be a burden or a problem in the Government of National Unity (GNU).

[5.9] "Chombo is **a liability** to the inclusive government... It's time for him to step aside, he needs to go" (*The Standard*, November 28- December 4 2010, Appendix A29, Line 21)

The concluding stage in the newspaper is in the form of a direct quotation of what was said by the TIZ programme manager. What is regarded as a solution to the controversy is a return to the '1980s Leadership Code', which is taken as given information to its audience (*The Standard*, November 28- December 4 2010, Appendix A29, Line 29). However, as this debate has been classified as a controversial debate, the paper dialogically expands making assessments of likelihood via the modal auxiliary 'should'. Locutions of this nature have been argued to be heteroglossic as they recognise that the proposition is but one among others in this communicative context (Martin and White 2005). As this was regarded as a controversy, the writer signals the aspect that there may be others with contrary views regarding what Chombo must do.

The reporting of news in the three papers, *The Herald*, *The Standard* and *Newsday*, bring to the fore the notion of information structure and how it relates to appraisal and argumentation in texts. In information structure certain information is foregrounded and the other backgrounded depending on the meaning that the writer or speaker wants to communicate aligning

readers/ hearers with their position (Bhatia 1993). The information that is foregrounded is that the writer/ speaker want the reader/ hearer to align with and that which is back -grounded is evaluated as not important. The foregrounded information is advanced towards the resolution of a problem and is positively appraised. The back grounded information is not only negatively evaluated but also dialogically denied the space in the communicative context. In these reports, *The Herald* foregrounded the issue of divorce and back grounded corruption that was exposed by the divorce wrangle. Apart from only foregrounding corruption of the Minister Chombo, *Newsday* romps in the other two ZANU- PF ministers who had corruption charges levelled against them. *Newsday* only incorporates the external voice to negatively judge and discredit the three ZANU- PF ministers. On the other hand, *The Standard* selects Chombo's wealth as its topical potential and extensively relies on the sourced external voice to make evaluations. The report is based on the opinions of TIZ programme manager and a survey by the reporter. This authorially sourced voice and a kind of survey that was done is used as the basis for negatively judging Chombo (ZANU- PF minister). The different reporting styles are taken as forms of strategic manoeuvring by the three papers with efforts to convince the rationale judge of the validity of their standpoints. Having observed this nature of evaluation, one would want to do further research analysing other reports in these papers in order to make adequate conclusions.

5.2.4 Reporting on 'controversial' and 'emotional' debates: Appraising the disruption of business in Senate

Controversial debates and speeches in the parliament are the focus points for journalists and news agents. Debates and speeches have been argued, in chapter four, to vary significantly in the parliament. They range from non controversial to highly controversial. Debates on highly controversial issues in the Lower and Upper House of the Zimbabwean parliament led to Senate adjournment and walk out by the other party in protest. The issue of the appointment of governors in the Global Political Agreement (GPA) was unresolved. The political parties had divergent attitudes and preferences and methods for handling this issue. The controversy was aggravated by the reappointment of these governors by President Robert Mugabe after the expiry of their terms of office without consulting with the other Principals in the GPA. *Kwayedza*, with the heading '**Nhubu (-ve judgement: propriety) musenate dzicharangwa**' (Lit. Crooks to be punished in Senate) (*Kwayedza*, 19- 25 November 2010, Appendix A4), reports of the President of the Senate's ruling on what will be done to anyone found disrupting business of the Upper House. The heading negatively castigates the action of the MDC- T legislators. The invoked judgement in *Kwayedza* headline dialogically advances

ZANU- PF attitudinal and preferential methods in terms of how the issue of governors should be handled. Piling the political party's arguments and its own arguments, *Kwayedza* reports the behaviour of MDC- T senators as unwarranted [**judgement: propriety**].

[5.7] *Cde Madzongwe vakati* [**attribute: acknowledge**] *HUMWE HUNHU* [**graduation: focus**] *hwakaratidzwa nedzimwe nhengo dzeSenate hauna nechimiro chakanaka...*[**appreciation: reaction (-v)**] *Cde Madzongwe vakati* [**attribute: acknowledge**] *maSenata eMDCT akatyora mitemo yeStanding Order No 72, 73, 78 ne80 iyo inovapa masimba ekutungamirira basa remuSenati. "Seneta wese achatadza kuremekedza chigaro chemukuru weSeneti kana kukanganisa kubatwa kwebasa remuSenati anokwanisa (expand: entertain) kumbomiswa kubata basa remuSeneti."*(Implicitly warning and threatening the MDC- T senators) (*Kwayedza*, 19- 25 November 2010, Appendix A4, Line 4- 11)

(Lit. Cde Madzongwe *said* [**attribute: acknowledge**] that the KIND OF BEHAVIOUR [**graduation: focus**] shown by other members of the Senate is **not good...**[**-ve appreciation: reaction**] Cde Madzongwe *said* [**attribute: acknowledge**] that MDC- T Senators breached the Standing Order No 72, 73, 78 and 80 that gives her the powers to lead business of the Senate. "Any Senator who will fail to respect the position of the leader of the Senate or disrupt business in Senate *might* [**expand: entertain**] be relieved of their duties in the Senate."

The President of Senate, Edina Madzongwe, is implicitly evaluated and judged [**judgement: tenacity**] as a resolute and dependable cadre who will be able to punish MDC- T crooks. MDC- T senators are negatively evaluated on the basis of their behaviour [*hunhu*] in the senate. The controversial issue at hand is not only underplayed, but not mentioned. The paper presents the position it is communicating as final in resolving the controversy. However, in a controversy- with a mixed difference of opinion- the other party's arguments should be presented as well or else the controversy will degenerate into a 'quasi permanency' (Dascal, 2008). The protagonists' arguments should be given together with the antagonist's allowing pro- argumentation and contra- argumentation.

In an effort to 'tilt the balance of reason' (van Eemeren and Garssen, 2008) to their favour and that of the MDC- T, *Newsday* applauded the disruption of senate by MDC-T senators. Their heading, 'MDC- T [**forces**] Senate adjournment' (*Newsday*, 10 November 2010, Appendix

A23), presents an interplay of attitudinal resources. The attitudinal resources evoked are given in the following table;

Affect	happiness: cheer
Judgement	social esteem: tenacity
Appreciation	reaction: impact

Table 5.1 Interplay of attitudinal resources

The headline dialogically presents a winning MDC- T party and the loss of control by the ZANU- PF party on the controversial debate of the appointment of governors. Example [5.8] shows the analysis on some parts of the report below. MDC-T senators are positively judged as capable and dependable and the President of Senate (ZANU- PF) is negatively castigated as weak and gutless, contrary to the evaluation in *Kwayedza*.

[5.8] Four provincial governors turned up Wednesday at Senate and MDC- T senators **stood their ground** [+ve judgement: tenacity] saying they *would never* [disclaim: deny] allow “**intruders**” [-ve judgement: veracity]. They started chanting a Shona song Taramba zvemadisinyongoro (We refuse confusion), accompanied by **spirited** dancing and whistling [+ve appreciation: reaction]. ...But MDC-T senators told Newsday they *would never* allow them to **masquerade** [-ve judgement: propriety] as governors... President of the Senate Edna Madzongwe was **completely helpless** [-ve judgement: capacity]. ...They refused to budge and continued singing in **defiance** [+ve judgement: tenacity] of her order. ...After **failing** [-ve judgement: tenacity] to contain the chaos Madzongwe had no option but to adjourn the Upper House to February 8, 2011. (*Newsday*, 10 November 2010, Appendix A23, Line 4- 24)

The conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison of the two reports on a controversial issue of governors brings out important aspects in appraisal, argumentation and controversy theories. One strategy that has been followed by the papers is not to give room for the other party’s arguments, denying contra- argumentation. Obviously, this move is meant to align the readers with a particular worldly reality. However, as already discussed, this should not be the case in a controversy or debate. The source of the problem that led to the disruption of Senate is attributed to the MDC- T Senators in the *Kwayedza* and to four provincial governors in the

Newsday. On the other end, President of the Senate, Edina Madzongwe, is evaluated positively as a capable [+**capacity**] and dependable [+**tenacity**] leader in *Kwayedza*, but negatively judged as helpless [-**capacity**] and a failure [-**tenacity**] in *Newsday*. Though *Kwayedza* paints a picture of a controversy that has been resolved, *Newsday* shows that the matter irresolvable.

5.2.5 Walkouts as forms of strategic manoeuvring

Subjectivity and partisan reporting is a distinct characteristic of news reporting that have been observed in researches (White 1998, Archakis and Tsakona 2010, Chari 2010) and discussed in the previous sections. The manner in which the debates and speeches are ‘digested’ in the newspapers is a case in point. Focus in this sub-section is on exploring how appraisal resources are utilised in this ‘digestion’ and the role that this ‘digestion’ plays in argumentation. In order to explicate this mediatisation, *The Herald*’s two different, but related stories in which ZANU- PF MPs walked out of the Lower House after controversial debates are going to be utilised as reference points. The two stories are entitled, ‘**ZANU- PF MPs walk out in protest**’ (*The Herald*, 22 October 2009, Appendix A10) and ‘**ZANU- PF MPs walkout of Parly**’ (*The Herald*, 17 March 2010, Appendix A11). MDC- T legislators are implicitly assigned the protagonist role and the ZANU- PF MPs taking the antagonist one. The disagreement matters are being attributed to the contributions advanced by MDC- T MPs and not necessarily the motion being debated; “We are *not against* [**disclaim: deny**] the motion, *but* [**disclaim: counter**] we are saying what will we achieve by opening old wounds” (*The Herald*, 17 March 2010). The strategy being to positively appraise the self [we- as a political identity] as the party that upholds what is good and denounces irrational methods in resolving a problem. In this way, ZANU PF was trying to avoid confrontation with the MDC- T on the aspect of violence that has become controversial. As the debate develops, the parties’ preferences and methods widened degenerating into a controversy (Dascal, 2001). Reporting on the debate on Violence after the 29th Election 2008, *The Herald* reports ZANU- PF MPs not agreeing with the MDC- T MPs on the evidences to be used in argumentation and the nature of language to be employed.

- [5.9] Cde Mudarikwa [ZANU PF] had risen on a point of order, asking the Speaker to *restrict* Ms Khumalo [MDC- T] from making references to the violence that occurred in the early 1980s. After Ms Khumalo’s contribution, Cde Gumbo [ZANU- PF] rose to *remind* members to avoid using language [presentational devices] that had tribal connotations, in apparent reference to Ms Khumalo’s

contribution. (*The Herald*, 17 March 2010, Appendix A11, Line 19- 22)
(Italicisation and brackets mine)

The role of the rational judge or adjudicator is crucial in controversial discussions (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002). In the House of Assemblies the Speaker or Deputy Speaker of Parliament is the adjudicator and rational judge of the proceedings. As discussed in Chapter Two, the role of the Speaker is important as s/he selects who is supposed to speak, call upon MPs to abide with the code of conduct and also maintain order in the House. When the role of Speaker or Deputy Speaker is questioned, a conflict is bound to occur. Apart from that, debates are also based on the assumption that arguers will observe discussion rules (van Eemeren, 2009, 2010). If the other participant suspects that non- observance of discussion rules is evident, the problem degenerates and becomes irresolvable. In the two reports, ZANU- PF MPs are reported to have queried the role of Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

[5.10] At that stage, Mr Moyo [Speaker of Parliament] urged Cde Gumbo [ZANU- PF chief whip] to ignore comments coming from MDC- T legislators who were heckling [-ve **appreciation: reaction**] him while he had the floor. This did not go down well [-ve **irrealis affect**] with Cde Gumbo who then called on ZANU- PF legislators to walk out. (*The Herald*, 17 March 2010, Appendix A11, Line 27- 29) (Bracketed information mine)

The same matter of difference of opinion can be observed in the other report when ZANU- PF MPs walked out. The dichotomised evaluation still persists with ZANU- PF positively appraised and MDC- T negatively appraised. Explicit attitudinal resources are indicated in bold.

[5.11] In his contribution on the President's Speech while opening Parliament last month, Mr Matutu [MDC- T] said the address should have been directed to "people at Engutsheni and Mlondolozhi" [-ve **appreciation/ judgement**]... The contribution **prompted** [-ve **affect: irrealis**] Cde Kudakwashe Bhasikiti (Mwenezi East, ZANU- PF) to ask Deputy Speaker Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo (Umzingwane, MDC) saying Mr Matutu should withdraw his statement. However, she **failed** [-ve **judgement: capacity**] to respond **conclusively** [**graduation: intensity**] and a **lot** [**graduation: intensity**] of heckling and arguing ensued during which the Deputy Speaker **failed** [-ve **judgement:**

capacity] to restore order. ZANU- PF MPs **immediately** [+ve **judgement: tenacity, graduation: intensification- infusion]** rose and walked out of the chamber in protest. (*The Herald*, 22 October 2009, Appendix A10, Line 12-24)

The Deputy Speaker together with the MDC- T legislators are negatively judged (**judgement: capacity, and normality**). It is the Speaker and the MDC- T legislators who are castigated for disrupting business of the House not the ZANU- PF MPs who walked out yet in the *Newsday*'s report, ZANU- PF MPs walked out of parliament because they "could not bear the testimonies" and the "statistics of victims of political violence during the run- up to the elections, including those murdered" which were tabled by MDC- T MPs (*Newsday*, 28 December 2010, Appendix A37, Line 22-23).

Walk- outs of parliament have a dialectic and rhetorical role in controversial debates. Apart from giving the antagonist ample time to reorganise the self and gather more evidences and arguments to 'tilt the balance' of reason, they also make the protagonist evaluate their standpoints and arguments being advanced towards resolving a difference of opinion. The rational judge is also put to task and they are rhetorically called upon to revisit the reasonableness of the arguments advanced and the starting points presented before the fallout. This view implies that a 'walk- out' can be an effective strategy in argumentation.

5.2.6 Reasonableness and persuasion in reporting controversial debates

The notion of reasonableness is at the centre stage of argumentation theory and controversy. It is a notion that advances the fact that all arguments must be evaluated and validated in accordance with normative standards of argumentation (van Eemeren 2010). However, it has since been recognised that arguers do not only endeavour to argue reasonably, but also to win the discussion (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002). Reasonableness and persuasion are not only a matter of debates in parliament, but also in their reporting in newspapers. Newspaper reporting stories follow the specified stages of a critical discussion. On top of the laid down critical stages, newspaper reporting add the writer voice evaluating and appraising the participants' disagreement points, arguments and conclusions. The reporter's efforts are not only to argue reasonably but also to persuade the reader to align with their position. According to Fahnestock and Tonnard (2011:104) the concept of strategic manoeuvring, incorporating rhetorical insights has three 'inseparable' aspects

“... in trying to be effective an arguer naturally summons the best available arguments, considers their acceptability with the audience addressed and tries to present or frame them in the best way possible given the outcome desired.”

Various forms of appraisal resources are realised in the efforts of an arguer trying to balance reasonableness and effectiveness. These resources are realised mainly in the presentational devices when the writer or arguer express their line of argument. This writer voice and or the sourced external voice constitute the concluding stage in the newspapers with the journalist wrapping the debate aligning the readers with the paper’s ideological perspective. In order to examine the writers’ efforts to balance reasonableness and effectiveness two newspaper reports from two different papers are considered. The stories are different but related in terms of their topics and participants. The two antagonistic parties had different hearing dates in the Parliament. The report of one participant’s position/ arguments (Mawere) appears in *Newsday* and the other participant’s position/ arguments (Chinamasa) appears in *The Herald*. The mixed difference of opinion is characterised as a controversy and dispute in the two newspapers. Whether it is a debate, controversy or dispute will be determined. The analysis is on the nature of evaluation and argumentation that is utilised in reporting such ‘controversial’ stories. However, these reports will be analysed separately starting with the one in *Newsday* reporting on the first hearing in order to have an in depth reconstruction of the reports.

5.2.6.1 ‘Mawere breathes fire: attacks Chinamasa in Parly’ (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010)

The *Newsday* reporter singles out the verbal attack on Chinamasa by Mawere as a topic potential in line with audience demands. Considering the position of Chinamasa and the political party he belongs, the reporter of an independent daily evaluatively presents this verbal attack as a topic that will interest the public. The headline is figuratively crafted to enhance understanding. As have been argued in section 2.3.3 and 2.4.1, rhetorical figures are forms of presentation devices (Tindale, 2006). The verbal exchange is presented as an ‘attack’ to vividly present a picture of Chinamasa as someone who was at the receiving end [-**ve judgement: capacity**]. Mawere’s anger is implicitly attributed to Chinamasa (-**ve affect: irrealis**) and he (Mawere) is appraised positively for the attack. The act is appraised as reasonable.

The confrontation stage is presented in the lead or intro of a story in newspaper reporting. At the confrontation stage the disagreement point has to be stated either implicitly or explicitly

(Fahnestock and Tonnard, 2011). Mawere as the antagonist explicitly expresses his disagreement on the way his case was handled. He argues that

[5.12] ...events that led to his specification and grabbing of his business empire were tantamount to COMMERCIAL violence (**graduation: focus**) (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010, Appendix A26, Line 12- 13)

The antagonist identifies two related disagreement matters here. The issue of his specification and that of unconstitutionally taking his businesses are stated. Graduation value [**focus**] has been utilised to specify the nature of violence that happened.

The opening stage is introduced with the reporter stating some irregularities in the way the debate has been going. According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) the participants should agree on the procedural and material points of departure. There should be observance of the starting rules. The writer voice alludes to lack of socialisation in argumentation. There should be pro and contra argumentation for the disagreement to be resolved amicably. The reporter employs **disclaim: deny** engagement resource to express how Mawere was being denied space in the communicative context yet he is a participant thereby breaching the freedom rule. The whole process is negatively appreciated as having been unfair to Mawere. Still Chinamasa is presented as having been making ‘last minute efforts to scuttle Mawere’s hearing to take place’ (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010). However, the writer through **expand: attribute** resource gave a reason why Chinamasa could not block Mawere from giving ‘oral evidence’. Implicitly Chinamasa is judged as lacking [**-ve capacity**]. On top of that, the reporter distances the self from Chinamasa’s reasoning dialogically presenting it as a claim. The reporter is surprised or shocked [implicit affect] by Chinamasa’s baseless arguments.

[5.13] CURIOUSLY, [**graduation: intensification- maximisation**] Chinamasa has been issuing press statements claiming [**attribute: distance**] Mawere was *no longer* [**disclaim: deny**] a shareholder in SMM Holdings... (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010, Appendix A26, Line 26- 27)

The argumentation stage and the opening stage sometimes cannot be clearly separated especially if the opening stage is implied. This is the case especially with speeches and reports. As have been argued by Jakaza and Visser (2011), reports and speeches are dialogic in nature even though no explicit participants are evident. This view implies that speeches and

reports are argumentative and require analysis in terms of argumentation theories. The reporting in *Newsday* is based on contra argumentation with Mutumwa Mawere, as the antagonist, advancing his arguments to the listening rationale judge, the Parliament Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy. Being aware of the context of argumentation, Mawere strategically manoeuvres appealing to authority heavily investing in what the Constitution of Zimbabwe says noting inconsistency in adjudication of cases. The argument from the constitution is dialogically presented through **disclaim: deny** values.

[5.14] “The Constitution says [**attribute: acknowledge**] you *cannot* [**disclaim: deny**] deprive someone of their companies.” (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010, Appendix A26, Line 29)

The writer voice is also heavily invested in Mawere’s argument presenting it as a direct quotation in order to authenticate and present the idea as natural. In a debate which is developing into a controversy parties believe more arguments will tilt the ‘balance of reason’ into their favour (Dascal, 2001). Mawere foregrounds his argument on opinion dialogically expanding the space through the phrases, ‘I do not think...’. He also questions the role of Chinamasa as a participant in this debate. A participant cannot double as a rationale judge in a debate. Mawere cites this anomaly and strategically attacks his opponent from this inconsistency. The practice of accusing another party of an inconsistency is a fallacious move meant to win the argument and at the same time appearing to be reasonable. In order to ‘evade the burden of proof’ (van Eemeren, 2010), Mawere employs a metaphor of an amputated person being robbed. The metaphor is explained in an effort to rhetorically win the argument through the use of a conditional clause, high graduation values and **disclaim: deny** values.

[5.15] “*If* you look at the Prevention of Corruption Act [**conditional clause**], it is VERY CLEAR [**graduation: intensity- maximisation**] that it *does not* [**disclaim: deny**] allow someone to go and take your furniture while you are amputated,” he said. (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010, Appendix A26, Line 43-44)

Of the presentational devices that have been utilised, the conditional clause and contract values have been extensively employed. The antagonist makes efforts to close the dialogic space and also to convince the rationale judge.

The position of the antagonist and of the reporter is explicit in the concluding stage. Initially in the argument stage the antagonist's solution to the problem was to let him deal with the companies involved. However, in the concluding stage he sees this as, "It is *actually* for the courts..." (*Newsday*, 16 November 2010, Appendix A26, Line 57), and not to have Chinamasa double as judge and administrator in this case. Again name calling has been observed to be a fallacious move that is utilised by participants in a debate (Van Eemeren, 2009). The behaviour of Chinamasa is again implicitly negatively judged in the concluding stage, [-ve judgement: propriety]. Having discussed such an appraisal and argumentation in the *Newsday*, the next sub section examines how Chinamasa (ZANU PF minister), is appraised in *The Herald*, a state newspaper.

5.2.6.2 'SMM Saga: Chinamasa, Parly clash' (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20)

The nature of the debate or speech being reported on is in most cases highlighted in their headlines because newspaper headlines are in most cases highly attitudinal. The debate that was held in the Lower House is presented as a 'clash', positively evaluating Chinamasa as a giant that is capable and determined to convince all legislators, clerk of parliament and the speaker of parliament. However, it also implies diverse standpoints, total disagreement. The confrontation stage is introduced in the first line in which Chinamasa is presented "accusing Parliament of being **biased** [-ve appreciation] in the *contentious* issue of SMM Holdings and businessman Mr Mutumwa Mawere" (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 1- 2) (emphasis mine). Biasness is identified as a disagreement issue and the debate is evaluated as controversial. Chinamasa assumes the role of antagonist and the Clerk of Parliament and the other MPs are assigned the role of protagonist. The protagonist's pro-argumentation is presented in the form of the writer's comment- commentary voice or paraphrased. In a debate participants have to agree on the starting points and whether really a disagreement point is evident. Chinamasa's disagreement point is dismissed by the protagonist, the Clerk of Parliament as he argued that "the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy had acted within its mandate when it heard evidence from Mr Mawere on Monday" (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 5- 6). However, the disagreement point can be two fold as Chinamasa is presented giving another disagreement point in his letter to the Clerk of Parliament. Dialogising the debate, *The Herald* journalist presents Chinamasa and the Clerk of Parliament debating in the paper.

[5.16] This was in response to a letter from Minister Chinamasa in which he said the hearing should have been stopped as the issues to be discussed were sub judice. In a letter to Minister Chinamasa, Mr Zvoma said a matter became sub judice if the information prejudiced or interfered with the administration of justice. (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 7- 10)

The dialogism presents a different disagreement point which is also thwarted by the protagonist. Though Chinamasa is the Minister of Justice and Legal Affairs, he is implicitly negatively judged for failing to understand simple legal issues. However, the minister's arguments that he advanced in this argumentation are later presented as direct quotations, with the writer voice strongly investing in them. He is evaluated as someone who could not be stopped [**+ve judgement: tenacity**], who wanted to see the matter resolved as the Deputy Speaker, Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo 'tried to stop' him but failed [**-ve judgement: capacity**].

The structure of the argumentation stage given in this report follows that of the parliament. As have been observed during the analysis of parliamentary debates, a participant is given their turn to advance all their arguments. Though it is a report on a question- and- answer session, all the minister's arguments towards resolving the difference of opinion are given in full. The disagreement points are repeated and the inconsistencies in handling the matter exposed. The role of utilising inconsistencies in argumentation has been discussed under fallacious moves. Strategically manoeuvring citing inconsistency in the opponent's arguments is one argumentative move that is extensively utilised in debates (Van Eemeren 2009, 2010). Utilising this strategic move, Chinamasa advances his standpoints. He implicitly positively appraises the self as a competent and discerning lawyer.

[5.17] "This Parliament *cannot* [**Disclaim: Deny**] have double standards to refuse to here the other side... You know I am a lawyer [**poisoning the well**] and central to the principle of justice is to give the other side a hearing." [**freedom rule**] (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 20- 27)

By negatively evaluating the standpoint in support of only hearing Mutumwa Mawere's side, Chinamasa strategically manoeuvred raising the cost of denying his side to be heard, though he is reported in the *Newsday* (16/11/10) to have been 'making last minute efforts to scuttle Mawere's hearing'. However, advancing his standpoint Chinamasa had to make it clear that

his side accepted evaluating Mawere's act as 'very wrong', something that 'any lawyer' or 'even bookkeeper' will tell you that it is 'not allowed'.

[5.13] Mawere entered into an agreement of sale for the purchase of 100 percent shareholding in SMM, which is the owner of the asbestos mines, for US\$60 million, which was not paid. It is **VERY WRONG** [graduation: intensity, -ve appreciation: reaction]. ANY LAWYER [graduation: focus] will tell you that you *cannot* [disclaim: deny] use a shareholder, to use the receipts of the company, to pay for the purchases of those shares. It is *not allowed* [disclaim: deny] in terms of the Companies Act and in any case, **even a bookkeeper** [-ve judgement: capacity] will tell you that receipts are the income of a company (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 33- 38) (emphasis mine).

Chinamasa advances the point that the reason for taking Mawere's empire is not only about 'debt' but about the wrong acquisition of that empire by Mawere. However, the arguments being advanced by minister Chinamasa are only presented to be dismissed by the Clerk of Parliament's arguments which are presented as unchanging and authentic [+ve appreciation: Composition (balance)]. The Clerk of Parliament's arguments being introduced with 'earlier' in the report, is brought to give sanity and the final decision in terms of how the debate has to be resolved. The minister's arguments are discarded as invalid. Concluding the 'clash', the journalist cites Mr Zvoma saying there was 'no acrimony' but 'MERELY [-high graduation: intensity] differences in interpretation of regulations' (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 53- 54). The writer voice tries to conclude positively appraising the two distinct perspectives as all the two participants are aligned to the ZANU-PF political party. The general reporting of this debate supports the argument that newspaper reporters create dialogic networks of the speakers' contributions evaluatively aligning readers with certain ideological standpoints.

In the reporting of these debates, the newspaper's audience is always kept aware of the real enemy. This appraisal is carried out strategically such that the reader without a critical mind will not notice. Keeping with its audience adjusted reporting, negatively evaluating MDC- T and its parliamentarians, *The Herald* also concludes with a slam on the MDC-T senators' disruption of business in the senate. The writer voice explicitly denounces the argument put forward by the MDC-T senators and judging them as lacking, [-ve judgement: normality] as

“...the re- appointments were constitutionally made” (*The Herald*, 17 November 2010, Appendix A20, Line 63), an evaluation that was also made in *Kwayedza* (19- 25 Mbudzi 2010). This analysis shows something about subjectivity in news reporting and how the reader is evaluatively aligned or disaligned with certain topics or positions. Thus, even in a report of a story in which the ‘real enemy’ is not visibly there, the commentator voice always find ways to include that party into the story to only castigate it and disalign readers from such a party.

5.3 Summary

Newspaper reporting is directed at aligning and disaligning readers with certain interpersonal meanings. Headlines of newspapers have been argued to be attitudinal or ‘emotionally charged’ (Bednarek, 2008b), implicitly or explicitly advancing certain value judgements, for example *Nhubu musenate dzicharangwa* (Lit. **Crooks to be punished in Senate**) (*Kwayedza*, 19- 25 Mbudzi 2010), **ZANU- PF walk out in Protest** (*The Herald*, 22/10/09), **Mawere breathes fire: attacks Chinamasa in Parly** (*Newsday*, 16/11/10). The way the headlines are crafted shows that newspapers reporting on the same debate or speech have different audience demands and might have different topics. Thus, the strategic manoeuvring triangle is vital to the understanding of how newspapers formulate such headlines. The reporter has to come up with the best topic potential that does not only suit audience demands, but also that is presented with apt devices. This argument shows that these newspaper headlines are not only attitudinal but also manipulative advancing the writer’s ideological standpoint. It is in the headline/ lead that the disagreement point is implicitly or explicitly stated and the debate is categorically appraised as controversial. News reporters are quick to present debates as ‘controversial’ to strategically stimulate debate in their readership on certain topics and of course to market their paper. The arguments that are later on presented in the story are seen as efforts by participants ‘to tilt the balance of reason’ in their favour.

As opposed to Bell (1991)’s argument that evaluation can only be realised in the news story’s commentary part, the researcher made the observation that other varied forms in which this evaluation is done are evident. In reporting parliamentary debates and speeches, evaluation and appraisal starts in the selection process. It might be the selection of the debate, arguments to be presented, participants to be involved, expert external sources and the particular appraisal resources that are realised in the presentation of the arguments. The analysis has shown that newspapers publish judgements of reporters or editors. The external voice that is sourced through expand: attribute or endorse engagement values only advances the position of the paper. The authorial voice will heavily invest in such a proposition. Attribution is one

engagement resource that is extensively realised in all the newspapers maybe because the news stories are reports. Apart from attribution, journalists also employ direct quotations to present these views as natural and authentic. The contributions of parliamentarians from a political party aligned to the newspaper are the only ones that find their way into the paper. The contributions from the other party that is not aligned to the newspaper are presented through expand values and shoved off through contract values. Dichotomisation in evaluation and appraisal of the parliamentarians' contributions occurs, especially, in reports on divergent debates. In non-divergent debates the position and appraisal of the reporter is invoked. The analysis has also illustrated that subjectivity can be expressed by interpreting a state of affairs in terms of an emotional response. Through the realisation of affect, the reporter presents the after effects of something fallaciously advancing a particular standpoint. This strategy was observed in the analysis of reports on emotional debates like Condolences on the death of Ephraim Sango Masawi in section 5.2.2.

Different language and cultural patterns have an impact on appraisal and argumentation in news reporting. The nature of appraisal and argumentation that is in some *Kwayedza* stories is founded on the Shona cultural values and norms parallel to the English newspapers. Thus, even though metaphors or figures of speech are a feature in all the newspapers, it is in *Kwayedza* that they are extensively utilised. This view alludes to the fact that members of a speech community share discourse practices and these discourse practices influence the way presentational devices are realised. However, members who fail to live up to the dictates of these pragmatic principles and social practices are equally negatively appraised. The English newspapers, using English as foreign language, have their metaphors or figures of speech drawn from the Zimbabwean community at large. However, in the general evaluation and argumentation both *Kwayedza* and *The Herald* negatively evaluate the MDC- T and positively appraise ZANU- PF. *The Standard* and *Newsday* also have the same dichotomy, positively appraising the MDC- T parliamentarians and negatively evaluating ZANU- PF parliamentarians. As a result, the contributions from a particular political party are either foregrounded or back grounded. This argument suggests that news reporting is more inclined to winning the reader than to reasonably presenting the facts (rhetoric versus dialectic), though this reporting might vary with stories.

The investigation has given evidence that strategic manoeuvring is not only found in parliamentary debates and speeches but also in news reporting. Varied forms of strategic manoeuvring have been identified in the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches in

all the newspapers. The main forms that have been identified include strategic manoeuvring citing the opponent's inconsistency, definition of terms and name-calling. Walk-outs and singing disrupting business in parliament have been argued to have a rhetorical effect (see analysis in section 5.2.4 and 5.2.5). However, it has been argued that if a strategic move is noticed by the other opponent it is discredited and it loses its rhetorical effect. The report on the MDC-T MP's efforts to try to manoeuvre wrongly explaining the meaning of the Shona saying '*pombi yadonha*' (Lit. a person of no value) is a good example. On the other side, the analysis of the notion of reasonableness and persuasion in the reporting of controversial debates (see section 5.2.6) has shown that the roles of participants and that of the rationale judge should be clearly defined during a debate if the problem is to be resolved amicably otherwise it might develop to a quasi-permanency. Full integration of the two norms, rhetoric and dialectic in the analysis of news reports, has also indicated that news stories in general differ in their balance of dialect and rhetoric. Some stories are more inclined to persuading the assumed reader than reasoning. Thus, newspaper articles are taken to be dialogic and argumentative rather than monologues and narrative. However, an exploration of the engagement resource and argumentation theory might provide further insights about discourse representation. The following chapter is also devoted to the analysis of the representation of Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse in newspaper articles in order to explore how engagement resources and argumentation principles are utilised in news reporting.

CHAPTER SIX

ARGUMENTATION AND THE ENGAGEMENT RESOURCE IN THE REPORTING OF ZIMBABWEAN PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES AND DEBATES

6.1 Introduction

The approach taken in this study is counter to the conventional view that certain utterances are neutral and hence ‘factual’ or ‘objective’. Writers adopt certain positions in the writing of stories or in reporting news (Archakis and Tsakona, 2010) and in constructing relations and identities in media texts (Fairclough, 1995). In Chapter five the main focus has been to explore the way attitudinal resources, also referred to as deontic stance (Vestergaard, 2008) are utilised in the reporting of Zimbabwean parliamentary speeches and debates in newspaper articles. The attitudinal resource has been analysed in relation to the notion of argumentation in news reporting. This chapter continues the study of the reporting of Zimbabwean parliamentary speeches and debates in newspaper articles. The major focus in this chapter is on the notion of engagement and argumentation in news reporting. This chapter examines the varied ways in which meanings are construed inter- subjectively in the Zimbabwean newspapers when they are reporting parliamentary speeches and debates. It also explores the way in which these varied linguistic resources, implicitly or explicitly conveyed, function in an argumentative text. This view is based on the premise that “Appraisal, and the type of Appraisal used in a text, will have clear consequences for how writers position themselves vis-á-vis their reader, and accordingly for how they construe readers” (Vestergaard, 2008: 295). In order to reconstruct this appraisal, the same newspapers that have been used as sources of data in chapter five are utilised here. Comparison in the way in which the engagement resources and argumentation strategies are utilised is made along the four dimensions stated in chapter five.

6.2 Inter-Subjectivity in news reporting: the President and the Prime Minister’s Speeches

The official opening of the Second Session of the Zimbabwean Parliament after the formation of the Government of National Unity in October 2009 and later on in July 2010 received wide publicity in the Zimbabwean newspapers. The Second Session has been considered ‘historic’ as it was the first since the formation of the inclusive government. For the most part the report

in *The Herald*, 07/10/09, contains dialogistically contractive (**counter, deny**), and expansion (**attributive: acknowledge**) engagement values. The **attribute: acknowledge** is realised in the form of commentator voice commenting what have been said by the president. Minimal realisation of attitudinal resources can be observed in the report. The few instances of **appreciation** values that are realised are explicitly inscribed in the text with the writer voice negatively appreciating sanctions and positively appreciating the hard stance against sanctions. However, these appreciation values are implicitly invoked as **judgement** values with pro- sanction countries (western community) negatively judged and Zimbabweans (MDC implicitly acknowledged to be Zimbabweans) positively judged. In the text below, attitudinal values are indicated in bold, dialogic contraction values are italicised, dialogic expansion values are underlined and graduation values are indicated in uppercase.

- [6.1] Zimbabwe is **ready** [**attitudinal, +ve judgement: normality**] to engage those countries that have been **hostile** [**attitudinal, -ve judgement: propriety**] to it, President Mugabe said [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] yesterday. Officially opening the Second Session of the Seventh Parliament in Harare, President Mugabe said [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] Zimbabwe would continue to engage the Western community with a view [**expand: entertain**] to normalising relations. “Our country remains in a positive stance [**expand: entertain**] to enter into **fresh, friendly** and **co-operative** [**+ve appreciation: valuation**] relations with all those countries that have been hostile to us in the past,” he said. He, *however*, [**disclaim: counter**] stressed that engagement *must* [**disclaim: deny**] *ultimately lead* [**proclaim, concur: affirm**] to the SPEEDY REMOVAL [**graduation: intensity**] of the **economic sanctions** [**graduation: intensity**] imposed on Zimbabwe by the West for embarking on the **revolutionary land reform programme**. [**+ve appreciation: reaction, judgement: normality**] ...Following the launch of the Zimbabwe- European Union dialogue in Brussels early this year, [**attribute: acknowledge**] our re-engagement with the European bloc is gathering [**expand: entertain**] momentum. *However*, [**disclaim: counter**] as our **inclusive** [**+ve appreciation: composition**] Government re- engages the Western countries, we expect [**expand: entertain**] those countries that have imposed **ILLEGAL SANCTIONS** [**graduation: intensity, -ve appreciation: reaction**] which have hurt and continue to hurt our economy and the generality of the people to remove them.” President Mugabe urged [**expand: entertain**] Zimbabweans to

unity for economic turnaround, saying national development was a collective responsibility. “If [**conditional clause marker**] the realisation of the fruits of our economic turnaround effort may seem [**expand: entertain**] to take longer than expected, *it is because* [**proclaim: pronounce**] the parameters for it have been more demanding in both form and content than expected. *Together*, [**disclaim: counter**] let us build the bridge of amity, forgiveness, trust and togetherness. Let us be the Zimbabwe united in body, mind and spirit. *Only* [**disclaim: deny**] that way can we *really succeed*,” [**proclaim: pronounce**] the President said. ...He said in keeping with the Global Political Agreement, [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] the crafting of a new constitution was on course. ...The government was DEEPLY CONCERNED [**graduation: intensity, expand: entertain**] by the plight of civil servants. “The PREFERRED SITUATION [**graduation: intensity**] is one where the salaries and allowances of public servants are benchmarked against the Poverty Datum Line. This will be undertaken as soon as resources become available. I, *therefore*, [**proclaim: concur**] appeal to public servants to remain patient as the necessary arrangements [**expand: entertain**] are being put in place.” (*The Herald*, 7 October 2009, Appendix A31)

Considering the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and the Government of National Unity (GNU) context, the writer presents the western countries as ‘having been hostile’ before but are now willing to enter ‘fresh, friendly and co-operative relations’ with Zimbabwe. The negative judgement of these nations is underplayed to encourage fresh relations. What is explicitly castigated are the ‘illegal sanctions’ and the negative impact they had caused on the economy and the generality of Zimbabweans. However, the position of Zimbabwe and implicitly that of ZANU- PF is presented as unchanging. They have always been in a ‘positive stance’ and an uncompromising position. Dialogic contraction values, **counter** and **deny**, are employed strategically to clearly define and show the unchanging position of Zimbabwe in terms of its principles. Contrary voices are entertained through expansion values of **attribute: acknowledge** and **expand: entertain**, but are constantly checked and dismissed through the contract values of **deny** and **counter**. Thus, the few cases in which the writer voice expands are when acknowledging the speech of the president and when explaining certain standpoints. The two MDC formations are not directly castigated in the speech and report but they are implicitly negatively evaluated. The newspaper presents the president’s positive stance towards Government of National Unity (GNU) and wishes to give it a chance so that it works.

However, the way the political parties and their supporters were going to be ‘united in body, mind and spirit’ is left unexplained.

In another report, *The Herald* take a slightly different appraisal in the report of the official opening of the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe (*The Herald*, 14/07/10, Appendix A18). The core business of the upcoming parliament is foregrounded in the paper. The session is reported to be one of the busiest, “Opening the session, President Mugabe announced a **busy** schedule for MPs...” (*The Herald*, 14/07/10, Appendix A18, Line 6). Though there is quite an elaborate citation of the president’s speech through the use of reporting verbs ‘President Mugabe said..., he pointed out...’ and attribution (**attribute: acknowledge**) positively appraising the president, the author explicitly evaluates more the bills that are going to be debated in the House of Parliament. The dialogic expansion value, **expand: entertain**, is extensively employed. The legislative agenda is appraised as a ‘guide’ for the debates, bills are presented as proposals which are set to make improvements, ease congestion. The author is dialogically expansive allowing contrary voices to the proposed bills through the use of the modal value ‘shall’. Some of the sentences where the entertain value [**expand: entertain**] has been utilised are given below.

- [6.2] The legislative agenda will guide debate in Parliament and provides the legislature with the direction Government would like to take on national issues. ...The Zimbabwe Examination and Qualifications Authority, Schools Examinations Council and the Indigenous Languages Bills will be proposed for improvements to the education sector. ...The Mines and Minerals Amendment Bill- first presented in 2007- shall require MPs’ attention this session. ...The Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation Bill providing for the establishment of the Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation shall also be brought for consideration. (*The Herald*, 14/07/10, Appendix A18, Line 3-4, 31- 32, 37, 40- 42)

Graduation values are utilised to a considerable degree in both the reporting of the two speeches in the official opening of parliament either amplifying the attitudinal values or the engagement values. The **graduation: intensity** is the one that is mostly utilised in these reports amplifying attitudinal and engagement resources. Some of these are given below. The **graduation: intensity** is in bold and the **graduation: quantity** is italicised.

- [6.3] FRESH, FRIENDLY and CO-OPERATIVE relations, ECONOMIC sanctions, REVOLUTIONARY land reform, SPEED removal, ULTIMATELY lead, DEEPLY concerned, PREFERRED situation, PROFOUND PERSONAL appreciation, work ASSIDUOUSLY , INTENSE competition, HEIGHTENED mobility, *several* countries, CURRENT budget

Having considered the reporting of the official opening of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe in *The Herald* (07/10/09), focus now is on examining the reporting of the opening of the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe in *Kwayedza* (15/07/10). The main focus is on exploring the way in which engagement values are utilised in the Shona newspaper. However, as already argued, this focus does not mean that the other appraisal values that are in the text will not be highlighted. **Dialogic: contract** values are italicised, **dialogic: expansion** values are underlined and the **attitudinal** values are in bold.

- [6.4] President *vakarumbidza* GPA (Appendix A1)

Mutungamiri wenyika neHurumende vari zvakare mukuru- mukuru weuto reZimbabwe Defence Forces, [**implicit, contract: deny**] President Mugabe *vanoti* [**attribute: acknowledge**] Hurumende yemushandira pamwe iri KUSHANDA ZVAKANAKA [**graduation: intensity, token of attitude +ve appretiation: impact**] *chero zvazvo* [**contract: counter**] paine **vavengi** [-ve **appreciation: reaction**] *vasiri* [**disclaim: deny**] kuda kuona budiroro iyi. President Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya pakuvhurwa kweParamende nomusi weChipiri muHarare *yachiti* [**attribute: acknowledge**] *zvaifadza* [+ve **appreciation, affect**] kuona upfumi hwenyika uhwo hwakange hwadonha huchisimuka zvekare. *Pari zvino* [**expand: entertain**] maindaisitiri ayo MAMWE ACHO [**graduation: focus**] akange avharwa akavhurwa achiita basa rawo ZVAKANAKA [**graduation: intensity, +ve appreciation**] kuchizotiwo mitengo yezvinhu iyo yaingokwira zuva nezuva *haichakwira* [**disclaim: deny**] sekare. Izvi, *sekutaura kwaPresident Mugabe*, [**attribute: acknowledge**] zvakauya kuburikidza nezvirongwa zveHurumende zvakaita seShort Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) iyo yakaunza kudzikama muupfumi hwenyika. “*Kuburikidza nechirongwa cheShort Term Emergency Recovery Programme*, [**proclaim: endorse**] Hurumende yakwanisa kusimudza upfumi hwenyika yedu mushure memakore gumi ekudzikira nokuda kwezvirango zvakaunzwa neBritain nevamwe vayo.” [implicit appraisal,

attitude –ve appreciation of sanctions and **attitude +ve appreciation** of Short Term Recovery Programme] ...President Mugabe vakati [**attribute: acknowledge**] *sezvakabvumiranwa* [**proclaim: concur**] pakavambwa Hurumende yemushandirapamwe, chironywa chekunyorwa kwebumbiro remitemo chiri kufamba ZVAKANAKA [**graduation, +ve appreciation**] uye pari zvino [**expand: entertain**] nhengo dzeConstitutional Parliamentayr Committee dziri kufamba nenyika dzichinzwa zvido nezvishuwo zvevanhu. ...*Gore rino*, [**proclaim: pronounce**] yakadaro President Mugabe, [**attribute: acknowledge**] nyika iri kutarisira [**expand: entertain**] kusimuka kwezveindasitiri yezvicherwa paine tarisiro yokuti izvi zvichakura ne20%. (*Kwayedza*, 16- 22 Chikunguru 2010, Appendix A1)

(Literal Translation- President commended GPA

Head of state and government, who is also the leader of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces [**implicit, contract: deny**], President Mugabe is saying [**attribute: acknowledge**] Government of National Unity is **WORKING WELL** [**graduation: intensity, token of +ve appreciation: impact**] *even though* [**disclaim: counter**] there are **enemies** [**-ve appreciation: impact, token of judgement**] who *do not* [**disclaim: deny**] want to see this achievement. President Mugabe spoke these words at the opening of Parliament on Tuesday in Harare saying [**attribute: acknowledge**] it was be pleasing [**+ve affect, appreciation**] to see the country's economy that had taken a nose dive picking. At the moment [**expand: entertain**] **SOME** of the industries [**graduation: focus**] which have been closed have been opened and are performing **VERY WELL** [**graduation: intensity, +ve appreciation**] and the prices of commodities which had been going up everyday are *no longer* [**disclaim: deny**] going up as before. This, as said by President Mugabe [**attribute: acknowledge**], came as a result of government programmes which are like Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) which brought stability in the country's economy. "*Through the programme of Short Term Recovery Programme*, [**proclaim: endorse**] government managed to raise our country's economy after ten years of going down as a result of sanctions brought by Britain and her allies." [implicit appraisal, **-ve appreciation of sanctions, Britain and +ve appreciation of STERP**] ...President Mugabe said [**attribute: acknowledge**] as agreed [**proclaim: concur**] at the formation of

the Government of National Unity, the process of writing the new constitution is going on **WELL** [**graduation**, +ve **appreciation**] and at the moment [**expand**: **entertain**] members of the Constitutional Parliamentary Select Committee are going around the country noting the needs and wishes of the people. ...*This year*, [**proclaim**: **pronounce**] said President Mugabe, [**attribute**: **acknowledge**] the country is expecting [**expand**: **entertain**] a revival of the minerals industry with the hope that it will expand by 20%.) (*Kwayedza*, 16- 22 July 2010)

The text, as explicitly conveyed by the headline, gives evidence of a positive stance with the president chronicling the developments that occurred as a result of the cordial relations created by the Global Political Agreement (GPA). Values of the authorial voice aligning with the external voice are provided via instances of **attribute**: **acknowledge** and **concur**. Evidence occurs of implicit appraisal of Mugabe (**attitude** +ve **judgement**), implicit evaluation of Britain and her allies (**attitude** -ve **appreciation**) and explicit appreciation of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) (**attitude** +ve **appreciation**). The expand value **attribute**: **acknowledge** is prevalent in this report. In attributing, the writer voice heavily invests in the textual voice. This attribution is realised particularly strikingly in the interchanging use of the reporting verbs ‘*vanoti*’ ‘he is saying’ and ‘*vakati*’ ‘he said’. The use of the present continuous ‘-no-’ in ‘*vanoti*’ ‘he is saying’ appears to be dialogically contractive. The value presents a constant and unchanging position, positively judging the speaker’s tenacity. The president’s position is reported as unchanging fending off other possible voices. On the other side the past habitual ‘-ka-’ in ‘*vakati*’ ‘he said’ is dialogically expansive. The president’s position is reported as one of the positions that can be taken. If new information or a better argument is advanced, the old position can be discarded. However, considerable variation occurs in the use of the reporting verb attributively. Apart from ‘*vanoti*’ ‘he is saying’ and ‘*vakati*’ ‘he said’, there is also the use of ‘*sekutaura*’ ‘as it was said’ as a reporting verb as well. The position of the authorial voice when utilising ‘*sekuatura*’ ‘as he said’, though acknowledging, seems to be distancing from the current proposition. Using parenthesis, the author **attribute**: **acknowledge** the external voice in the reporting of what the government through STERP had managed to do. Attributing (acknowledge) the speech to Mugabe, the author also dialogically contract, **proclaim**: **concur**, affirming the position that was taken at the formation of the Government of National Unity. The position is presented as given, shared knowledge or the generally held view by parliamentarians and the generality of Zimbabweans. Argumentatively this closes the

argumentation space as no one would want to go against such a position, one that is well accepted by the generality of Zimbabweans.

Apart from reporting on the president's speech officially opening parliament, *The Herald* also reports of the Prime Minister's speech urging parliamentarians in the Lower House. The headline of *The Herald* '**Play your role, PM urges Parly**' (02/12/09, Appendix 34) reporting on the Prime Minister's speech is dialogically expansive. The Prime Minister is reported to have been speaking in the House of Assemblies but the purpose of the speech is not stated. Through graduation value **intensity: focus**, parliamentarians are urged to '**actively** discharge their oversight role'. The attitudinal values are only utilised in the article when the Prime Minister positively appraises appreciating the work that had been done by cabinet, legislators, SADC and South Africa.

- [6.5] He **commended** [attitudinal, +ve judgement] Cabinet for leading economic recovery saying [attribute: acknowledge] Government would strive [expand: entertain] to maintain fiscal discipline. ...PM Tsvangirai also **commended** [attitudinal, +ve judgement] legislators for carrying out their duties under **difficult** [graduation: intensity] circumstances... He also **acknowledged** [attitude, +ve appreciation] the role of SADC and South Africa in facilitating dialogue between the parties in the inclusive government. ...In particular, the role of South Africa as the facilitator of the dialogue process is MOST APPRECIATED [graduation: intensity]. (*The Herald*, 02/12/09, Appendix A34, Line 15- 16, 21- 22, 34)

The engagement values that are evidenced in the Prime Minister's speech and in the reporting of this speech are generally expansive, **expand: entertain**. The Prime Minister's proposition is presented as one among a number of propositions that can be put forward within that communicative context. The value is utilised in such a way that it opens up the dialogic space allowing contrary or supporting propositions to be advanced.

- [6.6] It is essential that [expand: entertain] this House becomes a VIBRANT FORCE [graduation: intensity] for democracy and accountability in Zimbabwe... *Every public official*-[disclaim: deny] whether a Minister, policeman or civil servant who has broken the law, acted corruptly or simply incompetently *must* [proclaim: pronounce] respect the supremacy of this House... I wish to

acknowledge [**expand: entertain**] the skill, commitment and dedication of all ministers... I am aware that [**expand: entertain**] you Mr Speaker has received a proposal from the Welfare Committee representing MPs and Government will ensure [**expand: entertain**] that this issue and the non- payment of sitting and other allowances, receives the attention they deserve.... (*The Herald*, 02/12/09, Appendix A32, Line 11- 14, 17, 23- 25)

The Prime Minister's proposal is presented as a 'wish' dialogically entertaining and opening the space for discussion. This property is clearly illustrated by the contributions that followed the speech. *The Herald*, adhering to its ideological policy, only reports of the contributions that were made by two ZANU- PF MPs kind of giving substance to the PM's speech. By citing only contributions from ZANU- PF parliamentarians, *The Herald* puts across the position that the MDC has no final say in the matter to do with government policy or issues. However, the contributions by the ZANU- PF MPs merely echoed the same sentiments of the Prime Minister's. They only endorsed what the Prime Minister had said.

6.3 Stance taking on Chiadzwa diamonds

The framework that is being adopted in this chapter, the engagement resource and argumentation, intends to outline what Martin and White (2005) calls 'textual weather'. Texts take upon various valuation positions when reporting contentious issues. The aim of this section is to examine the evaluative meanings realised in the extra parliamentary reporting of the mining, cutting and sale of Chiadzwa diamonds in Zimbabwe. The mining and sale of Zimbabwean Chiadzwa diamonds received wide spread publicity in the Zimbabwean and international media with different value positions appraised and advanced. The three reports to be analysed in this section reflect the different engagement resources employed to advance certain argumentative positions. The report in *Kwayedza* '*Ngoda ngaitengeswe-Makurukota*' (01/07/10, Appendix A6) (Lit Diamonds must be sold- Cabinet Ministers), *Newsday* report '*MPs slam Chiadzwa blockage*' (07/08/10, Appendix A24) and *The Standard* report '*Massive cover- up at Chiadzwa*' (4-10 April 2010, Appendix A28) form our reference points in this section. However, our first analysis will be focused on the *Kwayedza* and *Newsday* stories before we move onto to *The Standard* article.

Considering the communicative contexts in which these reports were being made, all the three papers (*Kwayedza*, *The Standard* and *Newsday*) explicitly utilises the dialogic contract values of **deny** and **counter**. The dialogic contract engagement value, as already pointed out in

chapter three and the other data analysis sections, acts to close the dialogic space, fending off other voices.

[6.7] The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy has **castigated** [-ve appreciation: reaction] the Mines and Mining Development Ministry for barring them from visiting the Chiadzwa diamond fields, *yet* [**disclaim: counter**] GLADLY [**graduation: intensity, +ve affect**] opening it to foreign observers.Mare said [**attribute: acknowledge**] for *as long as* [**disclaim: deny**] the committee was *not* [**disclaim: deny**] allowed into Chiadzwa, suspicion of illicit dealings in the country's diamonds would continue. ...Munengami said [**attribute: acknowledge**] it was *not* [**disclaim: deny**] the committee's intention to undermine the power of Cabinet ministers *but* [**disclaim: counter**] it wanted to carry out its oversight role, as enshrined in the Constitution. (*Newsday*, 07/08/10, Appendix A24, Line 1-3, 13-14, 24-25)

[6.8] Cde Mpfu yakati [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] makurukota eCabinet akatambira hurongwa uhu pamwewo nekubvumirana naho... “Zvakadaro [**disclaim: counter**] *tinofanirwa* [**proclaim: pronounce**] kuve nehurongwa hwekutengesa naho kuitira kuti zvive zvakajeka pasina huwori pakuita basa iri,” Cde Mpfu. ...Cde Mpfu yakati [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] Joint Work Plan yaizivisa kuti Zimbabwe yaikwanisa [**expand: entertain**] kutengesa ngoda *dzayo* [**disclaim: deny**] *kana* [**disclaim: counter, conditional clause marker**] ikazadzisa ZVIMWE zvezvisungu ZVIDIKI [**graduation: focus**]. (*Kwayedza*, 01/07/10, Appendix A6, Line 14, 17-20)

(Lit. Cde Mpfu said [**attribute: acknowledge**] that Cabinet ministers received this plan and agreed with it. *Even though* [**disclaim: counter**] we *must* [**proclaim: pronounce**] have a plan for selling so that it will be clear without corruption when doing this work... Cde Mpfu said [**attribute: acknowledge**] Joint Work Plan was informing that Zimbabwe might [**expand: entertain**] be able to sell its diamonds [**disclaim: deny**] if it fulfils SOME of the FEW requirements [**graduation: focus**].)

The report in *Newsday* [6.7] is dialogically contractive denying the reader to align with voices that supports what was done by the Ministry of Mines and Mining development to deny the

Parliamentary Committee on Mines and Energy to tour Chiadzwa. The reader is rather presented as sharing the same understanding with the writer and is equally baffled that the understood and given position is not being followed. The **disclaim: counter** value is very much argumentative as it presents the current proposition as replacing and supplanting previously held views or propositions. The writer's standpoint is then advanced and presented as natural. In a different report, *Kwayedza* [6.8] positively appraises the position that was taken by Cabinet ministers as acceptable. This position is reported to have been reached after a sound report by Mines and Mining Development Minister, Obert Mpofu. Investing in this proposition, the writer voice also dialogically contract denying and countering any voices in the communicative context. The countering value strategically invokes some assessment of the situation at hand, [*if Zimbabwe has satisfied the requirements of KP it can mine its diamonds. A number of countries said Zimbabwe had satisfied these requirements, then diamonds must be sold*], and the reader is invited to share this axiological paradigm with the writer.

The external voice is accommodated in the reports of the two papers through the engagement value **attribute: acknowledge**. This external voice is sourced to authenticate and validate the current proposition (on attribution see also White 1998, Martin and White 2005). The writer's opinion is heavily invested in this external voice. One way in which this investment is done in the reports is through the use of the reporting verb 'said' either directly quoting the words or by paraphrasing the authority's opinion. In *Kwayedza*, it is the Minister, Mpofu, who is acknowledged to be giving first hand and undeniable information that no reason can be given why Zimbabwe can be denied to sell its diamonds. Example [6.8] shows the underlined reporting verbs attributing and advancing the minister's proposition as one that is acceptable and wanted. The reporting verbs that are used include *vakati* 'he said', *vakadaro* 'he said that' and *vakazivisa* 'he informed'. Though they are attributive, *vakazivisa* 'he informed' appraises Mpofu as a credible and reliable minister that the Zimbabwean generality have to listen to his word of truth. However, it presents Mpofu's proposition as one among a number of propositions available in the current communicative context. It is at the margins of the **expand: attribute** value. The variation with which the reporting verbs are used in *Kwayedza* in the report on the president's speech officially opening the Third Session of the Parliament of Zimbabwe (section 6.1) and the report on the Cabinet ministers' call that diamonds must be sold (section 6.2) alludes to the fact that these attribute values must be gradable. Their use is not random and gradability has been argued to be a feature of the engagement system as well (Martin and White, 2005). The argument here is that attribute values, as with attitudinal

values, can be graded in what I will call a cline of relation or relatedness. A probable scale that can be drawn considering the writer's investment when using the particular reporting verb is given below. The proposal made is that the reporting verb *vanoti* 'he is saying' is considered to be high on the scale and *vakazivisa* 'he informed' is low on the same scale. The other verbs are in between the two poles.

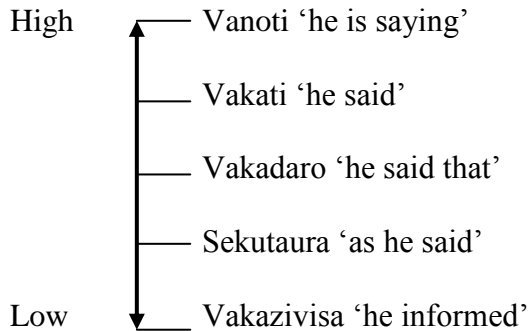


Figure 6.1 Attribute: acknowledge values graded

The argumentation that the *Kwayedza* reporter advances through these engagement values is not only that diamonds must be sold, but that Zimbabwe and the Minister of Mines and Mining Development abides with and respect national and international laws. Thus, evidence is given of an implicit positive appreciation of the minister's work and that of Cabinet ministers. However, the so called detractors are then invoked and negatively appreciated and judged as failures [**attitude, judgement: -ve capacity**].

[6.9] “Pane DZIMWE [**graduation: focus**] nyika dzakativenga dzakaita seUnited States, Canada, Australia dzakaedza kusvibisa gwaro rakabva kuna VaAbbey Chikane avo vaimirira KP *asi* [**disclaim: counter**] zvakaramba... [**-ve judgement: tenacity**]” (*Kwayedza*, 01/07/2010, Appendix A6, Line 29-30)

(Lit. There are SOME [**graduation: focus**] countries who hate us like United States, Canada, Australia who tried to tarnish the document from Mr Abbey Chikane who was a representative of KP *but* [**disclaim: counter**] **failed** [**-ve judgement: tenacity**].)

The detractors are implicitly negatively appreciated as failures in their efforts to tarnish the document which was prepared by Mr Abbey Chikane. *Newsday*, as shown in example [6.7], acknowledges the voices of MPs in the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and

Energy to sustain the proposition that what is being done by the Mines and Mining Development ministry is really bad and unwarrantable. Thus, the reporter totally disagrees with the way the ministry is running its business aligning with the members of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee. The reader is then rhetorically invited to align with this proposition. Through the rhetorical question, Mare rhetorically augments the writer voice advancing the proposition that the portfolio committee should be allowed to visit Chiadzwa.

[6.10] “The portfolio committee has become **IRRELEVANT** [**graduation: intensity, appreciation: valuation, expand: entertain**]. Why do we need the justification of outsiders, when there are local bodies that have been set up to do just that?” Mare asked [**proclaim: concur**]. (Newsday, 07/08/10, Appendix A24, Line 11- 12)

The rhetorical question is dialogically closing the argumentative space, **proclaim: concur**. The proposition that the reader is made to think about is whether the portfolio committee is irrelevant. Through the rhetorical question the reader is confined with the contingent that the portfolio committee is very relevant and must be given their mandate to oversee the running of events in the mining and energy sector which is ‘in the interest of the nation’ (Newsday, 07/08/10, Appendix A24, Line 21). Obviously, any other proposition that is contrary to the writer’s is, thus, evaluated and appraised as not being ‘in the interest of the nation’. Having been in the dialogue with the reader, the writer raises the cost of going against the current standpoint and rhetorically invites the reader to agree with this proposition in order to resolve the matter amicably.

The role of parentheticals in argumentation can also be observed in the reporting of news. The review in chapter two, section 2.3.3 has illustrated how parentheticals are realised in parliamentary debates as strategic moves to rhetorically have the debate resolved in one’s favour (see also Ilie 2003, 2009b). This way of arguing is also explicit in *Kwayedza* in their advance of the proposition that the precious stones, diamonds, must be sold.

[6.11] Cde Mpfu vakazivisa kuti Israel, [*iyo inove sachigaro weKPCS*], yaive yakapa nyika mvumo yekutengesa ngoda idzi. (*Kwayedza*, 01/07/10, Appendix A6, 27-28)
(Lit. Cde Mpfu informed that Israel, [*which is the chairperson of KPCS*], had given the country the licence to sell these diamonds.)

The phrase, *iyoinove sachigaro weKPCS*, [Lit *which is the chairperson of KPCS*] is rightfully inserted as a comment clarifying and reinforcing the meaning that Zimbabwe had already been given the go ahead to sell their diamonds by a credible country. The rhetorical and dialect effect of parentheticals to the reader make the reader reassess and adjust to the writer's end-goals. The reader is invoked to appeal to reason and persuaded to accept the meaning that is being communicated. Parentheticals have not been examined in terms of appraisal theory. Considering the way that they are used in *Kwayedza*, closing down the dialogic space and making the reader align with the reporter's end-goal it means that parentheticals are contractive. The reporter's heightened investment in the proposition indicates that this might be one way of conveying pronouncement values. Thus, I am arguing that parentheticals also **proclaim: pronounce** the dialogic space aligning the reader with the writer forming a community of shared meanings.

Newspapers sharing the same ideological perspective and audience are set to follow the same path of appraisal and argumentation in their reporting of contentious issues. The way journalists report news aligning with a particular political party and audience has been widely discussed in researches (Archakis and Tsakona 2009, 2010, Bell 1991, White 1998, 2000, 2005b). The question here is on the nature of appraisal when reporting 'contentious' parliamentary debates. The case of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy being denied access to Chiadzwa diamond mining area shows *Newsday* and *The Standard* pushing for the same end-goal. The definiteness that is in the headline (**Massive cover-up at Chiadzwa**) (Appendix A28) of *The Standard* report and the assumption in *Newsday* that '...as long as the committee was not allowed into Chiadzwa, suspicion of illicit dealings in the country's diamonds would continue' (*Newsday*, 07/08/10, Appendix A24, Line 13-14) indicates a sharing of the same ideological alignment. In both reports Mpfu's actions and that of the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development are negatively appreciated and judged as *abusive, crook, unclean* and *dubious*. Though *Newsday* have been implicit in its negative appraisal of Mpfu and the Mining and Development Ministry, *The Standard* is so explicit arguing that Mpfu had "...controversially given licences to mine the Chiadzwa diamonds after MPs were barred from touring the fields..." (*The Standard*, 4- 10 April 2010, Appendix A28, Line 7-9). Attributing (**attribute: acknowledge**) through the reporting verb 'said', *The Standard* also sources the authority of anonymous members of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee. However, Mpfu's voice is only sourced to expose his incapacity and corruptness.

[6.12] Mpofu RECENTLY told [**graduation, attribute: acknowledge**] the same committee that he *could not* [**disclaim: deny**] rule out the fact that SOME [**graduation: quantity, expand: entertain**] of the directors behind the diamond companies were **crooks...** [**attitude, -ve judgement: propriety**]. He said [**expand: acknowledge**] it was difficult [**appreciation: valuation**] to find a **clean diamond investor** [**-ve judgement: propriety**] the world over... Parliament officials said [**attribute: acknowledge**] they had prepared a statement... “ALL [**graduation: quantity**] the MPs in the committee did *not* [**disclaim: deny**] take that lightly, and they are **determined** [**+ve judgement: capacity**] to dig the matter to establish what Mpofu could [**expand: entertain**] have been trying to hide,” *said* [**attribute: acknowledge**] a member of the committee. (*The Standard*, 4- 10 April 2010, Appendix A28, Line 13-14,26, 38-39)

The writer (journalist) evaluatively appraises the diamond issue as controversial in the introduction of his report. In a controversial communicative context there will be varied competing voices. Considering the situation at hand, the writer had to expand his dialogic space in anticipation of a number of contrary propositions to be advanced in an effort to narrow down the difference of opinion. Apart from the **attribute: acknowledge**, *The Standard* also utilises other engagement values to expand the dialogic space. The writer explicitly employs **expand: entertain** value invoking the reader’s evaluation of the better proposition to follow in this controversial issue.

[6.13] Mpofu reportedly [**expand: entertain, distance**] refused to give members of parliamentary portfolio committee on Mines and Energy the go- ahead...(Line 5) there are indications [**expand: entertain**] that the MPs already have plans to investigate him for an alleged [**expand: entertain**] property- buying spree...(Line 15-16) The team was expected [**expand: entertain**] to counsel the affected families...(Line 21) “This creates **unnecessary conflict** [**-ve appreciation: valuation**] between parliament and the executive which seems [**expand: entertain**] to shield him in the CURRENT probe [**graduation: intensity, expand: entertain**] by the committee.” (Line 41-42) ...The current probe [**expand: entertain**] has already established some irregularities [**expand: entertain, graduation**] in the exploitation of the Chiadzwa

diamonds by Mbada Diamonds and Canadile Mining (Line 53-54). (*The Standard*, 4-10 April 2010, Appendix A28)

The controversial communicative context calls for other engagement values apart from the expand values. Participants in such a situation, apart from being expansive entertaining other voices, would want the debate to be resolved in their favour. In order to achieve this, engagement values that fend off other voices presenting the current proposition as natural and acceptable are utilised. As it is the case with *Newsday* and *Kwayedza*, *The Standard* strategically utilises the dialogic contract values to advance the writer's end- goal negatively appraising Mpofu and the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development.

[6.14] *But* [**disclaim: counter**] sources told *The Standard* that the police and Ministry of Home Affairs had agreed to the visit, *but* [**disclaim: counter**] Mpofu and Mushowe refused to issue the clearance...(Line 28-29) "The Minister of Mines refused to give authority for the police to give clearance, *yet* [**disclaim: counter**] Ministry of Home Affairs had agreed." (Line 34-35 ...A committee of parliament can *only* [**disclaim: deny**] play an oversight role to keep checks on ministers and officials, *but cannot* [**disclaim: counter and deny**] investigate an MP for corruption. (Line 43-44) (*The Standard*, 4-10 April 2010, Appendix A28)

The visit by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee to Chiadzwa is reported to have been approved by the relevant offices and only to be blocked by Mpofu (Minister of Mines and Energy) and Mushowe (Manicaland Governor). Through the deny and countering values, the writer suppresses the proposition that the Ministry of Home Affairs and police refused to clear the committee and advances the proposition that it is the Ministry of Mines and Energy and the Manicaland governor who are the stumbling blocks. In a yielding tone, the writer invites the reader not to blame the committee for not taking stern measures on Mpofu and Mushowe as it is powerless, '*cannot investigate an MP for corruption*'. The only other way forward to resolve the controversy which has been appraised as '*best*' is to set up a '*special committee*' though this is again presented as capable of creating conflict with the executive as that had happened before. The paper concludes that the issue is irresolvable though the probe has '*established some irregularities in the exploitation of the Chiadzwa diamonds*' (*The Standard*, 4- 10 April 2010, Appendix A28, Line 53-54).

6.4 Evaluation and argumentation in RBZ Bill reports

The focus of exploring news reports from both appraisal and argumentation theory brings in new dimensions in the understanding of language use in argumentative contexts. The status of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) governor has been one of the outstanding issues for the implementation of the power-sharing agreement between ZANU-PF and the two MDC formations. The debate on the RBZ governor can be classified under quasi-controversial debates. It is a kind of a debate that had degenerated into a controversy with the MDC formations calling for the resignation or stepping down of Gideon Gono and ZANU-PF adamant that Gono will not be sacked. However, as is the case during a debate (Dascal 2008), participants will continue to advance their arguments hoping that a solution to the problem will be found. Journalists crave to report on controversial issues, but one would want to understand the nature of appraisal and argumentation involved when reporting such controversial issues.

Focus in this section is on The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) amendment Bill that was tabled in the Zimbabwean Parliament in 2009 and 2010. Three reports in *The Herald* and one report in *The Standard* have been selected. Initially focus will be on *The Herald* reports, then *The Standard* report and lastly make some comparison in the nature of evaluation and argumentation in reporting quasi-controversial Bills.

The reports in *The Herald* are strikingly similar in a number of ways. In Hallidayan terms they are alike in **field**; have the same topics, **tenor**; the relationship between the participants in this communication process is virtually the same and slightly differ in **mode**; the way that language is used in the communicative activity. This difference, as Vestergaard (2008: 293) put it, 'is likely to be decisive for the use of evaluation in a text'. The texts are evaluative and argumentative in nature. They are more inclined to factual reports though some normative argumentation can be explicitly observed in the other two reports.

Limited explicit evaluation in the first report is evident, *The Herald* (22/10/09, Appendix A12). The reporter employs disclaim values to explicitly show how the amendment will impact on the powers of the RBZ governor.

[6.15] It can *only* [**disclaim: deny**] represent Government interests when directed to do so by the ministry. (*The Herald*, 22/10/09, Appendix A12, Line 15)

[6.16] Under the proposed legislation [**left dislocation**], the board will *no longer* [**disclaim: deny**] determine monetary policy as this will be done by a monetary policy committee in accordance with regional and international practices. (*The Herald*, 22/10/09, Appendix A12, Line 18-19)

The journalist evaluatively tries to evoke negative evaluation of the Bill by the reader. Through the writer's explanation of the Bill, the reader is invited to align with the position that the Bill is not good. **Disclaim: deny** values are strategically utilised here to show how restrictive this Bill will be if it is passed. **Left dislocation**, which is a movement of a phrase or clause to the left of the sentence in order to focus it (Bhatia 1993), has been utilised to contract the dialogic space. Considering the stage that the Bill was still under, the writer sharing the same ideological position with that of ZANU- PF negatively castigates the Bill. Negative appreciation occurs of the clause and no explicit judgement of participants who crafted this Bill. The report is based on claims [C] on what the report is and supported by data [D] and warrants [W]. This analysis is based on a report in *The Herald* of 22 October 2009 (Appendix A12).

[6.17] C1: The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill, (Line 1) ...seeks to bring the powers of the central bank governor under the control of a board...(Line 1-2)

C2: The Bill...seeks to clarify the functions of the central bank and increase its monetary reserves. (Line 6-7)

D: Clause two of the Bill amends Section six... Clause eight amends Section 21 of the present Act...(Line 8, 16)

W1: It can only represent Government interests when directed to do so by the ministry. (Line 15)

W2: ...the board will no longer determine monetary policy as this will be done by a monetary policy committee... (Line 18- 19)

A string occurs of arguments of the structure: a normative Claim, a factual Datum and a normative Warrant. As opposed to Vestergaard (2008: 302) analysis where "All three elements are never present in any single argument," this is a single argument with the three

elements present. The warrants negatively show how the powers of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe governor will be clipped. The implicit criticism of the Minister of Finance (MDC) in this report is an instance of ‘invoked evaluation’ (Martin and White 2005).

In the other report, **Senate Passes RBZ Amendment Bill** (*The Herald*, 10/03/10, Appendix A13), graduation values have been employed to justify the delay in the Bill being tabled in the Upper House yet it sailed through in the Lower House. The writer implicitly makes the claim and provides the data for why the Bill had been on the House Order for close to three months.

[6.18] Debate on the Bill was postponed from December to this year to afford Senators CLOSER SCRUTINY [**graduation: focus**] of its contents. (*The Herald*, 10/03/10, Appendix A13, Line 5-6))

As opposed to the first report, **RBZ Amendment Bill tabled in House** (*The Herald*, 22/10/09), evidence is given of the evaluation of the credibility of participants involved in this report when the Senate passes the Bill. The contributions of ZANU- PF MPs and Senators are given as warrants in support of the delay in passing the amendment Bill. The Finance Minister is negatively evaluated and accused for crafting the Bill for wrong reasons. The proposed nine amendments by Chimanimani Senator have been dialogically countered as have been overtaken by events though they were good. Arguing from a fallacy of overgeneralization and employing **disclaim: counter** value, the writer dismisses Biti’s position in favor of ZANU-PF’s ideological position. This position confirms the perspective that newspapers “do follow what Bell (1991) calls audience design” (Archakis and Tsakona 2010: 914).

Even though all language use can be persuasive, the persuasion can be limited to “all linguistic behaviour that attempts to either *change* the thinking or behaviour of an audience, or to *strengthen* its beliefs, should the audience already agree.” (Virtanen and Halmari, 2005: 4) *The Herald* reporter appeals to the audience’s ethos and logos in an effort to change their thinking and to maintain relations. The motive of the Minister of Finance and the Bill are negatively evaluated as unethical as the Bill was crafted with the intention to settle ‘personal differences with Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor Dr Gideon Gono’. Logos is evidenced clearly when the writer reports facts about the Bill. In other words the writer tries to balance dialectic and rhetoric in this report. However, as Virtanen and Halmari (2005) observed about emotional appeal in media discourse, pathos (emotional appeal) is not foregrounded in the report though its covert presence can be noted.

News stories are ideologically constructed (Bell, 1991). The way that journalists select their sources, events and linguistic resources confirms this view. In the third report, **President Signs RBZ Bill into law** (*The Herald*, 01/04/10, Appendix A14), the ideological stance of the paper and its alignment are clearly reflected in the way the story is reported. The story is supposed to be a factual report of the signing of the Bill, but the reporter voice colours the story. Reference to the debate in the House of Assembly on the Bill to positively evaluate the tenacity of the ZANU- PF MPs is realised.

[6.19] During debate in the House of Assembly, Finance Minister Tendai Biti made SOME [graduation: focus, expand: entertain] amendments after Zanu- PF legislators expressed reservations on SOME [graduation: focus, expand: entertain] clauses and threatened [expand: entertain] to block its passage *if* [conditional clause marker] they were *not* [disclaim: deny] noted. (*The Herald*, 01/04/10, Appendix A14, Line 8-10))

The invoked evaluation presents ZANU- PF legislators as resolute members though entertaining other voices in the dialogic space. On the other side, the Minister of Finance is appraised as someone who lacks courage and will only have to conform to the demands of ZANU- PF. In another case in the same report, ZANU- PF Senator for Chimanimani, Cde Monica Mutsvangwa, who proposed further amendments to the Bill in the Upper House did not only pursue otherwise they could have been effected. Arguments that foster the position being advanced by the writer are introduced through **disclaim: counter** resource. Through this resource the Minister of Finance's ideas are entertained in the report only to be rejected and replaced with voices which are ideologically aligned.

[6.20] The original Bill also sought to make the Secretary for Finance a non-voting member of the bank's board *but* [disclaim: counter] this too has been changed to substitute the Permanent Secretary with a ministerial appointee from the same portfolio. (*The Herald*, 01/04/10, Appendix A14, Line 33-34)

It has been pointed out that private or independent newspapers are particularly interested in controversial or negative aspects of the ruling party (Tsakona and Archakis 2009). Their evaluation and argumentation is in most cases anti- government and rarely pro- government.

However, the situation in Zimbabwe, during the period under investigation, has been a trickier one for private or independent newspapers. The signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) saw the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU) in Zimbabwe. The three main political parties became part of this GNU. In order to fully implement the GPA, the parties had to agree on a number of issues one of which was the status of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor. Private papers were called to revisit their reporting styles. Thus, reporting in newspapers is not anti- government or pro- government, but anchored on party lines. An analysis of the evaluation and argumentation in *The Herald* reports shows that the reporting in this paper is based on negatively criticising the Bill as it intended to clip the powers of the RBZ governor and was also crafted by an MDC-T minister. Disclaim values have been realised in these reports to align the reader with this position. The tenacity and capacity of ZANU- PF parliamentarians was also positively evaluated. However, *The Standard* takes a different evaluation and argumentation altogether. *The Standard* headline, ‘**Zanu PF, MDC- T clear the way for Gono’s exit**’ (Appendix A36) sets the nature of evaluation and argumentation that was to follow. Evaluation and argumentation in the report is based on a clause in the Bill that has been interpreted to be giving Gono “a soft landing” or a “golden handshake”. The metaphorical interpretation of the clause in *The Standard* negatively evaluates the MDC- T as having freely released someone who was supposed to be jailed such that the ‘golden handshake’ evaluated as ‘costly’. The whole process is negatively appreciated by one of the analysts as ‘dangerous’, the activities of Gono as RBZ governor are also negatively appraised and the capacity of MDC- T as an authority is questioned.

[6.21] It’s **dangerous** [-ve appreciation] to give immunity to a person who destroyed our economy propping up Zanu PF... I am **furious** [-ve affect] about it. The MDC has *no* [**disclaim: deny**] authority to grant anyone immunity. (*The Standard*, 22- 28 November, Appendix A36, Line 39, 40)

However, this position is countered by that of Biti, MDC- T Finance Minister. Biti strategically manoeuvring through interpretation of the clause argues that nothing close to what the analyst was saying is in the Bill. The position of the Finance Minister is authenticated by directly quoting his words. The italicised **disclaim: deny** engagement values have been realised to shove off any antagonistic voice in this context which is being represented by the analysts.

[6.22] It does *not* say *anywhere* that where there has been theft, fraud or where there has been a breach of the law, the people *should not* be prosecuted,” Biti said. (The Standard, 22- 28 November, Appendix A36, Line 53- 54)

Thus, the disagreement matter has been observed to be on how the Bill was crafted and on what it will do. The disagreement point of ZANU- PF is dialogically countered, **disclaim: counter**, by appealing to authority in the form of ‘analysts’. The voice of analysts is endorsed and the MDC is positively evaluated implicitly as having managed to push Gono out of office.

[6.23] They said Zanu PF *can no longer* [**disclaim: deny**] bear with the pressure from both MDC and the Southern African Development Community (SADC)... The MDC- T has been pushing for the removal of Gono from the RBZ... (*The Standard*, 22- 28 November, Appendix A36, Line 18, 21)

The newspaper advances the MDC- T’s position that Gono must be relieved of his duties as he has destroyed the country’s economy through his “quasi- fiscal policies and recklessly funding Zanu PF programmes”. However, the reporter voice does appraise the quasi-controversial issue as complex and irresolvable. The concluding remark in the newspaper evaluates the ‘veteran’ leader as unmoved. Mugabe is presented as having “vowed that Gono will not be sacked.” (*The Standard*, 22- 28 November) The metaphor that has been used here is not only meant to make the reader understand the controversy, but to also show how controversial the issue is.

Independent newspapers represent the passing of Bills that repeal certain provisions as victory for the opposition or the party that has moved the motion. As argued above, *The Standard* reporting of the RBZ Bill represent the MDC as victors (**+ve capacity and tenacity**) and ZANU PF as losers (**-ve capacity and tenacity**). This representation that is given in *The Standard* is the same with the one that is given in the *Newsday*. *Newsday* explicitly presents this position when reporting the debate on the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) amendments. The headline of *Newsday*, ‘**Major victory for MDC- T ... as Parly passes Posa amendments**’ (Appendix A35), explicitly shows the ideological alignment of the paper. Graduation values have been utilised to positively appreciate the victory and positively judge the MDC- T. The victory is evaluated as ‘major’ (**+ve appreciation: reaction**) and the Bill that have been amended to be ‘draconian’ (**-ve appreciation: composition**). The basis for negatively appreciating the previous POSA Bill are given as that it had ‘curtailed basic

freedoms', had 'repressive laws', was undemocratic, against human rights. Through a conditional clause the journalist alludes to the benefits of the new Bill 'if it is passed by Senate and assented to by President Robert Mugabe' (*Newsday*, 09/12/10, Appendix A35, Line 18) (see also chapter four, section 4.3.1 on this on conditional clauses). This strategically puts pressure on Senate and the President to pass as well as to assent the Bill. However, the concluding stage is given in the form of an opinion of the deputy minister dialogically entertaining other voices in the argumentative space. Considering the level at which the Bill was and the context, the reporter has to conclude opening the dialogic space.

6.5 Aligning and disaligning with the Finance Minister's budget statement: Reports on the Budget statement

The budget statement has always attracted the interests of journalists all over the world wanting to break the news of the future financial state of Zimbabwe. From the Minister of Finance's budget statement, journalists would summarise and select newsworthy items and they will publish "a digest of the news" (Tsakona and Archakis, 2009) in the papers the following day. Journalists select topics which are not only audience adjusted but also ideologically aligned. The reports in the Zimbabwean papers, *The Herald*, *Kwayedza* and *Newsday*, reflect on this view. The view generally supports the observation by Bayley (2004: 10) that parliamentary news reports "tend to focus on the more spectacular events of parliamentary life". Appraisal of the budget is more focused on the change that it will bring to the people. The papers, reporting the budget in the language that the person in the street can understand, foreground those aspects that they feel will receive more attention and background or do not report others. Wage increases for civil servants seem to receive more attention in the papers. *The Herald* and *Newsday*, reporting on different budget statements, had their headlines based on civil servants' salaries (**No wage increase for civil servants**, *Newsday*, 15/07/10, Appendix A38; **Boost for civil servants**, *The Herald*, 26/11/10, Appendix A16). The reason could be that the civil service have the bulk of the workers in a country, hence wider readership. On the contrary, *Kwayedza* headline have been very 'neutral', *Hurongwa hwemari hwa2010* (2010 Budget statement/ plan) (04- 10/12/09, Appendix A5).

As is the case with other reports on parliamentary debates and speeches, journalists make use of direct speeches by the Minister of Finance as he would be presenting the budget. The use of direct speeches is meant to make the report 'neutral' and 'authentic' (Archakis and Tsakona 2010), but the appraisal and evaluation involved in the reproduction of such texts in

a different context obviously creates new meanings and positions being advanced by the new speaker or writer. In line with a particular ideological position that the writer wants to advance, certain quotations are selected and others left. Instead of direct quotations, the *Newsday* make use of indirect speeches paraphrasing the minister's statements.

[6.24] “We have put **some** [graduation: focus] money aside for a referendum and elections,” he said [**expand: attribute**]. (*The Herald*, 26/11/10, Appendix A16, Line 19)

[6.25] “Ziso GURU [**graduation: focus, metaphor**] rinenge riri pane zvinoti dzidzo, utano nezvikamu zvinobatsira vanhu nekuenderera kwehurongwa hwakasimba mukugadzikana kwehupfumi hwenyika,” vakadaro VaBiti [**expand: attribute**]. (*Kwayedza*, 04-10/12/09, Appendix A5, Line 10-12) (Literal: “Major focus (big eye) [**graduation: focus**] will be on education, health and areas that help people in line with plans to stabilise the economy of the country,” that is what Mr Biti said [**expand: entertain**].)

[6.26] Biti said [**expand: attribute**] civil servants' salaries could *not* [**contract: deny**] be adjusted upwards at this point given the UNSUSTAINABLE growth [**graduation: focus**] of the sector in both size and the value of wage bill, now a **huge fiscal burden** [**graduation: focus, -ve appreciation**]. (*Newsday*, 15/07/10, Appendix A38, Line 14-15)

In [6.24] *The Herald* dialogically incorporates ZANU- PF's call for elections in the report on budget, a reflection on ideological alignment to a particular party. However, no exact figure is given in terms of the monies that have been put aside for the referendum and elections. The 2010 budget presented at a time when focus has been on rebuilding the country, the *Kwayedza* [6.25] reporter selects direct quotation on nation rebuilding on what it considers critical areas. Implicitly appraising (+ve) the Finance Minister (MDC-T), *Newsday* attributes failure to increase civil servants wages to the ‘UNSUSTAINABLE growth’ of the sector. However, as opposed to *The Herald* and *Kwayedza* that attributes the report (explicitly or implicitly) to the Minister of Finance, the *Newsday* have instances that it attributes the budget presentation to government. This way of reporting is strategic confirming that news reporting is not ‘value-free’.

[6.27] Government ruled out *any chance* [**disclaim: deny**] of a wage increase for civil servants *but* [**disclaim: counter**] ceded tax relief by marginally increasing disposable incomes for all working populations. (*Newsday*, 15/07/10, Appendix A38, Line 8-9)

Through this appraisal, civil servants are invited to align with the Minister of Finance and negatively evaluate 'government'. As already argued that independent papers are traditionally known for criticising government work, the situation has been a bit difficult for private papers in Zimbabwe as a result of the Government of National Unity (GNU), where major political parties are in government. Thus, through the countering value the writer backgrounds the issue of wage increase to civil servants and foregrounds wage increase to all workers. As opposed to the argument that has been raised by Martin and White (2005) on engagement counter values, **disclaim: counter** values do not only refocus the reader but they also extend the writer's argumentative horizons. The topics are maintained and more participants romped in the argument though a slight shift in focus is evident.

Argumentatively, the reports are more characteristic of a monologue than a dialogic report. The Minister of Finance and in some instances government is the protagonists and the position of the antagonist is implied. Disagreement points are expressed through the writer or journalist noting the expectations of the people which are contrary to what have been presented in the budget. Thus, the reporter voice brings in the socialisation and dialectic nature of argumentation. This is contrary to the traditional approaches to argumentation (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1994). However, the argumentative forms of claim (C), data (D) and warrants (W) and the critical discussion stages can be observed in these reports. The papers make the claims in terms of what the budget will do as it is said by the Minister of Finance and their own objections, data is given in form of information about what is on the ground supporting the claims and warrants are given as reasons for having such figures awarded to ministries. However, in the examples below [6.28, 6.29] data to support the claim is implied, it is supplied by context.

[6.28] **Claim:** VaBiti vakati hurongwa hwa2010 huchange huchutarisa kuvandudzwa kwezvikanu zvinounza magetsi, kugadziriswa kwemigwagwa, njanji, nhandare dzendege, mvura nokuvandudzwa kwemichina inofambisa mashoko (Information Communication Technology). (Kwayedza, 04-10/12/09, Appendix A5, Line 13-15)

(Literal: Mr Biti said 2010 budget will be directed towards electricity supply units, rebuilding of roads, railway lines, airports, water and refurbishing Information and Technology)

[6.29] **Warrant:** Nokuda kweizvi VaBiti vakapa US\$38,5 million yokugadzirisa dambudziko remvura mumadhorobha nemumaruwa. (Kwayedza, 04-10/12/09, Appendix A5, Line 18-19) (Literal: Because of this Mr Biti gave US\$38.5 million to solve water problems in towns and rural areas.)

The role of figures in reporting news has been argued to be persuasive. Koetsenruijter (2008: 193) argues that the use of numbers by journalists in news articles is called the ‘Number Paradox’ as these numbers rhetorically “articulate the reliability of a reporter’s source”. In appraisal terms figures **graduate: focus** the reader aligning them with the writer position. Though in reporting budgetary statements one cannot run away from giving figures, it is in the selection of the particular figures to publish that the journalist appraises and advances certain standpoints. Figures of some ministries are paraphrased or not even mentioned and yet in others all the breakdowns are given.

[6.30] Minister Biti set aside US\$1,4 billion for civil service remuneration, ALMOST TWICE the US\$773 million allocated in this year’s budget. Of this, US\$1.1 billion will be devoted to the provision of remuneration for State workers while US\$300 million will cover pensions, medical aid and social security contributions. (*The Herald*, 26/11/10, Appendix A16, Line 4-5)

The argumentative position being advanced by *The Herald* through these figures is that there will be ‘a significant salary increment for civil servants’, an audience adjusted topic. However, *Newsday* opted for paraphrasing and left out figures to justify its position that ‘no wage increase for civil servants’ is evident. As illustrated in [6.27], through dialogic contract values, the newspaper ruled out any hope of wage increase for government workers. Argumentatively, no sound premises occur that support this conclusion. However, budgetary statements (Finance Budget Bills) are only presented as ‘proposals’ to be passed by parliamentarians.

6.5.1 Appraising the Minister and his budget statement: Reports on the budget review

The construction of relations and identities in media texts has been seen to be an important area in addressing socio-cultural questions (Fairclough 1995). Thus, focusing on how the media represent the voices of parliamentarians, civic organisations, civil servants and general public in their reporting of the debates and discussion of the Minister of Finance's budget statement, this section examines how appraisal resources have been utilised to construct these relations and identities. This construction of relations and identities is also explicated within the argumentative parameters of the pragma- dialectic theory of argumentation. Four reports from two papers, *The Herald* and *Newsday*, on two budgetary statements, the Mid- Term Fiscal Policy Review Statement (14/07/10) and National Budget Statement (25/11/10) are going to be analysed.

6.5.1.1 The Affectual and other engagement resources in argumentation

Reports on the debate by parliamentarians and responses by the public to budgetary statements show how “affect clusters or patterns in texts” (Bednarek 2008b: 183). The headline of *The Herald*, **Biti under fire** (Appendix A39), has been crafted in such a way that it will evoke the reader's empathy towards Biti and at the same time negatively evaluating the Finance Minister. The lead of the story metaphorically presents Biti as being ‘grilled’ by parliamentarians confirming the headline's position. The Minister is described as someone who was “at **pains** to defend his fiscal policy” (*The Herald*, 16/07/10, Appendix A39, Line 10). MPs are represented as not being happy (**-ve affect**) with the Finance Minister's way of doing business. In reporting parliamentary debates, reporters incorporate other voices in their reports. The voices of civil servants, civil servant representative bodies and other government sector, adjudged affected, find their way in this report. Civil servants are represented as having ‘expressed displeasure’ (**-ve affect: dissatisfaction**) and been ‘disillusioned’ (**-ve affect: dissatisfaction**) by the Minister's fiscal policy statement. The reporter voice augments this position through an appeal to tradition. This appeal to tradition has been done through the use of **proclaim: concur** engagement resource. This resource silences any other voices in this dialogic space with the reporter voice heavily invested in the proposition.

[6.31] *Traditionally* [**proclaim: concur**] civil servants are adjusted in July. (*The Herald*, 16/07/10, Appendix A39, Line 62)

Thus, the Minister is appraised as opposing tradition, implicitly appraising tradition positively as good. The journalist strategically manoeuvres sighting inconsistency in the Minister's

budget. Arguing citing inconsistencies in the speaker's argument is an argumentative move that exposes the opponent's weaknesses. The civic organisations are represented as seeing the monetary policy as a confirmation of the government and the minister's position on salaries. They are represented as 'feeling insecure, dumped and down' (**-ve affect: insecurity**) by the Minister's monetary policy. The position of the civic organisations has been represented through a direct quotation of the words of the organisation's president to authenticate the report. On the other side, the minister's monetary policy is represented as having cultivated 'anger' (**-ve affect: unhappiness**) and 'shocked' (**-ve affect: surprise**) the tourism and hospitality industry. These are instances of irrealis affect.

[6.32] The tourism and hospitality industry also reacted **angrily** [**-ve affect: unhappiness**] to Minister Biti's decision to withdraw suspension on duty to vehicles bought for the tourism industry... It came as a **shock** [**-ve affect: surprise**] to us in the industry that a whole Government minister can do that. We are **dismayed** [**-ve affect: dissatisfaction**] by that action..." (*The Herald*, 16/07/10, Appendix A39, Line 84-85, 117-118).

Affectual resources patterning in media texts are utilised argumentatively to advance the writer's position in order to silence any antagonistic voices in the communicative context. The nature of news reports, as with speeches, the antagonists are assumed in context (Jakaza and Visser 2011). Their positions are either entertained in the text in order to only discredit and reject them. It is the protagonist's position that is explicitly or implicitly advanced. However, reporting on the budget statement the Minister of Finance stand to be the protagonist through the presentation of the budget. A host of interviews and commentaries from 'specialist' members in the community are utilised to buttress the reporter's position, as the antagonists. In this report the writer's position, implied in the headline and the lead, is that there was dissatisfaction by MPs and the generality of Zimbabweans on Minister Biti's Mid- Term Fiscal Policy Review Statement. The use of affectual values in argumentation is a way of strategically manoeuvring appealing to emotions. The reporter, through affectual values, appeals to the emotions of the reader. The reader is 'invited' to align with 'various sectors of the economy', MPs and civil servants in criticising the Finance Minister. The position being advanced negatively colours the whole report and overshadows the fact that the document had also been 'applauded'. This way of reporting news confirms the position that even though arguers would want to have the debate resolved amicably; they make efforts to have it

resolved in their favour (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2002; van Eemeren, 2010). The position is well supported through the use of dialogic: disclaim values. The reporter voice and other voices in this communicative context consistently utilises **disclaim: deny** and **disclaim: counter** values to shove off any other contra voices.

[6.33] Minister Biti admitted he did *not* [**disclaim: deny**] consult the committee *but* [**disclaim: counter**] said he could *not* [**disclaim: deny**] do so since legislators were preoccupied with the constitution outreach programme. ...ZTA is the regulatory authority *but* [**disclaim: counter**] was *never* [**disclaim: deny**] consulted about this issue. (*The Herald*, 16/07/10, Appendix A39, Line 30-31, 92)

However, some heteroglossic expand values are evident to be used. These values, as argued by Martin and White (2005), make room for dialogically alternative voices and positions. The concerns of the budget committee are presented only as feelings, “My committee feels that budget statements and policy reviews are important documents that need consultation.” (*The Herald*, 16/07/10, Appendix A39, Line 25-26) MPs also argue that Minister Biti ‘should first consult’ entertaining any other voices. On the other hand the civil servants’ concerns are represented as ‘beliefs’ which can change as a result of new information.

6.5.1.2 Taking a stance: Reporting the Finance Bill Budget Debate

Language provides a wide range of options for meaning- making which are actualised in texts (Martin and White 2005, White 1998). These options are made available to users. Observing key concepts in context, the speaker/ writer selects the resources that advance their standpoint or position within that communicative context. The selected resources obviously have rhetorical and dialectic effects from both speaker/ writer and hearer/ reader perspective. The argument here is that “a text can be seen as providing for a set of possible meanings (though some will be significantly more favoured and hence more probable than others), with particular possibilities only instantiated by a given reading.” (Martin and White, 2005: 163) This argument is pursued through an examination of three newspaper reports in *The Herald* (27/11/10, Appendix A15) ‘**2011 Budget under threat**’, *Newsday* (09/12/10, Appendix A27) ‘**MPs demands outrageous- public**’ and *Newsday* (27/11/10, Appendix A25) ‘**MPs blasts foreign trips expenditure**’.

The headlines of the two papers, *The Herald* and *Newsday*, are interesting from both appraisal and argumentation theoretical perspectives. *The Herald* headline, ‘**2011 budget under threat**’, implicitly evaluates MPs negatively. The one in the *Newsday* ‘**MPs blast foreign trips expenditure**’ negatively evaluates the executive and positively judges MPs. However, the other *Newsday* headline, ‘**MPs demands outrageous- public**’, explicitly castigates the behaviour of legislators. However, the negative evaluation of MPs in *Newsday* is done through an authorially- sourced voice, an evaluation that is being attributed to the public. Thus, the public voice is utilised as a premise for negative evaluation. Reference to the ‘public’ is a strategic move that opens the argumentative space to entertain other voices to join in this dialogue.

The debate is represented metaphorically as a war in both papers (also see Santibáñez 2010 on this perspective). MPs are reported to have ‘threatened to block the passage’ (*The Herald*, 27/11/10, Appendix A15, Line 1) of the Finance Bill. As in a war both the protagonists and antagonists present their demands and unless these demands are met the battle continues. Through the presentation of the budget, the Finance Minister as the protagonist presented his demands. The demands of MPs, as antagonists, are three; salary upping, raising of the constituency development fund and provision of vehicles. These demands are presented through expand values of **attribute: acknowledge** and **entertain**.

[6.34] They said [**attribute: acknowledge**] should [**expand: entertain**] salaries be raised to US\$3000, it would cost the State US\$12 million per year, a figure they [**attribute: acknowledge**] described as sustainable. (*The Herald*, 27/11/10, Appendix A15, Line 8-9)

[6.35] He said [**attribute: acknowledge**] the Executive should [**expand: entertain**] respect the views of MPs because the Legislature was the legislative arm of government which had the power to allow the passage of the National Budget through passing the Finance Bill and the Appropriation (2011) Bill. (*Newsday*, 09/12/12, Appendix A27, Line 52-54)

However, their position is presented in both *The Herald* and *Newsday* as one that is not for compromise. Facts and figures in *The Herald* concurs with the ones in *Newsday* (27/11/10). The MPs are reported to have questioned the role of the Executive in presiding

over the welfare of MPs. Through **disclaim: deny** (italicised below) values and **graduation: force** (in uppercase below) values, the executive is strongly cautioned and warned.

[6.36] “We (MPs) have *no* say and *do not* attend any committees of the Executive, and for the Executive to come and attend committees of Parliament and preside over our own welfare is VERY WRONG.” (Newsday, 27/11/10, Appendix A25, Line 19-20)

Direct speeches of MPs are incorporated in the reports strategically to foster authenticity of these reports. The appraisal and argumentative nature of direct speeches has also been discussed in chapter five and the previous sections. Advancing the MPs position the reporter voice, especially in *The Herald*, through the direct quotations and paraphrases vividly paints a picture of war being advocated for. MPs are presented as being prepared to ‘flex their muscles’, be their ‘own liberators’, and ready to grab the ‘only’ opportunity knocking at their door. The role of metaphors in aligning and disaligning the reader with certain positions in such a situation cannot be ignored. Apart from grabbing the ‘only opportunity’ knocking at their doors, MPs are presented as being against being used as a ‘rubberstamp’. As pointed out in Chapter four section 4.2.3.1, sometimes some metaphors have to be explained. The explanation of the metaphor ‘rubberstamping’ is given together with the metaphor in order to enhance understanding.

[6.37] “**We** [all encompassing] have inherited a situation that is **VERY DIFFICULT [graduation: focus, -ve appreciation]** ...that people who were members of this august House always used to say ‘yes’ [explanation]. They were professional rubber stampers [metaphor],” he added. (*The Herald*, 27/11/10, Appendix A15, Line 46-48)

Contrary to *The Herald*, *Newsday* paraphrased the metaphor that was used by an MP in argumentation. In the explanation the reporter voice through disclaim engagement values advances the point that MPs as with the pot are only used but not benefiting from the process. The metaphor fosters understanding of the situation at hand and calls for the reader’s ethos.

Heteroglossic contracting values fend off alternative voices in the dialogic space (White 1998). The advanced position is presented as uncontestable. *The Herald* and *Newsday* stories represent the position taken by MPs as valid. The reporter voice implicitly invests and aligns

with the MPs voice. The concluding passage, which is a direct quotation, in *Newsday* is given below.

[6.38] “We appreciate the whipping system *but* [**disclaim: counter**] it should [**expand: entertain**] be applicable in areas where there is difference of policy. *However*, [**disclaim: counter**] when we debate matters of the budget, the whipping system *should not* [**disclaim: deny**] be there.” (*Newsday*, 09/12/10, Appendix A27, Line 58-59)

The structure of the appraisal and argument is;

Statement + Counter + Entertain + Counter + Deny

The countering values have been utilised to expose the problem with the other voices at the same time naturalising the speaker’s voice. The alternative voices are then closed down and fended off by the deny value. By concluding with this particular position, the reporter voice invites the reader to align with the uncontested voice, the position that has been validated by the newspaper’s expert as ‘reasonable’. The voices of the ‘public’ and ‘scores of readers’ of *Newsday* expressing their dismay negatively appraising the MPs were strategically countered [*However*] by the voice of the newspaper’s expert arguing that “MPs were justified in their demands” (*Newsday*, 09/12/10, Appendix A27, Line 44).

When participants in a debate or involved in an argument advance their positions referring to children, their wives/ husbands or the family in general, they will be appealing for emotions from the other participant so that the debate or argument is resolved to their favour. Arguing appealing to emotions is an instant of strategic manoeuvring. The reporter voice in *The Herald* heavily invests in the argument advanced by MPs through an appeal to emotions as the MPs referred to their families in this argument. The appraisal advanced is that it is not only the MPs that are being affected but their families are in danger, the proposition that cites the cause and effect of failure to raise salaries. The reporter voice initially paraphrases the idea that really families of MPs are suffering and then directly quoted the words of an MP endorsing the position as authentic and valid.

[6.39] He said [**expand: attribute**] legislators had *nothing* [**disclaim: deny**] to show to their families for spending SO MUCH [**graduation: intensity**] time away from home. “It is *actually* [**proclaim: concur**] leaving a **TRAIL of destruction**

[**graduation: intensity, -ve appreciation**] in our family fabrics and relationships,” he said [**expand: attribute**]. (*The Herald*, 27/11/10, Appendix A15, Line 55-56)

The MPs also, through cause and effect argumentation, make the claim that failure to pay civil servants would fan corruption ‘creating professional thieves’. Data for this claim is given with reference to the dysfunctional Anti- Corruption Commission. The claim and the data are strategically utilised to support the warrant, why the MPs’ salaries must be increased. Through rhetorical or pseudo- questions, MPs negatively evaluated the decisions of the Executive and advance their argument that there should have a salary upping. Rhetorical or pseudo- questions, as previously discussed in chapter four section 4.2.3.1, constrain the dialogic space. The reader is constrained to a particular answer or understanding of the situation in that context.

[6.40] “What comes first- paying our civil servants, or having so many diplomatic missions, or so many trips to travel abroad to do diplomacy? Do you do diplomacy while your kids are starving?” (*Newsday*, 27/11/10, Appendix A25, Line 32-35)

Answers to these questions are not far away from the reader, they are made to be obvious in order to show how insincere the Executive is. MPs intelligently self appraises themselves as sincere and negatively appraises the Executive as insincere. The persuasion with these questions aligns the reader to this position. The rationale judge is persuaded to resolve the debate in favour of the reporter’s or the MPs’ position.

The reporter voice in *The Herald*, as is the case in *Newsday*, concludes aligning the reader with the MPs position. The demands of MPs are implicitly justified through reference to other MPs’ salaries. The adjustment that they want is presented as far less than that of “Kenyan MPs who are said [**expand: entertain**] to have gross salaries of above US\$10 000.” (*The Herald*, 27/11/10) The senselessness of foreign trips expenditure is dialectically used as a basis for positively appreciating the call for salary upping by MPs. This is one report in which both private and state newspapers shared almost the same evaluative positions and advanced their positions using voices from MPs across political party lines. The emotions (**-ve affect**) of MPs are represented in all the three reports. Both attitudinal and engagement values have been scaled high through graduation values. Of the appraisal resources that have been

realised, disclaim values have been mostly utilised to constrain the dialogic space and shove off any antagonistic voices. The reader has been made to conceptualise the negative evaluation that Biti and the Executive are wrong and MPs have a just cause.

6.6 Graduation and engagement in evaluating Health reports

Graduation in the appraisal system is utilised to scale attitudinal meanings and engagement resources. This scaling is binary, that is, it is either focus ‘prototypicality’ or force ‘preciseness’. Meanings are focused or intensified through the selection of certain grammatical categories. The way the reporter varies these scaling options in the writing of a text truly indicates the positioning or evaluation being given in that text. Focus in this section is to explore the nature of graduation values that are utilised in health reports and the role that these graduation values have in argumentation. The assumption here is that medium to high values are utilised to scale meanings in these reports. The other assumption is that as it is the case with other appraisal resources, graduation values also play a major role in advancing the writer’s position in an argumentative context. Thus, the semantics and dialogistic functionality of these resources will be explored in the analysis of parliamentary news reports.

The texts that are used in this analysis are two reports from *The Standard* newspaper, ‘**Parliament urges ban on barter deals**’ (14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A30) and ‘**Concern over general hands handling cash in Government offices**’ (14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A31). These newspaper reports are based on a report which was tabled in the House of Assemblies by the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts. The analysis is conducted from an appraisal and argumentation theoretical perspective with major focus on the graduation resource.

Graduation: focus is utilised in the two news stories. Instances of **sharpening** are the ones most realized as opposed to softening. Martin and White (2005: 139) assert that when **focus: sharpening** is utilised it ‘often flag a positive attitudinal assessment.’ A number of **sharpening** values in the text positively evaluate the attitudinality of participants and entities.

[6:41] CRITICAL skills, CURRENT situation, HIGHLY COMPETENT skills, MUCH needed revenue, STANDARD system,

However, **sharpening** values are realised flagging a negative attitudinal assessment. The negative evaluation from these values is also subject to the context in which these values have been utilised.

[6:42] UNQUALIFIED personnel, no PROPER trail of documentation, GENERAL hands, GENERAL laxity, SERIOUS drain, RAMPANT corruption, UNNECESSARY expenditure, MAIN culprits

Sharpening values play a major role in an argumentative context. Through positive or negative assessment of participants and entities, the **sharpening** values align or disalign the reader with certain positions. In the process, the writer's position is advanced towards resolving the argument at hand, in this case there are two: whether general hands should continue handling cash in government offices and whether hospitals should continue with their barter deals? In the story on general hands handling cash in government offices, the reporter voice is so explicit in denouncing such activities. The general hands also referred to as staff without requisite skills are negatively evaluated as 'UNQUALIFIED personnel' doing a job that requires 'HIGHLY COMPETENT skills'. By negatively appraising 'general hands' through the sharpening values the reporter obviously advances the newspaper's position and strategically aligns the reader to this position. The cost of going against such an evaluation is very high closing the dialogic space for antagonistic voices.

Apart from graduation according to prototypicality, evidence is given of graduation according to preciseness that is realised in the two texts. This graduation is applied to quantities and in the intensification of qualities and processes. **Quantification** values are very few in the two texts maybe because the texts are more focused on evaluating the quality and process of how business was done at hospitals. **Graduation quantification** values include; SOME government departments, VARIOUS sums of money and MOST health institutions. Generally the values are expansive entertaining other voices in the dialogic space. The position of the reporter is presented as one of the positions which can be dismissed if new information is availed.

Graduation: intensification according to qualities and processes is also realised in the reporter's voice advancing his position and that of the newspaper. These are given below.

[6.43] LARGELY INaccessible, ADEQUATE funding, ACUTE exodus of workers, **MOST** affected, LARGELY UNaccounted for

The values are scaled high to explicitly show the position of the reporter and how the problem can be resolved. The causes of all the problems in the report are graduated accordingly as ‘ACUTE exodus of workers’ and lack of ‘ADEQUATE funding’. The reporter voice then implicitly advances the point that the ‘LARGELY inaccessible’ foreign currency should be accessible, mismanagement should be stopped and proper accounting should be done. In advancing this position the writer also utilises infused intensification. The act of tasking ‘general hands’ to handle cash is negatively evaluated through infusion as ‘COMPROMISING’, the position that is explicitly taken by the reporter in the Intro or lead of the story. The reporter also utilises modality when graduating through infusion, ‘LIKELY’ and ‘SOMETIMES’. Modal values are also expansive presenting the writer’s voice as one of the many voices in this dialogic space. Thus, recognising the nature of the argumentative context and the aspect under discussion, the reporter entertains contra argumentation in an effort to reach a conclusion on the issues being raised by the report presented by the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.

Apart from graduation resources, engagement resources were utilised in the two reports. As the news reports were mainly based on a report that was presented in the House of Assemblies, the reporter voice attributes and endorses the report as well as the committee, the audit and distances itself from the Ministry of Health’s position on barter trade.

[6.44] According to a 2009 report [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] drawn by the public account committee tabled before parliament last month, there was a general laxity in the handling of funds in the ministry, with funds going largely unaccounted for...(Line 11) *However*, [**contract, disclaim: counter**] the Health ministry justified itself by claiming [**expand, attribute: distance**] that...(Line 20) *An audit of funds at government hospitals revealed* [**contract, proclaim: endorse**] rampant corruption...(Line 27) *The report also revealed* [**contract, proclaim: endorse**] that money was going unaccounted for...(Line 29) The committee recommended [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] that...(Line 39) (*The Standard*, 14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A31)

[6.45] *The Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts has declared* [**contract, proclaim: endorse**] that barter trade and non- cash transactions should be banned as a form of payment at government hospitals...(Line 5-6) *The report*

details [**contract, proclaim: endorse**] public accounts for 2009...(Line 21) It is reported [**expand, attribute: acknowledge**] that Shamva and Mvurwi had devised a *standard* [+ **Appreciation**] system of costing food stuffs so that the public could not be short changed (Line 23-24). (*The Standard*, 14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A30).

The **endorsing** and **attribute: acknowledge** resources dialogically demonstrate the reporter's investment in the proposition. Apart from investing in this proposition the reporter is advancing this proposition wanting the problem to be resolved in his favour. The rationale judge is rhetorically aligned to the position being advanced by the reporter. The realisation of other engagement resources in these texts also indicates the position being advanced by the reporter when reporting the presentation by the Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts. Among other values that have been utilised include **disclaim: deny**; *are not* receiving, *could no longer* support, *could not* access foreign currency; **disclaim: counter**, *however, despite* and **entertain** values, should be banned, should be outlawed. The role of these engagement values has been explicated in the previous sections and in Chapter Four.

The appraisal role and argumentative nature of metaphors has also been explicated in the analysis of parliamentary debates and speeches (see section 4.2.3.1). Metaphors have been argued to be able to provide new or simpler (re)conceptualisation of information that is already available. As observed by Santibáñez (2010), conceptual metaphors are based on human experiences. Metaphorical expressions have been utilised to advance the writer's position in these reports as shown in examples [6.46] and [6.47].

[6.46] An acute **exodus of workers** has seen some government departments employ general hands ...the ministry had been given **the green light** to employ general hands... (*The Standard*, 14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A31, Line 7, 20-21)

[6.47] Shamva, Mvurwi and Mutawatawa District Hospitals were **fingered** as being the main culprits... the system of accepting food stuffs had been **inherited** from mission hospitals at the end of 2008... (*The Standard*, 14- 20 November 2010, Appendix A30, Line 13, 15-17)

The religious metaphor on the exodus of workers has been strategically employed to show the demand for skilled workers in government hospitals and the one on green light also positively

evaluates the ministry's decision. On the other hand the way Shamva, Mvurwi and Mutawatawa District Hospitals were selected is negatively appraised. The newspaper advances the position that no method or proper assessment was conducted, hence the three hospitals are the 'main culprits'. However, the problem at hand is also dialogically presented as an 'inheritance' problem. This evaluation immunises the perpetrators as not responsible but only being at the receiving end. The reader is made to conceptualise the information and conclude that the three 'fingered' hospitals are not 'culprits' let alone 'main culprits' as they 'inherited' the system from mission hospitals.

6.7 Summary

From the analysis of newspaper articles reporting on parliamentary debates and speeches important insights emerged on language use, appraisal and argumentation theories. The analysis in this chapter has illustrated that reporters utilise parentheticals as a manoeuvring strategy when reporting parliamentary debates and speeches. Within the appraisal framework, parentheticals have been argued to **proclaim: pronounce** the reporter's argument. The reader is invited to refocus and align with this position disaligning with other voices in the communicative context. The role of reporting verbs in appraisal and argumentation is also another aspect that has been discussed. In the analysis of the Shona newspaper the researcher observed that the variation at which the reporting verbs were selected is not random, but is based on certain appraisal and argumentative positions being advanced. Thus, the researcher argued that these values are gradable, that is, they can be put on a scale showing the investment of the writer in such a proposition. On one end values occur that are high (**attribute: acknowledge**) (*vanoti*; he is saying) and at the other end low values occur which are **attribute: distance** (*vakazivisa*; he informed). The other values are found in between the two poles. Though the distinction of the values is not that clear cut, the analysis has shown that the writer investment is different.

Media- discourse has been argued to have different types of Media genres (Iedema et al, 1994). In the categorisation of these genres, parliamentary news reports have been placed under hard news genre. However, the analysis of news articles on parliamentary debates and speeches has illustrated that a blend of genres occur in the reporting of parliamentary debates and speeches. Apart from incorporating some aspects from parliamentary or political discourse, a blend of hard news and commentary genres occurs. In reporting the debates and speeches, the reporter voice inter subjectively aligns or alienates the reader advancing a certain proposition. Different voices are realised coming in to authenticate and validate this

position. The external voice is sourced through what the writers want to call ‘analysts’. These analysts share the same ideological alignment with the newspaper and will give an evaluation following the paper’s ‘audience design’ (Archakis and Tsakona, 2010). The reporter strategically selects direct quotations from the external voice to present their position as natural and authentic. Contrary voices are countered and denied the space in the communicative context. Thus, the role of disclaim values in argumentation is very crucial. If the other voices are entertained through expand values, they are instantly discredited and discarded through disclaim values of counter and deny. A clear pattern has been observed in relation to how the appraisal resources function within argumentative contexts. This pattern is of the nature: Statement (claim/monogloss) + Counter + Entertain + Counter + Deny. Though the values are not rigid or fixed as the pattern may suggest, what has argued is that contract values are utilised at the end in most cases.

The relation between appraisal and controversial debates and speeches observed in chapter four is also reflected in newspaper articles. In reporting controversial debates and speeches, the reporter selects certain appraisal values that acknowledge other antagonistic voices in this context. Thus, more expand values are realised in reporting controversial debates and speeches. However, this is based on the nature of controversies. As Dascal (2008) has observed, participants in a controversial debate will keep on advancing their standpoints hoping that the problem will be resolved. In this case other voices have to be entertained. However, few instances of contract values are realised to advance the writer’s position. Apart from the contract and expand values, other forms of strategic manoeuvring are also utilised in this context. Some of the forms of strategic manoeuvring that have been discussed relate to appeal to emotions, strategic manoeuvring through citing cause and effect of something and inconsistency in argumentation. The following chapter concludes the present study giving the summary of the study, conclusions and future directions for further research.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The theoretical constructs of appraisal and argumentation have been utilised to examine the discourse- analytic ways in which language is utilised in the Zimbabwean parliament and Zimbabwean newspaper articles. The study set to explore how the appraisal and argumentation principles are realised in the Zimbabwean parliamentary debates and speeches and in its representation in newspaper articles. Some intriguing insights on both parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper discourse and on the appraisal and argumentation theories have been presented in this study. This chapter gives the summary and conclusions of this multi- theoretical research on parliamentary discourse. In addition to giving the summary and conclusions of the dissertation, future directions in research in this area are given in section 7.4.

7.2 Summary of the study

This section gives a summary of the dissertation presenting major aspects that have been raised in different chapters. The review of literature in chapter two, section 2.2 has situated parliamentary discourse within discourse analysis and political discourse. In section 2.3, parliamentary discourse has been argued to be a subgenre of political discourse with recognisable patterns and norms of organisation and structure. As a subgenre of political discourse, parliamentary discourse has been argued to have its own sub-genres which include debates, speeches and question time. However, it has been argued that parliaments differ on a number of dimensions which include political culture, history, interactional knowledge, identity, power and dominance. These factors have been argued to impact on the discourse of parliamentarians. Section 2.3 has also illustrated that parliamentary discourse as institutionalised discourse is a regulated talk. As a regulated talk, parliamentarians are bound by a code of conduct which stipulates the behaviour and the way language is supposed to be used in parliament. Pursuing the argument that parliamentary discourse is a sub-genre, section 2.3.3 enlists quite a number of characteristics of parliamentary discourse as a spoken genre. These include turn- taking, interjections, use of address forms, politeness norms- desist from using unparliamentary language, reference to family, metaphor or figure of speech and phraseological units.

The review of parliamentary discourse as a written genre in section 2.4 has shown that the media plays a major role in shaping our worldview. In reporting news in general or parliamentary debates and speeches, journalists do not report everything, rather they select ‘tellable’ topics (Bell 1991), they either directly quote or paraphrase the sources’ voices ideologically aligning readers. The evaluation process confirms the argument that media reports are not value-free representation of reality and are potential sources of misrepresentation and misunderstandings (Johnson and Ensslin 2007). Apart from that, journalists have been argued to employ other forms of political discourse crossing in their ‘digestion’ of news (Archakis and Tsakona 2010) such as the use of humour, emotive rhetoric, rhetorical or expository questions and metaphor. These forms characterise parliamentary discourse as a written genre. However, section 2.4.1.1 has argued that journalists do not thrive for objectivity and objectivity is a goal which is difficult to realise. Section 2.4.2 concludes the review of literature on the way that news is reported focusing on the notion of intertextuality in the news. The perspective of intertextuality as understood within the appraisal framework is the one that had been argued for in this study. Lastly, section 2.5 in chapter two argues that among other numerous approaches to the study of political discourse, the appraisal theoretical framework is the apt mechanism for this study.

The explication of the mechanics of appraisal theory and argumentation theory in chapter three has shown that the two theories constitute particularly insightful frameworks for the analysis of parliamentary discourse and its representation in newspaper articles. Section 3.2 has been devoted to situating appraisal theory within systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Appraisal theory has been argued to have emerged from SFL as a development of the interpersonal metafunction. The development also sees the theory being subdivided into three sub-systems of attitude, engagement and graduation. It has been argued that these sub-systems are not be treated as independent entities as they are interrelated. However, they are also further sub-divided. Attitude is sub-divided into affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect has been argued to be at the centre of the three, though the classification of affectual categories has been argued to be still hazy. Martin and White (2005) also observed that the distinction between judgement and appreciation is also not clear-cut and appealed for further research on these attitudinal values.

In section 3.3.2 the engagement resource is argued to have been informed by Vološinov and Bakhtin’s notions of heteroglossia and dialogism. Focus in engagement is on heteroglossic utterances than monoglossic ones. Heteroglossic utterances have been argued to either expand

or contract the dialogic space bringing in another dimension in the interpretation and understanding of language use in context. Contract values have been argued to act to constrain the dialogic space while expand values welcome other voices in the communicative context. Section 3.3.3 illustrates how graduation values are utilised to scale both attitudinal and engagement resources. Graduation has been observed to be done in two broad ways of either focus or force.

The pragma- dialectical analysis of argumentative discourse has been shown in section 3.4.1 to be guided by four meta- theoretical principles: externalisation, socialisation, functionalisation and dialectification. In section 3.4.2 the review of the theory's notion of a critical discussion model contends that parties involved in a debate to resolve a difference of opinion follow four stages of confrontation, opening, discussion and concluding. Parties in the debate are guided by discussion rules. In order to identify the discussion moves and arguments that have been advanced, a reconstruction of the discourse is carried out through an analytical review (see section 3.4.3). In section 3.4.4 focus has been on the discussion of the development of the pragma- dialectical theory in relation to two core notions, dialectic and rhetoric. The antagonism of the two notions is traced back to antiquity. It has been argued that the problem in integrating dialectic and rhetoric has been on the different understanding and interpretation of the notions and also the varied perspectives in terms of how they should be studied. However, it is suggested that the separation of the two notions has been counter-productive in the analysis of argumentative discourse (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2009). Thus, section 3.4.5 gives the reasons behind the introduction of the notion of strategic manoeuvring in the pragma- dialectic theory. Strategic manoeuvring has been argued to be an extension of the pragma- dialectic theory integrating dialectic and rhetoric in the analysis of argumentative discourse. However, it has been argued that there is no really agreement amongst argumentation scholars in as far as how the two notions should be integrated. Of the various approaches, Krabbe's (2002) 'full integration' approach has been argued for in this study. In section 3.6 controversy has been defined and argued to be a type of debate where participants advance their arguments in the hope that they will 'tilt the balance of reason' (Dascal 2008) and have the problem resolved. However, it has also been evidenced that controversies vary depending on the nature of the difference of opinion.

The analysis of parliamentary debates and speeches in chapter four has revealed a number of aspects about parliamentary discourse in general and Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse in particular. The analysis of political and gender based violence debates in section 4.2 has

shown that debates vary. Consensus debates are constituted by minor differences of opinion and divergent debates have mixed differences of opinion as shown by examples 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8. However, the difference of opinion in the parliamentary context only manifests when the participant is given the opportunity to contribute by the Speaker of Parliament. The debate on the ratification of the SADC protocol on gender has been classified as a consensus debate and the debate on violence after the 29th March 2008 election has been categorised as a divergent debate. At the confrontation stage of the consensus debate the difference of opinion is expressed as minor reservations yet in a divergent debate it is expressed through dialogical contract values of **pronounce** and **deny** and an expand value to entertain other voices. The opening stage has been shown to be implicit in all cases. Fallacious moves have been explored in the analysis of the consensus debate in section 4.2.1. These include an appeal to numbers, authority, *ad misericordian*, poisoning the well and a fallacy of false cause. Attitudinal resources have been realised positively evaluating the protocol, Southern African Development Committee (SADC) heads of state and implicitly any voices in line with the ratification of the protocol. **Concur** also values manifests in the debates to naturalise the protocol. Entertain values have been realised to welcome other voices in the dialogic space. However, using Shona language, the participants utilised the prefixes *Ti-* (we) to inclusively align everyone and *ha-* (negation prefix) to shove off any antagonistic voice in the dialogic space. In the sub-section 4.2.3.1 various strategic manoeuvring acts have been examined in the divergent debate. The moves are accusing someone of employing a wrong or unwanted premise, reference to authority, dissociation and association moves, metaphors, pronouns and consistent use of negation discourse.

The analysis of the debate on condemnation of corrupt practices in section 4.3 has also been classified as a consensus debate with all members of parliament united condemning the act. The mover of the motion, through high graduation values as shown in example 4.23, aligned parliamentarians with the motion raising the cost of going against such a motion. The background information is given as a premise for coming up with such a motion. Table 4.1 shows negative appreciation values that have been utilised to discredit corrupt practices. The appreciation values are implicitly tokens of negative judgement of beings. Some of these appreciation values are metaphoric. Argumentative forms *if* and *so* have also been dialogically utilised to contract the argumentative space. Example 4.27 and 4.28 show other contract values that have been used. High graduation values have also been realised to scale attitudinal and engagement values. Through behavioural surge, the whole act or practice is negatively evaluated as '**saddening**' as shown in example 4.30.

Dichotomisation in parliamentary debates has also been discussed in the analysis of the debate on conferment of hero status in section 4.4. Table 4.2 and 4.3 illustrate negative and positive evaluation of Kombayi (MDC- T)'s social esteem and social sanction. Table 4.4 and 4.5 shows the evaluation of Masawi (ZANU- PF) on the basis of his social esteem and social sanction. No evaluation on **judgement: veracity** has been realised in the evaluation of both Kombayi and Masawi. Political parties are divided either positively appraising their member or negatively evaluating the other member from another political party. Culture has been argued to be a hindrance in resolving the difference of opinion. However, it has been discussed that Shona proverbs and language have been utilised to argue from this cultural perspective. As a dichotomised debate, parallelism or contrast has been utilised to advance certain arguments positively or negatively evaluating the other. This parallelism has been done strategically by making reference to other deserving persons who could have been accorded the hero status implicitly positively judging the other. The role of interjections, in such a divergent debate, has also been explored as exemplified in 4.36, 4.37 and 4.38. These interjections are also mainly in the African languages, Shona or Ndebele. Interjections have been argued to be evidence of code switching in parliamentary debates, a switch from Zim-English to other African language.

The analysis of the Finance Bill: Budget debate, in section 4.5, has argued that the mover of the motion is not necessarily the protagonist. A particular pattern has been observed when one is advancing the difference of opinion in a divergent debate. Example 4.39 shows the pattern of appraisal values; **counter** + **deny** + **deny** + **entertain**. The position of the antagonist is defined by contract values and the entertain values are utilised to welcome other voices in the dialogic space as this is only the confrontation stage. The committee's disagreement point is presented as 'feelings' expanding the argumentative space. As example 4.41 shows, these feelings are bolstered by contract values, **counter** and **deny**. As observed in the other debates, the opening stage is implicit. The argumentation stage revealed some of the argumentative moves that have been identified in the other debates. Examples 4.44 and 4.45 show that the rhetorical question can be analysed as contract: concur. Pronouncement values in examples 4.46 and 4.48 illustrate parliamentarians asserting warrantability of the bill. A community of shared values is implied through the use of **concur** and **endorse** values as shown in examples 4.49 and 4.50. Example 4.53 shows that the difference of opinion can be erased or minimised as participants conclude their debate. The engagement value **proclaim: concur** manifests in the Minister of Finance's contribution when he was concluding the debate.

A four-tier analysis in chapter five of newspaper reports focusing on how attitudinal resources and argumentation resources are utilised has presented a number of aspects about newspaper discourse. Headlines in the newspapers have been shown to be crafted echoing certain ways of communicating political parties' ideological perspectives as a technique of intertextual representation. A good example are *The Herald* and *Kwayedza* headlines on sanctions in section 5.2.1 and *Newsday* and *The Standard's* headlines condemning corrupt practices in section 5.2.3. The headlines are attitudinally marked either explicitly or implicitly aligning readers with a particular perspective. The analysis has also shown that of the four newspapers it is in the *Kwayedza*, the Shona paper, where culture is utilised as a way of strategically manoeuvring advancing the newspaper and the political party's position. In section 5.2.1 Shona cultural practices like *kutanda botso* have been utilised evaluatively to call for the Prime Minister to satisfy certain constitutive conditions required by the Shona community. Newspapers have also been argued to represent debates differently though building on the same story. The analysis of the reports on the debate on Condolences on the death of Ephraim Sango Masawi in section 5.2.2 show two different positions that have been advanced in *The Herald* and *Newsday* though reporting on the same debate. The hackling and antagonism that had occurred in the parliament is represented as a 'tribute' in *The Herald* and metaphorically as a 'ghost' in *Newsday*. *The Herald*, through the use direct quotations and scare quotes of statements from ZANU- PF parliamentarians, positively appraises Masawi and ZANU- PF legislators. On the other hand *Newsday* advances the position of the MDC, negatively judging Masawi as undeserving and negatively appreciating the whole process of according one the hero status.

Partisan reporting is also observed in *The Herald* reports when ZANU- PF walked out of parliament in section 5.2.5. Example 5.9 shows that in the first report it is the MDC legislators' (**-ve appreciated**) activities and the role of the Speaker of Parliament (MDC) which are attributed to the disruption of business. In example 5.11 again the MDC and the incapacity and lack of tenacity of the Deputy Speaker (MDC) is attributed to the disruption. ZANU- PF legislators are positively judged and appreciated for taking such an action yet in *Newsday* report ZANU- PF negatively judged (**-ve tenacity**) for failing to be bear with the evidence that was being given by MDC. The same evaluation has been observed in the report on the disruption of business in Senate by *Kwayedza* and *Newsday* in section 5.2.4. MDC Senators are negatively judged as 'crooks' (**-ve propriety**) and their actions negatively appreciated as unwarranted in *Kwayedza*. In the same example, 5.7, President of Senate

(ZANU- PF) is implicitly judged (+ve **propriety**). However, reporting on the same story, *Newsday* positively appraised MDC (+ve **tenacity**), the action is positively appreciated, ZANU- PF governors judged negatively (-ve **propriety**) and President of Senate (ZANU- PF) is also negatively judged (-ve **tenacity and –ve capacity**). The problem is evaluated as controversial in the *Newsday*.

In the reports of ‘controversial’ debates, the argumentation stages of a critical discussion model have been explored. The analysis of the reports, in section 5.2.6, shows that the confrontation stage is presented in the lead or intro of the story. The disagreement(s) points are identified. The opening stage, though it is sometimes implicit and interwoven with the argumentation stage, it is given as facts of the matter at hand. At the argumentation stage, the appraisal of the participants’ views either negatively or positively is done through the journalistic commentary voice or through authorially sourced voices. In example 5.14 Chinamasa’s (ZANU- PF- the protagonist) position is represented as a claim in *Newsday* with the journalist distancing but those of Mawere (Business man- the antagonist) are represented through direct quotations and **attribute: acknowledge** values with the journalistic voice heavily invested in the proposal. Presenting the story as a clash between Chinamasa and parliament, *The Herald*, in section 5.2.6.2, shows an exchange of roles, Chinamasa taking the antagonist role and parliament the protagonist role. Deputy Speaker (MDC) is negatively appraised (-ve **capacity**) for failing to stop Chinamasa. However, the voice of the Clerk of Parliament (ZANU- PF) which is introduced mostly through commentary voice by the journalist is evaluated as more resolute (+ve **tenacity**) than that of Chinamasa. Example 5.17 shows Chinamasa calling for the observance of the freedom rule and socialisation in argumentation for the matter to be able to be resolved. Affectual values are utilised to express Chinamasa’s **displeasure** and **dissatisfaction** with the whole process. The concluding stage is marked by the Clerk of Parliament just noting that it was a ‘mere’ misunderstanding. At this stage the paper’s audience is reminded of the real enemy by bringing in the disruption of business in Senate to only castigate the MDC Senators.

The analysis of how the engagement and argument resources are realised in the representation of parliamentary debates in chapter six have shown different levels and techniques of intertextuality in news reporting. A quasi- consistent way of using engagement resources has been observed in the reports. Positively appreciating the Global Political Agreement (GPA), *Kwayedza* utilises deny values to shove off contra voices, but the future of the Zimbabwean economy and relations (foreign policy) is appraised through expand values in section 6.4.

Example 6.38 in the *Newsday* report shows a particular pattern of **Statement + Counter + Entertain + Counter + Deny**. The context, of the Government of National Unity (GNU), has been argued to be the premise for explicit positive evaluation of all political parties as shown by the analysis of the President and the Prime Minister' speeches in section 6.2. However, **expand: entertain** values are realised in *The Herald* reporting implicitly negatively evaluating the Prime Minister as shown in example 6.6. Variation in the use of reported discourse and the writer's investment in the proposition has been observed in the Shona newspaper, *Kwayedza*. Examples 6.4 and 6.8 show variation in the use of reporting verbs, *vakati* 'he said', *vanoti* 'he is saying', *vakadaro* 'he said that', *vakazivisa* 'he informed' and *sekutaura* 'as he said', attributing the proposition to the speaker. The variation has been argued to be scaled along a cline of relation from **attribute: acknowledge** to **attribute: distance** as shown in Figure 6.1 which is reproduced here as Figure 7.1

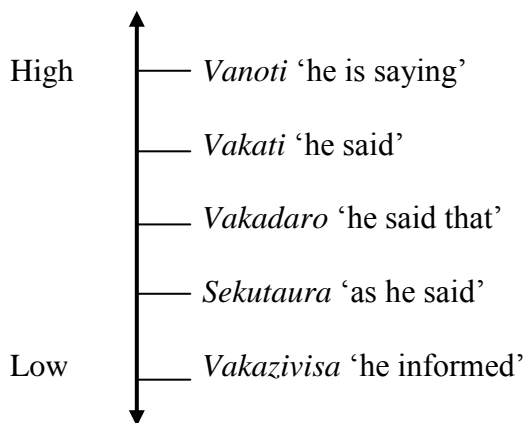


Figure 7.1 Cline of relation

The analysis of the reports on the mining and sale of Chiadzwa diamonds in section 6.3, show how external voices are sourced to authenticate, naturalise and advance certain arguments. *Newsday*, through external voices, negatively evaluates the act of barring the mines committee to go and tour Chiadzwa. Advancing the same argument, *The Standard* alludes to illicit dealings at Chiadzwa and explicitly negatively appraises Mines Minister, Mpofu, as shown in example 6.12. However, example 6.8 shows the 'textual weather' in *Kwayedza* representing the matter as resolved or left with minor disagreements. Examples 6.10 and 6.40 show the role of expository questions and rhetorical or pseudo questions in the intertextual representation of news in the print media. In the same way, example 6.11 shows how parentheticals have been argumentatively utilised in the *Kwayedza* reporting as compared to the English newspapers. Amongst other forms of strategic manoeuvring that have been

discussed, there is the use of metaphors ‘golden handshake’ and appeal to emotions as in example 6.39, which are mediated in the journalists’ reports.

The reporting of news in the private and government newspapers is not always dichotomised. An analysis of *The Herald* and *Newsday* reports in section 6.5.1.1 and 6.5.1.2 has shown the papers agreeing on the basic facts and figures as well as the general evaluation. Affectual values are realised in the two newspapers expressing the MPs’ **(-ve) dissatisfaction, (-ve) happiness and (-ve) surprise** about the Finance Minister’s (MDC) budget as shown in example 6.32. Both papers conclude aligning readers to the MPs’ position. In the last section, 6.6, the semantics and dialogistic functionality of graduation resources has been explored. Both categories of graduation: **force** and **focus** are realised in the health reports. However, the **sharpening** value has been argued to be mostly utilised to flag negative attitudinal assessments as indicated in example 6.42. It has also been argued that apart from graduation values, **proclaim: endorse** and **attribute: acknowledge** values are also extensively utilised in these health reports.

7.3 Conclusions of the study

The attitudinal values of affect, judgement and appreciation vary in density, nature and the way they manifest depending on the debate, speech or newspaper article. The analysis of the debate on Ratification of the SADC protocol on Gender and Development in section 4.2 has shown appreciation values manifesting more than other attitudinal values. However, in some instances these appreciation values manifest as tokens of judgement with participants discrediting or commending the other. Judgement values have been shown to manifest more in the debate on Violence after the 29th March 2008 election in section 4.2 and the debates on conferment of hero status in section 4.5. Affectual values are either realised implicitly through the judgemental and appreciation values or explicitly when the affect values are inscribed in the text. Affectual values, manifesting mostly as a surge of behaviour, have been argued to be realised more in divergent debates than in consensus debates, examples are the debate on Violence after the 29th March election and the conferment of hero status. Newspaper reports on these debates have been consistent with the way attitudinal resources have been realised in the parliament. *The Herald* and *Newsday* reports on Condolences on the death of Ephraim Sango Masawi in section 5.2.2 show judgement values being utilised more than appreciation. The variation is mainly as a result of the theme or item under discussion. If the object being evaluated is human (+ human) judgement values are realised more than appreciation, but if it is an artefact (- human) appreciation values are realised more than judgement values. The

debate on the Condemnation of corrupt practices in section 4.4 have shown appreciation values manifesting more than judgement values as the motion called for evaluation of corruption as a practice. However, in the extra- parliamentary reports on this debate in section 5.2.3, judgement values are realised more as evaluation was now focused on the minister (+ human). Thus, the present study concludes that affect is the primary attitudinal resource. As a primary resource, affect subsumes judgement and appreciation as no judgement or appreciation is evident without emotion. As observed in section 3.3.1.4, 4.2.2 and 5.2.2, negative appreciation implies negative judgement and positive appreciation also implies positive judgement. Considering this analysis, the present study concludes that judgement subsumes appreciation. This conclusion is a revision of the relationship between appraisal resources. A revised relationship amongst these values is diagrammatically captured as in Figure 7.2 below



Figure 7.2 The interconnectedness of attitudinal resources

The study also concludes that parliamentary debates are in most cases dichotomised either across party lines or committee basis even when all the political parties are part of the same government- under a government of national unity (GNU). Participants in these debates

employed judgement values to either positively or negatively judge the other. In divergence and controversial debates this dichotomisation is explicit from the way judgement values and other appraisal resources are utilised. Section 4.4.1 shows how parliamentarians have been divided in the debate on Conferment of hero status. The same dichotomisation which led to ZANU- PF walking out of parliament on the first day the motion was proposed in the House is observed in the debate on Violence after the 29th March 2008 election in section 4.2.3. This dichotomisation is carried over in the representation of the debates in newspaper articles. Newspapers inclined towards a particular political party advance the evaluation of that party. The writer dialogically invites the reader to join in the positive or negative appraisal of the ideas, participants or contributions that have been made by a parliamentarian from the other political party as shown in section 5.4 and example 5.3 (a) & (b).

The study also concludes that variation in the use of explicit and implicit evaluation in both parliamentary discourse and in its representation in newspaper articles is evident. Explicit evaluation is the one which is utilised more than implicit evaluation. Explicit evaluation is realised more in divergent debates as shown in section 4.4.1 and implicit evaluation cases have been observed in section 4.2.1 and in the analysis of the President's speech officially opening the parliament in section 4.6. The analysis of the newspaper reports on Presidential speech officially opening parliament in section 6.2 shows the MDC and other western countries being implicitly evaluated. The use of expand values in the report of the Prime Minister speech by *The Herald* also shows implicit evaluation of the Prime Minister's capacity to lead. However, the context of government, government of national unity (GNU), has been argued to have impacted on the polarisation of some debates and the newspaper reports. Thus, instead of explicit evaluation, parliamentarians and news reporters resorted to implicit evaluation- though these cases were difficult to characterise considering that no lexical item is evaluation free.

The study has identified some areas for refinement in the understanding of the engagement resource. The first aspect to highlight under engagement is the way modal values were utilised and can be understood within appraisal. Even though Martin and White (2005) classified the modals *must* and should as expand values, findings in this research and other researches show that the two cannot be treated as such. Biber (2006) found that should is on equal par with *must* in written university language but is generally used as a suggestion than as an indication of obligation yet if *must* is used to indicate personal obligation "leaves no room for negotiation" (p. 102). On the same point, Gales (2010: 162) found out that "where

one would intuitively expect more commands than suggestions, should occurs at twice the rate of *must* because should is interpersonally polite as opposed to *must* which is more forceful. The way the two modals manifest in this research shows that they cannot be bundled in the same category of **expand: entertain**. As argued in section 4.2.2 *must* carries a more obligatory and forceful command dialogically closing the argumentative space=contracting than expanding, and should dialogically entertains the other voices in the context=expanding than contracting. Thus, the research concludes that these modal values are gradable according to how they dialogically contract or expand the argumentative space. Secondly, the research argues that distinct ways in which contract and expand values are utilised in an argumentative communicative context are evident. In the analysis of divergent and controversial debates in section 4.6 and in their representation in section 5.2.6, expand values are only utilised to entertain the views of the other participant in the dialogic space for the contributions and ideas to be denigrated and shoved off by contract values. Thus, the study argues that consistence in the way these resources are utilised when participants are advancing arguments to resolve a difference of opinion can be observed.

Thirdly, the way the expand value of **attribute: acknowledge** is employed in newspaper reporting in general and the Shona language in particular also needs some refinement. The analysis by Martin and White (2005) and other appraisal works is that reference to an authority's ideas using the verb 'say, said' or 'Martin argues that...' indicates the writer/speaker **attributing: acknowledging**. This research argues that variation in the way in which the reporting verbs are utilised in the Shona language is evident. An analysis of *Kwayedza* stories in section 6.2 and 6.3 illustrates how variation in the way the authorial voice is invested in these reporting verbs. The levels of investment have been put on a scale between the two poles of **acknowledging** and **distancing**, though sometimes it appears as if the writer/speaker is **endorsing**. Thus, the study concludes that these attributive values are not binary, but are scalable as shown in Figure 6.1 and 7.1.

The study also concludes that graduation values are intensively utilised in both parliamentary discourse and newspaper discourse. An analysis of parliamentary discourse in chapter four, section 4.6.1, and newspaper discourse in chapter six, section 6.6, shows that the values have been used to vary the speaker's investment in an evaluation. As opposed to Martin and White's (2005) assertion that **focus: sharpening** 'often flag a positive attitudinal assessment', examples 6.41 and 6.42 show that it has to do with what is being assessed and the context among other variables. Apart from that, variation in the way graduation forms are utilised in

general is evident. The study have shown that in highly divergent debates graduation values utilised range from middle to high on the cline of intensification yet in consensus debates the values are found in- between the poles ranging from low to high as shown in Figure 4.1. Thus, the study argues that graduation values, apart from showing the writer/ speaker's investment in a proposition, they also act to either expand or contract the dialogic space. They are utilised accordingly to scale attitudinal and engagement values raising the cost of going against an argument that has been advanced.

The study concludes that complementation between the appraisal frame work and the notion of strategic manoeuvring in the analysis of parliamentary discourse is evident. In section 4.2.3.1 the appraisal and evaluation values have been argued to be presentational devices utilised in order to strategically manoeuvre in argumentation. In this section, negation which is a linguistic resource that has been utilised in the critical assessment of institutions and actions or performances of government officials (Ilie 2010d), is argued to be prevalent in the language of parliamentarians denigrating and commending the other. Attitudinal values of affect, judgement and appreciation, have been strategically utilised to either positively or negatively appraise the other. An analysis of this divergent debate in section 4.2.3 shows that parliamentarians in an effort to strategically manoeuvre and sway the debate to their favour they sometimes breakdown crying, [attitudinal: affect], in order to arouse emotions in the opponent and have the debate concluded in their favour. The MDC- T MP, Editor Matamisa, was in tears contributing to the motion on Violence after the 29th March 2008 Election.

The critical discussion model with its four stages, (the confrontation, opening, argumentation and concluding stages), manifests in the Zimbabwean parliamentary discourse. An analysis of debates in section 4.2.1 and 4.5.1 shows that in the confrontation stage, where the antagonist has to show some disagreement for there to be a debate, contract values and in particular **disclaim: deny** values are utilised to indicate disagreement. If expand values are utilised there are followed by **disclaim: counter** values. However, in consensus debates as in section 4.2.1, where there are minimum disagreements, **proclaim: concur** values followed by **disclaim: counter** values are employed. An analysis of the Finance Bill: Budget debate in section 4.5 shows that the confrontation stage is marked by the use of **proclaim: concur** followed by **disclaim: deny** engagement values expressing the first disagreement point as shown in example 4.39. As have been pointed out in literature (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2002, van Eemeren and Grootendorst 2004, van Eemeren 2010) the opening stage has been found to be very implied. The roles of participants and knowledge of the code of conduct including the

knowledge and ability to use proper argumentative discourse among other issues are implied. The nature of the appraisal and evaluation theoretical principles are manifested in the argumentative stage in most cases closely aligns with the way the disagreement has been introduced in the confrontation stage. The appraisal values that are utilised normally belong to the same 'family' with the resource that has been used to introduce the proposition or disagreement point, that is, a family of contract values, family of expand values, family of positive or negative evaluation values. Section 4.3.1 and 4.51 shows that the protagonist who can be the mover of the motion or the respondent to the proposition being debated, usually conclude the debate. In the context of the parliament so many disagreement points and arguments would have been raised by different contributors. In example 4.53 the protagonist through **proclaim: concur** values responds to particular contributors' arguments. However, through **proclaim: endorse**, the protagonist shove off the others' contributions that he does not agree with and endorses his own perspective, concluding the debate in his favour.

The study also concludes affirming the position that speakers/ writers construct communities of shared values through various forms of strategic manoeuvring and intertextualities in discourse. In an effort to balance reason and persuasion, speakers/ writers define themselves and those that they want to be associated or disaligned from. In section 4.2.3.1 and 4.4.1 notable forms of strategic manoeuvring that have been identified include dissociation/ association, use of pronouns, parallelism, metaphors, rhetorical/ expository questions, accusing someone of an inconsistency or employing the wrong or unwarranted premises. In example 4.11 and 4.12 association and dissociation strategies have been utilised in the parliament to align parliamentarians with the idea of setting up a select committee to facilitate a 'free' and 'safe' election. **Disclaim: deny** engagement values together with high graduation values have been utilised to naturalise this community in which the speakers (MDC MPs) where identifying themselves with. Pronouns (we, our, I, them, their) have been discussed in literature to be good in identity construction (personal, group et cetera) (van de Mierop 2008, 2006). In example 4.16 the political pronoun 'we' is used repeatedly to refer to a political party- group identity (MDC or ZANU PF) and the Zimbabwean community- national identity. However, example 4.17 shows that pronouns can be divisive and an obstruction to the resolution of a problem especially if their effect is noticed. Metaphors, which had been argued to be a regular feature of political debates (Plug and Snoeck Henkemans 2008), dialogically create communities of shared values and identities of speakers/ writers. An analysis of *Newsday* and *Kwayedza* reports in section 5.1.1 shows that the use of a metaphor is not only a strategy in parliamentary discourse but also in newspaper reporting stories. Apart for that, in

section 5.2.1 *Kwayedza* newspaper has also been argued to make reference to culture as a strategic move to negatively critic the Prime Minister, Morgan Tsvangirai.

The study also concludes confirming Tsakona and Archakis's (2009) finding that journalists employ direct quotations and interviews from external sources (political analysts, publics) to create dialogical networks. An analysis of *The Herald* reports in section 5.2.5 shows how contributions from parliamentarians, one after the other with the writer voice heavily invested, are either included in the reports as direct quotations or are paraphrased= 'digested' according to the newspaper's digestive system. Contributions from ZANU- PF parliamentarians, members of a political party that shares the same ideological perspective with the newspaper, are reported by the journalist as direct quotations and are endorsed as final. Contributions from the MDC, a political party that do not share the same ideological perspective or do not support the paper's stance, are introduced through expand values only to be dismissed and silenced by a firm voice of a political analyst or the other contribution believed to be advancing the same proposition with that of the writer. The same digestion is observed in section 6.5.1.2 when the public's voices were silenced in the *Newsday* and *The Herald*. The concluding paragraph or stage in the newspapers' articles has been observed to be the one that defines the real position of the newspaper. Engagement: contract values are utilised to align the reader with the newspaper's perspective. However, an analysis of the reports on controversial debates in section 5.2.6 shows that in concluding controversial debates or stories expand values are utilised to welcome more arguments in the argumentative space, though an analysis of *Kwayedza's* report in section 5.2.4 on the disruption of Senate shows that the journalist represented the position of the Senate President as final denying contra-argumentation. Thus, the study concludes that through varied forms of strategic manoeuvring and intertextual representation, journalists acknowledge other voices in the communicative context aligning or disaligning with them advancing certain argumentative positions.

The study also concludes identifying a number of lexico- grammatical choices that inform appraisal analysis in Shona. The meanings that are given are derived from the contexts these lexico- grammatical items have been used in the texts that have been analysed. These forms are given in the tables below.

Attitudinal Token	Attitudinal Resource	Positive/ Negative
<i>Kekutanga pachena</i> ‘openly for the first time’	Judgement: tenacity	Negative
<i>Gombedzero</i> ‘doing after compulsion’	Judgement: tenacity	Negative
<i>Pombi yadonha</i> ‘off no value’	Judgement: capacity	Negative
<i>Nhubu</i> ‘crooks’	Judgement: propriety	Negative
<i>Tabve Mvuma</i> ‘unworthy’	Judgement: capacity	Negative
<i>Chakanaka</i> ‘good’	Appreciation: impact	Positive
<i>Kunze kwemutemo</i> ‘unlawful’	Appreciation: composition	Negative
<i>Hwakashorwa</i> ‘denigrated’	Appreciation: impact	Negative
<i>Zvine musiyano</i> ‘with a difference’	Appreciation: impact	Positive
<i>Zvaiifadza</i> ‘commendable’	Appreciation: impact	Positive

Table 7.1 Shona attitudinal tokens

The attitudinal tokens in Table 7.1 show explicit values of judgement and appreciation that have been utilised in the *Kwayedza* reports. However, it should be stated that affectual values are implicitly realised as tokens of judgement and appreciation in the reporting of news in the *Kwayedza* for example, *zvaiifadza* ‘commendable’ can be analysed as [+affect: behavioural surge].

Engagement Marker	Contract/ Expand	Engagement Resource
<i>Tinoti</i> ‘we say’	Contract	Proclaim: pronounce
<i>Haarobwi</i> ‘must not be beaten’	Contract	Disclaim: deny
<i>Saka pane chaakaita here?</i> ‘So is there anything that he did?’	Contract	Proclaim: concur
<i>Saka</i> ‘so’	Contract	Disclaim: counter
<i>Kwete</i> ‘no’	Contract	Disclaim: deny
<i>Ndizvo</i> ‘it is’	Contract	Proclaim: pronounce
<i>Zvinoratidza</i> ‘it shows’	Contract	Proclaim: endorse
<i>Chero zvazvo</i> ‘even though’	Contract	Disclaim: counter
<i>Sezvabvumiranwa</i> ‘as it was agreed’	Contract	Proclaim: concur
<i>Gore rino</i> ‘this year’	Contract	Proclaim: pronounce
<i>Ngaitengeswe</i> ‘it must be sold’	Contract	Proclaim: pronounce
<i>Anokwanisa</i> ‘he might be able’	expand	entertain
<i>Pari zvino</i> ‘at the moment’	expand	entertain
<i>Kutarisira</i> ‘looking towards something to happen/ arrive’	expand	entertain
<i>Yaikwanisa</i> ‘could be able’	expand	entertain
<i>Enyu mashoko</i> ‘your words’	expand	attribute: distance
<i>Rinonzi</i> ⁴⁷ ‘it is claimed/ said’	expand	attribute: distance
<i>Vakati</i> ‘he said’	expand	attribute: acknowledge
<i>Vanoti</i> ‘he is saying’	expand	attribute: acknowledge
<i>Vakadaro</i> ‘he said that’	expand	attribute: acknowledge
<i>Sekutaura</i> ‘as he said it’	expand	attribute: distance
<i>Vakazivisa</i> ‘he informed’	expand	attribute: distance

Table 7.2 Shona engagement markers

⁴⁷ Here the source of the external voice is not explicit showing the writer’s unclear position in relation to the text. Such cases have been classified as **acknowledge: distancing**.

Graduation Tokens	Force or Focus
<i>Chakanaka</i> ‘it is good’	Force
<i>Zvirango zvehupfumi</i> ‘economic sanctions’	Focus
<i>Chaicho</i> ‘exactly’	focus
<i>Humwe hunhu</i> ‘some behaviours’	focus
<i>Zvimwe zvezvisungo</i> ‘some of the agreements’	focus
<i>Zvidiki</i> ‘small’	focus
<i>Ziso guru</i> ‘major focus’	focus

Table 7.3 Shona graduation tokens

7.4 Future directions

Avenues for further research can be observed, however, only three are going to be highlighted here. Firstly on parliamentary discourse, considering the impact of what is debated on the general public, further research has to be extended to other parliaments as not much research has been carried out, especially in African parliaments, from a linguistic point of view. A corpus based approach together with the theories that have been utilised can be applied on the debates and speeches in other African parliaments in order to explore some discourse-linguistic ways of using language in these contexts. Research can also be further extended to debates at organisations such as the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Committee (SADC) and exploring the nature of appraisal and argumentation of talk shows and other social forums. Researches in this area will help reconstruct disagreements found in these discourses and suggest how they can be resolved or illustrate how they have been resolved.

The other two avenues are in the two theories that have been utilised in this research, the appraisal and argumentation theories. Further research can be carried out on the appraisal theory applying it on other texts, such as literary texts, history books and other parliamentary discourse contexts, with the hope that data will provide better ways of appreciating appraisal resources and refine the ‘hazy’ approach in their classification and application. Apart from that, more research has to be carried in other languages in order to establish the nature of evaluation forms in these languages. Thus, research can be extended to the analysis of the lexico- grammatical choices that inform the appraisal theory in African languages as they are utilised in the public sphere. On the argumentation theory, the notion of strategic

manoeuvring has to be well defined and show how the terms dialect and rhetoric can be balanced. Further researches and application of the theory will shed more light on the relationship. The relationship and how controversy has to be treated in relation to argumentation theory needs further research. As have been observed by van Eemeren and Garssen (2008), research on controversy has been biased towards the sciences hence there is great need for more research in the social sciences and humanities.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Newspaper reporting stories

Appendix: A1



President vakarumbidza GPA (16-22 Chikunguru, 2010)

neMunyori weKwayedza

MUTUNGAMIRI wenyika neHurumende vari zvakare mukuru-mukuru weuto reZimbabwe Defence Forces, President Mugabe vanoti Hurumende yemushandirapamwe iri kushanda zvakanaka chero zvazvo paine vavengi vasiri kuda kuona budiriro iyi

- 5 President Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya pakuvhurwa kweParamende nomusi weChipiri muHarare vachiti zvaifadza kuona upfumi hwenyika uhwo hwakange hwadonha huchisimuka zvakare. Pari zvino maindasitiri ayo mamwe acho akange avharwa akavhurwa achiita basa rawo zvakanaka kuchizotiwo mitengo yezvinhu iyo yaingokwira zuva nezuva haichakwira sekare. Izvi, sekutaura kwaPresident Mugabe, zvakauya kuburikidza nezvirongwa zveHurumende zvakaita seShort Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) iyo yakaunza kudzikama muupfumi
- 10 hwenyika.
 “Kuburikidza nechirongwa cheShort Term Emergency Recovery Programme, Hurumende yakwanisa kusimudza upfumi hwenyika yedu mushure memakore gumi ekudzikira nokuda kwezvirango zvakaunzwa neBritain nevamwe vayo.
- 15 “Maindasitiri ave kushanda zvakanaka, mitengo haichangokwira uyewo pave nekusimuka munyaya dzeutano nedzidzo, migwagwa yave kugadziriswa, kuwanikwa kwemvura kwasimukira uyewo tiri muhurukuro nevabatsiri vemari munyika,” President Mugabe vakadaro. Vakati zvaifadza kuona kuti maindasitiri ayo aive adzikira kwazvo ave kusimuka nokuda kwevatsigiri vari kubva kunze kwenyika.
- 20 “Upfumi hwenyika yedu mugore rakapera hwakakura ne5,7% izvo zvakabatsirwa nekusimuka kwakaita kurima ne14,9%, migodhi ichisimukawo ne8,5%, maindasitiri achisimukawo ne10,2%, kushanyirana kuchisimuka ne6,5%.
- 25 “Hurumende icharamba ichisimbisa kusimuka kweupfumi hwenyika yedu tichida kusvitsa chikamu che5,4% pakupera kwegore rino nekuramba tichisimbisa upfumi hwenyika yedu. Izvi zvichada kuti maindasitiri edu, kurima nemamwe mabasa ebudiriro asimbiswe pamwe neku-simudzirwa kwekuwanikwa kwemvura nemagetsi,” President Mugabe vakadaro. Vakati nyika pari zvino haichamirira kupemha asi kuzvimirira yoga nekukwezva makambani kana vabatsiri vekunze.
- 30 “Pari zvino Hurumende iri kugadzirisa zvi bvumirano zvakati kuti zvekutengeserana nedzimwe nyika. Pave nezvibvumirano zviru kurongwa nenyika dzeIran, India, Kuwait, Botswana, Singapore uye nyaya yerubatsiro rwuchabva kuOpec ichakurururwa nezvayo mudare reParamende rino,” vakadaro President Mugabe.
- 35 President Mugabe vakati sezvakabvumiranwa pakava-mbwa Hurumende yemusha-ndirapamwe, chirongwa chekunyorwa kwebumbiro idzva remutemo chiri kufamba zvakanaka uye pari zvino nhengo dzeConstitutional Parliamentary Select Committee dziri kufamba nenyika dzichinzwa zvido nezvishuwo zvevanhu. Makomisheni ayo akabvumiranwa pakuvambwa kweHurumende yemubatanidzwa ave kushanda zvakanaka uye Paramende ichange ichigara pasi ichikurukura nezvegwaro rinoona nezvekodzero dzevanhu pamwe nerinoona nezve-sarudzo. Gore rino, vakadaro President Mugabe, nyika iri kutarisira kusimuka kwezveindasitiri yezvicherwa
- 40 paine tarisiro yokuti izvi zvichakura ne20%. Vakati Paramende yemwaka uno ichange iine mabasa akawanda ekusimudzira magariro evanhu pamwewo nekusimudza upfumi.

Literal Translation- President commended GPA (16- 22 July 2010)**By Kwayedza Reporter**

Head of state and government, who is also the leader of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, President Mugabe says Government of National Unity is working well even though there are enemies who do not want to see this achievement.

President Mugabe spoke these words at the opening of Parliament on Tuesday in Harare saying it will be pleasing to see the country's economy that had taken a nose dive picking.

At the moment some of the industries which have been closed have been opened and are performing very well and the prices of commodities which had been going up everyday are no longer going up as before.

This, as spoken by President Mugabe, came as a result of government programmes which are like Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP) which brought stability in the country's economy.

"Through the programme of Short Term Recovery Programme, government managed to raise our country's economy after ten years of going down as a result of sanctions brought by Britain and her allies.

"The industries are working well, prices of commodities are not going up unnecessarily and there is improvement in the health sector, roads are being maintained, water supplies have improved and we are in negotiations for possible loans from various countries," President Mugabe said.

He said it was good to see that those industries which had gone down are now picking because of the support coming from outside the country.

"Our economy in the past year raised by 5,7% which was helped by the rise in farming by 14,9%, mining also rose by 8,5%, industries raised by 10,2%, tourism rising by 6,5%.

"The government will continue to support the rise of our country's economy in order to get to 5,4% at the end of this year by continuing to stabilise our economy. This calls for our industries, farming and others to be supported as well as to improve the availability of water and electricity," President Mugabe said that.

He said the country at the moment is not going to beg but to be independent by inviting companies or donors from outside.

"At the moment the government is working on a number of agreements on buying and selling of goods with other countries. There are agreements being organised by countries like Iran, India, Kuwait, Botswana, Singapore also the help that is going to come from Opec which is going to be discussed in this Parliament," said President Mugabe.

President Mugabe said as agreed at the formation of the Government of National Unity, the process of writing the new constitution is going on well and the moment members of the Constitutional Parliamentary Select Committee are going around the country hearing the needs and wishes of the people.

The Commissions which have been agreed upon at the formation of the Government of National Unity are now working very well also Parliament will sit to debate on the bill on human rights and that on elections.

This year, said President Mugabe, the country is looking forward to the rise of the minerals industry with the hope that it will expand by 20%.

He said Parliament in this session will have a lot of work to improve the people's standards of living and also raise the economy.

Appendix: A2**PM, zadzisai enyui mashoko nezviito (China, Kurume 4, 2010)**

n.m.k

SAVE, zvamairamba zviya mazozvibvuma nemuromo wenyu. Asika chizadzisikai mashoko enyu nezviito? Ndoovinoita botso... harigumire mukukumbira ruregerero chete., kwete. Botso unotoripfekera masagawofamba nedunhu uchikumbira ruregerero nekukwereta zviyo zvinozobikiswa doro rekuchenura amai kana baba vaunenge wakatuka.

- 5 Ngoma ndiyo- ndiyo pakutsvagira nyika chakapedza mbidzi, chifambai kwachakabva chkwambo chemaSanctions munoreva muriko, zviwonekwe newose kuti zvamunireva mune chokwadi nazvo kuti zvizdzikiswe. Chikwambo change chapedza mhuri... ndiyani asingazive Jambanja rakonzereswa nemaSanctions muno?
- 10 Ko “Dambanavana” James Maridadi anony’ura pai nhasi mukuru wake zvaazobvuma kuti zvechokwadi maSanctions apfugamisa nyika. Haisi Zanu- PF yaunovenga mushamarari ino uraiwa nezvirango zveupfumi izvi. Anofa mwana wevhu... asi wouraya wekwako here kuti ugare hushe? Zvakamboitika kuti izvozvo zvekupfuma nekudeura ropa reweukama? Ndati Nyadzisai Miliband naObama, PM
- 15 Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, ndati ndat nyadzisai Barack Obama uyo akawedzera ZIDERA negore. Nyadzisai David Milliband uyo akataura kuti ndimi chete munogona kuti maSanctions amakakokera vabiyenyu muno abviswe. Nyadzisai vaviri ava nekukwira padenga mushevedzere vari kunusha muchidura kuti “chokwadi ose maSanctions ngaande...”
- 20 Dai takadaro kare handiti tingadai totapirirwa neuchi nemukaka zvenyika yedupasina kutya kuti mukati medu mune mapere akasimira matehwe ehwayana? Vamwe vangati ndave kuda kunyadzisa mukuru... kwete, ndizvo zvinoita kutanda botso. Unobuda pachena kuti wakakanganisa, wokumbira ruregerero kwete nemuromo chete asi nekutotevedza tsika dzinodiwa... muchirungu tingate “may you kindly go the extra mile in your calling for the removal of sanctions?”
- 25 Kushaya pekupinda muParamende. Panzvimbo yekuti vabtsire Prime Minister mukusimbisa mashoko ekubviswa kwezvirango zveupfumi, nhengo dzebato reMDCT dzakaona zvakakodzera kubuda muParamende dzichiramba kuti hakuna maSanctions svondo rino. Uyu mukwende wakanga woremera bato iri nekuti ivo PM vakaona zvakakodzera kuti vabvume kuti “maSanctions aripo uye ngaabviswe ese”, ko vateveri vavo vanogoramba kufamba navo mumashoko avo sei?
- 30 Ndoovakadai saka ndati PM, zadzisai chirevochenyu nezviito. Matambiro emaMP enyu anoratidza zvimwe. Ko sei varikuramba kubata pamwe chete nemi mukutuka nekukurudzira kuti maSanctions aya abviswe? Ai ndokwanga kuchibva chibhanzi? Masimba eupfumi kuvanhu!
- 35 Chechipiri, PM tinoda kunzwa votsigira kupihwa kwamasimba ehupfumi kuvana vemuZimbabwe. Mutemo weIndigenisation and Empowerment Act watova mutemo. Hapasisina kudzokera shure. Ndoovunonzi rusununguko rwacho irworwo... Ndoovakuzvitonga kwacho ikoko kana PM vasina kunge vakazviziva sezvo vaisavako kuhondo yeChimurenga kwazvaiparidzwa. Kunyange pazvainge zvoparidzwa minyika, pada vanogona kunge vasina kunge vaziva shumo yawo mutemo wakadai, isu vana Mukwende tototi wakanonoka kuwuya mutemo uyu... tingadai tosunda
- 40 matumbu nekuguta. Hezvo nhasi vamwe vari kukumba upfumi kumisika yefodya, vamwe ndoo povooonekwa vachiramba ivhu nekuda kufadza vachena vekuEurope! Ichi ndicho chishuwo chaPresident Mugabe chaicho, chekuti mutemaazvitonge zvizere, mune zvevatongerwo enyika nezveupfumi... ndoo 100% Empowerment yacho Prime Minister, Total Independence inoparidzwa naPresident wenyika,
- 45 VaMugabe, avo vanokutungamirirai muHurumende varizve mukuru wemauto enyika.

Literal Translation- PM, put your words into action (walk the talk) (Thursday, March 4, 2010)
n.m.k

SAVE, you have accepted what you used to deny. But now put your words into action? That is what happens if you go against the norms and values... you will not end by only asking for forgiveness. By going against the norms and values you will have to wear sacks then you go around the village asking for forgiveness begging for sorghum to brew beer to appease the parents you would have wronged.

This is the same story when you put the country into a messy situation, go where you got the sanctions goblin and speak with them, so that everyone sees that you have faith in what you are saying so that it is fulfilled. The goblin that had destroyed the family... who does not know the chaos caused by sanctions here?

Where is "Dambanavana" James Maridadi going to hide today since his leader has accepted that it's true sanctions destroyed the country. It isn't Zanu- PF that you hate DJ that is destroyed by these sanctions. The one who suffers is the son of the soil... but would you kill your brother so as to sit on this thrown. Where has it happened that one becomes rich by killing his relatives?

I say embarrass Miliband and Obama, PM

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai, I say embarrass Obama who has extended ZIDERA with a year. Embarrass David Miliband who said you are the only one who can call for the removal of sanctions you brought here. Embarrass these two by openly calling for the removal of sanctions that everyone will here and say "for sure all sanctions should go..."

If we had done this long time ago isn't it we could be enjoying milk and honey in our country without any fear that in our midst there is an enemy (fox in the sheep's skin)? Some may think I want to embarrass the leader... no, that's what happens if you do something wrong. You admit that you have done something wrong, then you ask for forgiveness not by word of mouth only but by following the norms wanted... in English we say "may you kindly go the extra mile in your calling for the removal of sanctions?"

Embarrassment in Parliament

Instead of helping the Prime Minister in supporting the call for the removal of economic sanctions, MDC- T members of parliament this week saw it proper to walk out of Parliament denying that there are no sanctions.

This burden was now heavy for this party because the PM himself saw it fit that he accepts that "Sanctions are there and they should all be removed," why are his followers denying to walk his talk? That's why I say PM, put your words into action. The behaviour of your MPs say otherwise. Why are they refusing to join you in denigrating and encouraging that these sanctions must be removed? Oh that's where the money was coming from?

Economic empowerment to the people!

Secondly, PM we want to hear you supporting economic empowerment to the people of Zimbabwe. The law on Indigenisation and Empowerment Act is now law. No more going back. That's being free... that's being independent if PM had not known as he was not at the battle front of Chimurenga where it was preached.

Even when it was being preached in the country side, maybe he could not have got the meaning of the law like this, then the Mukwendes say the law came late... we could have been somewhere now.

Look today others are getting rich at the tobacco floors, and others are seen refusing to take the land in order to please whites in Europe! This is really the wish of the President Mugabe, that the black person has full independence, in politics and economy... that's the 100% Empowerment Prime Minister, Total Independence which is preached by the President of the country, President Mugabe, who is the leader of Government and Commander in Chief of the Defence Forces.

Appendix: A3



Zvirango zveupfumi ngazviende- Tsvangirai (China, Kurume 4, 2010)

neMunyori weKwayedza

Mukuru wemakurukota, VaMorgan Tsvangirai, svondo rino vakataura kekutanga pachena kuti zvirango zveupfumi zviru kunze kwemutemo zvakatemerwa nyika ino zvibviswe pasina kupedza nguva.

5 VaTsvangirai vakati kubviswa kwezvirango zveupfumi zvakatemerwa nyika ino nenyika dzekumavirira ndiko chete kunoita kuti Hurumende yemushandirapamwe ishande zvakazara pasina matambudziko. Vakataura mashoko aya kuvatori venhau mushure mekusangana negurukota rezvebudiro rekuDenmark, VaSoren Pind, avo vakashanya muno.

10 VaTsvangirai vakati Hurumende yemushandirapamwe haizofa yakadzokera kumashure izvo nyika dzekumavirira dzakaunza zvirango muno dzinofanirwa kucherechedza nekubvisa zvirango zveupfumi izvi.

Mashoko avo aya anotevera gombedzero iri kubva kuruzhinji rwenyika yakanangana nevatungamiri veMDC-T kuti vazadzikise chibvumirano cheGlobal Political Agreement chekuti vaite kuti zvirango zveupfumi zvibviswe.

15 Bato reMDC-T rinonzi ndiro rakakokera zvirango zveupfumi izvo zvavakukanganisa kufamba zvakana kwehupfumi hwenyika.

“Chokwadi nyaya yezvirango zveupfumi inyaya yakakosha zvikuru muZimbabwe. Tinoda kuti zvirango izvi zvibviswe izvozvi pasina kupedza nguva,” vakadaro PM Tsvangirai.

20 Vakataurira Denmark neshamwari dzayo kuti vasapinze zvevatongerwo enyika parubatsiro runofanira kuendeswa kuZimbabwe, vakati rubatsiro rwese runofanirwa kuendeswa rwakanangana neHurumende yemushandira pamwe.

“Kana muchida kubatsira vanhu vemiZimbabwe, vabatsirei kuburikidza neHurumende yavo.

Hazvigone kuitwa kuburikidza nemapoto ezvevatongerwo enyika.

President Mugabe ndiPresident weZimbabwe izvo musingagone kupatsanura kubva mumafambiro ezvinhu zvose muno.

25

**Literal Translation- Economic Sanctions must go- Tsvangirai (Thursday, March 4, 2010)
By Kwayedza Reporter**

30 **Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai openly spoke for the first time this week that economic sanctions illegally imposed on this country should be removed with immediate effect.**

Mr Morgan Tsvangirai said the removal of the illegal sanctions imposed on this country by the Western countries is the only way for the Government of National Unity to fully operate without any problems. He spoke these words to journalists after his meeting with the Denmark Ambassador, Mr Soren Pind who had visited.

35 Mr Tsvangirai said Government of National Unity will never go back, western countries that brought sanctions here should see this and remove these economic sanctions.

His words follow pressure from the masses directed towards the leadership of MDC-T that they fulfil the requirements of the Global Political Agreement that they should call for the removal of sanctions.

40 The MDC- T party is said to be the one that called for these economic sanctions that are now negatively affecting the economy of the country.

“Surely the issue of economic sanctions is very important in Zimbabwe. We want these sanctions removed immediately without wasting time,” said PM Tsangirayi.

45 He told Denmark and her friends that they should not romp in issues of governance in the funding coming to Zimbabwe, he said all the assistance should be directed to the Government of National Unity.

“If you want to help people in Zimbabwe, help them through their Government. It cannot be done through certain political parties.

President Mugabe is the President of Zimbabwe and that cannot be separated from the way things are

done here.

Appendix: A4



Nhubu muSenate dzicharangwa (19- 25 Mbudzi 2010) neMunyori weKwayedza

Mukuru wedare reSeneti, Cde Ednah Madzongwe, svondo rino vakayambira maseneta ose achatyora mitemo yedare iri kuti kuti vachange vachrangwa zvakasimba zvichienderana nemitemo yedare reParamende.

Cde Madzongwe vakati humwe hunhu hwairatidzwa nedzimwe nhengo dzeSeneti hwaisava nechimiro chavo savatungamiriri venharaunda.

5 Vakatauraizvi mushure mekunge muSeneti makaita mhre mhre svondo rakapera dzimwe nhengo dzaramba kutevedzera mitemo yeSeneti basa rikamiswa.

....Cde Madzongwe vakati zvakaitwa nemaseneta Emdc-t zvekukanganisa hurukuro dzaitwa museneti vachizobuda umu uyewo kudzoka vachiita mheremhere zvaive zvisingakurudzirwe. Cde Madzongwe vakati maSeneta Emdc-t aya akatyora mitemo yeStanding Order No 72, 73, 78 ne80 iyo inovapa

10 masimba ekutungamirira basa remuSeneti.

“Seneta wese achatadza kuremekedza chigaro chemukuru weSeneti kana Kukanganisakubakwa kwebasa remuSeneti anokwanisa kumbomiswa kubata basa remuSeneti. “Pamusoro pezvo Standing Order 80 inotaura kuti upi Seneta acharamba zvaanenge audzwa kuti aite muSeneti akaramba izvi achange aine mhosva,” Cde Madzongwe vakadaro. Cde Madzongwe vakati hunhu hwakaridzwa namaSeneti Emdc-t uhwu hwainyadzisa uye izvi zvikaramba zvichiitika vachatora matanho akasimba kwazvo.

15

Literal Translation- Crooks to be punished in Senate (19- 25 November 2010) By Kwayedza Reporter

Senate President, Cde Edinah Madzongwe, this week advised all the senators that will breach the standing orders of that House that there will be heavily punished according to the laws of the House of Parliament.

Cde Madzongwe said that the behaviour shown by other members of the Senate do not reflect their credentials as leaders.

She said this after there was noise in the Senate last week when some of the members refused to abide by the standing orders in Senate halting business.

...Cde Madzongwe said what was done by MDC- T Senators of disturbing the business in the Senate walking out and coming back making noise was not encouraged. Cde Madzongwe said that these MDC- T Senators broke the Standing Order No 72, 73, 78 and 80 that gives her the powers to lead business of the Senate.

“Any Senator who will fail to respect the position of the leader of the Senate or disrupt business in Senate might be relieved of their duties in the Senate.

“On top of that Standing Order 80 says that any Senator who refuses to do what s/he has been told to do in Senate will have a case to answer,” Cde Madzongwe said that. Cde Madzongwe said this behaviour that has been shown by MDC-T Senators was disgraceful and if this continues to happen she will take stern measures.

Appendix: A5

**Hurongwa hwemari hwa2010 (4- 10 Zvita 2009)
neMunyorori weKwayedza**

Musi weChitatu gurukota rezvemarik, VaTendai Biti, vakaburitsa hurongwa hwemari hwakanangana nokubatsira vanhu vari munjodzi mukurarama kwavo uye vanotambura kuburikidza nokuvandudza hupfumi hwenyika nokuvambwa kwemabhizimisi pamwe nokugadzirisa zvivakwa nezvikamu zvinoshanda neruzhinji.

5 VaBiti vakatura hurongwa hwekushandiswa kwemari hwa2010 hwenyika yose hunosvika US\$2,5 billion.

“Hurongwa hwemari hwa2010 hwakanangana nekugadzirisa matambudziko kuburikidza nokufambira Mberi nokuunza kugadzikanamuhupfumi hwenyika. Hwakanangana nekutarisana nebudiriro yeAfrica nekutarisa kuti tikwanise kusimukira nechidimbu 7% izvo zvichasundidzirwa nokuvambwa
10 kwemabhizimisi nokuwedzera kurima uye zvirongwa zvine budiriro. Ziso guru rinenge riri pane zvinoti dzidzo, utano nezvikamu zvinobatsira vanhu nokuenderera kwehurongwa hwakasimba mukugadzikana kwehupfumi hwenyika,” vakadaro VaBiti.

VaBiti vakati hurongwa hwa2010 huchange huchitarisa kuvandudzwa kwezvikamu zvinounza magetsi, kugadzirisa kwemigwagwa, njanji, nhandare dzendege, mvura nekuvandudzwa kwemichina
15 inofambisa mashoko (Information Communication Technology).

Vakati zvakanangana nekuwona kushanduka kwemamiriroehupfumi hwenyika muzvikamu zvose zvinounza budiriro.

Nokuda kweizvi VaBiti vakapa US\$38,5 million yokugadzirisa dambudziko remvura mumadhorobha nemumaruwa.

20 “Ndapawo zvakare US\$12,6 million kuZinwa kuti vakwanise kupedzisa hurongwa hwekupa mvura kumadhorobha madiki. Naizvozvo hurongwa hwese huchasvika \$109 million,” vakadaro VaBiti. Vakaenderera vakati US\$42,6 million ichashandiswa kuvandudza zvihoraninematsime munzvimbo dziri mumaruwa kuburikidza nebazi redistrict Development Fund.

25

**Literal Translation- 2010 Budget Statement (4- 10 December 2009)
By Kwayedza reporter**

30 **On Wednesday Minister of Finance, Mr Tendai Biti, presented the budget statement focused on helping people who are in danger in their way of living and those who are poor through stabilising the country’s economy by forming businesses and also refurbishing the buildings and sectors that work with the public.**

Mr Biti presented the statement for the 2010 budget for the whole country that amounts to US\$2,5 billion.

35 “2010 budget statement is directed towards solving problems through going forward in bringing stability in the country’s economy. It is directed towards the success of Africa looking forward to go up by 7% which is going to be supported by the formation of businesses and increase in farming and other developmental programmes. Major focus will be on education, health and other sectors that help people in line with the program to do with the country’s economic stability,” said Mr Biti.

40 Mr Biti said 2010 budget statement will look at developing the sectors to do with electricity, road construction, railway lines, airports, water and Information and Technology.

He said all that is related to the challenges in the economy of the country in all sectors brings development.

Because of this Mr Biti gave US\$38,5 million to solve water problems in towns and rural areas.

45 “I also gave US\$12,6 million to Zinwa so that they will be able to finish the program of supplying water to small towns. Because of that all budget will amount to US\$109 million,” said Mr Biti.

He went further and said US\$42,6 million will be used to refurbish boreholes and wells in the rural areas through the department of District Development Fund...

Appendix: 6

- 5 **Ngoda ngaitengeswe- Makurukoto (2-8 Chikunguru 2010)**
NeMunyori weKwayedza
DARE remakurukota svondo rino rakabvumidza kutengeswa kwengoda dzekuchiyadzwa pachikamu chirikutarisirwa Kusimudza upfumi hwenyika.
 Gurukota rinoona nezvemigodhi nekuvandudzwa kwayo, Cde Obert Mpfu, vakazivisa izvi svondo
- 10 rino.
 Hurongwa uhu hwakauya mushure mokunge vapa humbowo hwekukosha kwekutengeswa kwengoda idzi kune musangano wakaitwa kuTel Aviv, Israel weKimberly Certification Scheme svondo rakadarika.
 Cde Mpfu vakati makurukota eCabinet akatambira hurongwa uhu pamwewo nokubvumirana naho.
- 15 Zimbabwe ine macarat anopfuura 4 miriyoni engoda ayo akachengetedzwa achikosha mari inoita US\$1,7biriyoni.
 Zvakadaro tinofanirwa kuve nehurongwa hwekutengesa naho kuitira kuti zvive zvakajeka pasina huwori mukuita basa iri,” Cde Mpfu.
 Cde Mpfu vakati Joint Work Plan yaizivisa kuti Zimbabwe yaikwanisa kutengesa ngoda dzayo kana
- 20 ikazadzisa zwimwe zvezvisungo zvidiki.
 Joint Work Plan yakabvumiranwa neHurumende pamwe chete neKimberly Process pane mumwe musangano wakaitwa kuNamibia gore rakapera.
 Zimbabwe, vakadaro Cde Mpfu, ichange ichitengesa ngoda idzi kuburikidza nekambani yeMinerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe.
- 25 “Ngoda dzose dzichatengeswa dzichange dzichishandisa gwaro remvumorakabva kuPCS ayo akapihwa kunyika,” Cde Mpfu vakadaro.
 Cde Mpfu vakazivisa kuti Israel, iyo inove sachigaro weKPCS, yaive yakapa nyika mvumo yekutengesa ngoda idzi.
 “Pane dzimwe nyika dzakativenga dzakaita seUnited States, Canada, Australiadzakaedza kusvibisa
- 30 gwaro rakabva kuna VaAbbey Chikane....
 Nyika idzi dzakati Zimbabwe yaive yatevedzera zvole zvisungo zvaidiwa neKP nekudaro paisave nechikonzero chekuramba kuti itengese ngoda dzayo.
 Nyika dzairamba kuti Zimbabwe itengese ngoda dzayo dzaiti Farai Magawu, uyo akasungwa mushure mekunge anyora achipomera Hurumende kutyora kodzero dzevanhu kuChiadzwa, aifanira kutanga
- 35 asunungurwa.
 “Nyika idzi dzaida kuti Chikane atsiviwe naMugawu semumiriri weKP kana rimwe gurukuta reHurumende. Pamusoro pazvo dzaiti ngoda dzinokwanisa kutengeswa ndeidzo dzakacherwa kubva musi waChivabvu 28 chete,” Cde Mpfu vakadaro. Asi Zimbabwe yakaramba zvole zvirango sezvo zvaisave nechekuita neJWP kana kutevedza zvisungo zveKP.

Literal Translation-Diamonds must be sold- Ministers (2-8 July 2010)**By Kwayedza Reporter**

Cabinet ministers this week passed the sell of Chiadzwa diamonds that are expected to raise the economy of the country.

The minister of Mines and Mining Development, Cde Obert Mpfu, announced it this week. This arrangement came after he had given information on the importance of selling these diamonds from the meeting that was held in Tel Aviv, Israel of Kimberly Certification Scheme last week. Cde Mpfu said Cabinet Ministers received this arrangement and accepted it.

“Zimbabwe has more than four million carats of its diamonds reserves, which are worth US\$1,7 billion.

Besides we should have a plan on how to sell so that it is transparent without corruption in doing this work,” Cde Mpofu.

Cde Mpofu said Joint Work Plan was informing that Zimbabwe could sell its diamonds if it satisfies some few requirements.

Joint Work Plan was agreed upon by Government together with Kimberly Process in one of the meetings that was held in Namibia last year.

Zimbabwe, said Cde Mpofu, will be selling these diamonds through the company of Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe.

“All the diamonds that are going to be sold will using a letter of consent from PCS which was given to the country,” Cde Mpofu said that.

Cde Mpofu informed that Israel, which is chairing KPCS, had given the country the licence to sell these diamonds.

“There are other countries who hate us like United States, Canada, Australia which tried to discredit the document which came from Mr Abbey Chikane...

These countries said Zimbabwe had satisfied all the requirements wanted by KP hence there was no reason to deny it to sell its diamonds.

Countries which were against Zimbabwe to sell its diamonds were saying Farai Magawu, one who have been arrested after writing accusing Government of violating human rights in Chiadzwa, should be released first.

“These countries wanted that Chikane be replaced by Mugawu as the representative of KP or the other government minister. On top of that they were saying diamonds which could be sold are those that were mined as of ...28 only,” Cde Mpofu said that. But Zimbabwe refused all these requirements as they had nothing to do with JWP or in line with the requirements of KP.

5 Appendix: A7



Huwori hwakashorwa nenhengo dzeParamende (11- 17 Zvita 2009) neMunyori weKwayedza

10

Zuva rekucherechedza kurwisana nehuwori pasi pose rakapembererwa zvine musiyano gore rino apo nhengo dzeParamende dzemuno dzakafora musi weChitatu muguta reHarare dzichitsigira kupedzwa kwemabasaehuwori zvachose munyika.

15

Musi wa9 Zvita gore roga roga rinocherechedzwa kurwisana nehuwori rinodaidzwa muchirungu kuti “International Anti- Corruption Day”. Zvisinei, zuva iri rinocherechedzwa riri pasi pesangano guru renhengo dzeParamende dzeAfricareAfrican Parliamantarians Network Against Corruption.

20

Zvinoratidza kushanda pamwe chete nekudyidzanakwemapato ose ari muHurumende yemushandirapamwe, nhengo dzeParamende dzematunhu akasiyana dzakafora kubva paParamende nemumigwagwa yemuguta reHarare ndokuzonowungana muAfrica Unity Square Park, umo sachigaro wesangano iri vaWillias Madzimore nhengo inomirira Kumbuzuma vakapa mashoko kuruzhinji. Ciitiko ichi chakaraidza kuti mapato ose ari muHurumende aripo kurwisana nehuwori hwemhando dzose munyika.

25

Nhengo dzeParamende idzi dzaiva dzakabata zvikwangwari zvaiva nemashoko anoshora mabasa ehuwori zvakaita sekuti “Chiokomuhomwe chaunza nhamo muZimbabwe, Huwori hokanganisa kutevedzwa zvakanaka kwemitemo yenyika, Huwori hwokonzera kushaikwa kwemabasa munyika, Huwori hwekudanana hwounza rufu nedenda reHIV neAids” nemamwewo mashoko akawanda. VaMadzimore, mumashoko avo vakavimbisa ruzhinji kuti nhengo dzavo dzeParamende dziripo kushanda neruzhinji pakurwisana nehuwori.

- Vakati zvinhu zvose zviri kunetsa munyika nekuda kwehuwori husingaperi.
- 30 “Chokwadi huwori hwave pose paungafambe muno, ungati kuno bhadhara magetsi, pangava papi zvapo, changove chioko muhomwe,” vakadaro VaMadzimure. Vakakurudzira ruzhinji kuti vakawona panoitwa huworivakurumidze kuzivisa nhengo dzavo dzeParamende dzavakati hadzinyare kutsiura vanhu pachena zvinova zvinotsigirwa nebumbiro remitemo wenyika.
- 35 Vamwe vevanhu vari mukomiti inotungamirira sangano iri vanosanganisira mutevedzeri wasachigaro Cde Jabulani Matema (Zanu PF). Zuva iri rakatanga kucherechedzwa kubva gore ra2003 nemusi wa31 Gumiguru rakumikidzwa nesangano reunited Nations Convention Against Corruption

Literal Translation- Corruption was condemned by Members of Parliament (11- 17 December 2009)

By Kwayedza Reporter

The International Ant-Corruption Day was commemorated with a difference this year when MPs here marched on Wednesday in Harare in support of total eradication of corrupt practices in this country.

The 9th of December is a day set aside for fighting against corruption which is called in English “International Anti- Corruption Day.” Besides that, this day is recognised under the organisation of African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption.

It shows working together of all the parties in the Government of National Unity, Members of Parliament from various provinces marched from the Parliament going along the streets in Harare and later gathered at the Africa Unity Square Park and the chairperson of this organisation Mr Willis Madzimure, Member of Parliament for Kambuzuma, gave the speech.

The event showed that all the parties in Government are there to fight against all forms of corruption in the country.

These Members of Parliament were holding placards with words condemning corruption like “Bribery has brought poverty in Zimbabwe, Corruption is affecting proper application of the country’s laws, Corruption causing the shortage of jobs in the country, Love me before I do this causing death through HIV and Aids pandemic” and many others.

Mr Madzimure, in his words he promised the public that his Members of Parliament are there to work with the public in the fight against corruption.

He said all the problems in the country are a result of unending corruption.

“Truly corruption is now everywhere you can go here, when going to pay electricity, all over, there is bribing,” said Mr Madzimure.

He encouraged the public that if they see where corruption is happening they should quickly inform his Members of Parliament whom he said will not have problems in openly reprimanding people something that is supported by the country’s constitution.

Some of the people in the committee leading this organisation include Deputy Chairperson Cde Jabulani Matema (Zanu- PF).

This day started being commemorated since 31 October 2003 when it was launched by the United Nations Convention Against Corruption.

Appendix: A8



Bhajeti roziviswa musu wa25 mwedzi uno (China, Mbudzi 18, 2010)

neMunzori weKwayedza

GURUKOTA rinoona nezvehomwe yenyika VaTendai Biti svondo rino vakazivisa kuti bhajeti yenyika richange ichiziviswa nemusi wa25 Mbudzi kudare reParamende.

VaBiti vakati mushure mekunge vatenderera nenyika vachinzwa zvishuwo zvevanhu zvavangade mubhajeti iye vaive vagadzirira zvino.

- 5 “Takafamba nenyika kwakasiyana tichinzwa zvinodiwa nevanhu kunyanya vashandi avo vakabata upfumi hwenyika, tine idi yekuti mushure mekugara pasi takwanisa kubuda nebhajeti inofadza munhu wese,” vakadaro VaBiti.

VaBiti vakati chero zvazvo vaive vasingakwanise kutaura zvakawanda panyaya yebhajeti isati yabuda vaive neidi yekuti ichabatsira kugutsa mhuri mudzimba umu uye kubatsira kusimudza upfumi

- 10 hwenyika.
“Bhajeti yedu yange iri yekunyanya kutarisa mararamiro ari kuita vashandi vemunyika ino nerubatsiro rwavangawane mukurarama kwavo.

“Uye tiri kuda kushandisa upfumi huri munyika kuti tibatsire kusimuka kweupfumi hwenyika zvekuti pakupera kwegore tiri kutarisira kuve tasimuka ne8%,” vakadaro VaBiti.

- 15 Zvakadaro, munyori wesangano reProgressive Teachers Association VaRaymond Majongwe vakati zvaive zvakakosha kuti bhajeti iyi itarise maramiro ari kuita ruzhinji rwezvizvarwa zvenyika sezvo vakawanda vaive vasiri kuwana mari inokwana kuti vararame.

“Iye zvino tiri kutarisira bhajeti inorerutsira magariro emushandi munyika pari zvino zvinhu zvichiri kudhura iye mushandi asina mari yakawanda yaari kuwana uye mitero yedu idzikiswewo.

- 20 “Nyaya yengoda ngaigadziriswe sezvo iyi iri nzira yatinoziva kuti inotismudza muupfumi hwedu hwenyika,” vakadaro VaMajongwe.

Mumwe mushandi wemuHurumende ari murairidzi, VaJames Munemo, vakati bhajeti yaifanirwa kudzivirira vashandi nevatengi uye kudzivirira kuwedzerwa kwezvinhu mitengo kusina kurongeka.

- 25 “Iye zvino tave kushandisa mari yekunze asi chiri kutishamisa ndechekuti zvinhu zvirira kuramba zvichikwira chero pasina kana chakwira nekudaro Hurumende ngaitibatsire pasave nezvinhu zvinongokwira pavadira,” vakadaro VaMunemo.

Literal Translation- Budget to be presented on the 25th this Month (Thursday, November 18, 2010)

By Kwayedza Reporter

Minister of Finance Mr Tendai Biti, this week announced that National budget will be presented on the 25th of November in Parliament.

Mr Biti said after he had gone round the country getting the views/ wishes of the people which should be considered in the budget he has prepared now.

“We went around different parts of the country hearing what people want in particular workers who are driving the economy, we have faith in that after going through the suggestions we have managed to come up with a budget that will please everyone,” said Mr Biti.

Mr Biti said even though he cannot say a lot on the budget not yet presented he was sure that it will help in bringing food on the table for families and also help raise the economy of the country.

“Our budget was focusing on the social welfare of workers in this country and the help that they can get in their living.

“Again we want to utilise the resources that are in the country to help raise the economy of the country such that at the end of the year we are looking forward to have gained by 8%,” said Mr Biti.

In the same manner, secretary for Progressive Teachers Association, Mr Raymond Majongwe said it was important that this budget focus on the social aspect of the general public in Zimbabwe as most of them were not gainfully employed.

“At the moment we are looking forward for a budget which alleviate the way of living of the worker in the country where the cost of living is high yet the worker do not earn enough and again our taxes should be reduced.

“The issue of diamonds should be resolved as this is the way that we know it will raise the economy of our country,” said Mr Majongwe.

Another worker in the government as a teacher, Mr James Munemo, said budget was supposed to protect workers and buyers and also control the pricing of goods and commodities which are going up unnecessarily.

“Now we are using foreign currency but what is surprising is that goods and commodities are still sky rocketing unnecessarily therefore Government should help us by controlling price increases,” said Mr Munemo

Appendix: A9



Basa rebumbiro idzva rotanga (China, Chikumi 17, 2010)

naBlackmore Mavura

MUTUNGAMIRI wenyika neHurumende vari zvakare mukuru weuto reZimbabwe Defence Forces, President Mugabe svondo rino vakakurudzira zvizvarwa zveZimbabwe kuti zvibatane pachatangwa chirongwa chekunyorwa kwebumbiro idzva remutemo.

President Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya apo vaiparura chirongwa chekupinda munharaunda vanhu vachitaura zvavanoda kuti zvive mubumbiro idzva iri vari muHarare nemusi weChitatu.

Vakati vanhu vaifanirwa kuita izvi pasina mheremhere kana kutya asi murunyararo sezvo uyu uri mukana wekuronga nhaka yamangwana.

“Apo bumbiro idzva rinenge rave kunyorwa zvakakosha kuti vanhu vave vakasununguka pasina mheremhere kana kutyisidzirana.

“Chero vamwe vakataura zvamunenge musingabvumirane nazvo ikodzero dzavo kunzwiwawo zvavanofunga ivo saka hapana chekurwira,” vakadaro President Mugabe.

President Mugabe vakati uyu mukana zvakare wokuti zvizvarwa zveZimbabwe zvinyore bumbiro razvinoda sezvo munguva yose iyi nyika yange ichishandisa bumbiro rakanyorwa paine rubatsiro

rweBritain kuLancaster muna 1979.

“Bumbiro ratange tiri kushandisa iri rakanyorwa nerubatsiro rweBritain, range riine zvimwe zvatakange tisingabvumirane nazvo kusanganisira rusarura nekugovewa kweminda asi takakwanisa kushanda nayo.

25 “Iye zvino yave nguva yekuti tichinyora bumbiro rinoratidza rusununguko pamwe nekuzvitonga kuzere kwedu isu. Ngarive gwaro rinotonga nyika yedu zvakanaka,” President Mugabe vakadaro. Mukuru wemakurukota, VaMorgan Tsvangirai, vakatsinhira mashoko aPresident Mugabe vachiti apo pachange pachitwa basa rebumbiro iri runyararo rwunofanirwa kukosheswa.

30 VaTsvangirai vakati mapurisa akapihwa basa rokuchengetedza runyararo uye vose vachabatwa vachikonzera mhere-mhere vachasungwa nekurangwa zvakakodzera. Vakavimbisa zvakare kuti mutemo wePublic Order and Security Act uyo usingabvimidze vanhu kuungana vasina kupihwa mvumo nemapurisa uchange uchimboiswa padivi.

“Vanhu ngavasatye kuungana vachipa zvavanofunga sezvo mutemo wePOSA unenge usiri kushanda panguva iyi asi zvakadaro hatidi mheremhere chero zviite sei,” VaTsvangirai vakadaro.

35 Vakati mapato ari muHurumende yemushandirapamwe achatumudzira nhengo 10 kubva kubato rogaroga dzichafamba nyenika dzichikurudzira runyararo. Mutevedzeri wemukuru wemakurukota, Professor Arthur Mutambara, vakati zvakakosha kuti mapato ose ari muHurumende yemushandirapamwe akurudzire vatsigiri vawo kusiyana nemhere-mhere pachange pachitwa chironzwa ichi.

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Literal Translation- Basa rebumbiro idzva rotanga (Thursday, June 17, 2010) By Blackmore Mavura

45

Head of State and Government and leader of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, President Robert Mugabe this week encouraged Zimbabweans to be united in the writing of the new constitution.

President Mugabe said these words when officially launching the program to go into the country and get what people freely say should be in this new constitution when he was in Harare on Wednesday. He said people were supposed to do this peacefully without fear as this is an opportunity to plan the future.

50

“When the new constitution is being written it is important that people should be free with no violence or intimidation.

“Even if some say something that you do not agree with it is their right to be heard what they think so there is no reason to fight,” said President Mugabe.

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President Mugabe said this is another opportunity that Zimbabweans write a constitution that they want as all along the country has been using a constitution that was written with the help of Britain at Lancaster in 1979.

“This constitution that we have been using was written with the help of Britain, it had some aspects that we did not agree with including racism and land redistribution but we managed to work with it.

60

“At the moment it is time that we write a constitution that reflects our freedom and total independence. It should be a document that must rule our country very well,” President Mugabe said that.

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai supported what was said by President Mugabe saying during the ongoing process of the writing of the constitution there should be peace.

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Mr Tsvangirai said the police were given the mandate to maintain peace and all those who are going to be caught instigating violence will be punished accordingly.

He also advised that the law of Public Order and Security Act which do not allow people to gather without permission from the police will be suspended for a while.

“People should not be afraid to gather giving their ideas as the law of POSA will not be enforce at this time but however we do not want violence in whatever circumstance,” Mr Tsvangirai said.

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He said parties in the Government of National Unity will send ten representatives from each political party to go around the country advocating for peace.

Deputy Prime Minister, Professor Arthur Mutambara said it is important that all the political parties in the Government of National Unity encourage their supporters to desist from violence during this

75

program.

Appendix: A10**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zanu- PF MPs walk out in protest (Thursday 22 October 2009)

5 Herald Reporter

Zanu- PF legislators yesterday walked out of the House of Assembly and slammed the behaviour of MDC- T MPs after they denigrated the Head of State and Government President Mugabe.

10 Mberengwa East Member of the House of Assembly Cde Makhosini Hlongwane led his fellow lawmakers out of the House after Masvingo Urban MP Mr Tongai Matutu (MDC- T) made a contribution they found to be insulting.

In his contribution on the President's speech while opening Parliament last month, Mr Matutu said the address should have been directed to "people at Engutsheni and Mlondolozhi"

15 Engutsheni and Mlondolozhi are rehabilitation institutions for people who are mentally challenged. Observers last night pointed out that Mr Matutu obviously did not know that the President's speech at the opening of a Parliamentary session was prepared as per the guidelines from all Cabinet Ministers, including those from MDC- T.

20 The contribution prompted Cde Kudakwashe Bhasikiti (Mwenezi East, Zanu- PF) to talk to Deputy Speaker Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo (Umzingwane, MDC) saying Mr Matutu should withdraw his statement.

However she failed to respond conclusively and a lot of heckling and arguing ensued during which the Deputy Speaker failed to restore order.

Zanu- PF MPs immediately rose and walked out of the chamber in protest.

25 Mr Matutu made the statement after Cde Hlongwane had finished his contribution in which the Zanu- PF legislator had castigated MDC- T for disengaging from attending Cabinet and Council of Ministers because white ex- commercial farmer Roy Bennet has been indicated for trial in the High Court on terror related charges.

30 Cde Hlongwane pointed out that "disengagement" was not consistent with what President Mugabe had said when he officially opened the Second Session of the Seventh Parliament where he called for co- operation in developing the country.

After this Mrs Khumalo allowed Mr Matutu to contribute to the debate.

35 Only Cde Bhasikiti and Cde Obert Matshalaga (Zvishavane) remained in the House. No Zanu- PF minister was present when the incident occurred. There were heated exchanges throughout most of yesterday's debate as legislators heckled each other.

Appendix: A11**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: Zanu-PF MPs Walkout of Parly5 *17 MARCH 2010*

Harare — Zanu-PF legislators yesterday walked out of the chamber in protest against Speaker of the House of Assembly Mr Lovemore Moyo whom they accused of being biased towards MDC-T.

The walk out occurred during a motion that had been moved by Mutare Central Member of the House of Assembly Mr Innocent Gonese (MDC-T).

10 The motion called for the setting up of a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate violence that occurred during the March 29 and June 27 2008 elections.

Zanu-PF Chief Whip, Cde Joram Gumbo led the protest after he had risen asking MDC-T legislators to confine themselves to the period set in the motion and not the pre-March era.

15 Cde Gumbo had also implored MDC-T legislators to avoid debates with tribal connotations.

This was after Bulawayo East Member of the House of Assembly Ms Thabitha Khumalo (MDC-T) had said that the Shona people wanted to wipe out the Ndebeles during the Matabeleland disturbances. Earlier on, Uzumba Member of the House of Assembly Cde Simba Mudarikwa (Zanu-PF) had his objection thrown out by Mr Moyo.

- 20 Cde Mudarikwa had risen on a point of order, asking the Speaker to restrict Ms Khumalo from making reference to the violence that occurred in the early 1980s.
- After Ms Khumalo's contribution, Cde Gumbo rose to remind members to avoid using language that had tribal connotations, in apparent reference to Ms Khumalo's contribution.
- "I think members should confine themselves to the period set in the motion because reverting to the 1980s will mean we have to also include events of the 1890s," Cde Gumbo said.
- 25 "Members from the other side should also avoid issues, which have tribal connotation because this will not do us any good."
- At that stage, Mr Moyo urged Cde Gumbo to ignore comments coming from MDC-T legislators who were heckling him while he had the floor.
- This did not go down well with Cde Gumbo who then called on Zanu-PF legislators to walk out.
- 30 In an interview soon after the walk out, Cde Gumbo said they felt that the Speaker was not protecting Zanu-PF MPs the same way he was doing when MDC-T legislators had the floor.
- "Zanu-PF MPs walked out because of the bias by the Speaker who is MDC-T.
- "MDC-T MPs were being heard in silence but he allowed Zanu-PF MP to be heckled instead of protecting them," he said.
- 35 Cde Gumbo said it was improper for Mr Gonese, who is the MDC-T chief whip and Ms Khumalo, who is a member of the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee to the Global Political Agreement to bring and second the motion respectively that did not promote national healing.
- "We are not against the motion, but we are also saying what will we achieve by opening old wounds," he said.
- 40 Responding to the walk out by Zanu-PF legislators, Mr Gonese said the action was unwarranted.
- "When Members speak, it is customary that there can always be heckling and interjections. If it gets out of hand, that is the moment when the Speaker can intervene," said Mr Gonese.
- Introducing his motion, Mr Gonese defended it, saying it was in line with the provisions of the GPA, which condemned violence.
- 45 Mr Gonese gave some statistics, which he said related to the violence perpetrated against MDC-T supporters in the run up to the June 27 2008 presidential election run-off.

Appendix: A12**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

RBZ Amendment Bill tabled in House (October 22 2009)

Herald Reporter

The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill, which seeks to bring the powers of the central bank governor under the control of a board, was yesterday tabled for the first time before the House of Assembly.

5 Finance Minister Tendai Biti presented the Bill before it was referred to the Parliamentary legal Committee for scrutiny on whether it was consistent with the provisions of the Constitution.

The Bill- whose second reading is expected today- also seeks to clarify the functions of the central bank and increase its monetary reserves.

Clause two of the Bil amends Section six, which provides that one of the central bank's function, is to further government's economic policies.

10 "That is properly a function of the Government, not for a central bank, and this clause will repeal the paragraph," reads the preamble of the Bill.

The same clause takes away the bank's powers to represent Zimbabwe at international meetings and Zimbabwe's membership at international meetings as this is now the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance.

15 It can only represent Government interests when directed to do so by the ministry.

Clause eight amends Section 21 of the present Act to have a board with nine members in which the Secretary of Finance will be a member. However, the secretary will not have the voting rights to enable complementarities of the monetary and fiscal policies. Under the proposed legislation, the board will no longer determine monetary policy as this will be done by a monetary policy committee in

20 accordance with regional and international best practices.

Appendix: A13**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: Senate Passes RBZ Amendment Bill*10 MARCH 2010*

Harare — SENATE yesterday passed the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Amendment Bill after it had been on the House Order Paper for close to three months.

The Bill was passed as amended by the House of Assembly and now awaits President Mugabe's assent to become law.

- 5 Debate on the Bill was postponed from December to this year to afford Senators closer scrutiny of its contents.

Chimanimani Senator Cde Monica Mutsvangwa then proposed nine amendments, arguing that Finance Minister Tendai Biti wanted to use the Bill to settle personal differences with RBZ Governor Dr Gideon Gono.

- 10 Zanu-PF House of Assembly representatives had also made similar accusations before Minister Biti effected some amendments to the original RBZ Amendment Bill.

However, Minister Biti yesterday said: "Given the discussions that have taken place in the past few weeks and especially on Monday, I move that the House rejects Senator Mutsvangwa's amendments."

- 15 Last year Minister Biti told the Senate that President Mugabe, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and Deputy PM Arthur Mutambara would consult on the Bill following Senators' reservations.

The Bill, if it becomes law, will require the central bank to stick to monetary policy formulation and bank supervision and not engage in any quasi-fiscal activities.

Minister Biti contends that the quasi-fiscal activities the RBZ engaged in over the past 10 years worsened the economic situation of the country.

- 20 Many analysts have, however, dismissed Minister Biti's assertion saying the illegal Western economic sanctions meant the RBZ had to intervene with extraordinary measures to ensure economic survival.

Appendix: A14**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: President Signs RBZ Bill Into Law*1 APRIL 2010*

Harare — President Mugabe has signed the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Bill into law, which will see a number of administrative changes at the central bank.

Chief Secretary in the Office of the President and Cabinet Dr Misheck Sibanda made the announcement in a notice in an extraordinary Government Gazette yesterday.

5 Parliament gave the nod to the bill last month with some amendments.

"The following law, which has been assented to by His Excellency the President, is published in terms of Section 51(5) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe," read the notice.

10 During debate in the House of Assembly, Finance Minister Tendai Biti made some amendments after Zanu-PF legislators expressed reservations on some clauses and threatened to block its passage if they were not noted.

In the Upper House Chimanimani's Senator, Cde Monica Mutsvangwa (Zanu-PF) proposed further amendments but subsequently did not pursue them resulting in the Bill getting the nod.

The promulgation of the Act means Government, through the Finance Ministry, will effect the changes in accordance with provisions of the regulations.

15 The Act will see the central bank focusing on its core business of monetary policy formulation, stabilising the local currency and supervision of financial institutions.

Notable proposals in the Act include setting up an RBZ Board.

The RBZ Governor will chair the board and will be deputised by a person chosen by the President from among the non-executive board members after consulting the Finance Minister.

20 There will also be a Monetary Policy Committee, an independent body consisting of the Governor as chairperson, his deputy and not more than seven other persons appointed by the President after consulting the Finance Minister.

The committee will determine monetary policy, ensure price stability in line with Government inflation targets, and determine interest rates among other responsibilities.

25 The central bank will retain ownership of Fidelity Printers and Refiners and Aurex Private Limited company.

The regulations have transitional provisions which, for example, allow the central bank to dispose of any equity it holds in any company incorporated in Zimbabwe in which it has a majority shareholding.

There will also be an Audit and Oversight Committee to review the bank's operations.

30 Notable concessions made by Minister Biti during debate in the House of Assembly included Clause Five, which allows the central bank to lend or advance to the State funds denominated in any currency. Prior to the changes, the loans and advances could only be transacted in Zimbabwe dollars.

The original Bill also sought to make the Secretary for Finance a non-voting member of the bank's board but this too has been changed to substitute the Permanent Secretary with a ministerial appointee

35 from the same portfolio. Section 29A, establishing an audit committee, was deleted and replaced with another, which amalgamated the envisaged audit and oversight committees.

The deputy chair of the board will head the new committee instead of the Secretary for Finance, who had initially been earmarked to chair the oversight committee.

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Appendix: A15**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: 2011 Budget Under Threat*BY ZVAMAIDA MURWIRA, 27 NOVEMBER 2010*

Members of the House of Assembly have threatened to block passage of the 2011 National Budget if Finance Minister Tendai Biti does not agree to pay legislators and ministers US\$3 000 monthly salaries.

5 The legislators from Zanu-PF and the two MDC formations were on Thursday united in their declaration.

Sitting soon after Minister Biti presented his Budget, the legislators also said the Government should buy them new vehicles.

They said should salaries be raised to US\$3 000, it would cost the State US\$12 million per year, a figure they described as sustainable.

10 MPs currently earn around US\$400 and the legislators say they have not been getting their sitting allowances.

Analysts have previously indicated that should the Budget not be passed, President Mugabe might have to call general elections because the State will not be able to function.

15 Mwenezi East legislator Cde Kudakwashe Bhasikiti (Zanu-PF) moved the motion calling for the improvement of their welfare as well as that of civil servants.

The House unanimously adopted the motion, saying they would not be used as a rubberstamp for Bills from the Executive without interrogating them.

They said their welfare had over the years been overlooked and the only opportunity they had to flex their muscles was at a time like this when Minister Biti wanted them to pass the Budget.

20 On civil servants, they said teachers were relying on parents' incentives.

Goromonzi North MP Cde Paddy Zhandanda (Zanu-PF), said Minister Biti's perceived 8 percent economic growth had nothing to do with poverty alleviation.

"I want to appeal to Honourable Members that opportunity knocks on your door once in your lifetime and this opportunity that is before us today - we should not miss it.

25 "This is the last (Budget) knowing very well that next year there will be elections; we will be walking into poverty.

"We are our own liberators," said Cde Zhandanda.

"It is common cause that if you want to control people, what you do first is to impoverish them then you subject them; this is what is happening."

30 On vehicles, he said many MPs were now pedestrians.

Cde Zhandanda said like those in the executive and judiciary, legislators should have a personal and an official vehicle.

Failing to pay civil servants, he warned, would fan corruption.

35 "We have pretended to put up institutions that have not delivered at all - the Anti-Corruption Commission which has never prosecuted anybody despite various allegations of corrupt practices.

"Why is it difficult to do business in Zimbabwe?

"It's because you are knocking on the door of a permanent secretary who earns US\$200 with a US\$10 million project, it does not make sense.

"In actual fact our situation scares away investors."

40 He urged legislators to rise above party politics to push for the improvement of their welfare.

MP for Zaka Central Mr Harrison Mudzuri (MDC-T) said a government was judged by how it paid its workers.

He said the salaries they were earning were not consistent with the title "Honourable".

45 His colleague from Uzumba, Cde Simba Mudarikwa (Zanu-PF), said failing to adequately pay MPs and civil servants would promote institutionalised corruption.

"We have inherited a situation that is very difficult . . . that people who were members of this august House always used to say 'yes'.

"They were professional rubber stampers," he added.

50 Buhera Central representative Mr Tangwara Matimba (MDC-T) chipped in: "We are saying this Government should look more into the plight of civil servants, MPs and everybody who works for it instead of giving priority to foreign trips and parastatals that are getting broke, that are being siphoned by others in the executive.

Mhondoro MP Cde Bright Matonga (Zanu-PF) said the title "Honourable" came with a status that he said was not consistent with their salaries.

55 He said legislators had nothing to show to their families for spending so much time away from home. "It is actually leaving a trail of destruction in our family fabrics and relationships," he said.

Minister Biti's Budget proposals included US\$1,4 billion for State workers' salaries.

This is about double the US\$733 million allocated to this end in 2010.

60 In his US\$2,7 billion Budget Statement, Minister Biti said conditions of service for MPs and the judiciary - which have traditionally guided negotiations encompassing civil servants representatives - will now be determined by Parliament's Standing Rules and Orders Committee and provisions of the Judicial Services Act respectively.

Zimbabwean legislators say they earn far less than their colleagues from around the world, and often cite the example of Kenyan MPs who are said to have gross salaries of above US\$10 000.

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Appendix: A16**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: Boost for Civil Servants*26 NOVEMBER 2010*

Finance Minister Tendai Biti yesterday unveiled a US\$2,7 billion 2011 National Budget that could result in a significant salary increment for civil servants.

The budget also caters for a constitution referendum and elections next year.

5 Minister Biti set aside US\$1,4 billion for civil service remuneration, almost twice the US\$773 million allocated in this year's budget.

Of this, US\$1,1 billion will be devoted to the provision of remuneration for State workers while US\$300 million will cover pensions, medical aid and social security contributions.

10 Conditions of service for members of the Judiciary and Legislature - which have traditionally been guided by negotiations encompassing civil service representatives - will be determined by provisions of the Judicial Services Act and Parliament's Standing Rules and Orders Committee.

The minister announced a raft of marginal tax concessions.

He increased the tax-free threshold to US\$225, up from US\$175, while the tax-free bonus portion was raised to US\$500 from US\$400 as the nation gets into the festive mood.

The new thresholds will release a few extra dollars into taxpayers' pockets.

15 The duty-free facility for imported basic commodities was extended to June next year.

On polls, Minister Biti told journalists that a budget had already been drawn up and the money would be released once President Mugabe made the necessary constitutional proclamation.

"In the event that we have a Presidential declaration, then we will definitely have an election.

"We have put some money aside for a referendum and elections," he said.

20 The minister gave priority to macro-economic stability, and enhancing agriculture and food security, education as well as rehabilitation and construction of key infrastructure.

He allocated the highest vote of US\$400 million to the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture - the bulk of which will go to infrastructure development and procurement of learning materials.

25 The minister proposed a reduction of duty on motor vehicles exceeding 1 500cc from between 40 and 60 percent to 40 percent.

The valuation of imported second-hand vehicles will be reviewed and be based on a standard model.

Minister Biti also reduced duty on selected household goods, such as television sets and selected medical apparatus.

The reductions are effective January 1.

30 The minister proposed lowering customs duty on textiles, clothing and footwear - something cross-border traders are bound to welcome.

Increases in mineral taxes and royalties and import duties on cigarettes and imported spirits are expected to make up for the anticipated losses from Pay As You Earn and other tax concessions.

35 In another development that is set to compensate loss of revenue from these tax concessions, the minister proposed to use local authorities to collect presumptive tax from small businesses such as commuter omnibuses, hair salons, small-scale miners and cottage industries, among others.

Local authorities are expected to collect and check compliance by businesses whenever they renew operating licences.

The local authorities will retain 10 percent of collected revenue.

40 Minister Biti announced negotiations with the United States Federal Reserve to increase the number of coins in circulation to eliminate change shortages.

In terms of expenditure, the minister said at least 74 percent, or US\$2 billion, will be allocated to recurrent expenditure with the balance going to capital costs.

45 Minister Biti said he had received total bids of US\$11,3 billion of which US\$7,5 billion had been earmarked for capital expenditure and the rest for recurrent costs.

He challenged various ministries and Government departments to concentrate on those priorities "that fit within our resource envelope".

The economy is recovering from a low base that saw Gross Domestic Product dropping by 50 percent in the decade to 2008, mainly due to illegal Western sanctions on Zimbabwe.

50 Recovery of agriculture and mining had impacted positively on the economy, which is expected to register 8,1 percent growth this year.

It will accelerate 9,1 percent next year while inflation should average 4,5 percent.

Such figures have been achieved by huge economies like China and India over the past few years.

In Zimbabwe, economic stability was sustained largely through continued use of multiple currencies,

55 fiscal prudence through cash budgeting and economic liberalisation measures.

Funding challenges and power shortages, however, continued to affect productive sectors.

Minister Biti said Government would continue to engage Botswana, South Africa and other development partners to help finance the economy.

A US\$75 million financing package with Botswana has been sealed while discussions are at various

60 stages with other possible financiers.

The African Export and Import Bank continued to be a critical partner in 2010.

Government and the bank launched the Zimbabwe Economic Trade Revival Facility under which companies are borrowing money at interest rates of $\text{libor} + 5$ percent over a repayment period of between six months and three years.

65 Libor refers to the London Interbank Offer Rate, which is the rate at which banks in London charge each other and is used as a global benchmark for loans.

Critical funding is required to improve industry's production and to finance agriculture.

A few schemes are already in place to assist communal, A1 and A2 farmers while banks have introduced facilities to improve production.

70 Agriculture is expected to grow 34 percent this year, buoyed by maize, tobacco, sugar and cotton.

The firming of international prices for gold, nickel, platinum and copper among others could see 47 percent growth in mining.

Government anticipates significant contributions from diamond mining once issues like certification, geological surveys and quantification of deposits are addressed.

75 To date, Zimbabwe has conducted two diamond auctions with 2,7 million carats being sold.

"Zimbabwe's diamond industry has huge potential, but it is urgent that we deal with huge issues of leakages, arbitrage and compliance with international standards," said Minister Biti.

The manufacturing sector will grow by a marginal 2,7 percent this year and 5,7 percent next year.

Absence of medium- to long-term capital, erratic power supplies and high production costs have

80 affected competitiveness.

A spotlight on the financial sector showed 15 of the 24 banking institutions have already met the minimum paid-up capital requirements, while an increase in deposits to US\$2,3 billion from US\$1,3 billion recorded in January reflected improved confidence in the banking sector.

By August, lending to Government and the private sector had increased to US\$1,4 billion from

85 US\$760 million in January.

Exports grew by 31 percent to US\$2,5 billion from US\$2 billion with mineral exports contributing 46 percent of earnings at US\$1,2 billion this year.

Appendix: A17**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: MPs Pay Tribute to Masawi*19 NOVEMBER 2010*

Members' contributions on national hero and former Mashonaland Central Governor Cde Ephraim Masawi dominated the House of Assembly debate on Tuesday.

Zanu-PF legislators took turns to pay tribute to the former Politburo member who died in September this year and was interred at the National Heroes Acre.

5 MDC-T legislators, however, tried to discredit Cde Masawi's contribution to Zimbabwe's development.

There was tension among legislators during the debate which was characterised by jeering, heckling and ululating depending on the MP making a contribution.

10 The motion moved by Mt Darwin North representative, Cde Dickson Mafios (Zanu-PF), called the house to express its profound sorrow on Cde Masawi's death.

It also sought to place on record its deepest and sincere appreciation of the sterling services Cde Masawi rendered to the nation.

Uzumba representative, Cde Simba Mudarikwa (Zanu-PF) then recited what appeared to be a poem eulogising Cde Masawi.

15 "Heroes are born and not manufactured. Cde Masawi never accepted to be a slave of colonialism or neo-colonialism," Cde Mudarikwa said.

Shurugwi South representative, Cde Annastancia Ndlovu (Zanu-PF) said Cde Masawi had inspired her and other "bornfrees".

20 However, MDC-T lawmakers sought to discredit the late hero and called for changes to the conferment of hero status.

At one stage Deputy Speaker Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo (MDC) failed to make a ruling on an objection by Zanu-PF Seke legislator Cde Phineas Chihota who felt that remarks made by an MDC-T lawmaker were denigrating.

25 Mrs Khumalo said because she did not understand Shona she could not comprehend the import of the word "Pombi yadonha".

Zaka Central representative, Mr Harrison Mudzuri, had used the phrase against national heroes lying at the national shrine.

Mrs Khumalo asked the two to translate it but they came up with different meanings.

30 Cde Chihota said the word meant a person of little or no value while Mr Mudzuri said it meant a person who caused divisions and altercations.

Mrs Khumalo warned Mr Mudzuri against provoking other members.

Appendix: A18**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: Parliament to Debate 23 Bills*BY SYDNEY KAWADZA AND ZVAMAIDA MURWIRA, 14 JULY 2010*

Harare — President Mugabe yesterday set the legislative agenda for the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe, which will see 23 Bills being presented for debate in both Houses.

The legislative agenda will guide debate in Parliament and provides the legislature with the direction Government would like to take on national issues. It also prepares legislators for the kind of laws Government will seek to enact over the coming session.

Opening the session, President Mugabe announced a busy schedule for MPs, who also have to contend with the constitution-making process. The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission, Electoral Amendment, Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Amendment and the Referendums Amendment Bills are among proposed laws that will be tabled during the session.

President Mugabe said this was pursuant to the Global Political Agreement signed by Zanu-PF, MDC-T and MDC in September 2008. The Bills - he pointed out - were consistent with wider constitutional requirements. President Mugabe said Zimbabwe had shifted emphasis from reliance on aid as a critical factor for economic development to investment.

"The heightened mobility and intense competition for capital resources underlines the need to work assiduously to enhance the country's appeal as an investment destination," he said. Government, President Mugabe said, was processing Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements with several countries.

Agreements with Iran, India, Kuwait, Botswana, Singapore and the Opec Fund will be brought to Parliament for ratification. The Women's Council Bill, which will facilitate the establishment of an organ to co-ordinate implementation of women's empowerment programmes, will also be brought before MPs.

"Government has also set up a Women's Development Fund, which will provide loans to women without the need for collateral security. "The Fund was allocated US\$1 million under the current budget, which is to be managed through the People's Own Savings Bank," he said. The Media Practitioners Bill, which seeks to repeal parts of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, will also come before Parliament.

The changes will do away with the need for registration of journalists and clarify privacy issues in Aippa. The Attorney-General's Office Bill, which places law officers under the Judicial Services Commission, and the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Amendment Bill, which incorporates suggestions from the public, are also lined up for tabling.

The Zimbabwe Examinations and Qualifications Authority, Schools Examinations Council and the Indigenous Languages Bills will be proposed for improvements to the education sector. Also due for debate in the session are amendments to the Zimbabwe Income Tax Act to align it to international best practices among other things.

The Deposit Protection Bill, which seeks to transform the Deposit Protection Scheme presently enacted as a Statutory Instrument under the Banking Act into an independent statutory entity, will be tabled. The Mines and Minerals Amendment Bill - first presented in 2007 - shall require MPs' attention this session.

The proposed law will discourage speculation and facilitate investment in the mining sector by both locals and foreigners, while ensuring Zimbabwe derives maximum benefits from its resources. The Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation Bill providing for the establishment of the Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation shall also be brought for consideration.

Through the corporation, the Government will be more actively involved in mineral exploration. An Energy Regulatory Authority Bill to establish a regulatory body for the energy industry is also up for debate. Parliament will also debate the Zimbabwe Border Post Authority Bill to ease congestion at points of exit and entry.

Other proposed laws include the Small to Medium Enterprise Bill to ensure an enabling environment for the sector; and amendments to the Environment Management Act to provide for more deterrent penalties against offenders.

50 "The amendments will also provide for the establishment of Environmental Standards Enforcement Committees in urban and local authorities," President Mugabe said. Parliament will debate the Medical Aid Societies Bill for the registration and regulation of medical aid societies.

"I wish to express profound personal appreciation to all who have assisted us through the donor-supported staff retention scheme for the health sector. "The support has greatly stabilised the staff situation in the sector," added the Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces.

Other proposed regulations include the Trafficking in Persons Bill (to criminalise human trafficking), and the International Agreements Bill (to rationalise the system of ratifying, publishing and domesticating international agreements). The Civil Aviation Amendment and National Incomes and Pricing Bills will also come under consideration.

60 President Mugabe said Government would continue prioritising economic growth and development to achieve 5,4 percent growth by year-end. "This exacting goal will inevitably require improved efforts in mobilising capital for industry, support to agriculture and other productive sectors and enhanced efficiency of strategic public utilities, particularly in the power and water sectors."

65

Appendix: A19

THE HERALD

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

5 **Zimbabwe: Sanctions Motion Gets MPs' Nod**

BY FARIRAI MACHIVENYIKA, 3 MARCH 2010

Harare — THE House of Assembly yesterday overwhelmingly adopted Mwenezi East representative Cde Kudakwashe Bhasikiti's motion urging Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and his deputy Arthur Mutambara to call for the removal of illegal Western sanctions against Zimbabwe.

10 The House adopted the motion as United States President Barack Obama announced on Monday he was extending American sanctions for another year.

President Obama claimed Zimbabwe posed a "continuing and unusual threat to American foreign policy".

This also follows the European Union's extension of the discredited embargo by another year.

15 Adoption of the motion moved by Cde Bhasikiti (Zanu-PF) came after legislators hailed PM Tsvangirai's long-awaited acknowledgement of the existence of the sanctions during a meeting with Danish Development Co-operation Minister Mr Soren Pind on Monday.

DPM Mutambara and legislators from Zanu-PF yesterday congratulated the PM for finally calling for the lifting of the embargo.

20 "These sanctions must go in toto and immediately. We are now together; let us move so that we build a peaceful and prosperous democratic Zimbabwe," said DPM Mutambara.

Cde Bhasikiti described PM Tsvangirai's statement as an early Christmas present for the nation.

"What the Prime Minister said yesterday was an early New Year's or an early Christmas box for the nation. We want our leaders to feel for the nation and suffering of the people.

25 "The motion as it stood wanted to hear the voices. No malice was intended as far as we are concerned. . . the whole purpose of this motion was answered," said Cde Bhasikiti.

Zaka East House of Assembly representative Cde Tapera Mukanduri (Zanu-PF) added: "We want to call on the international community to respond favourably to the call by the Prime Minister that these sanctions should be removed."

30 Hurungwe East MP Cde Sarah Mahoka (Zanu-PF) commended PM Tsvangirai's voluntary call for the removal of sanctions and said those against his new position were against Zimbabwe's development. PM Tsvangirai and his MDC-T party have in the past refused to acknowledge the existence of sanctions and preferred to identify them euphemistically as "restrictive measures" despite their clear devastating effects on the economic and social fabric of the nation.

- 35 Oddly, MDC-T legislators yesterday refused to acknowledge their leader's position and insisted there were no sanctions on Zimbabwe.
However, Mberengwa East legislator Cde Makhosini Hlongwane (Zanu-PF) said the fact that over 30 companies had been slapped with sanctions meant that thousands of their employees' lives were put at risk including other organisations they did business with.
- 40 "Travel bans are the propaganda side of the sanctions on Zimbabwe," he said.
On Monday, PM Tsvangirai told Mr Pind that he wanted all sanctions removed as they were affecting the full implementation of the GPA that led to the formation of the inclusive Government.
He said President Mugabe was the leader of the country and could not be separated from any processes affecting Zimbabwe's development.
- 45 This was after pressure had mounted on the PM to fulfil his GPA obligations and start lobbying for an end to the embargo.
Last week, the Zanu-PF Youth League gave PM Tsvangirai up to March 24 to start acting on his obligations or face unspecified action.
British Foreign Secretary David Miliband had also thrown the spotlight on PM Tsvangirai by telling
- 50 the House of Commons recently that they were waiting for direction from MDC-T on how to proceed on the issue of sanctions.
However, PM Tsvangirai's call came after both the EU and US had already extended their illegal embargoes by a year.
On Monday President Obama issued an executive order allowing the sanctions to continue.
- 55 Meanwhile, South African President Jacob Zuma arrived in Britain yesterday for a State visit where he is expected discuss how sanctions have negatively impacted on the inclusive Government's activities.

Appendix: A20

THE HERALD

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe: SMM Saga - Chinamasa, Parly Clash

BY ZVAMAIDA MURWIRA AND FARIRAI MACHIVENYIKA, 17 NOVEMBER 2010

Justice and Legal Affairs Minister Patrick Chinamasa yesterday accused Parliament of being biased in the contentious issue of SMM Holdings and businessman Mr Mutumwa Mawere.

In the House of Assembly's question-and-answer session, Minister Chinamasa said only Mr Mawere's side of the story was being heard.

- 5 Earlier on, Clerk of Parliament Mr Austin Zvoma had said the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy had acted within its mandate when it heard evidence from Mr Mawere on Monday
This was in response to a letter from Minister Chinamasa in which he said the hearing should have been stopped as the issues to be discussed were sub judice.

- 10 In a letter to Minister Chinamasa, Mr Zvoma said a matter became sub judice if the information prejudiced or interfered with the administration of justice.

The Deputy Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mrs Nomalanga Khumalo, yesterday tried to stop Minister Chinamasa from responding to legislators who wanted to know what was happening with SMM.

- 15 Mrs Khumalo told Minister Chinamasa, who was already on the floor, that the matter was pending before the courts.

Minister Chinamasa said: "On a point of order Madam Speaker, there must be something sinister (here).

"The Portfolio Committee has heard this matter without reference to me.

"I wrote to the Portfolio Committee and it refused (to listen to me) . . .

- 20 "This Parliament cannot have double standards, to refuse to hear the other side.

"The Clerk of Parliament said that this matter had nothing to do with Parliament and now I am being refused an opportunity to put the other side.

"We cannot allow this Parliament to be fed only one side of the story - it is not correct."

- 25 At that stage, Mrs Khumalo referred to Parliament's Standing Order 62 (d) that says no member may refer to any matter pending before the courts.

Minister Chinamasa said: "You know I am a lawyer and central to the principle of justice is to give the other side a hearing.

"In the matter that is referred to, my ministry has never been given a hearing . . .

"Why is everybody prepared to hear from one source without giving me an opportunity to be heard?"

30 Minister Chinamasa was explaining that Mr Mawere had violated the Companies Act by using asbestos export receipts to settle the US\$60 million purchase price for SMM, something the minister said was irregular.

"Mawere entered into an agreement of sale for the purchase of 100 percent shareholding in SMM, which is the owner of the asbestos mines, for US\$60 million, which was not paid.

35 "It is very wrong. Any lawyer will tell you that you cannot use a shareholder, to use the receipts of the company, to pay for the purchase of those shares.

"It is not allowed in terms of the Companies Act and in any case, even a bookkeeper will tell you that receipts are the income of a company," he said.

40 "It is the receipts that are used to pay for the production costs, running costs, working capital of that company.

"A shareholder who wants to use that money can only do so from the dividends, not from the receipts."

Earlier, Mr Zvoma wrote to the minister saying what was punishable as sub judice was not mere publication, but that the publication prejudiced or interfered with the administration of justice.

45 "This explains why the media of the land frequently publish matters pending before the courts without facing any criminal censure."

He said Parliament's sub judice rule only applied to motions before a House and not to committees.

Mr Zvoma said committees simply received evidence and made recommendations.

50 "They do not make and pronounce any decisions. At the conclusion of the enquiry, they deliberate and come up with informed findings and recommendations for inclusion in their report to the House.

"It, therefore, cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that the act of receiving evidence should be misconstrued as or would have the effect of influencing any pending judicial decisions."

Mr Zvoma said there was no acrimony between his office and that of the minister, merely differences in interpretation of regulations.

55 Meanwhile, in an interview Mr Zvoma said Senate adjourned last week because it had no business.

He pointed out that the 2011 National Budget -- to be presented on November 25 -- had to be passed by both Houses to be implemented.

Mr Zvoma said while he would not comment on action to be taken if Senate failed to sit, he shared Minister Chinamasa's sentiments that Parliament would have to be dissolved and elections held.

60 MDC-T senators have twice disrupted Senate business, arguing that provincial governors were unconstitutionally reappointed in August.

Governors sit in the Senate.

However, the re-appointments were constitutionally made.

Appendix: A21



Masawi ghost haunts Parly

VERENANDA LANGA | HARARE - Nov 18 2010 18:27

5 There was pandemonium in Parliament on Tuesday as debate on the late former Governor of Mashonaland Central, Ephraim Masawi, turned into a no-holds-barred verbal showdown. MPs from Zanu PF and MDC-T insulted each other in a heated debate over the late Masawi's hero status.

10 Zaka West MP Festus Dumbu (MDC-T) said Masawi did not deserve hero status and accused Zanu-PF of making the National Heroes Acre a members' only club where interment was exclusive. Some gallant warriors of the liberation struggle from the former Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (Zipra), PF Zapu's armed wing, MPs said, were given pauper's burials when they deserved to lie at the national shrine.

15 "There was Cde Chacha who was buried without even a coffin, under a mango tree. He was buried in dirty wrappings and his grave is not even built," said Dumbu without elaborating which "Cde Chacha" he was referring to.

Dumbu called Masawi a "purported gallant son of Zimbabwe" attracting the ire of Zanu-PF MPs who immediately raised a point of order with the Deputy Speaker of Parliament, Nomalanga Khumalo, claiming Dumba's statement was insulting.

20 "We are turning the National Heroes Acre into a National Heroes Hectare, full of people who do not deserve to be national heroes," said Dumbu.

Mutasa Central MP Trevor Saruwaka (MDC-T) said the declaration of Masawi as a national hero was a travesty of justice.

25 "Masawi died after the dubious declaration of my friend's mother, Tete Sabina (Mugabe) as a national hero and after the denial of the same status to Gibson Sibanda, who many felt had better credentials than the two," said Saruwaka.

He said declaration of one as a national hero had financial implications to the fiscus and therefore could not go unchallenged.

30 Harison Mudzuri, the MDC-T Zaka Central MP, joined in saying there were "worthless characters" that were conferred with the hero status by Zanu PF.

Buhera Central MP Tangwara Matimba (MDC-T) said it was important to live a noble life so that in death one could be respected. He said if one died doing wrong things, they would "go to hell in their suits and caskets bought by Zanu-PF even if they were buried at the Heroes Acre".

35 MDC-T MP for Highfield West, Simon Hove, described Masawi as "a notorious patron of two Mbare beerhalls".

"The other things that I need to bring to the attention of this House are the nefarious things he used to do in Mbare. He used to be a pickpocket and I stand to be challenged by anyone," said Hove.

The MDC-T MPs argued true heroes like Ndabaningi Sithole, Jairos Jiri and actor Safirio Madzikatire, MDC-M's Sibanda, among others, deserved hero status.

40 However, Zanu-PF MPs maintained their politburo would continue making decisions on who should be conferred hero status.

Hurungwe East MP Sara Mahoka referred to MDC-T MPs' blasting of the late Masawi as animal behaviour.

45 Mhondoro-Ngezi MP Bright Matonga (Zanu-PF) said the MDC-T MPs who were criticising the late Masawi were "devils possessed by the spirit of the biblical Legion".

Masawi died on Leukaemia (cancer) in September and was declared a national hero.

President Robert Mugabe has made it crystal clear that the national shrine was a Zanu-PF affair and those who thought otherwise should build their own shrines.

Appendix: A22



'Corrupt ministers must resign'

MERNAT MAFIRAKUREWA | HARARE - Nov 12 2010 18:20

The Deputy Minister of Justice and Legal Affairs Obert Gutu has called for the resignation of Cabinet ministers that stand accused of accruing wealth through corruption.

This comes at a time when Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) has said the inclusive government should come up with effective anti-corruption strategies.

5 Reports of the Minister of Local Government and Urban Development Ignatius Chombo's alleged massive wealth and revelations that Obert Mpfu, the Minister of Mines and Mining Development, allegedly solicited for bribes to award diamond mining contracts, have shocked the nation and sparked outrage from members of the public and civic society.

10 "Those of us who have amassed illegitimate wealth by means of looting and corruption should simply do the honourable thing and resign," said Gutu.

"I am one of those who are prepared to declare their assets anytime." Gutu said if corruption went on unchecked it would destroy the country. Recent media reports revealed that Chombo has allegedly amassed wealth of grand proportions. The minister has however denied he owns some of the properties that his estranged wife claims a share of.

15 According to court papers, Chombo's estranged wife Marian is claiming a share of the family assets that include: 80 residential and business stands, at least 20 houses, farms, hunting safaris, 12 investment companies, cars and diamonds.

Mpfu has defended the acquisition of his wealth saying he had obtained a \$1 million loan from a commercial bank to buy the properties.

20 Chombo is also implicated in a 54-page report produced by Harare City Council that calls for an investigation into his illegal acquisition of stands.

Mpfu was reportedly accused, in President Robert Mugabe's presence, of soliciting bribes from Lovemore Kurotwi, a director of Canadile Miners, to facilitate smooth operations at Chiadzwa diamond fields.

25 The Global Corruption Perceptions Index released a fortnight ago ranked Zimbabwe 134 out of the 178 surveyed countries having scored 2,4 out of 10.

Any country that scores between 0 and 5 is perceived to be highly corrupt.

MDC-99 leader Job Sikhala said: "Those people who every day painstakingly defend Zanu PF should look at Chombo's stands."

30 Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai's MDC says Chombo's assets are merely a tip of the iceberg, compared to the collective loot that the entire top Zanu PF leadership holds as personal and family estates.

"There are numerous reports of other senior leaders owning literally whole towns, like Rusape and Victoria Falls," the party said in a statement.

35 TIZ said strategies formulated by the inclusive government should be mainstreamed into the economic recovery agenda.

"Strategies are meaningless without buy-in from leaders," said TIZ in a statement. "For a start all senior public office-bearers have to set an immediate example of declaring their assets on an annual basis."

40 TIZ said there would be no sustained economic recovery and reconciliation without dealing with the massive corruption that the nation had witnessed in the past decade.

Minister of Transport and Infrastructural Development Nicholas Goche was last month grilled in Parliament for "corruptly" allocating tollgate funds.

45 Goche allocated Bindura, his home area, the lion's share, of over \$2 million, of the \$14 707 961 disbursed for road development while other districts got as little as \$10 000.

Bindura Town Council officials have since said they have not seen the money.

Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition has called upon the Anti-Corruption Commission to investigate sources of Chombo's wealth.

50 "It is a disservice to the public if this issue goes down to the drain without proper investigation," the organisation said.

"Being a public official, the people have the right to know how Minister Chombo built such an empire over the years of his service in government."

Appendix: A23**MDC-T forces Senate adjournment**

VENERANDA LANGA | HARARE - Nov 10 2010 19:51

Senate was Wednesday adjourned to February next year after MDC-T senators continued to disrupt business — singing and shouting — in the House in protest against the attendance of provincial governors whom they refuse to recognise arguing they were unilaterally appointed by President Robert Mugabe.

5 Four provincial governors turned up Wednesday at Senate and MDC-T senators stood their ground saying they would never allow “intruders”.

They started chanting a Shona song Taramba zvemadisinyongoro (We refuse confusion), accompanied by spirited dancing and whistling.

10 Harare Metropolitan Province Governor David Karimanzira, Midlands Governor Jason Machaya, Matabeleland North Governor Sithokozile Mathuthu and Mashonaland West Governor Faber Chidarikire had turned up to attend senate business.

But MDC-T senators told NewsDay they would never allow them to masquerade as governors until President Mugabe followed the correct procedure and appoint them in consultation with the other principals in the GPA.

15 President of the Senate Edna Madzongwe was completely helpless. She continuously shouted: “Order, you are disrupting business in the House” but it did not help.

She sent the Senate Sergeant-at-Arms to march the singing MDC-T senators out of the chamber but they would have none of it.

They refused to budge and continued singing in defiance of her order.

20 As the singing got intense, MDC-T deputy national organising secretary Morgan Komichi – in poetic fashion—chanted: “The Bulawayo governor seat is ours, Harare is ours, Masvingo is ours, Matabeleland North is ours. We want our seats as governors because we won them during the elections. Let us respect the laws of the land.”

25 After failing to contain the chaos, Madzongwe had no option but to adjourn the Upper House to the February 8, 2011.

Appendix: A24**MPs slam Chiadzwa 'blockade'**

MERNART MAFIRAKUREWA | HARARE - Aug 07 2010 18:53

The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy has castigated the Mines and Mining Development ministry for barring them from visiting the Chiadzwa diamond fields, yet gladly opening it to foreign observers.

5 The ministry has twice stopped the portfolio committee from touring Chiadzwa diamond fields, raising questions about the transparency of the goings-on.

Zimbabwe will from today host the Kimberley Process (KP) Review Certification and the African Diamond Producers' Association observer teams.

KP monitor Abbey Chikane and his delegation are also expected in the country this weekend.

10 Chiredzi West MP Moses Mare said the move to bar them from touring Chiadzwa was baffling and in violation of their constitutional mandate of overseeing events in the sector.

"The portfolio committee has become irrelevant. Why do we need the justification of outsiders, when there are local bodies that have been set up to do just that?" Mare asked.

Mare said for as long as the committee was not allowed into Chiadzwa, suspicion of illicit dealings in the country's diamonds would continue.

15 He said none of the members in the portfolio committee had been invited for the weekend tour.

In a statement issued after the first visit was aborted on March 30, the committee said it was in the "interest of the nation" for it to tour Chiadzwa and table its findings before Parliament.

20 "It is the committee's stand that the relevant authorities should uphold the principle of separation of powers and cooperate with Parliament in facilitating the granting of the clearance and allowing the committee to exercise its oversight responsibilities, so that it can compile and table its findings in Parliament without further delay, in the interest of the nation," said the committee.

Glen View North MP Fani Munengami said the committee was considering meeting soon to look at the issue and come up with the way forward.

25 Munengami said it was not the committee's intention to undermine the power of Cabinet ministers but it wanted to carry out its oversight role, as enshrined in the Constitution.

"We should be able to meet this coming Tuesday to discuss the issue," Munengami said.

"Constituencies that we represent are surprised at the latest developments."

30 In March this year, the committee questioned Mines and Mining Development minister, Obert Mpofu, and directors of Mbada Diamonds and Canadile Mining, the two companies partnering the government in mining the precious stones.

Appendix: A25**MPs blast foreign trips expenditure (26 November, 2010)**

Veneranda Langa

- 5 Angry Members of Parliament have blasted government for its extravagant expenditure on foreign trips while civil servants and MPs remained poorly paid. Parliamentarians from both ZANU PF and MDC spoke with one voice, as they contribute to a motion by Mwenezi east MP, Kudakwashe Bhasikiti, on the welfare of MPs, civil servants and government ministries, which he presented soon after the Budget statement by minister of Finance, Tendai Biti on Thursday.
- 10 Biti had told Parliament that government should be cautious about overspending on foreign trips as it had gobbled up \$29.2 million 2010.
Mps want a budget of \$12 million for their salaries. Which would see them earning \$3000 per month.
- 15 Goromonzi North MP. Paddy Zhanda (ZANU PF).questioned the composition of the Parliament Standing Rules and Orders Committee (SROC) which decides on the welfare of MPs and said it was composed of the Executive. Who did not really care about MPs.
Madam Speaker, the issue of our welfare being at the mercy of the executive is very wrong,” said Zhanda”.
- 20 “We (mps) have no say and do not attend any committees of the executive, and for the executive to come and attend committees of the parliament and preside over our own welfare is very wrong.”
Zhanda said the state should pay for the vehicles that were given to mps.
“We must put it on record that those vehicles that we were given we do not owe anybody any money at all.
“Those vehicles are working on behalf of the state and therefore, the state will have to pay for them,” he said.
- 25 Uzumba MP Simbaneuta Mudarikwa (ZANU PF), said the country was creating professional thieves band discrediting government by underpaying civil servants.
Buhera Central MP, Tangwara Matimba (MDC T), said it was wrong for a country which said it was under sanctions to gobble up \$29.2 million on foreign trips.
- 30 Harrison Mudzuri, the MDC-T mp for Zaka central likened the work of mps to a pot which is used for cooking but is not allowed to enjoy what was being cooked in it.
Kuwadzana MP Lucia Matibenga urged government to priorities important issues. “What comes first-paying our civil servants, or having so many diplomatic missions, or so many trips to travel abroad to do diplomacy?
- 35 “Do you do diplomacy while your kids are starving? Asked Matibenga
Mbizo mp settlement Chikwinya (MDC-T)said it did not make sense that \$29.2 million had been expended in foreign travel by the Executive.
“ if you divide a \$29.2 million among 31 ministries, you will find that almost every ministry gobbled \$1 million in foreign travel alone,” said Chikwinya.

5

Appendix: A26**Mawere breathes fire: Attacks Chinamasa in Parly (Tuesday, November 16, 2010)**

10 Veneranda Langa

Business mogul Mutumwa Mawere yesterday told the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Mines and Energy the events that led to his specification and grabbing of his business empire were tantamount to commercial violence.

15 Mawere accused the Minister of Justice and Legal Affairs Patrick Chinamasa of using the legal system which he presides over to plunder his companies while he could not defend himself as a specified person.

As the business magnate presented his case, Chinamasa was making last minute efforts to scuttle Mawere's hearing from taking place on the grounds that it was an issue before the courts and therefore *sub judice* hence it could not be discussed in Parliament.

20 In a letter to the Clerk of Parliament Austin Zvoma and copied to the Speaker of Parliament Lovemore Moyo, Chinamasa apparently tried to block the committee from getting oral evidence from Mawere. According to the source it appeared that Chinamasa lost timing as he thought the hearing would be in the afternoon hence he had delivered the letter yesterday afternoon. As a result the letter came too late because the hearing took place in the morning- before the letter was
25 delivered to Parliament.

Curiously, Chinamasa has been issuing press statements claiming Mawere was no longer a shareholder in SMM Holdings, an issue that the business magnate disputed before the committee.

"You saw the adverts by the minister where he said Mawere was not a shareholder of SMM Holdings," said Mawere. "The constitution says you cannot deprive someone of their companies."

30 Mawere was giving evidence to the Edward Chindori Chininga led Mines and Energy Committee to allow Parliament to familiarize itself with the background of the legal issues that led to the annexation of his business empire.

"I do not think the Reconstruction Act should be applied on a de- specified person," said Mawere. "I do not think the Act was meant to allow government to take the assets of a de- specified person."

35 The State Indebted Insolvency Companies Act, the Reconstruction of State- Indebted Insolvent Companies Act and the Prevention of Corruption Act, Mawere said were used to fraudulently wrest his companies from him.

"That is how the two Acts were used to deprive me of my properties. Today people do not even know that the law prevents me to go to the mines. Even if you are an administrator you cannot be pointed by someone who is an interested party," said Mawere.

40 Mawere said taking assets from someone who had been de- specified was tantamount to robbing an "amputated" person of furniture in their house.

"If you look at the Prevention of Corruption Act, it is very clear that it does not allow someone to go and take your furniture while you are amputated," he said.

45 He said he would hold the Minister of Home Affairs, which is responsible for administering the act, accountable for allowing government to take over his resources. The Reconstruction Act, he said, was an instrument which was used to "steal" his companies as he had never been indebted to government but had been indebted to companies like Zesa and Zimra.

50 “If you look at the statement prepared by the curator Afaras Gwaradzimba, it shows that it is companies like Zesa, Zimra, MMCZ and NSSA that were the creditors, but the state assumed the debt and placed SMM Holdings under an administrator. Such laws do not exist anywhere else in the world.” Mawere said the acceptable situation was that he was supposed to deal with the issue of debt with the companies involved and not with government as it was only a ploy to take over his companies.

55 “If we have a dispute the two of us are equal and have to go to a tribunal. However, if this law permits the Executive to be a court I now find myself not before a court but before a minister who now says I owe the state,” said Mawere. He continued, “It is actually for the courts to determine whether a company cannot pay debts, but in the case of SMM Holdings the judge became Chinamasa, he became administrator and everything.”

Appendix : A27



5

MPs demands outrageous- public (Thursday, December 9, 2010)

Mernat Mafirakurewa

The public has reacted angrily to demands by MPs who recently said they would not pass the 2011 National Budget unless their salaries were increased from \$400 to \$3 000 per month.

10 MPs on Tuesday threatened to block the passage of the Finance (2010) Bill and Appropriation (2011) Bill demanding that Finance minister Tendai Biti should make amendments to the budget upping their salaries first.

They also demanded that the minister should raise their constituency development fund from \$50 000 to \$ 200 000 each.

15 Scores of readers visited the Newsday website on Tuesday with the majority describing the MPs' demands as "outrageous".

“The demands are outrageous. Can they post what they have done to date in their respective constituencies? said Chasu Maoko. “This is holding the country to ransom. Tendai (Biti), don't give them a penny until they can wake up and explore meaningfully what they can do for the ordinary citizen.”

20 Wilson Svosva said the MPs were out of touch with the real challenges facing the country at this juncture. “They are all out of their minds. Don't they know that liquidity is a problem in Zimbabwe?” asked Svosva.

Another reader said, “We are now going to show them the exit door come election mid next year.

25 They know we want a new constitution which is facing financial challenges.”

“Mr (Comrade) Zhandu, you say ‘yours is an institution that carries the mandate of those that elected you’. Let me tell you now, that does not include holding the nation to ransom.”

Francis Mafurati said Biti had done his best in his budget allocation. “If Zhandu (Paddy) is for the people I will request him that he supports the budget so that our country proceeds,” he said. “I believe consultations were made in all the provinces and MPs were part of this. What a shame. But we know this may normally be the antagonism between Zanu and MDC.”

30 Several other readers said MPs should come with initiatives to uplift their communities instead of relying on the treasury.

They said MPs should ensure that their constituencies are well taken care of before making unreasonable demands.

35 “If you grab the bigger chunk where will the kids feed from? Instead of clamouring for huge salaries you should be advocating for better policies which can enlarge the cake to feed everyone,” one reader said.

“The cake is small and if we abuse it like you are advocating, we will be left with nothing. You have benefited so much through the farms, inputs, diesel, corrupt deals, preferential treatment and you still want more. You are there to serve the people to the extent of subsidizing them if need be not to destroy their livelihood,” said another reader.

40 However, John Makamure, the executive director of the Southern African Parliamentary Support Trust, said the MPs were justified in their demands.

45 “MPs are allowed to advocate for improvement of their welfare,” said Makamure. “\$3 000 is not on the high side, it’s reasonable”.

He said the funds for constituency development were not meant for the MPs but for the development of constituencies they serve.

Chairman of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Budget and Finance Zhandu, who is also MP for Goromonzi North (Zanu PF), told Biti on Tuesday that MPs were not going to allow the whipping system to be used on them while debating the National Budget.

50 He said the Executive should respect the views of MPs because the Legislature was the legislative arm of government which had the power to allow the passage of the National Budget through passing the Finance Bill and the Appropriation (2011) Bill.

55 “During Budget debate, it is important to note the principle of separation of powers between arms of state and to observe that the Legislature should be respected as an institution that carries the mandate of Zimbabweans who voted for them,” said Zhandu.

“We appreciate the whipping system, but it should be applicable in areas where there is difference of policy. However, when we debate matters of the budget, the whipping system should not be there.”

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The Standard

5 **Massive cover-up at Chiadzwa (April 4- 10, 2010)**

BY VUSUMUZI SIFILE

Parliament is now pushing for a special investigation into Mines and Mining Development Minister Obert Mpofu’s interest in the companies that were controversially given licenses to mine the Chiadzwa diamonds after Mps were barred from touring the fields last week.

5 Mpofu reportedly refused to give members of the Parliamentary portfolio committee on Mines and Energy the go-ahead to visit the Canadile diamond storage facilities in Mutare as well as the Mbada diamonds and Canadile Mining operations in Chiadzwa.

Yesterday the Minister became abusive when he was asked to comment on the latest developments saying: “Don’t call me, you are an idiot.”

10 The committee led by Guruve South legislator Edward Chindori-Chininga had travelled to Mutare on Tuesday after getting approval from the Home Affairs co-ministers but were told that they could not proceed with the tour without Mpofu’s clearance.

Mpofu recently told the same committee that he could not rule out the fact that some of the directors behind the diamond companies were crooks.

15 He said it was difficult to find a clean diamond investor in the world over and there are indications that the MPs already have plans to investigate him for an alleged property- buying spree that began in November last year.

The minister has reportedly bought in cash over 27 properties in his hometown of Victoria Falls and in Bulawayo.

- 20 The committee was also scheduled to meet the Marange council and families to be relocated from the diamond fields. The team was expected to counsel the affected families. Meetings scheduled with Manicaland governor Christopher Mushowe also hit a snag after he snubbed the team.
- 25 Attempts to get a comment from Chindori Chininga and Parliament public relations department were futile. Parliament officials said they had prepared a statement that would be released once approved by Clerk of Parliament Austin Zvoma. But sources told *The Standard* that the police and Ministry of Home Affairs had agreed to the visit but Mpfu and Mushowe refused to issue the clearance.
- 30 “The Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation (ZMDC) prepared all the required letters to request clearance for the committee to visit Chiadzwa responding to a request by the Office of the Clerk of Parliament,” said a member of the committee. “The police could not go ahead without the approval of the Minister of Mines since the reservation of the area was declared in terms of Mines and Minerals Act. The minister of Mines refused to give authority for the police to give clearance, yet the Ministry of Home Affairs had agreed.”
- 35 Parliament officials reportedly spent the whole of Tuesday and Wednesday trying to secure the clearance. “All the MPs in the committee did not take that lightly, and they are determined to dig the matter to establish what Mpfu could have been trying to hide,” said a member of the committee.
- 40 “The best way forward is for the full house of Parliament to set up a special committee to investigate the minister; who is also a Member of Parliament. This creates unnecessary conflict between parliament and the executive which seems to shield him in the current probe by the committee.” A committee of parliament can only play an oversight role to keep checks on ministers and officials, but cannot investigate an MP for corruption. Where there are allegations of corruption, parliament sets up a special committee selected and set up by the full House of Assembly to investigate a member.
- 45 “The Minister is already making accusations that the committee is on a witchhunt. These are just tactics to delay and derail the oversight probe by the committee on Mines and Energy and hopefully continue to create unnecessary friction and conflict between institutions of governance,” said the member.
- 50 “If you will recall Hon Mpfu created the same conflict and friction between parliament and the executive when he lied before a parliamentary committee on International Trade on Zisco and was found in contempt of parliament and sentenced to a suspended sentence.” The current probe has already established some irregularities in the exploitation of the Chiadzwa diamonds by Mbada Diamonds and Canadile Mining.
- 55 Some of the senior officials involved in the project have dubious backgrounds, with some of them having once been prosecuted in Angola and South Africa.

Appendix: A29**The Standard****Chombo must quit over wealth- TIZ (29 November 2010)**

5 By Walter Marwizi

TRANSPARENCY International Zimbabwe (TIZ) says Local Government minister Ignatius Chombo, should resign following the controversy over his wealth.

The Minister's wealth, first revealed by *The Standard* in August last year, has been the subject to a protracted maintenance dispute between him estranged wife, Marian.

10 Reports indicate Chombo and his wife may have finally reached some understanding on how to share their wealth but that development alone has failed to neuter the interest the case has generated among Zimbabweans.

On the popular social net-working site, Facebook, bars and workplaces, the properties that Chombo own have become a subject of animated discussions.

15 Many have wondered how the former university lecturer managed to acquire valuable assets at a time when Zimbabwean was experiencing its worst economic crisis.

Chombo agreed in principle to meet his journalist but up to the time of going to the press, he had not fulfilled his promise.

20 Titus Gwemende, the TIZ programme manager, said in a democracy, when a minister was accused of owning such wealth, the honorable thing for him to do was to resign.

Chombo is a liability to the inclusive government", said Gwemende.

"Whatever the size of his wealth, the question is how did he get that?"

"It's time for him to step aside, he needs to go".

25 Gwemende said the public deserved to know the truth about the wealth accumulated by the public of officials, stressing that disclosure was important if the country was to succeed in fighting corruption. The TIZ programme manger said in view of the dispute over assets acquired by the minister : it was imperative for government to put in place measures that would compel public officials to declare their assets.

30 "We want a return to the 1980s Leadership Code. All ministers should give an account every year of their wealth," he said.

Appendix: A30**The Standard****Parliament urges ban on barter deals (November 14 to 20, 2010)**

By Nqaba Matshazi

5 The Parliament Committee on Public Accounts has declared that barter trade and non-cash transactions should be banned as a form of payment at government hospitals, saying this was prejudicing the country of much needed revenue.

Effects of this declaration are likely to be felt rural areas where patients sometimes find it hard to access cash since the dolarisation of the economy early last year.

10 Most health institutions are not receiving adequate funding from the government and had resorted to accepting food hampers as payment. With these in turn used to cater for patients who would have been admitted.

Shamva, Mvurwi and Mutawatawa District Hospitals were fingered as being the main culprits in engaging in barter trade and accepting food items as a mode of payment.

15 Ministry of Health and Child Welfare permanent secretary, Gerald Gwinji told a parliamentary portfolio committee that the system of accepting food stuffs had been inherited from mission hospitals at the end of 2008 at a time when the ministry could no longer support its institutions.

"in his submission to the committee [he] highlighted that the practice of payment of hospital bills in kind came about in 2008 when committee could access foreign currency and as a result offered to pay in kind reads the report.

20 The report details public accounts for 2009 after an audit by the Comptroller General of public accounts which was tabled before parliament last month.

It is reported that Shamva and Mvurwi had devised a standard system of costing the food stuffs so that the public could not be short changed.

- 25 “The food items offered as payment were mainly maize, beans and in the case of St Albert animals.”
The report continues. “The collection food items will be used for feeding in-patients.”
Despite protestations from provincial health executives that the practice was good and benefited both the health institutions and the patients, the parliament portfolio refused to budge, maintaining that the practice should be outlawed.
- 30 Other ministries that were fingered in engaging in barter trade were energy and power Development, Transport, communications, Infrastructure Development and foreign Affairs.
Since the advent of the multiple currencies, rural populations have resorted to barter exchange as foreign currency is largely inaccessible.
This has seen them resorting to barter trade for public service such as education, health and transport.

Appendix: A31

The Standard

- 5 **Concern over general hands handling cash in government offices (November 14 to 20, 2010)**
By Nqaba Matsazi

An acute exodus of workers has seen some government departments employing general hands to collect cash from customers, compromising accounting systems.

- 10 The ministry of health and child Welfare was the most affected, with a number of hospitals tasking cleaners and gardeners to handle cash and that led to the disappearance of various sums of money.
According to 2009 report drawn by the public account committee tabled before parliament last month, there was a general laxity in the handling of public funds going largely unaccounted for.
“The committee noted with concern that there is laxity in cash management at the ministry was entrusting funds in the hands of unqualified personnel such as general hands,” reads the report.” As a
15 result there is no proper trail of documentation relating to the manner in which the cash has been utilized.”

A short fall in funds was recorded at Mutoko District Hospital after a general had had been put in charge of handling funds. The situation replicated itself at Murehwa and Mutawatawa District Hospitals, where again cleaners and office orderlies were in charge of handling cash.

- 20 However, the health ministry justified itself by claiming that due to the shortage of accounts clerks, the ministry had been given the green light to employ general hands to “handle work in the finance section with close supervision by medical officers.
“[The] government should as a matter of priority (sic) address the problem of critical skills in government as the current situation where general hands or staff without requisite skills are tasked to
25 handle jobs which require highly competent skills which is causing a serious drain on the fiscus through mismanagement, the portfolio committee advised.

An audit of funds at government hospitals revealed rampant corruption and theft of money and equipment among others, as these institutions were inadequately staffed.

- 30 The report also revealed that money was going unaccounted for, with some institutions spending and accruing unnecessary expenditure without seeking prior authorization.

A case in point was at Tsholotsho Hospital where R3 441 went missing, with the institution, with the institution claiming that the money had been used to purchase a beast for tuberculosis celebrations in the district.

- 35 “It was alleged that ZAR2 800 was spent on a beast meant for the TB commemoration day and the shortfall of ZAR641 was attributed to exchange losses due to fluctuations in the South African rand to the United States dollar,” reads the report.

However, the public accounts committee questioned this explanation, saying the payments had been made in rand and which meant that the given reason is false.

- 40 The committee recommended that “... the ministry recovers the shortfall and appropriate disciplinary action be taken on the officer responsible.”

Appendix: A32**THE HERALD**

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

5

Zimbabwe: Chombo, Wife Fight Over Assets

BY PETER MATAMBANADZO, 5 NOVEMBER 2010

Harare — LOCAL Government, Rural and Urban Development Minister Ignatius Chombo is embroiled in an acrimonious property-sharing wrangle with his wife, Marian, from whom he has been separated for the past three years.

The protracted divorce and property sharing dispute is now before the High Court.

The estranged couple agreed to divorce, but failed to reach a settlement on the sharing of vast properties spread countrywide despite several pre-trial conferences held to try to resolve the matter without going to trial.

On Wednesday, Judge President Justice George Chiweshe referred the contentious issues to trial after another attempt to resolve the matter hit a brick wall.

During the civil trial, the court will seek to come up with a formula on how to share the matrimonial property.

The court will hear evidence regarding contributions made by each of the parties in acquiring the properties.

The court will look at money invested as well as generation of ideas.

The hearing date is yet to be set.

Mr Wilson Manase of Manase and Manase is acting for Minister Chombo while Mr Motsi Sinyoro of Sinyoro and Partners is representing Mrs Marian Chombo (nee Muhloyi).

The two separated in 2007 and Minister Chombo wants a divorce, citing irreconcilable differences.

"The marriage between the two parties is irretrievably broken down to an extent that the two are not reconcilable and no prospects for . . . restoration of a normal marriage relationship," stated the minister in his declaration filed with the court.

He says the two have not lived together as husband and wife for at least 24 months and there is no more love or affection.

Minister Chombo has pledged to look after their two children, born in 1986 and 1989.

"He will take care of his two children's educational requirements, including air fares once a year to and from school, tuition and ancillary expenses," he said.

Minister Chombo says during the subsistence of the marriage they acquired property like furniture, utensils and electronic equipment.

He wants the couple's two houses in Alexandra Park and Greendale awarded to his wife.

The minister also proposes that all movable property at their Allan Grange Farm go to Mrs Chombo on condition that farming equipment which is not on loan or not yet fully-paid for is valued and shared.

He also wants to be granted the first offer to buy the equipment.

Minister Chombo, however, is not agreeable to paying his estranged wife the US\$2 000 monthly maintenance she is claiming, arguing that she can earn a living from the properties and businesses he wants to cede to her.

Mrs Chombo, in her summary of evidence, claims she was customarily married to the minister in the United States in 1985.

In 1993 she said they renewed their vows and remarried under the Marriages Act (Chapter 5:11).

"Defendant (Mrs Chombo) will testify that the relationship became strained when plaintiff (Minister Chombo) left matrimonial home saying that he wanted to sort out some personal issues and promised to come back home," Mrs Chombo says.

She says since then the marriage has been strained but there are prospects for restoration of normal marriage.

Given a chance to reflect on the matter without undue influence, Mrs Chombo feels the marriage can be successfully resuscitated.

On the matrimonial assets, Mrs Chombo says she signed a post-nuptial agreement stating that they will share 50 percent of all properties acquired -- whether held personally or in proxy -- during the subsistence of their marriage.

She averred that on top of fixed assets including a borehole, generator, coldroom, it will be just for Minister Chombo to pay a monthly maintenance of US\$2 000 until her death or re-marriage.

She also wants the court to award her 15 of the family vehicles that include:

60• 4 Toyota Land Cruisers

- 3 Mercedes Benzes
- Mahindra
- 2 Nissan Wolfs,
- 1 Toyota Vigo,

65• 1 Mazda BT-50,

- 1 Bus
- 1 Nissan Hardbody
- 1 Toyota Hilux

Mrs Chombo is also claiming other properties that include:

70• 2 Glen View houses

- 2 flats in Queensdale,
- A property in Katanga Township,
- Stand Number 1037 Mount Pleasant Heights
- 4 Norton business stands

75• 3 Chinhoyi business stands,

- 4 Banket business stands,
- 1 commercial stand in Epworth,
- 2 residential stands in Chirundu
- 4 commercial stands in Kariba

80• 1 stand in Ruwa

- 1 stand in Chinhoyi,
- 2 stands in Mutare
- 2 stands in Binga.
- 4 stands in Victoria Falls

85• 1 stand in Zvimba Rural

- Chitungwiza (two residential and two commercial stands)
- Beitbridge (four stands),
- 20 stands in Crow Hill, Borrowdale
- 10 stands in Glen Lorne,

90• 2 flats at Eastview Gardens (B319 and B320)

- 1 flat at San Sebastian Flats in the Avenues, Harare
- Number 79 West Road, Avondale.
- Greendale house
- Number 36 Cleveland Road, Milton Park

95• Number 135 Port Road, Norton,

- 2 Bulawayo houses.
- Number 18 Cuba Rd, Mount Pleasant
- Number 45 Basset Crescent, Alexandra Park,
- 2 Chegutu houses

100• 1 Glen Lorne house (Harare)

- 2 houses (Victoria Falls).
- Stand along Simon Mazorodze Road,
- Norton (one stand)
- Avondale (two stands)

105• 365 Beverly House (one stand)

- Bulawayo (three stands),
- Mica Point Kariba (one stand).

She further wants the court to share farming equipment at New Allan Grange Farm including three tractors, two new combine harvesters, two boom sprayers and two engines.

110 She is also seeking an order compelling Minister Chombo to cede to her shares in the family's 10 companies including Dickest, Hamdinger, Landberry and Track in Security Company.

Mrs Chombo, in her court papers, is also claiming cattle at Darton Farm, shared chicken runs, pigsties, a shop, grinding mill, house, mills, tractors, lorries, six trucks, five of which are non-runners, four trailers (three non-runners) and one truck.

115 She added that other interests were the Mvurwi Mine, hunting safari lodges in Chiredzi, Hwange, Magunje and Chirundu as well as properties in South Africa.

Appendix: A33

THE HERALD

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

5

Inclusivity marks Parly opening (The Herald, 07 October 2009)

Herald Reporter

10 Zimbabwe is ready to engage those countries that have been hostile to it, President Mugabe said yesterday.

Officially opening the Second Session of the Seventh Parliament in Harare, President Mugabe said Zimbabwe would continue to engage the Western community with a view to normalising relations.

“Our country remains in a positive stance to enter into freshly friendly and co- operative relations with those countries that have been hostile to us in the past,” he said.

15 He however stressed that engagement must ultimately lead to the speed removal of the economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by the West for embarking on the revolutionary land reform programme.

20 “We will also continue to engage our international partners on a bilateral level through Joint Commissions of Co-operation and other treaties, in order to drum up support for our economic recovery programme.

‘Following the launch of the Zimbabwe- European Union dialogue in Brussels early this year, our re-engagement with the European is gathering momentum. However, as our inclusive government re-engages the western countries, we expect those countries that have imposed illegal sanctions which have hurt and continue to hurt our economy and the generality of our people to remove them.’

25 President Mugabe urged Zimbabweans to unite for economic turn- around, saying national development was a collective responsibility.

30 “If the realisation of the fruits of our economic turn-around effort may seem to take longer than expected, it is because the parameters for it have been more demanding in both form and content than expected. Together, let us build the bridges of amity, forgiveness, trust and togetherness. Let us be the Zimbabwe united in body, mind and spirit. Only that way can we really succeed,” the President said.

The new session, President said, was historic in that it was the first since the formation of the inclusive Government by Zanu- PF, MDC- T and MDC. He said in keeping with the Global Political Agreement, the crafting of a new constitution was on course. To expedite the work, the principals- President Mugabe, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and Deputy PM Mutambara- agreed to include the six negotiators to the GPA in the constitutional management committee. “

35 The process of establishing the Zimbabwe Media Commission, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission was progressing well and conclusion was imminent,” he said.

40 “A Bill to regulate matters incidental to the establishment of Human Rights Commission will be introduced in this August House during this session,” he said.

The Government was deeply concerned by the plight of civil servants.

45 “The preferred situation is one where the salaries and the allowances of public servants are benchmarked against the Poverty Datum Line. This will be undertaken as soon as resources become available. I, therefore, appeal to public servants to remain patient as the necessary arrangements are being put in place.”

He said work has already started on a Medium-Term Plan to succeed the Short- Term Emergency Recovery Programme, as well as the Three- Year Micro- Economic Framework to cover the period 2010 to 2012.

50 “The two programmes which are succeeding STERP are expected to usher in the transition from the economic stabilisation mode to a growth and development one,” he said.

The session, he said, would debate the Public Finance Management Bill while the Audit Office Bill would be tabled to replace the Audit and Exchequer Act. The Bill will provide for the establishment of an independent National Audit Office and Audit Office Commission. Amendments to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Act to enhance the effectiveness of the central bank will also be tabled.

55 “With the summer cropping now upon us, efforts are afoot to ensure utmost preparedness in terms of inputs and tillage service provision,” he said.

President Mugabe said the diamond industry continued to court the attention of investors.

60 “So far, two serious investors have been selected. The engagement of the investors will help bring progress to Chiadzwa, where measures to ensure the orderly relocation of the local families to pave way for full- scale commercial mining, are already underway,” he said.

The state was pursuing the rehabilitation of Hwange Power Station and the resuscitation of smaller stations to address power shortages.

President Mugabe left for Geneva, Switzerland, last night to attend the International

65 Telecommunications Union World Summit. He was accompanied by the First Lady Amai Grace Mugabe, Foreign Affairs Minister Simbarashe Mumbengegwi, Transport and Communications Minister Nicholas Goche and other senior government officials.

Appendix: A34

THE HERALD

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

5 **Play your role, PM urges Parly (The Herald, 02 December, 2009)**

Herald Reporter

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai has urged parliamentarians to actively discharge their oversight role by holding public officials accountable for their actions. He was speaking in the House of Assemblies yesterday.

10 “It is essential that this House becomes a vibrant force for democracy and accountability in Zimbabwe, such that all public officials recognise Parliament’s ability and determination to investigate. Every public official- whether a Minister, a policeman or a civil servant who has broken the law, acted corruptly or simply incompetently must respect the supremacy of this House,” PM Tsvangirai said.
15 He commended Cabinet for leading economic recovery saying Government will strive to maintain fiscal discipline.

20 “I wish to acknowledge the skill, commitment and dedication of all ministers who have been involved in overseeing the country’s economic recovery. As Government we support the drive to instil budgetary discipline within our Government and moves to introduce greater accountability and fiscal rigour among all ministries,” he said.

PM Tsvangirai also commended legislators for carrying out their duties under difficult circumstances and assured them that Government was aware of the concerns.

25 “I am aware that you Mr Speaker have received a proposal from the Welfare Committee representing MPs and Government will ensure that this issue and the non- payment of sitting and other allowances, receives the attention they deserve within our constrained economic environment,” he said.

30 The Prime Minister also said he would present a Government Work Programme next year that would form the basis of the legislative agenda once approved by Council of Ministers and Cabinet. The work programme will be informed by the need to promote economic growth, guarantee basic services and infrastructure development, and advance basic freedoms. He also acknowledged the role of Sadc and South Africa in facilitating dialogue between the parties in the inclusive Government.

“I wish to acknowledge the continued involvement of Sadc as the guarantors of the Global Political Agreement and for standing by the people of Zimbabwe in ensuring that the GPA is implemented in full,” he said.

35 “In particular, the role of South Africa as the facilitator of the dialogue process is most appreciated.” Responding to the Prime Minister’s speech, Mwenezi East legislator Cde Kudakwashe Bhasikiti urged MPs to fight corruption and implored Government to pay them allowances commensurate with other Sadc countries. Goromonzi North Member of the House of Assembly, Cde Paddy Zhanda called on Government to urgently improve the welfare of MPs to stamp out corruption.

Cde Zhanda said Zimbabwe has enough resources to ensure a better standard of living for its citizens.

Appendix: A35

5

Major victory for MDC- Tas Parly passes Posa amendments (Newsday, Thursday, December 9, 2010)

Mernat Mafirakureva

10 The MDC- T yesterday scored a major victory in Parliament when proposed amendments to the draconian Public Order and Security Act (POSA), a law which has curtailed basic freedoms, were passed in their entirety after the third reading.

MDC- T chief whip and Mutare Central MP innocent Gonese introduced a motion to amend Posa through a private member's bill in October last year in an effort to remove repressive clauses from the law.

15 Gonese's Bill sought to ensure that public gatherings were regulated in a manner that would allow Zimbabweans to exercise their democratic right to engage and to express themselves through the medium of peaceful assembly and association.

If passed by Senate and assented to by President Robert Mugabe, the Bill will radically reduce police powers, by transferring the power to prohibit meetings from police to magistrates and repealing the provisions penalising failure to carry IDs.

20 In terms of the amendments, where one or more police officers use force in order to disperse a gathering or prevent disorder at a gathering, the police officer or senior police officer concerned, as the case may be, shall prepare a written report detailing the circumstances in which the force was used.

25 The changes also compel the police to disclose the nature of the force that was used and the identity of the police officers who used the force and any deaths, injuries or loss of or damage to property resulting from the use of the force.

The police shall cause copies of the report to be forwarded without delay to the Minister of Home Affairs and to the convener of the gathering.

Gonese said yesterday the next stage was for the Bill to go Senate for consideration.

30 Deputy Minister of Women Affairs and Community Development Jessi Majome said: "It is a political progression made for Zimbabwe and a great statement on the path of democracy and freedom of association. It's a welcome development especially coming two days before the country celebrate International Human Rights Day."

35

Appendix: A36**Zanu PF, MDC- T clear the way for Gono's exit (The Standard, 22- 28 November, 2009)**

By Caiphas Chimhete

10 The partial immunity granted to the Central Bank Governor Gideon Gono through amendments to the Reserve Bank Reform Bill "is a safe exit strategy" for a man under immense pressure to throw in the towel, political analysts said last week.

Parliament passed the Bill after it was amended to include a clause that include partial immunity to Gono or any employee of the bank "for everything done in good faith and without negligence under the powers conferred by this act."

15 Earlier in the week, Zanu PF MPs had threatened to block the Bill because they felt it was "targeted at an individual rather than an office".

But analysts said by agreeing to a clause that gives immunity to Gono, Zanu PF had, in a way, endorsed calls for the central bank Chief to make way for fresh ideas.

They said Zanu PF can no longer bear with the pressure from both MDC and the Southern African Development Community (Sadc) on the resolution of the outstanding issues to the power sharing agreement with the MDC factions.

The MDC- T has been pushing for the removal of Gono from the RBZ accusing him of destroying the economy through quasi- fiscal policies and recklessly funding Zanu PF programmes.

A Sadc ministerial team that assessed the implementation of power- sharing agreement between Zanu PF and the two MDC formations recommended that Gono should be reassigned to save the shake coalition from collapse.

University of Zimbabwe political scientist Eldred Masunungure said the immunity granted to Gono was to pave way for “a soft landing” for the troubled RBZ chief.

Masunungure said the fact that the immunity came through an amendment gives credence to speculation that Gono might soon be reassigned.

“This is meant to pave a way for a soft landing and a trouble free exit from the central bank,” Masunungure said.

It’s a golden handshake for him and he will soon be reassigned to a politically invisible job where he will start a new life without being haunted by prospects of being prosecuted.”

Another UZ science lecture John Makumbe agreed but described the immunity as a “costly” golden handshake.

Makumbe blasted the MDC formations for making such a “concession” saying it was an insult to Zimbabweans who suffered at the hands of Gono’s poor quasi- fiscal policies.

“It’s dangerous to give immunity to give immunity to a person who destroyed our economy propping up Zanu PF,” Makumbe said.

“I am furious about it. The MDC has no authority to grant anyone immunity.”

After granting immunity to Gono, Makumbe said, it will be a contradiction to prosecute all those fingered in recent audit by the Comptroller and Auditor General Mildred Chiri.

In her report of the first quarter of 2009 financial year tabled in Parliament recently, she said members of President Robert Mugabe’s previous administration took advantage of a vacuum in government to loot state property.

The report revealed that state assets such as cars, laptops, computers, fax machines, cell phones and spares for vehicles were stolen by ministers, deputies and other senior government officials.

“Chiri has done a brilliant audit. What is Biti going to do to the ministers who looted vehicles and laptops when he giving the chief culprit immunity?” Makumbe asked.

But Finance Minister Tendai Biti who at one time called Gono “the country’s number one enemy” said the Bill did not provide immunity for cases of theft, fraud or a breach of the law.

“The new provision in the Bill simply says those officials who acted in good faith and without negligence will not be liable to prosecution. It does not say anywhere that where there has been theft, fraud or where there has been a breach of the law, the people should not be prosecuted,” Biti said.

The Bill, which faces further scrutiny in the Zanu PF dominated Senate, will reduce the powers of the governor and restrict the bank to core business of dealing with interest rates, currency management and regulating banks.

The governor’s core function would be to chair a planned monetary policy committee. However, the central bank governor would continue to chair the RBZ board. Biti proposed to cut to two deputy governors from the four catered for under the current law.

Critics blame Gono for policies that crippled the economy, stoking inflation by printing money and taking over functions of the national treasury, including buying farming inputs and extending financial support to government departments.

Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai and Mugabe are locked in a dispute on how to share power, with the MDC- T leader accusing the veteran ruler of refusing to appoint a new central bank governor and attorney general as part of their political pact signed last year.

Mugabe has vowed that Gono will not be sacked.

Appendix: A37



5

Parliament major highlights of 2010

Veneranda Langa | 2010-12-28 17:44:00

2010 Legislative Agenda

10 President Robert Mugabe officially opened the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament on July 13, 2010.

He announced the legislative agenda during the official opening of Parliament and said 24 Bills would be considered by the legislature during the new session.

15 Zanu PF walks out of Parliament

In March 2010, Zanu PF MPs walked out of Parliament when MDC-T chief whip and MP for Mutare Central Innocent Gonese introduced a motion on the violence that characterised the March 29, 2008 elections.

20 “Mr Speaker Sir,” he said, “elections should not be like a war.”

The debate became emotional as Gonese and other MDC-T MPs narrated the gory violent acts opposition party supporters experienced at the hands of alleged Zanu PF elements during that period. Zanu PF MPs could not bear the testimonies and they walked out.

25 MDC-T MPs tabled statistics of victims of the political violence during the run-up to the elections, including those murdered. Zanu PF chief whip Joram Gumbo then ordered his colleagues to walk out of the House and they did.

Public Order and Security Amendment Bill

30 A private member’s bill had never been introduced in the history of Zimbabwe’s Parliament and MDC-T chief whip Innocent Gonese became the first private member to introduce amendments to a bill.

Amendments are normally brought to Parliament by the Executive.

35 On July 13, Gonese sought leave with the Speaker of Parliament, Lovemore Moyo, to bring back the Public Order and Security Amendment (Posa) Bill back on the Parliament Order Paper as it had been superseded by the second session which had lapsed by reason of prorogation as President Mugabe had announced a new legislative agenda, which did not include amendments to Posa.

40 On October 5, 2010 in a major volte face, Zanu PF MPs who had in the past dug in their heels against any amendments to Posa, meant to relax the draconian law, agreed the oppressive law should be amended.

On December 18 2010, the MDC-T registered victory when Posa successfully went through the Third Reading Stage in the House of Assembly.

The Bill now awaits scrutiny by Senate before it is taken to the President for assent.

Appendix: A38



No wage increase for civil servants (Newsday, Thursday, July 15, 2010)

5

By Munyaradzi Mugowo

Finance Minister Tendai Biti yesterday presented a review of the budget, which left some smiling and others frowning.

Government ruled out any chance of a wage increase for civil servants, but ceded tax relief by marginally increasing disposable incomes for all working populations.

10 The tax free threshold for individual income will be raised to \$175 dollars from \$160 in January with effect from this month. The rest of the tax brackets have been left untouched.

Although the tax relief appears negligible in nominal terms, it could reduce the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (Zimra)'s monthly pay as earn (Payee) receipts currently the second largest tax head after value added tax.

15 Biti said civil servants' salaries could not be adjusted upwards at this point give the unsustainable growth of the sector in both size and the value of wage bill, now a huge fiscal burden. The wage bill estimated at \$50.1 million per month already accounts for 62% of recurrent expenditure.

The taxation changes affected the mining sector most. Miners now face higher taxes in the second half of the year after government raised royalties on precious minerals.

20 Royalties on precious minerals will be adjusted upwards to 3.5% with effect from October 1. It is the second review in just 12 months.

This disregarded the sector's recommendations to have royalties and mining title fees reduced to create financial space for recapitalisation.

"Whereas the turnover of the mining sector was close to \$1 billion in 2009, a paltry \$44.9 million, which includes corporate tax, value added tax, Payee and royalties was contributed to the fiscus."

25 Biti however deferred the planned scraping of special initial allowances to next year. The measure seeks to curb tax deferrals currently reducing the mining sector's contributions to the fiscus.

The review statement also effected the following changes:

- Duty on vehicle imports by tourism operators suspended effective September 1
- Vat payment dates moved to 10th of the following month
- 30 • Tax amnesty for defaulters
- 15% tax on chrome
- 15% import duty on chrome refines
- 15% duty on competing products introduced
- Import duty on raw materials lifted on selected products
- 35 • Suspension of import duty on selected basic commodities (mostly food) lifted
- VAT electronic system introduced 1 August
- Excise duty up on wines and spirits
- Public expenditure approval to be done in consultation with Finance Minister instead of chief accounting officer
- 40 • Tax rebate on imports of fiscalised devises to be introduced
- Electronic cargo tracking system to be implemented 2011
- Electronic fiscalised recording of taxable transactions introduced October 1

Appendix: A39

THE HERALD

Published by the government of Zimbabwe

Biti under fire (16/07/10)

5 *Herald Reporters*

Members of Parliament yesterday grilled Finance Minister Tendai Biti for failing to consult them before coming up with his Mid-Term Fiscal Policy Review Statement while various sectors of the economy also criticised him for the same reason.

10 The minister was yesterday at pains to defend his fiscal policy which he presented on Wednesday before the Budget and Finance Parliamentary Portfolio Committee, which criticised him for ignoring them.

Committee chairperson and Goromonzi North House of Assembly Member Cde Paddy Zhanda (Zanu-PF) accused Minister Biti of breaching provisions of the Public Finance and Management Act.

15 He argued that Minister Biti failed to submit quarterly general account reports as required by the Act. Cde Zhanda said this during debate on the Finance Bill and Appropriation Bill, which sought to give legal effect to the financial adjustments announced by Minister Biti.

The two Bills sailed through the House of Assembly yesterday after a long debate. They now await transmission to Senate, which is expected to debate them this morning.

20 Kambuzuma House of Assembly Member Mr Willias Madzimure (MDC-T) sat as Speaker of the House of Assembly in the absence of the incumbent, Mr Lovemore Moyo.

In his contribution, Cde Zhanda said the committee had met yesterday morning and noted with concern a growing tendency by Minister Biti not to consult the committee each time he brought fiscal policy statements to Parliament.

25 "My committee feels that budget statements and policy reviews are important documents that need consultations. While the minister said he had consulted stakeholders, the committee was not given an opportunity to consult those that were consulted on whether they were consulted. Even us as a committee we were not consulted because we also need to consult people — the poor, the voiceless — and not to give our personal views as MPs," said Cde Zhanda.

30 Minister Biti admitted he did not consult the committee, but said he could not do so since legislators were preoccupied with the constitution outreach programme.

"Because of the fact that the committee was participating in Copac, we failed to get time to consult with them. We, however, consulted virtually everybody including all labour bodies and in some instances I had personal meetings with them. We met labour movements, the University of Zimbabwe's Faculty of Commerce and we also used our website where we had thousands of hits," 35 Minister Biti said.

"I want to apologise that we failed to consult with the committee because it was at Copac, but we will improve our consultation on next year's budget, which will start in August."

Cde Zhanda accused the minister of adopting "a business as usual approach", the same attitude he urged people to desist from.

40 Cde Zhanda, however, said the committee applauded measures introduced by the minister to bring economic stability but castigated him for nominally raising the tax-free threshold from US\$160 to US\$175, saying he should have at least raised it to US\$200.

He urged the Government to desist from wanting to rely on donors when it had resources and non-performing parastatals.

45 Cde Zhanda said failure to sell parastatals on the pretext that they were strategic did not make sense when the entities were not performing.

Muzarabani South House of Assembly Member Cde Edward Raradza (Zanu-PF) said Minister Biti should first identify priority areas and address them rather than trying to please everyone.

50 He urged the Government to finance farmers saying it was the responsibility of the State to ensure food security.

Cde Raradza called for a legal instrument compelling financial institutions to provide funding to farmers to stimulate growth in agriculture.

Minister Biti had argued that the 99-year leases Government had given new farmers were not bankable and could not be used as surety to secure loans from banks.

55 Civil servants have also expressed displeasure at Minister Biti's fiscal policy statement, saying it was silent on improving their conditions of service.

The civil servants said most of them were disillusioned because there was no prospect of a salary increase before the end of the year.

60 Minister Biti ruled out a salary increase for civil servants, but increased the tax-free income threshold by US\$15 from US\$160 to US\$175.

Traditionally civil servants salaries are adjusted in July.

The civil servants, however, believe proceeds from the sale of the diamonds would enhance revenue generation.

65 Zimbabwe Teachers' Association president Mrs Tendai Chikowore said the Mid-Term Fiscal Policy Review Statement confirmed the Finance Minister's statement in April that Government had frozen civil servants' salaries.

"There is no light at the end of the tunnel and this is a big blow to the workers as it is equivalent to a wage freeze. They said our grievances would be addressed in the near future but it is clear there is nothing for us. We now feel insecure, dumped and down because while our concerns are not 70 addressed, utility bills continue to skyrocket," she said.

She said the Apex Council, a body that brings together all civil servants, would meet early next week to decide on the way forward.

The lowest paid civil servant earns US\$135 a month while the highest paid gets US\$250.

75 The workers want their salaries reviewed upwards in line with the Poverty Datum Line, which currently stands at US\$492.

Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe executive officer Mr Manuel Nyawo said Government should brace itself for "any eventuality".

"We usually get increments every July but this year there is totally nothing significant since January. Technically, Minister Biti was correct on the salary freeze and to the politicians out there, it's time to 80 fight for the selling of our minerals in order to solve our bread and butter issues," he said.

The Government insists it is broke and Minister Biti has also said he is hoping for some relief if Zimbabwe is allowed to sell its diamonds.

85 The tourism and hospitality industry also reacted angrily to Minister Biti's decision to withdraw suspension on duty to vehicles bought for the tourism industry, saying the minister was misled by Zimra and his inexperience in Government had been exposed.

At a Press conference in Harare last night, Zimbabwe Tourism Council president Mr Emmanuel Fundira and Zimbabwe Tourism Authority chief executive Mr Karikoga Kaseke urged Minister Biti to reverse his decision.

90 "I see a very serious problem with what the minister has done. The minister was completely misled and misguided by Zimra.

"ZTA is the regulatory authority but was never consulted about this issue. It took us more than seven years to come up with this statutory instrument that was beginning to breathe life into the tourism product that had become weak.

95 "ZTA is not a junior partner to Zimra and will not take lightly this kind of behaviour. Zimra cannot define what tourism is. We know what is good for the tourism industry but we get worried when one minister decides to change things without our consent. He has killed the tourism industry," said Mr Kaseke.

100 He added: "Another point is that he misrepresented the correlation between tourist arrivals and revenue created in hotel occupancy. Arrivals do not necessarily translate to hotel occupancy because even our own people who have stayed outside the country for more than a year are classified as tourists but they do not go to stay in a hotel. They stay with relatives. If only he had consulted we would have told him."

Addressing the same Press conference, Harare businessman Mr Philip Chiyangwa said the minister was inexperienced.

105 Mr Chiyangwa, who owns Glory Car Hire, said Minister Biti was "blindly pushing the MDC-T agenda, without looking at the pros and cons."

"I don't care who else was involved but Minister Biti is inexperienced and never consulted because he does not want to listen to other people's views.

110 "This is the danger of entrusting the special Ministry of Finance, which is the centre of Government activity, under one political party. Minister Biti needs a Co-Minister of Finance to assist him get the history of this country and acquire the knowledge and the art of consulting others. These are MDC-T things, they want to destroy everything Zanu-PF did, even when that thing is good for the country. Tell him openly that I said it," said Mr Chiyangwa.

115 Mr Fundira said Minister Biti missed the point by scrapping the statutory instrument that allowed stakeholders in the tourism industry to import cars and equipment without consulting the industry.

"It came as a shock to us in the industry that a whole Government minister can do that. We are dismayed by that action because Zimbabwe as a tourist destination needed such a duty-free facility because we are coming from a liquidity crisis and we want our industry to match others in the region.

120 "At least there was supposed to be consultation with the ZTA if there was any problem. He has misled himself and we hope that he will correct it as a matter of urgency," he said.

Appendix B: Parliamentary Debates and Speeches

Appendix B1: Finance Bill: Budget Debate

5 **PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE**

Thursday, 15th July, 2010

The House of Assembly met at a Quarter-past Two O'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

(**THE ACTING SPEAKER** in the Chair)

10 **ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE ACTING SPEAKER**

OMISSION OF ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURE ON THE ORDER PAPER

15 **THE ACTING SPEAKER:** I have to inform the House that there was an invariable omission of Estimates of Expenditure on the *Order Paper* under the Committee of Supply. The Votes start from Number 1 to 37

MOTION

FINANCE BILL: BUDGET DEBATE

First Order read: Adjourned debate on motion to bring in a Finance Bill.

Question again proposed.

20 **MR. ZHANDA:** Thank you Mr Speaker. Before I go into the details of my presentation, I would like this House to know the concerns of the Budget Committee, particularly on issues of National Budgets and policy reviews. It is important because these need time to go through and to consult in order to make a proper presentation.

25 Whilst the Minister did acknowledge that he consulted, this Committee was not consulted in preparation of this Mid-Term Policy Review. It was not given an opportunity to consult those who were consulted to have their views encompassed by the Minister.

30 However, as a result, the submissions I am going to make are views of the Committee not of the stakeholders. I think that is a serious omission. It requires that we consult stakeholders so that we know their position. Whilst I want to applaud the Minister for coming up with a reasonable Policy Review Statement of rejuvenating and refocusing the economy, the hon. minister has realized that the current state of economy does not need us to continue with the mentality of business as usual given the inflationary state already crippling in yearly, from 7% to 6,5% in May 2010.

35 The Minister, however, is in breach of the business as usual approach. Under the Public Finance Management Act, the Minister is supposed to give as a Committee, the state of accounts on a half yearly of quarterly basis and the Minister has not done that. We thought we struck an understanding with the Minister but it seems that understanding is not there. We thought as a Committee, we should bring it to the House.

40 I think it is important to take note that this report is not aimed at the Minister. The Minister is a representative of the Government. He is not representing MDC or ZANU-PF. It is important that this Government of Zimbabwe is accountable to the people, therefore since the Minister is a messenger of the Government, we want him to take the message to the Government.

45 Mr. Speaker, I commend the Minister for an improved revenue formation of 37, 6% of the fiscus which exceeded the budget. However, we feel that there are some issues which did not receive adequate attention and wish to make the following submissions so that the Minister will consider. We feel that the Minister did not also consult last year, we need the views of the ordinary people. We need them to have a say in the budget formulation.

50 The Minister should lead by example and should take the matter seriously. The Committee also notes that there were no incentives when it comes to production. There is no growth since we have become a consumptive market. When we go into a supermarket, we find that it is full of goods that we do not manufacture. The revenue and liquidity situation, we are not manufacturing and we are not producing anything as a country. There is no way we are going to address the issue of economic turnaround. We, as a Committee stand accused of not having debated the issue of the economic

situation in this country. We might say it very simple that we are going to turnaround the economy, but if you look into this policy, there is nothing that will stimulate the economy.

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It is important that we do incentivise productivity, we do incentivise exports in order to create money. You will see that even the mining sector is not performing very well. We note with concern the disparity between the noble intentions to protect 85% of the poor people with a \$15 adjustment in the first allowance. \$15 does not go that far. How did the Minister come about with \$175, why not \$200 hon. Minister? It is the Committee's feeling that it is important that we put money into the pocket of an ordinary person in order to get money into circulation.

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Mr. Speaker Sir, during the debate of December 2009 budget, we warned the hon. Minister that it is very dangerous to rely on donor funding and with this you can go by stating that the vote of credit has no problem. You can say that it has not performed well. I think it is common knowledge that out of \$810 million only \$277 has been collected, but what remains of concern to the Committee is why as a country or as government would we want to depend on donors? Why are we not unlocking value on the assets that we have? We have parastatals which are under performing. Hon. Minister you mentioned that these people have failed heavily and are we not having this ownership syndrome of wanting to own something that does not pay you.

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The issue of privatization has been on the cards for a long time, and one would want to believe that the parastatals are owned by government on behalf of the general populace. The example that I would want to give Mr. Speaker is that, if you are a rural communal person and you have got 20 herds of cattle, your two children have been send back from school because you failed to pay \$300 and you are running short of food in the granary, why should you want to go and borrow money from somebody on the pretext that the price of cattle at that point in time does not allow you to sell cattle. If the price of the cattle is better and you sell them, why are you selling them when the children are not going to school and your children would have died of hunger. I think government must take note that when we talk about privatization, we are not talking about the proceeds. We are talking of the resultant economic benefit of that organization in the economy, its contribution in the economy. What is more important than the revenue itself?

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When government privatized COTTCO, one would want to know as to how much revenue in terms of taxation has come from COTTCO up to now. We want to implore the Minister that there is talk about the strategic industry and National Railways. We mention National Railways because it is strategic. You are selling it to a person who is going to run it efficiently for the benefit of the country and therefore to note that this is strategic is not right. Mr. Speaker, the issue of capacity in the industrial sector is a cause for concern. The industrial production is not there and therefore the Minister will continue to struggle while there is an improved revenue collection. I think the Minister has gone to a ceiling and I do not think that there is going to be any improved situation. I think we should improve the productive sector particularly in agriculture and in our industries.

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The Committee is concerned that reduction of Customs Duty on clothing and textile blankets, while making clothing available to the consumers does not promote industrial growth. The Minister might have a noble intention of wanting to make people pay duty, but if a person does not intend to pay duty, of course he is a smuggler. He is a smuggler throughout and even if you lower duty he will still not pay it. We should be concerned to make sure that we protect particularly our textile industries. All the industries are about to shut particularly in Bulawayo, that is where most of the factories were. They were all shut down, but if we continue to reduce duty on textiles and footwear, it does not make any sense.

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The Minister is concerned that if you go to Beitbridge, the warehouses are full of goods belonging to people who intended to smuggle. It is not because of duty. If you go to Beitbridge and you stand in the queue of one wanting to pay duty, you find there is one officer saving people. So you are encouraging people to smuggle because it is cumbersome to stand in the

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queue for a long time. I want to assure the Minister that the Committee is of the view that it is the responsibility of the government to make sure that the country has got enough food. It is not the responsibility of the farmer, the responsibility of the farmer is to make sure that he remains on the farm with him doing business of growing cabbages instead of maize. Therefore in the absence of a holistic policy framework of agriculture, dealing with issues of GMOs, I am not saying GMOs should be allowed. This should not be allowed but we should come up and say really where do we stand as a country in terms of GMOs. Even if you refuse GMOs, but we have supermarkets full of manufactured goods from South Africa. Who is making sure that there are no GMOs in the shops and as a result you are making your farmers uncompetitive because some farmers are producing 14 to 15 tonnes per hectare and some farmers are producing less than a tonne. Therefore as a country we become very expensive and we can not compete on the export market. It is important hon. Speaker that government must also decide on the issue of subsidies. I am not saying we should subsidize or can I say do not subsidize. Subsidies all over that world are not a bad idea but one would want to define the reason of subsidizing certain commodities and the answer is yes and we have every reason for subsidizing a certain commodity, then you must quantify the cause of doing that and identify the sources of finance but what has been wrong is to subsidize certain things where they are abused. We do not want to subsidize before production. We must subsidize after production as a way of encouraging production. It is not good even as a country to want to rely on imports simply because we are inefficient. If a tonne of maize is US\$200, it might be advisable to subsidize maize by another US\$50 to avoid the outflow of US\$200.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee is concerned with the poverty levels that are prevailing within our society. People do not have disposable income, they are failing to get US\$0.50 for transport. In the Minister's Mid-Term Fiscal Review for 2009, the Minister did hint that obviously there was going to be money available for demonetization. However, in the Budget for 2009, it was missing. We as a Committee wrote to him asking him about the position. The Minister told us that it was going to be treated as part of the RBZ debt. As a Committee, we are concerned because the people affected are the voiceless, the marginalized poor people who were not negotiated with when this issue did occur. It occurred by default and they are still holding those monies and they cannot even get US\$0,50 for transport. Since there is improved revenue collection, one would have assumed the Minister could have revisited that issue. Instead of paying Hwange US\$10 million when everybody knows that those institutions have cost this country a lot of money, but you continue to pour out money to those institutions – [THE MINISTER OF FINANCE: *Tinoda magetsi*] – yes we need electricity hon. minister but there are other ways and means of making sure that electricity is available. Let those people who want to make business in those organizations take over. I want to humbly ask the hon. Minister to revisit that issue.

Mr. Speaker, the big concern that does exist within the Committee is the issue of the banking sector. The Minister has spoken about hiving the Reserve Bank debt but he has not talked about the recapitalization of the RBZ, when and how because there is no specific time. As long as the RBZ is not functioning, then we have a problem because we need a lender of last resort. However, it does not mean to say that the banking sector is not at fault. Hon. Minister, the banking sector is at fault, it is very prohibitive to go and borrow money. They are lending at 12% for sixty days, plus raising fee *et cetera*. On average, you are going to pay 100% on the pretext that there is no long term finance. For ninety days it is 15%, raising fee a certain percentage. If you go up to ninety days, they allow you to go at the same rate. There is no way even for the manufacturing industry or production sector to borrow money at that rate and expect to get a return, it will not make any sense. Therefore, it is important that the issue of RBZ capitalization be addressed. Yes, we do not live for yesterday, we live for tomorrow, we might have problems with the RBZ but the issue was addressed, they have put in competent people. We should give them

confidence to recapitalise the RBZ.

190 I want to conclude by humbly asking the Minister of consider our
submissions – [THE MINISTER OF FINANCE: *wasiya matitle deeds*]-
Whilst there might be divergent views, but surely as a country we must
at one point find something in common for the benefit of the country and
agree. The issue of title deeds, if other people are afforded title deeds and
195 others do not have title deeds – what does the farmer himself want? – [THE
MINISTER OF FINANCE: You are a farmer what do you want?]- As I said
earlier on, my submission is not a personal one, but I am talking on behalf of
the committee. I want hon. members of Parliament to join me in expressing
out disappointment in our Government, that our Government has let us down.
200 Our Government has not performed, it has not delivered. They are
preoccupied by politics rather than being occupied with the good of us as
Zimbabweans. I think we should leave politics aside and deal with the issues
confronting the general people.

The issue of title deeds is an issue that should be discussed and come to
205 a conclusion as to what should be the acceptable document so that people
can be able to rely on it when borrowing. Let me conclude by saying that
from an agricultural point of view, it is also sad to note that the issue of
Agribank has not been addressed in terms of recapitalization. What worries
the Committee is the unsystematic approach to agricultural financing. We are
210 now in August, by virtue of any farmer and there is nothing in place. We do
not want Government to continue to fund farmers. We want permanent
institutions in place where farmers can go and borrow money. I want to
emphasise that the issue of title deeds or no title deeds – I do not want to be
misconstrued, surely Government should sit down and address those
215 concerns and come up with an accepted document where at least people will
be able to borrow finance.

MR. MAVHIMA: Firstly, I would like to congratulate the Minister of
Finance for delivering what I consider a realistic approach to the budgeting
process. I think he has shown us how to tighten our belts. I would like to
220 dwell on the external account. The Minister did articulate the amount in
terms of inflows which is about +/- US\$850 million and the amount which
we spent which is said to be US\$1.9 billion dollars. That shows a very
serious disparity, where was this money coming from to buy these goods.
When we look at our exchange control environment, we are the most
225 liberalized country items of exchange control. Currently an individual is
allowed to export US\$10 thousand dollars without any questions asked per
trip. So an individual can go out of the country with his family once a week
and take out US\$100 thousand dollars and you can do that week in week out.
That is how all this money has been going out.

230 We have a situation where corporates are allowed to go out and transfer
at most US\$1.5 million dollars without the Reserve Bank approval. People
are therefore abusing the system and so the Minister should sit with the
Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and see how these controls can be reigned in
because that is how the money is going outside the country.

235 As long as we continue to rely on imports, we are exporting everything
from other countries. We have to bring in controls to keep this money here
so that our industries do not suffer. I would have thought that under the
circumstances, the laws are there but it is just a matter of enforcing or
reviewing those laws as the Minister alluded to a monetary policy. I hope
240 you have taken these things into consideration. Maybe we have to get back
to the US\$2,500 a year allowance and nobody should be allowed to take
more than that.

The Minister also put emphasis on the mining sector which is the
largest contributor of foreign currency but in terms of their contribution, it
245 was a miserly US\$4 million dollars. We have a situation where a company
says we want to pump in US\$500 million into the economy but how much do
they take out? Maybe the Minister should revisit where companies are
allowed to keep off show accounts. Issues related to that need to be revisited
in view of the fact that we have a number of companies wanting to come and
250 exploit our mineral resources.

MR MUSUNDIRE: The only constant variable in any particular

society is change. We have witnessed in this fiscal review, a change from having a survival budget to a growth budget and the Minister has to be commended for that. I think this is the beginning of real change for our people.

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We are all aware of the paranoia that used to characterize our economy prior to the signing of the Global Political Agreement, caused mainly by policy reversals and inconsistencies. This review has shown no signs of policy reversal or inconsistencies, a component that generates trust in our economy. We have been talking about the paradigm shift in the inclusive government, prior to that we could have three or four supplementary budgets but in this case there will not be any and this should be commended.

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We have seen the realignment of expenditure towards social and economic amenities. We have seen the agricultural support in our budget, the grain procurement, improvements on prison cells and police holding cells. We are all aware of Matapi Police Station which is not a happy prison to be in. We also have Hwange Power station, they are creating a new infrastructure and increasing capacity utilization. Hon. members know very well that we have been struggling to get ZESA in our houses, so the Minister is actually addressing this by giving at least a grant, I know it is not much, but we must thank him for that.

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On the contribution of the mining sector, he pointed out the decline of asbestos in Shabane and Mashava. We are all aware of the stories behind Mashava and Shabane mine. We are all aware of the people behind the destruction of these mines. So, the Minister is trying to bring the political amenity and also the rule of law in our economy. Mr Mutumwa Mawere must be allowed to take back his mines.

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We also have the Diamond Act, there is no doubt that the Diamond Act will bring sanity to the mining sector especially to our alluvial diamonds in Chiadzwa. Mr Speaker Sir, we are also going to see the affected families being compensated – something that most of the people even outsiders were looking forward to.

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Mr Speaker, Sir, we also have the introduction of small denominations in Zimbabwe. For a long time, our people have been suffering because of the issue of denominations, this Budget is trying to correct this anomaly.

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We also have this idea of title deeds. I know some of us are not willing to have their possessions given to them, they would prefer a 99 Year Lease which can not afford them the opportunity to go to any financial institution and borrow but then with the title deeds, you will be able to go to any particular financial institution and borrow so as to boost our agriculture.

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We have the issue of debt repayment, debt repayment will be able to deal with the problems that inflict our economy. You know very well that arrears create inefficiency, it destroys Government credibility. You know that the debt dates back to 1981 to 2000, so I think it is high time that as a nation we should pay back what we have borrowed.

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In conclusion, I was not happy that the Minister did not mention anything concerning the outreach programme that is currently taking place, there is nothing for MPs in this Budget.

MR MUKANDURI: I would like to applaud the Minister for a very reasonable Budget Review Statement which he made yesterday. Mr Speaker Sir, I also want to raise very few issues of concern. We are of course a very poor country and it is very discouraging to note that a person earning less than US\$200 a month is being taxed and yet the poverty datum line is pegged at US\$450. I think the Minister should take note of that. The second issue which I want to raise is that we have the PFMA System which is a creature of the Hon. Minister of Finance - it was stated that they should be quarterly, not monthly statements that should be brought before the Budget Committee and to date, neither a monthly nor a quarterly statements, has been put before the Budget Committee. I would want the Minister to take note of that.

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Lastly, on the Vote of credit, I think we should be very realistic, we were aware that there was the global financial crisis and when we crafted our Budget, perhaps we simply ignored and we thought that we could get US\$800 million. I think on that note we should have been realistic because the external environment was not conducive for the external donors.

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315 * **MRS CHIKAVA:** I want to talk about the Ministry of Health. In order for a country to progress, there should be people who are healthy. Hon. Minister, I know you are in a difficult position because the economy of the country is poor, but I think you should take care of the Ministry of Health because the standards have gone down. The mortality rate for pregnant women who are dying giving birth is still unacceptably high.

320 We have 790 women who die in every thousand due to the mortality rate. I kindly ask you to go round the hospitals and examine the hospitals, you will find that these institutions are in a dilapidated state. Mr Speaker Sir, even when you go to institutions where there are storeroom facilities where essential things are kept, this is the real situation in the Ministry-that the Ministry is struggling, it needs a lot of assistance.

325 The infection control situation in hospitals leaves a lot to be desired. Because of the shortages that are arising, people are now bringing their own linen from home. With infections, there are no disinfectants, people want to control infections in hospitals because we have expects in Zimbabwe but the facilities are lacking. I looked at the budget allocated to the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare; if you can virement, please do so. I beg and implore you to virement for the Ministry. Please visit just a few hospital institutions, you will definitely agree with me.

330 You will also notice that the situation of ambulances in these areas is pathetic-they are broken down vehicles. People are literally losing lives because they have nothing to ferry them to institutions where they can get assistance when referred. Again, go and check in the Intensive Care Unit, you will find that the equipment that is used there is archaic- it is unusable.

335 Therefore, please examine carefully our referral hospitals and you will agree with me that there definitely is need to get some monies from other institutions to these hospitals. The washing machines in these institutions are broken down, the cooking facilities especially electrical goods, the boilers are non existent.

340 We do agree that some time back the institutions were given generators so that they could use them when ever there was no electricity, but you find that because of the current situation these generators are now broken down. I know amongst us here, some talk of other Ministries that they represent but in my case when I look at the pregnant mothers giving birth and looking at the infants they will bring into the world that has to be brought up to five years when it stabilizes. This Ministry definitely needs to have more funds added to its allocated budget.

345 **MR MUDARIKWA:** I am a member of the Welfare committee for Parliament and I stand to represent Members of Parliament. First, I think you read in the newspapers that Kenyan Members of Parliament are receiving US\$13 500.00 and the people were striking but Kenyan Mps are earning \$13 500.00. I researched today, Members of Parliament from Somalia are earning US\$750.00.

350 Mr Speaker, Sir, are we worse off than the Somalians? May be some of you did not grow up in difficult situations, but I grew up in very difficult situations. I can smell here some form of benzine because most of the Members of Parliament have to do dry cleaning using benzine. Are we a benzine Parliament? When we went to the office of the minister as members of the Welfare committee, the Hon. Minister indicated that we were going to earn somewhere around \$800.00 but we are now earning \$300.00 which is less than the poverty datum line. Where are we going?

355 You can say there is no corruption, these MPs are corrupt- how are they surviving? If they are not corrupt they are doing other things that are not legal in order to survive. Members of Parliament must at least be given their Sitting allowances so that they come in a presentable manner to Parliament. As Members of the Welfare Committee we do not want to demonstrate, but one day we will all come in overalls because we do not take overalls to the dry cleaners. Our situation is a very unfortunate one, the outreach teams that are in the rural areas are now known as professional beggars for begging where ever they are. They are struggling in the hotels that they are staying in, earning \$25.00 a day for an hon. Member of Parliament. The rapporteur is earning \$100.00 some of these Members of Parliament have given out their

vehicles.

380 If you want to know what the Member of Parliament and his vehicle are going to earn- you find the rapporteur is going to earn more than the MP and vehicle. After five years that vehicle is going to run down, it is not going to be in existence. You must take ownership of this Constitution, but we must also realize that these people, after losing the next term of elections must be presentable. We have an unfortunate situation where most of our Members of Parliament do not make it to the second term because they will have lost everything in the first term trying to make ends meet.

385 We are in an unfortunate situation that the UNDP, which is a donor agency is determining what a Zimbabwean Member of Parliament must earn such situations must never be allowed because we are now clamped by donor agencies. As the Welfare Committee we are going to be engaging the UNDP to find out whether they must do what they are doing. As Welfare Committee we are going to be engaging the Secretary General of the United Nations to find out whether his project is to destroy the corporate image of hon. members.

395 Mr Speaker let me say we are all fathers, we have children who attend school and as Members of Parliament we must be exemplary in our society. If I am a Member of Parliament and I have my electricity switched off, what image do I portray to the community? If I am a Member of Parliament and have the messenger of court attaching some of my property because I have not honoured some credit- what image do I portray to the community? If we are all poor as people we claim to be we must say, gentlemen the nation has no money suspend Parliament. Let us meet once or twice a year.

400 These guys have to smuggle bread, they run to the hotel..[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]- what Members of Parliament are being paid is not enough for dinner. Mr Speaker this is a serious situation, but the unfortunate situation is that we have three Arms of the State the Judiciary, Legislature and the Executive. The Executive and Judiciary are well looked after, you can say they are not getting something but at least their corporate image is there. When they travel out there, they claim a lot of allowances which makes everything very different. For the Mps it is a very unfortunate situation, we have got vehicles that are known as BT 50, these vehicles have been hired out to COPAC. After three months the bill to repair these vehicles will be more than what the Members of Parliament has been paid. The rate that the Members of Parliament have been paid of USD80 is not a commercial rate. A commercial rate for hiring a 4x4 as it stands today is US\$150 per day but Members of Parliament are being given US\$80 because the executive also happen to be the leaders of the political parties. There is this element of whipping. The whipping of people into poverty is not acceptable and Members of Parliament must never take the ownership of poverty. We are agents of development, transformation and we are not agents of transferring poverty to different areas of Zimbabwe.

410 People may say I am extreme, because I know what is good. I used to have a satellite dish, I know one day in a year I must go on a holiday. These Members of Parliament in here never go on holiday. There is need for the Hon Minister to look at the welfare of the Members of Parliament given the current scenario. Most of them when you hear them say I am going for a weekend, some of them are either going *kundorova guva*. It is a very unfortunate situation which needs some one to look at in a very serious way. The Standing Rules and Orders Committee is made of the executives.

420 There is no area where the problems and wishes of the Members of Parliament are heard because it is always the executive which is in charge at any given time. I want to thank you very much for allowing me to represent you.

435 **MR CHINYADZA:** I would like to thank you and in thanking you, I also want to thank the Minister of Finance for a comprehensive budget which was presented yesterday. There are quite a number of positives in it but I am not going to dwell on them as they have been said out by members of my Portfolio Committee which is the Budget Committee.

440 However, I would like to point out and agree with the Minister in a number of imponderables which he ventilated yesterday. Firstly, I am aware

that the function of the Minister is to look at the estimate of expenditure, revenues and where they come from. Obviously, these are based on what is obtained in the economy. What is attaining in the economy is not the entire province or responsibility of the Minister of Finance, it is the entire Government that is responsible. To a considerable extent I think, members of this august House have the responsibility to ensure that certain things happen for us to be able to get the revenue that we require in order to move this economy forward.

If you look at the issues like government, the point that was raised yesterday, about the proportion of the budget towards the recurrent expenditure. It shows you that there is a serious problem which needs to be redressed. We know that we can come out with a zero budget framework, but that is not possible where we have a group who would want to maintain the status quo. Those who would not want to subscribe to a new paradigm shift as outlined by the Minister yesterday. I feel that our problem have emanated from the way that we are structured at the present moment and the way the economy is also structured. There are quite a number of social activities which can limit this economy from performing. You are aware that we are a high cost producer. The fact that we are not able to export as much as we should is not something that just happens on its own. It is because of certain policies and principles which we put in this country which we do not give time and latitude so that we become a low cost producer and therefore be able to reinvigorate the production sector, enterprises, structures. That is not possible because of the structure that we have maintained. We need to do something about those areas.

We have become a consumption economy, especially after the level of liberalization of imports. I do not believe that it is due to the failure of the Minister of Finance but the failure of the entire government to come up with policy that actually look at those kind of issues and see how best we can become low cost producers and be able to export. We can not sustain a situation where we consume more than we produce. I think that is dangerous. As announced by the Chairperson we are having assets which we can actually use. We could utilise those assets and begin to reinvigorate the little enterprises which are productive. That is not the entire province or the responsibility of the Minister to do that. It is the responsibility of the entire government including ourselves to ensure that there is pressure in government to look at the assets which we are sitting on and ensure that they become productive for our poor economy and people who are in the communal areas where I come from. We should ensure that we have policy changes and those changes must be made now.

I will then suggest a few areas that I think were not adequately covered and should be improved. When we look at the issue of PAYE, I would like to applaud the Minister for raising the rebate from 160 to 175. I think that is a noble objective but as perhaps inferred by many other people, our *per diem* is around over 450 dollars per month but we know that our salaries are not that high. I believe that if we would raise that to two hundred dollars per month it could help a number of people.

The issue about royalties and minerals – I know that the minister made a suggestion that it should increase from 3.5% to about 4%, that is if I am not mistaken. I believe that there is need to look at the paradigm shift in as far as most of our minerals are concerned. My suggestion is that we should look at getting about 25% of total minerals revenue that have been surrendered to the State such that we revive this economy.

There is also the issue of suspension of duty on raw materials and there is a table that has been established. My worry is that the table only limits us to a few items rather than to look at the entire production, from industry to agriculture whenever we have inputs which are going to be imported. My suggestion is that there should be a blanket which represents raw materials, irrespective of whatever raw materials as long as they are going to ensure that many people are going to benefit and the economy.

Another issue about duty and textiles has already been explained but I would just want to make an observation which worries me. I have already alluded to the fact that I come from a rural area and I know that in the last

505 budget, there was an allocation of 243 million dollars which was allocated to
the poor in the communal areas for agricultural inputs supply. I am aware
this year we are looking at about 50 million which is a far cry from what is
happening. Several speakers in this House did allude to the fact that there is
a liquidity crisis all over and it is worse so in communal areas. I had a
feeling that because of the serious cut in allocation, this is going to cause a
510 problem concerning the productivity and income in the communal areas. I
suggest that the minister should address these issues.

***MR RARADZA:** Thank you Mr Speaker, firstly I would like to
congratulate the Minister of Finance. Looking at our economy, I was worried
about how the Minister was going to present the budget but he tried his level
515 best to come out with a comprehensive budget. I would like to make my
contribution aimed at assisting the minister in implementing the budget.
Zimbabwe's economy is agro-based, this means that more attention should be
aimed at improved funding of the agricultural sector. Farmers wanted to
grow a big hectareage of wheat but they have electricity problems, this could
520 be alleviated by using generators. But these are very expensive. I implore
the minister to remove the heavy duty on farming implements so that farmers
can afford them. As an example, the current crop of tractors on the land has
an average age of 40 to 50 years. Farmers cannot buy new tractors because
of the punitive duty on them and therefore duty should be removed on all
525 farming implements and this will lift the burden, not only on the farmer, but
the population of Zimbabwe.

My second contribution is on the founding of an agricultural bank
where all the monies needed by the farmers would be banked. I will give a
crude but essential example that of Ian Smith. This country had sanctions
530 imposed on it during the Smith Regime just as we are now but he managed to
survive because he gave lots of support to the farmers. During that time,
there was the AFC Bank which was later turned to Agri-Bank, a government
bank, this was a farmers bank and enabled the country to be self sufficient.
I have all the faith in you minister when you set your mind to uplift the
535 economy of the country, you have all the capabilities. There is only one
problem which may disturb you, that is the separation of powers whereby in
one instant you behave like a politician and at other times you behave like a
nationalist. You are a Minister of Finance in a government of national unity
and therefore work towards the uplifting of the economy.

540 I will now turn to tobacco, the selling price of tobacco was reduced
from US\$5 to US\$1.50 per kg. This was a deliberate move to sabotage your
progress. The actual selling price of tobacco should be triple the original
amount. The most amazing thing about this decision to reduce the price of
545 tobacco is that the tobacco which was sold at US\$5 per kg was because of
poor quality compared to the current deliveries and this again is a deliberate
ploy to deny your ministry and government the essential fiscus needed.
When you discuss the pricing of tobacco, do not be afraid of stepping on
other people's toes because you will leave a legacy which you will be proud
550 of when you look back on your progress during your tenure . Therefore,
avoid party politics and make nationalist decisions which will benefit the
country economically. The ball is in your court Mr Minister please make a
bold decision, look into it. There is none other than you.

I will now turn to middle man in the tobacco selling who will buy
tobacco at a low price from the farmer and sell it at a high price later. The
555 farmer sells his tobacco at US\$1 per kg to the middle man who will resell it
at US\$3 or US\$4 per kg to the detriment of the farmer who will not be able to
pay his debts and go back to the fields. The fifty million dollars you will put
into the bank for the farmer will come to naught because the farmer is
disadvantage by the middle man.

560 Let me now debate on the banks who need collateral from the farmer to
access monies. The farmer has enough collateral in that first and foremost he
has his farm or field, he is under a headman and a Chief which means he can
easily be located in cases of default.

The farmers of Zimbabwe are industrious and they long for prosperity.
565 The same goes for the small to medium business person who longs for
growth in his adventure. The farmer longs for prosperity. Your allocating

fifty million dollars to the small scale farmers is a good gesture but it will only be accessed by a few individuals.

570 Now turning to the fertilizer, most of the fertilizer companies are parastatals but government is failing to control the price of fertilizers. This means that the small scale farmers cannot access cheap fertilizer and this disturbs their farming programmes and hence creates a dent on the fiscus. Minister, take some intervention measures to rectify this anomaly. All farmers depend on your adjudication as Minister of Finance and not Minister of Agriculture.

575 Minister, you are losing lots of monies from tobacco because of the skewed pricing which could be financing your budget. At one time, I went to the sales floors and handed out US\$300 to stranded farmers, not that I am a rich man, but I sympathized with them. We pooled resources to assist the stranded farmers, some of them who had come from as far as Bulawayo. Should we as individuals be assisting farmers in such a manner when you as the Minister of Finance could be implementing farmer friendly financial policies.

580 Let me conclude by thanking you Mr. Speaker Sir, by maintaining order during my contributions because there was little or no interference.

585 **MR. MATSHALAGA:** I too would like to commend the hon. Minister for once again what I consider a very reasonable offer. Your role is an unenviable one. It is not very easy but you are expected of course as Minister of Finance to inspire, instill confidence, discipline and educate your colleagues on what is possible and what is not possible.

590 I think you have tried and I wish to thank you for that. In the Committee, when we deliberated this morning we were fully seized of the problems and we were very unhappy that you had not taken time to consult your committee. We were all seized in that the problem that you are facing is not your problem and I think the challenge is on this Government, as a government of national unity, to move from political adventurism to what you have considered yourself as a national vision. Probably it is indicated on your 3 R's of regeneration, revival and refocusing.

595 Yes, you have outlined the achievement. Your committee was of the view that some of the achievements that you have mentioned in 2009 were okay but most of them were under threat, for instance foreign direct investment. There is still lack of national vision 18 months after and I would agree with Hon. Raradza that you were one of the key pillars as Minister of Finance to whip everybody perhaps through these figures that you provide. I will repeat that you are probably engaging in some kind of something but priorities are not very clear. You are engaged in sort of getting help instead of deciding that our national priorities for these three years are these. I think the House will agree with you that we need funds in agriculture, health and education and we proceed. Everybody else is left to work to survive.

600 I want to congratulate you again, for the first time, we have had a Mid-Term Review without a supplementary budget. You have used a correct word, "adjustment" because normally when we talk about structural adjustment and you have avoided ab-structural adjustment. What we need for this economy to grow is structural reform and we do not need to shy away form it. It does not have to come from the IMF but it has to come from us. We should be our own masters.

605 The Hon. Minister referred to sanitisation of the RBZ debt, it is a good thing. We have had this before and you have said it probably the third time now but we would appreciate it if we have knowledge as to when this is going to happen. More importantly, what we need to do is to recapitalize the RBZ so that it operates like a normal bank. We have a central bank that is broke and for a central bank to function when it is broke and you supervise viable banking institutions, this is why we have now created a *Chimbadzo* on the financial market. We need it not yesterday but tomorrow to get this thing right. On the VOC, I think it is a good lesson to learn for us as hon. members and as a nation that we should rely on ourselves and not others. Others will just come to assist us but we should not predicate too much dependence on donor assistance.

610 I think the issue of tobacco is on performance in the tobacco industry, it

630 is a case in point. We need not only to say yes tobacco did well, we need you
 as Minister of Finance to say how did it go well and to produce more than
 what we anticipated. One of the things that I can safely say is that we will
 have a sustainable tobacco industry because most of our people are growing
 tobacco and even if we have some policy problems here and there, we are not
 635 going to see tobacco farmers saying this and that and that Jiri has been
 beaten. I too would like to join my colleagues that 50million is a good start.
 What we need to do is to build on this 50 million and see how we can
 progress. We know that money does not fall from trees. We should assist the
 Minister on how to mobilize resources. So let us see how we can build on
 640 this 50 million which the Minister said is composed of 25 million from new
 money and 25 from old stock. We should assist the Minister to see if GMB
 has all this stock.

On the issue of capacity utilization in government, it is one of the
 elusive things. I have always argued that it is not the money but our capacity
 645 to utilize the money and alternative ways of doing things. What we have
 experienced now is that the Minister has allocated funds but all of us
 particularly as Members of Parliament, we are not oblivious of the fact that it
 will take some time if you allocate funds for a ministry to go to the standard
 procurement procedures currently provided through the government
 650 procurement system. It will take some time and in any case one of the things
 we have to do before allocating funds is to ensure that there is capacity to
 utilize the funds.

On your new revenue measures, what I would have preferred the hon.
 Minister to say is that wherever you have new measures, tell us how much
 655 you are likely to gain so that next time when we are evaluating your
 programmes, we know that you wanted to raise 10 and you only raised 15 or
 less. Also when you create these exemptions, we want to know how much
 are you losing as revenue and what do you intend to recoup. I am also
 concerned about the situation that is happening in my own constituency,
 660 Zvishavane where there is a problem with production as you referred to,
 production now gone to zero and it is up to this government of which you are
 a member to get a solution to the problems. It is not us as Members of
 Parliament to look for solutions. We have been talking about one of the hon.
 members always referring to it and I have been shy to make reference to it
 665 because it is embarrassing that people who are so learned and with a lot of
 experience, cannot come up with a solution.

Last but not least, you have to adjust your tax on chrome from 15 to
 20% - we have no problem with that. What I wanted to know is how we will
 670 beneficiate our chrome given the local capacity to actually beneficiate
 chrome, given our constraints which are a multiplicity of problems of
 infrastructure, electricity and water. However, I would like to thank you hon
 Minister and wish you the best in your endeavors.

***MRS ZINYEMBA:** Thank you Mr Speaker – thank you Minister for
 coming up with suggestions to develop our country. I rise to speak on behalf
 675 of workers. These should benefit on the tax that we pay and these are
 government workers. Considering what they earn, you will see that their
 families are not well fed. I know we have debated over the welfare of this
 country and would like to thank the people who have encouraged me to work
 hard and I therefore encourage you to leave a legacy which you will look
 680 back and say during your tenure, this is what you managed to do. This
 should be so because we are now a government of national unity.

Turning to the problem of minerals -Minister I quote you. You said if
 our diamonds are sold, we will be able to uplift the standards of living of the
 people of Zimbabwe. When we talk of the diamonds, let us not start finger
 685 pointing and say the money will benefit a few people. We are Zimbabweans
 and we should live on what belongs to us and we should be able to correct
 each other when we make mistakes. I plead with you that when we talk of
 minerals, when we talk of our wealth, we should put our heads together and
 work as Zimbabweans. Let us not work as individuals. Let us not talk party
 690 politics. As Zimbabweans we should sing with one voice and develop our
 nation.

I have been asked to be fast in my talking. Zimbabwe is a golden hand

because it is a wealthy country. Unfortunately our people go to beg in other countries whilst our country is engrossed with minerals such as gold and diamonds. What we lack is confidence in ourselves and therefore we go to other countries and beg.

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We are currently in the Constitution making process, let us make laws which will make people come to this House and to this country and uplift this country. What I am saying is that Zimbabwe is a rich country and all other countries should envy us. We should not be bound by fear and say that if we create laws, they may chase people out of our country- NO. Let us create in the Constitution, laws which will benefit Zimbabweans. Let us not be given conditions by foreigners who come to invest in this country.

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On banks, they are giving us stringent conditions on loans. Now that they are operating in our country, they should not dictate to us on what to do. They should do what we want. Minister, we rely on you and therefore open up debates for the benefit of Zimbabweans.

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We have been talking about title deeds – I know you want me to speak in English, but I am proud of my own language. We are talking of title deeds – who is going to give us the title deeds as Zimbabweans. Mugabe is part of me – so title deeds are a non starter but what we need are rules and regulations, giving us money because farmers have been given 99 year leases to progress and those should progress to A1 farmers. Unfortunately there is a lot of noise and you can not hear what I am saying. We have had title deeds, we have other countries which introduced title deeds when the got independence and they had to suffer because of that.

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Lastly in my contribution, as a female member of this august House I would like to thank you as a woman because you thought of us in your budget and you knew that women of Zimbabwe are industrious and you allocated us some money and that means we would be able to take up our projects, and therefore, I have to thank you hon. Minister for that.

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THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (MR BITI): I want to thank all the hon. members who have spoken; Hon. Zhanda, Hon. Musundire, Hon. Chikava, Hon. Mukanduri, Hon. Mudarikwa, Hon. Chinyadza, Hon. Raradza, Hon. Matshalaga, Hon. Mavima and Hon. Zinyemba. I would like to say that we failed to have a meeting with the Committee because they were at COPAC and we wanted to seek ideas, but having said that I want to say that we consulted with virtually every business and labour organizations. Some of the bodies I actually met them personally. For instance I personally met ZCTU and CZI and so forth. One of the things we also do is that we write letters to say please can you help us with your ideas. We write these letters to different organizations and to individuals, churches, to faculties of commerce and business accounting at our major universities and we also use our website. So we tried to consult as much as possible.

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I want to apologize that we were not able to see the Committee because it was on COPAC but we did consult widely. I also want to make the point that we had thousands of these contributions on our website and if I were to repeat some of the contributions, members would just laugh to some of the contributions which we got. We are trying to improve in the final budget that we are going to start in August of 2010. We will launch a consultation process. I want to talk on the issue of export incentives and I want to say that the economy is not producing enough for Zimbabwe. Our capacity utilization is 30 percent to 40 percent. So our major focus right now is actually to say, are we producing enough for Zimbabwe.

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Our current account figures for 2009, our figures were \$1.9 billion and already in the first half of the year we are on \$1.5 billion. It is a reflection that we have to be producing in this economy. Not only do we have to produce, we have to put value addition in what we are producing, agroprocessing of that which we are producing. I always give an example of

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Mutoko. People in Mutoko make more tomatoes than the rest of the country. If we were interested in value beneficiation, there should have been a tomato factory in Mutoko, a heavy Budya factory in Mutoko. What we have is that every single day we have got peasant communal farmers who will be riding precariously on top of their tomato boxes and for 40 years, they do it in poverty, their mothers do it in poverty and their grandfathers do it in poverty,

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but if we had beneficiation and we were able to produce our Mr. Heinz or Mr. O'Riley, we would have transformed those economies.

The point I am trying to make in response to the Committee's point is that export incentives, I think what we concentrated on this view was to say what are those issues that are affecting industry. The first thing that is affecting industry is cheap money and we try to do that by consciously mobilizing lines of credit. The facility that has been put by Afreximbank \$650 million, \$385 million from the PTA Bank, P500 million from Botswana and the two line which we are negotiating from South Africa and other monies which we are negotiating. There is a local bank right now which is sitting on over US\$ billion lines of credit and I can not mention its name. If people can borrow money cheaply and if this money can be revolved, then we solve problem number one. Problem number two is raw materials and Mr. Chinyadza the least we gave in this budget is actually an expansion of the little and so there are so many goods that have got zero duty, but what we are doing is just expanding the least of these. Why do we want zero duty on raw materials, so that if you take Dairy Board as an example, the raw materials of Dairy Board, *mukaka* this country is producing less than 9% of the milk that is required to feed this economy.

So until we removed duty on the importation of raw milk, Dairy Board was operating on 18% of normal production capacity. So we had to do that and we allowed them to import duty free powder milk and then they add water, then they make milk, ice cream and yoghurt. So almost everything is on zero zero until such time we are able to produce enough. I also want to say that we have reduced duty on raw materials, with also small sections of the industry, some of them who want us to protect an inefficient badly run little industry that if we allow them to have their on way, they want to take us back where they were able to charge whatever they want and produce goods that were of inferior quality, but prices that were ten times the normal decent prices. We have to fight and I have had so many representatives saying Minister put duties of 80 to 90 percent and I said how can I put duty of 90% when you are producing 20% of what the market wanted to produce. You want to put duty so that you protect your own inefficiency, your own sovereignty. I want to say that I agree with something that Hon. Zhandu said. I have had several conversations with Hon. Zhandu and I know his line of thinking. I know he is one of those persons that I know that this country has not sufficiently utilized in terms of his experience particularly in the agricultural sector. The point he made is that we are allowing politics to be the central issue in decision making processes when what should be decisive is just one simple issue; what is the best interest of Zimbabwe, what is the best interest of Mai Ezra in Dotito and what is the best interest of Peter Chinotimba in Tsholotsho. If our decision making process is not determined by one thing only; what is the best interest of Zimbabwe, then we have a problem. You will notice that every issue that is of national importance whether it is the indigenous regulations, issues of title deeds that we were quarreling about yesterday, issues of mines in Chiadzwa or the issue of The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe debt and how we are going to liberate the institution, we have not put the national interest on the fore front. We have put the interests of politics and I wish they were even genuine interests of politics but they are narrow, parochial, partisan, sectional and factional interests. I would have appreciated if they were genuine party politics but they are not.

I wish that as members of Parliament and as Zimbabweans one day we could just agree in this Parliament on a simple decision making matrix. Is this decision in the best interest of Mai Ezra in Dotito? If it is not, then it can not be a decision of national interest. The second thing that is important to a decision making matrix is a common vision which we do not have. We have a balkanized, barricaded and narrow vision just like horses with blinkers that race at Borrowdale which only look one way. So, because of the blinkers you can not look at anything else. I will give you one example, in this country until the 5th of May 2010 we had one newspaper, the *Herald* and after the 5th of May we have the second newspaper called the *News Day*. If we were to open a debate on the liberalization of the media, most of

820 us here would stick to our own party political interests. Some would say we want newspapers and others saying we do not want newspapers and because of the blinkers that we have, we will quarrel and fight. Soon after leaving this House we will go into Internet cafes to read various newspapers but we are refusing to have the *Daily* newspaper back. So, we need a national vision for this country to move forward.

825 I will reiterate what I said in Cabinet that, our politics is tied up to the normal reproduction of Zimbabwean life. There should be a delinking between politics and the capacity of normal Zimbabweans to reproduce their lives normally. In many western developed countries they have achieved that. I gave the example of the elections that took place in England on 6

830 May. Brown fought with Nick Clerg and Cameroon and three days later a new government had been formed by Cameroon and Clerg. The economy was functioning normally inasmuch as it was functioning normally when Obama won the elections in America two years ago.

In politics people should lose and be able to play golf. I said in

835 Cabinet that the elections that took place in England if they had taken place in Africa or in Zimbabwe, Clerg would have been seeking asylum in Dotito and Cameroon would be nursing his wounds in France where it is cold but because they have managed to delink their politics from their economy things move. What happens in Africa is that elections are cyclical, every four or

840 five years we have elections and because politics and the economy are one, the cycle of disturbances in politics are also disturbances in the economy and things do not work hence the need for a common vision.

I also agree with Hon. Zhandu on his example of GMOs which is a contradiction like the issue of newspapers. Everyone in this country is eating

845 GMOs but you hear the government saying we do not want GMOs here. It is just like in 2009, when there was a law that said Zimbabwe should not use hard currency yet everyone was using hard currency. It is the reflection again of decisions that are made because of politics and without a decision matrix and this is not in the best interest of Zimbabwe. South Africa, Kenya,

850 Zambia, USA, and every other African country have GMOs.

I also agree with those who said we should concentrate on a few issues such as agriculture, mining and social services. The only problem is that all the things had disintegrated so you are forced to try and juggle between all the things. I have taken down all that you have said and will be considered in

855 the 2010 budget.

On the issue of the US\$175 tax free threshold and the other issue raised by Hon. Mudarikwa the government does not have money. Members of Parliament and Ministers' difference in salary is US\$50 because some get US\$400 and others US\$450. I agree that if we do not pay people they

860 become corrupt. So, what we have been saying is that unless we are able to produce and control our resources, we are not going anywhere. That is the reason why we said we must mine those diamonds to control them. If some people are going to call it nationalization, so be it. I agree with Hon. Chinyadza who mentioned that on these royalties, we are just scratching the

865 surface. In Australia six weeks ago there was a Prime Minister called Kevin Rudd who lost his job and the reason why he lost his job is that he had said to Australians – these mining companies, the Rio Tinto, BHP et cetera, they are exploiting, let us get 40% and of course, the mining houses have got monies and they mobilized against him and he was fired and that Welsh-born woman was made the new Prime Minister.

870 In South Africa, Mr J. Malema is talking about nationalization of mines. It is the same concern that mining resources are benefiting outsiders, it does not matter whether it is in Australia, South Africa or it is in Zimbabwe. So, what we did yesterday on Chiadzwa to say it is the Government that is going

875 to own them, it is a correct decision. If we were to go back to that decision matrix wise, to say it is that decision in the interest of Mai Ezra in Dotito, I suspect the answer will be yes.

Appendix B2: Presidential Speech: Official Opening of Parliament

**THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
SECOND SESSION – SEVENTH PARLIAMENT**

Tuesday, 6th October, 2009

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

10 MEETING OF PARLIAMENT

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

THE CLERK OF PARLIAMENT read the Proclamation of the President of Zimbabwe dated 6th October, 2009, summoning Parliament to meet on this day for the dispatch of business.

15 **MR. SPEAKER:** I have to inform the House that at Twelve o'clock noon today, the President of Zimbabwe will declare the cause of his calling Parliament to meet.

MR. SPEAKER *left the Chair at Six Minutes Twelve o'clock noon.*

20 **THE PRESIDENT OF ZIMBABWE**, being seated in the Chair, was pleased to address Parliament as follows:

Madame President of the Senate,

Mr Speaker, Sir,

Members of Parliament,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

25 Comrades and Friends.

I welcome you all to this Second Session of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker, Sir,

30 This Second Session is quite historic, in that it is the first Parliamentary Session following the formation of the Inclusive Government which ushered in a new era of mutual collaboration and togetherness in our endeavour to become a united, democratic and developed nation.

In keeping with Article VI of the Global Political Agreement, work is in progress towards a new constitution for the country. In order to expedite work, the three principals to the Global Political Agreement recently agreed that the six negotiators, two each from ZANU (P.F.) and the two MDC formations will form the constitution-making organ's management committee together with the three members of the Select Committee of Parliament. This enhanced Committee will be responsible for formulating the policy direction of the process, while a steering committee will be the implementing arm. Thematic sub-committees which have now been established, will extensively garner the views of all our people, for consideration in the drafting of the new constitution. It is our hope that the enhanced Management Committee will also further enhance efficiency, capacity and inclusivity in the constitutionmaking process.

On a related matter, the process of establishing the four Independent Commissions provided for in our Constitution, namely, the Zimbabwe Media Commission, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission, and the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission, is progressing well and conclusion is now imminent. A Bill to regulate matters incidental to the establishment of a Human Rights Commission will be introduced in this august House during this Session.

Madame President,

55 Mr Speaker, Sir,

Mindful of the urgent need to restore economic stability, immediately after its formation, the Inclusive Government, on the 17th of March 2009, launched a home-grown economic blueprint, the Short-Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP). STERP is a stabilization programme which lays the basis for a more transformative medium to long-term economic programme. To this end, work has already started on the Medium-Term Plan, which is to succeed STERP, as well as the Three Year Macro-Economic Framework which will cover the period 2010 to 2012. The two programmes which are succeeding STERP are expected to usher in the transition from the economic stabilization mode to a growth and development one.

65 To provide legal underpinning to the economic recovery process, the Public Finance Management Bill which seeks to enhance the management of public resources, will be brought to Parliament during this Session. The Audit

70 Office Bill, which is designed to improve accountability in the audit process
and eliminate the operational limitations inherent in the existing Audit and
Exchequer Act will also be tabled before this Parliament. The Bill also
provides for the establishment of an independent National Audit Office, and
an Audit Office Commission, in line with international best practice.
75 Furthermore, amendments to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Act will also be
tabled in this august House during this Session. The amendments will
enhance the effectiveness of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in its core
mandate of implementing monetary policy and supervising the financial
sector. The Income Tax Act will also be reviewed to render it more efficient
and equitable.

80 With regard to guaranteeing national food security, it is indeed pleasing to
note that during the 2008/2009 cropping Season, an estimated total of 1,3
million metric tonnes of maize was produced, representing a seventy per cent
increase on the output of the previous season. With the summer cropping
season now upon us, efforts are afoot to ensure utmost preparedness in terms
85 of inputs and tillage service provision. In this regard, Government, in
partnership with the African Investment Group and the ASP Marketing, has
put in place a US\$210 million facility for the supply of inputs for the
2009/2010 agricultural season. The inputs stacked at GMB depots
throughout the country will be accessed through commercial banks, using a
90 voucher system. Given the high incidence of drought in our region,
Government will continue to accord close attention to agricultural
mechanisation and irrigation development.

Madam President
Mr Speaker, Sir,

95 The mining industry has been grappling with the challenges of constraints in
the supply of equipment which has become obsolete at most mines.
However, following the positive steps taken by Government and the firming
of mineral
prices on the international market, the situation is steadily improving.

100 Increased gold deliveries to Fidelity Printers and Refiners and the re-opening
of several mines confirm this observation. Special grants for the exploration
and mining of coal are currently being processed, a move which should boost
power generation. The diamond industry has continued to court the attention
of investors. So far, two serious investors have been selected. The
105 engagement of the investors will help bring progress to Chiyadzwa, where
measures, to ensure the orderly relocation of the local families to pave way
for fullscale commercial mining, are already underway.

The Mines and Minerals Amendment Bill which should be finalised during
this Session will seek to strengthen the relationship between Government and
110 the mining houses. The proposed amendments seek to broaden the
ownership rights in the mining sector in line with the Indigenisation and
Economic Empowerment policy, promote Foreign Direct Investment, enforce
the 'use it or lose it' principle so as to decisively deal with speculative
holding of claims, and to reform the Exclusive Prospecting Order (EPO)
115 system in order to facilitate exploration for new mineral deposits.

Madam President,
Mr Speaker, Sir,

The manufacturing sector has been in the doldrums in recent years, owing to
factors such as the shortage of capital, the erratic supply of, and excessively
120 high charges for critical, utility enablers such as water, electricity, fuel and
transport services. Government is in the process of re-aligning public utility
and service charges to regional levels, so as to enhance the competitiveness
of the local industry. The shortage of capital should, to some extent, be
alleviated by the credit lines pledged by various development partners. In
125 addition, Government is reviewing the Industrial Development Policy
framework so as to facilitate the promotion of value addition and productivity
in the sector. The National Incomes and Pricing Commission will be
amended to re-focus the Commission's mandate from price control to
monitoring of price trends.

130 Madam President,
Mr Speaker, Sir,

As part of efforts to address the shortage of power, Government is pursuing the rehabilitation of the Hwange Power Station and resuscitation of the small thermal power stations. This programme is envisaged to yield an additional 710 megawatts to the national grid within a few months' time. Efforts to engage potential investors for the development of new power generation projects will continue in earnest. Such projects include the Expansion of Kariba Power Station, Gokwe North Thermal Power Station, Coal-bed Methane Power Project and the Batoka Hydro Power Station. An Energy Regulatory Bill to consolidate and harmonize the various Energy Acts will be tabled during this Session. In the petroleum subsector, projects on ethanol blending and jatropha bio-diesel production will be expanded.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

This year we witnessed an upsurge in road traffic accidents, resulting in the loss of many lives. The task of addressing this challenge requires the collaboration of all stakeholders. On its part, government will introduce measures to regulate the conduct of motorists. These will include the phased ban on both the importation of second-hand vehicles and the use of re-treaded tyres on public service vehicles, haulage trucks or any vehicles for hire. The recent introduction of toll fees on our trunk roads should go a long way in sourcing funds for road construction and maintenance.

The transport sector has been adversely affected by rampant theft and vandalism of essential infrastructure. Accordingly, the Railways Act will be amended during this Session in order to provide for more deterrent penalties for the theft and vandalism of railway infrastructure. The Bill will also provide for the establishment of a Railways Authority, which will be responsible for the regulation and licencing of service providers and operators in the railway industry.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

As a country, we have long embraced the role of information communication technology as a source of national economic growth. Of essence now is the need to lay the groundwork for the implementation of innovative strategies to unlock the untapped potential of the ICT sector. To buttress this process, a National Information Communication Technology Bill will be brought before Parliament during this Session. Work is also underway to establish capacity for e-Government and e-learning in the country. Information centres where members of society can access ICT services will be established throughout the country.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Tourism is one of the strategic sectors of our economy laden with the potential to deliver quick wins for the economic recovery programme. Its contribution to economic recovery should be greatly boosted by South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup Tournament. Concerted efforts involving both the public and private sectors are being taken to ensure that the country is well positioned to attract a significant portion of the international visitors expected for the tournament. The Confederation of Southern African Football Associations (COSAFA) 2009 Tournament we are set to host this October should thus serve as a barometer of our state of preparedness for the World Cup Soccer Showcase. With the assistance from the United Nations World Tourism Organisations, Government will soon put in place a comprehensive framework for coordinated and sustainable tourism development at both the national and community level.

The Small to Medium Enterprises Sector has proved to be the most versatile and resilient sector of our economy. However, to improve the sector's operating environment, a Small and Medium Enterprises Bill will be tabled in this august House during this Session. Fourteen common facility centres will also be established in all the provinces, to provide access by SMEs to state of the art carpentry and metal fabrication machinery. Furthermore, the operations of the National Handicraft Centre will be revived with a view to boosting the benefits accruing to the art and craft businesses from the 2010 World Cup Tournament.

195 Madame President,
Mr Speaker Sir,
Reliance on middlemen in the procurement of water treatment chemicals has
been a major cost driver in the provision of water. To obviate this challenge,
Government will centralise the procurement of water treatment chemicals.
200 Furthermore, programmes to develop and boost availability of the country's
water resources through the rehabilitation and upgrading of urban and rural
water supply systems will continue. A Statutory Instrument will be put in
place to render it mandatory for borehole drillers to register and operate on
the basis of permits so as to ensure compliance with minimum standards.
205 While the country has made some significant strides in manpower
development, this has, in recent times, been dented by the massive exodus of
skilled manpower. To reverse this trend, Government has embarked on a
programme for the mobilization, repatriation and retention of skilled
manpower critical for sustainable economic recovery. In addition, Public-
210 Private Partnerships involving local and regional players, are being finalized
for the construction of critical infrastructure at some of the State Universities.
Amendments to the Education Act to address the method of payment of fees
and levies, as well as the role of parents and School Development
Committees, will be tabled for consideration by Parliament during this
215 Session. In addition, the Zimbabwe Qualifications Authority Bill, which will
provide the framework for the rationalization of all existing tertiary
qualifications in the country, and the creation of the Qualifications Authority
to oversee the Zimbabwe Schools Examination Council (ZIMSEC) and
Higher Education Examination Council (HEXCO) will also be brought to this
220 august House.

Madame President,
Mr Speaker, Sir,
It is all too clear that parastatals and public enterprises have for long been the
albatross around the country's economy. Their poor performance and overreliance
225 on fiscus support tend to impose a drag on the pace of the economy's
recovery process. As part of the objectives of STERP, Government will
implement a programme for the restructuring, commercialization and
possible privatization of some state enterprises and parastatals. In addition,
work pertaining to the improvement of the governance framework of all
230 parastatals, currently in progress, will be continued in earnest.
The capacity of the public sector to deliver services efficiently and effectively
is critical to the overall economic turnaround thrust. This has become more
urgent, given the current circumstances of limited resources and an
increasingly competitive regional and international economic environment.
235 As part of efforts to re-orient the public service towards attainment of results,
starting next year, Heads of Ministries will be required to sign Performance
Agreements for their budgetary resources. Government is also currently
carrying out a payroll and skills audit in order to engender efficiency in
resource utilization in the Civil Service. Implementation of the integrated
240 performance management system adopted under the Results-Based
Management System in 2005 will be stepped up.
Government is deeply concerned over the current situation where public
servants have to eke out a living from meagre remuneration. The preferred
situation is one where the salaries and allowances of public servants are
245 benchmarked against the poverty datum line. This will be undertaken as
soon as the resources become available. I, therefore, appeal to public
servants to remain patient as the necessary arrangements are being put in
place.

Madame President,
250 Mr Speaker Sir,
To reinvigorate the implementation of housing and social amenities projects,
steps will be taken to engage local authorities with regard to land
requirements for housing and social amenities development. The intention is
for Government to acquire identified peri-urban land and facilitate servicing
255 thereof, in order for such land to be availed to land developers, housing
cooperatives and other associated stakeholders.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker Sir,

260 The youth as the custodians of our future must be accorded a more active role
in the country's socio-economic endeavours and be equipped with the
necessary skills. To achieve this goal, it is proposed that the vocational skills
training policy and the relevant curricula be reviewed. The review will also
entail the expansion of skills training through the Integrated Skills Outreach
Programme (ISOP) Furthermore, the National Youth Service Programme is
265 being reviewed to enhance youth participation in peace building and national
development. A Bill to regulate the structure, management and operation of
the programme will be tabled during this Session.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

270 Serious efforts are required in dealing with the current upsurge in cases of
veld fires, that are causing an avoidable loss of human lives, and destruction
of property, flora and fauna. The political and traditional leadership of our
society must take a lead in stemming this reckless destruction of our heritage.
A Statutory Instrument to strengthen the enforcement of the Forestry Act will
275 be put in place. In an endeavour to broaden our interface with our partners at
a multilateral level, the following agreements will be tabled for consideration
during this Session: SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law
Enforcement; SADC Protocol on Fisheries; Basel Convention on
Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal;
280 Stockholm Convention of Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs); Rottendam
Convention on Prior Informed Consent; and the Ramsar Convention of
Wetlands. A Food Control Bill, which provides for the establishment of a
Food Control Authority, will also be brought before Parliament during this
Session.

285 Madame President,

Mr Speaker Sir,

Zimbabwe is a signatory to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development,
adopted by SADC Heads of State and Government on 17th August, 2008.
The Protocol seeks to ensure the promotion and protection of the rights of
290 women and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
The Protocol will be tabled for ratification by the august House during this
Session.

In the area of defence and security, Zimbabwe ratified the Bacteriological
Weapons Convention in 1990. To date the Convention is yet to be
295 incorporated into our domestic law. The main objective of the Convention is
to prohibit the production and stockpiling of biological agents and toxins
used as weapons, which is a step towards the elimination or reduction of
weapons of mass destruction. The provisions of the Convention are
consistent with the Geneva Convention of 1949, which Zimbabwe has
300 acceded to and incorporated into her domestic law. The Bacteriological
Weapons Convention will therefore be incorporated into national legislation
during this Session.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker, Sir,

305 It will be recalled that the country successfully hosted the 13th COMESA
Summit of Heads of State and Government in June this year, whereupon
Zimbabwe assumed the chairmanship of the regional organization. During its
tenure of chairmanship, Zimbabwe will spearhead the implementation of the
following strategic areas for COMESA; deepening regional integration
310 through policy harmonization; promoting trade through infrastructural
development; strengthening multilateral negotiation mechanisms; creating
investment opportunities in the region; and promoting peace, security,
democracy and good governance.

On the diplomatic front, we will through SADC, COMESA and the
315 COMESA/SADC/EAC tripartite arrangement, seek to broaden cooperation
and integration of the three Regional Economic Communities. We will also
continue to engage our international partners on a bilateral level through Joint
Commissions of Cooperation and other treaties, in order to drum up support
for our economic recovery programme. Following the launch of the
320 Zimbabwe-European Union dialogue in Brussels, early this year, our reengagement

with the European bloc is gathering momentum. However, as our Inclusive Government re-engages the Western countries we expect those countries that have imposed the illegal sanctions which have hurt and continue to hurt our economy and the generality of our people, to remove them. Our country remains in a positive stance to enter into fresh, friendly and cooperative relations with all those countries that have been hostile to us in the past.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker, Sir

May we be reminded that, as Zimbabweans, our destiny is in our hands. It is our sovereign right to preside over our socio-economic development with, of course, the support of genuine and well-meaning partners. If the realisation of the fruits of our economic turnaround effort may seem to take longer than expected, it is because the parameters for it have been more demanding in both form and content than expected. Let us continue to work hard, purposefully and united in all our socio-economic sectors. Together let us build the bridges of amity, forgiveness, trust and togetherness. Let us be the Zimbabwe united in body, mind and spirit. Only that way can we really succeed.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Allow me now to commend these matters for your consideration and declare this, the Second Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Republic of Zimbabwe, duly open.

I thank you.

Appendix B3: Condolences on the death of Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Tuesday, 16th November 2010

The House of Assembly met at a Quarter-past Two o'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

(THE DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

10 ANNOUNCEMENTS BY THE DEPUTY SPEAKER

SWITCHING OFF OF CELLPHONES

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have to remind hon. members to switch off their cell phones before the commencement of business as cell phones may interfere with the digital audio recording equipment.

15

MOTION

CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF CDE EPHRAIM SANGO MASAWI

Fifth Order read: Adjourned debate on motion on the death of the former Hon. Member of Parliament and Governor and Resident Minister of Mashonaland Central, Cde Ephraim Sango Masawi.

20

Question again proposed.

THE MINISTER OF SMALL AND MEDIUM

25 ENTERPRISES AND CO-OPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT:

Thank you Madam Speaker. I would like to add my voice to those that have paid tribute to the life of a gallant son of Zimbabwe Cde Ephraim Masawi. He was one of the outstanding leaders of our nation. I knew him as a governor and also personally as I dealt with his family, and one of his nieces worked for me and that is how I got to know him very closely. He was a family man and somebody who cared for education, family unit and he educated children in his province. At that level Madam Speaker, he really led by example and he took care of, not just his family but the

30

extended family and the community at large. As a governor Madam Speaker, I visited his province a few times and I had pleasure of travelling with him as he inspected some of the programmes there and visited some of the Members of Parliament. He was a very generous man, a visionary and he really cared about people, his province and the poor. I

35

40 remember I visited him when I was with women Members of Parliament from his province. I was amazed at the way he donated a lot to those who were in need. More importantly, Cde Masawi, just before his death, had turned into christianity. He was a man of God. It is very important to pray hon. members. He had turned to God.

45 It is very important to recognise the qualities of each other. Hon Masawi was not somebody who held others out of political gains. He was somebody who helped others and the poor because it was right and good to do so. He is somebody who helped the poor because he was convinced that it was right to help each other. We stand here to pay tribute to his life. He led by example. He will be remembered by many, not just from his family or community, but from his province and nation at large. One of the important qualities that he held, I am sure you all know that he was a very successful farmer. Most of us that participated in the land reform are very proud that at least we have one member who really made good of this exercise or the land reform. He had a banana plantation that was an example to the nation. Also he had also moved into citrus. Many people, especially in this House, can bear witness that he really partook in his banana kingdom as he used to give away his bananas. He lives behind a lot of examples and not just as a person who gave but also a person who worked hard to earn a living and also to give to others what he earned. He was one of the leaders that was not corrupt. I think it is important to really give a tribute to the good works that others do. *Ngiwazi ukuthi lizilwe but lalelani futi* because he did a really good job. He was a succesful farmer and not just an example in Mashonaland Central but also in the whole country. We would like to pay tribute to this gallant son of Zimbabwe and hope that his soul rests in peace and hope that a lot of us will follow his example.

*MR DUMBU: Firstly, I am going to speak in Shona so that you understand very well for those who do not understand. We really wish all people would live well in front of people and even before God. If some one grows up to be a father, that is what he should do. If someone is fatherless, it means he has been scolded by God. There is nothing very special about having children because that is natural for married people to have children. I want to urge you that when we are remembering people that will have done well or successful, it should be done in a proper way. I am pained when I look at what people do when looking at heroes, for example, the hero that we are referring to Cde Masawi, I am sorry for ZANU PF for the loss of Mr Masawi.

80 What I want to say is the people of ZANU PF have confessed that the people who are conferred with hero status are those people who had something to do with the war so that we have freedom. When we look at that, we are baffled when we see that they turn around from what they said before, for what we see going on the ground and what they say because as a party they do not know what they stand for because what they say is not what they say. Heroes of this nation, of Zimbabwe we are looking at people who have history, looking at what they have done. If we look at Masvingo Province, we find there are people who have done better or far more than what Cde Masawi did especially in Zaka, there are so many people who have done better. Cde Masawi lived an average life just like many of us.

90 In Zaka, I can give you names of people who really fought during the liberation struggle, not with wars but they were on the fore-front but the problem that we have is that the political front was being led by PF ZAPU, there was no ZANU PF OR ZAPU. ZANU PF only recognises its people. We have people like Titus Mhetu – this person fought hard and it is well known the whole country and it is in the records of PF ZAPU, but he was not given any hero status. They left him behind but gave him the provincial hero status, which does not go well with what he did. He fought the whites without weapons and he protected his cattle fighting...

100 MR. MAZIKANA: On a point of Order Madam Speaker.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, Hon. Mazikana, what is your point of order?

- * **MR MAZIKANA:** On a point of order, the hon. member is debating on a motion on Cde Masawi and I think he is out of topic and should go back to the motion. Allow me Madam Speaker, excuse me, I have been given the platform. The motion is in English and it states that the House expresses its profound sorrow on the sudden and untimely death of the former Governor. Not to compare our Governor with other deceased late Zimbabweans, thank you.
- 110 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order. Hon. Mazikana, there is no point of order there. The hon. member is debating.
- ***MR. DUMBU:** Thank you Madam Speaker for your protection. I was talking about another hero who was accorded provincial hero status who deserved to be a national hero, Titus Metu. We have another hero in Zaka, Enard Gutsa, this man was a headmaster at a certain school and had a long history in Masvingo Province for coordination during the liberation war but because he belonged to ZAPU, he was not accorded the national hero status – but he has a history. We have a lot of people who were not even recognized, they were taken as if they did not do anything but they did a lot during the liberation struggle, it is only that they belonged to the ZAPU side.
- There was Cde. Chacha who was buried without even a coffin, under a mango tree. He was buried in dirty wrappings and his grave is not even built. We have Cde. Rise Vomo...
- 125 **MADAM SPEAKER:** Order, order. Hon. member may you stick to the motion please.
- ***MR. DUMBU:** Thank you Madam Speaker. We have heroes like Cde. Chigaro Kupfichura, who fought more than Cde. Ephraim Masawi, but as I speak now, he lies on a molehill that is not attended to. He is not remembered, but he deserved the hero status but this status is being accorded to Cde. Masawi. Major Chingombe had a strong history but he was not remembered. We have ...
- [Hon. Mutseyami walks in the Chamber clad in casual wear]*
- 135 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order. hon. member, may you resume your seat. Hon. Mutseyami, the way you are dressed is not suitable for you to be in this august House. - [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] – Order, order, hon. members. Hon. Mutseyami, may you kindly go out and return in the proper dress code.
- [Hon. Mutseyami leaves the Chamber]*
- 140 Can you resume your debate hon. member and kindly stick to the motion. It is not about the heroes but it is a condolence message.
- ***MR. DUMBU:** Madam Speaker, I think it is going to be difficult for me to express my condolences without acknowledging the undeserving status which was accorded to this purported gallant son of Zimbabwe.
- 145 Going further from where I left, Madam Speaker, ...
- ***MR. MAZIKANA:** On a point of order. Madam Speaker, when the hon. member states that he is a purported national hero. It is an insult, – a gross insult and he must withdraw that statement.- [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] –
- 150 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order, hon. members. Hon. Mazikana, before I make a ruling on your point of order. Can you stop knocking on the table whilst you talk to me, whilst you address this august House.
- Hon. member, can you withdraw the statement, just withdraw what you said.
- 155 ***MR. DUMBU:** Thank you Madam Speaker, for the sake of progress, I withdraw.
- Madam Speaker, it is painful that people like Major Chimombe were not remembered when the likes of Cde. Masawi were remembered. We also have people like *Mai* Pamela Tungamirai, who was buried in the forest. It is very painful to see that even the leaders of that party also attended and delivered speeches when the person was not buried at the proper place where she was supposed to be buried, in line with the work that she did for this country. What I do not understand, is what the ZANU PF people refer to as heroes are those from Mashonaland only. - [HON.
- 160
- 165

MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] –

Madam Speaker, may I not be misconstrued, I am not being tribal here. I am saying, in ZANU PF, if you are from Masvingo or Manicaland and have history in ZANU PF, if you are Ndebele – it is very difficult for you to find your way to the Heroes Acre. Madam Speaker, it is painful to the nation of Zimbabwe that people are being accorded hero status that they do not deserve – it is very painful. People are angry because that one is a National Heroes Acre. If they want, we should turn it into a ZANU PF Heroes Acre because those from ZAPU cannot find their way there – they have to force their way there because it is well known that we do not want those from ZAPU, Matabeleland to find their way to the Heroes Acre. Madam Speaker, what is worrying the people of Zimbabwe is that some people are accorded hero's status when they do not deserve it. When you talk about this issue, some people get angry, why? Here we are talking about the National Heroes Acre, unless we want to turn it to a ZANU PF Heroes Acre, then we would have to write on that inscription at the gate that it is a ZANU PF Heroes Acre. Those from ZAPU did not find their way there, they had to force their way there. It is well known that we do not want those from ZAPU, those from Matabeleland to go at the National Heroes Acre. We are turning the National Heroes Acre into a *National Heroes Hectare*, full of people who do not deserve to be national heroes. Some people lying at the National Heroes Acre do not deserve that status. For the future heroes, those who are still alive not *vanaNavaya ava*, *vanaNdambakuwa*, *vanaNavaya havakwane ava*. As things are today, you find that if Navaya dies, he will find his way to the National Heroes Acre. What we are saying is that, the criteria being used to confer national hero status should be re-looked at so that those in Manicaland, Chipinge and Matabeleland will find their way at the Heroes Acre. It now looks like we have one tribe here in Zimbabwe, the *ZeZurus*, and yet they are a very small clique. Mashonaland is a small tribe, but they are the people who are ruling this country. ZANU PF should not cause divisions amongst people of different tribes, we want a united nation. These people in ZANU PF do not want us to live in peace. My appeal is that ZANU PF must stop this, they want to bring disharmony among the peace loving Zimbabweans. I should be free in Mashonaland, Manicaland and Matabeleland. In conclusion Madam Speaker, I would like to say that if you do not qualify to be a national hero because you have a history of killing people, neither are you declared a national hero because you have had so many children or whether you love your wife so much, you do not qualify to be a national hero because you are a farmer or a governor for that matter. A national hero is a man of distinguished courage or ability admired for his brave deeds and noble qualities for the benefit of the nation. What you are is not what is important, but what you do for the country. I know ZANU PF people have ears but they do not want to listen to advice. They do not want to be told the truth. I know this is a bitter pill to swallow for ZANU (PF) people. I would like to advise them that if they are a party of the people, they should respect people's views, that is why people are deserting the party.

***MR GUMBO:** Thank you Madam Speaker for affording me this opportunity to air my views in remembrance of Cde. Masawi. I worked with Mr Masawi in this Parliament when he represented Dzivaresekwa Constituency. What I can say is that when we debate this kind of motion, we should remember the family that Mr Masawi left, who loved him so much. Some of us who worked with him, we want to send our condolences to his family. In Shona, we say *wafa wanaka*. With that in mind, our contributions must be seasoned, coming from an august House and coming from leaders. In Shona they say, *kana urimambo unotungamirira vanhu vese, vakanaka nevakashata*, we should mourn with those who mourn.

Madam Speaker, as the august House which make laws, I would like to support the mover of the motion, Hon. Mafios that we send our condolence message to the Masawi family. We are sorry and we are with you in your bereavement. When death occurs, people talk but when you

230 are alone, it is important to reflect on what you say, whether what you said
is befitting a leader. I would like to urge hon. members to be mature
especially when we are talking about death. We may differ as politicians
but the person we are talking about comes from a family and we must send
our condolences to that family instead of inflicting more pain to the family
by our contributions here.

235 We should respect this august House and desist from verbally attacking
each other. The Masawi family did not ask for this motion, we want them
to know that we are together with them in their bereavement.

MR SARUWAKA: Let me thank Hon. Mafios for giving us this
opportunity to look at the issue of conferment of national hero status.

240 Whilst I feel sorry for the family of Mr Masawi and relatives, on the loss
of their father, I would like to express my displeasure and in the process
agree with millions of Zimbabweans that this declaration as a national hero
was a great travesty of justice. At best, Masawi was a family hero and
party hero *chete*.

245 Madam Speaker, a national hero is not one who is given a colourful
eulogy on the day of his demise by a discredited leader in an attempt to
justify the heroism. In his failed bid to portray Cde Masawi as a national
hero, Mr Mugabe lamely argued that Ephraim Masawi had sought
permission to go to war. My question ...

250 **MR NDAVA:** On a point of Order, the hon. member is referring to
the Head of State, His Excellency as Mr Mugabe. We do not want him to
use those derogatory words, he must refer to the Head of State with his
rightful status.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Can you use the rightful status of the

255 President Mr. Saruwaka.

MR. SARUWAKA: When Hon. Ndava was speaking, I was talking
about the assertion that the President said Mr. Masawi asked for
permission to go and fight in Mozambique. He had to seek authority to do
that. My understanding about the war is that no one went to ask for
260 permission from anyone. People did not ask for passes to go out. Even
war veterans in this House would agree with me that going to war, no one
needed permission from anyone to go to war. So it is quite laughable that
someone is trying to make us believe that one old Masawi wanted
permission to do that.

265 The death of Mr. Masawi however, came at an opportune time.
Sadly, the issue of national heroism is not in the right frame. Remember, it
is one of the GNU issues that are causing discord in the smooth running of
the national government. Mr. Masawi died after the dubious declaration of
my friend's mother, *tete* Sabina as a national hero, after the denial of the
270 same status to Mr. G. Sibanda who, many felt, had better credentials than
the two. Then later, they were followed by the two comrades W.
Mabhena, whose family showed the nation how disgraceful the national
shrine has been reduced due to the burial of non deserving people.

275 Madam Speaker, it must be appreciated that I am not denying the fact
that Mr. Masawi is dead nor that he must be a hero to his family and
friends. My simple assertion Madam Speaker, is that Mr. Masawi did
nothing at grand or national level to deserve the status he was granted by
non else but his rejected party. I repeat that he is ordinarily a dead person
who will not be around to torment innocent and poor souls of
280 Mashonaland Central in the next elections. His death, if anything, brought
a sigh of relief to his victims, especially the white farmers and their
workers who suffered at the hands of Mr. Masawi before his demotion as
Governor from the Governorship of Mashonaland Central.

285 Madam Speaker, the declaration of one as a national hero has
financial implications to the fiscus and cannot go unchallenged. The
delegates who attended the funeral are booked into hotels and are given
fuel, whereas the family of the deceased are supposed to receive pensions
for their upkeep. Therefore only deserving people must be allowed to draw
these benefits from our already burdened fiscus. Madam Speaker, let me
290 take this opportunity to acknowledge that some of our most illustrious sons
and daughters lie at the national shrine and we are indebted to them for

their contributions to our being today.

People like H. Chitepo, J. M. Nkomo, Dr. S. Parirenyatwa, Amai Sally Mugabe, a Ghanaian who seemed to give direction and stability to her Zimbabwean husband; C. Ushewokunze, a young politician who breathed the freshness in life and government and Edson Zvobgo, just to mention but a few. Madam Speaker, great omissions include Rev. N. Sithole, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, James Chikerema, Chief Ndiweni, Susan Tsvangirai, L. Jongwe, S. Madzikatire, O. Sarupinda. J. Jiri. Mai Tungamirai and L. Masuku. The list of dubiously declared heroes include Chenjerai Hunzvi, C. Nkala, S. Mugabe and of course, E. Masawi. My parting word is that heroism is not imposed but earned. Our people know clearly who their true heroes are and these are safely treasured in the memories and in the depths of their hearts. In the same vein, the laid heroes and comrades are blown away by the winds and kept in the dust bin of the nation's memories. *Jah* bless our Zimbabwe!

***MR. MATONGA:** Madam Speaker, I would like to thank you for affording me this opportunity to talk about our hero Mr. Masawi. When it comes to the question of death, as we are all here Madam Speaker, we all came from our constituencies where we were chosen by the people. As we came from our constituencies, some of us were appointed ministers, some deputy ministers and some of them as speakers. It does not mean that when one is not appointed a ministerial position, he is not worthy to be a member of Parliament. Madam Speaker, if we look at the history of this country, people were fighting for the liberation of this country. It is not time to look down upon each other in times of a bereavement because death falls upon everyone.

When we look at all the heroes, whether you are a national hero, provincial hero or you have never been declared a national hero, all those who sacrificed to go for the liberation struggle did so, so that we have this freedom. A long time ago, blacks were not allowed to be in this House of Assembly and for one to be here, it was through an invitation, for example, as a Chief and others. So if we look at the death of Mr. Masawi, we look at what was done by all those who went for the liberation struggle. We can now sit together MDC and ZANU PF eating and rejoicing as Zimbabweans. This is what we encourage. We were given land and wealth – [AN HON MEMBER: *Inaudible interjections*] - hon members, it is better to have a white wife than to have a white master – [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] – I have not finished. So I cannot be a racist as well. So the issue of heroes is to serve the purpose of unity. This is what we should look at as hon. members. On the issue of the liberation struggle, some chose to identify themselves with the oppressors and others aligned themselves with the liberation struggle and they fought on the side of whites as part of the Rhodesian army in an effort to prevent black majority rule.

Some went to Mozambique but we should let by-gones be by-gones. We should never have a situation whereby we look at each other with tribalistic lenses in this day and age, we need to mature, united people. I think we need to be forward thinking, I think we need to have a vision for rebuilding the country because there is a platform that has been provided by heroes like Masawi. Those who shall persistently continue to talk about tribalism have the spirit of legion.

***MR TACHIONA:** On a point of order. My point of order is that if a person points out that he is Karanga or Ndebele that is not tantamount to tribalism. So I should not be accused of having the spirit of legion.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Point of order overruled.

***MR MATONGA:** Whenever there is a discussion of the good that a person did, the devil's spirit will not allow that, instead people will embark on a mud slinging exercise against that individual's good deeds. Let us thank those sons and daughters who sacrificed their lives without remuneration, but for the benefit of this country. If we were to introspect, we will observe that we also have certain bad things that we did which were not beneficial to the nation. We should not forget the great work that was done by the late Masawi. We should not forget that to err is human

355 but to forgive is divine. Let us focus our attention on nation building,
whose benefits are now seen through the land reform programme,
indigenization, being a Member of Parliament, being managers. These are
the results of the work that was done by the likes of the late Masawi. So
we want to say to the Masawi family, thank you for the good work. We
360 envy you in that your family name is being celebrated in this august
House. I say well done to the Simboti family. So with those words I
would like to thank all hon. members for your contributions despite the
fact that some of you might feel aggrieved that one of your own has been
left out. Let us have the spirit of unity and say no to tribalism and racism.

365 ***MRS MAHOKA:** I would also like to contribute towards the
debate on Cde Masawi. We should praise a hero like Cde Masawi who was
a hero from his youth until his death. I would like to remind all hon.
members in this House that Heroes Acre was made for the saints only. I
also want to say the issue of being given a hero status is not in the hands of
370 Parliament or Cabinet, but it is bestowed upon by the Politburo of ZANU
PF. Cde Masawi was a true hero to be remembered. He was troubled by
the MDC but he remained resolute. The issue of his heroism is something
to be counted among others. The hon. members should know that when
they are in here, they should behave. They should not be like herd boys,
375 but instead should learn from speeches being given by others. This last
time people were being educated on good behaviour. Your constituencies
did not vote for you to come and make noise only in this House. We
should not behave like cows in a kraal when we are in this august House.
We were not elected so that we come and behave like cattle. Your
380 constituents are thinking that they voted people to come and represent
them in this august House and deliberate issues of this land...
MS D. SIBANDA: On a point of order Madam Speaker, I do not
think it is proper for the hon. member to see us like animals. There is no
way hon. members can be taken like animals, she has given examples in
385 Shona several times saying we behave like animals, we are not animals.
THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, Hon. Mahoka, can you please
refrain from provoking other hon. members.

***MRS MAHOKA:** I want to continue talking about humility. Mr
Speaker taught us about humility and we were all present, those who did
390 not attend that workshop, there is nothing we can do about it. Here let us
talk about the late Mr Masawi because he was a hero and not talk about the
Heroes Acre. Let us talk about the good works that were done by Mr
Masawi. Mr Masawi did good work for all the people. Cde Masawi
suffered but he did fight a good fight. We must be grateful when someone
395 has done some good work.

It is quite painful that after you have done all that good work, then
people look down upon that good work. Let us hail the good work that he
did from a youthful age until the time he passed on. This is what I earlier
on said that we must not worry about the Heroes Acre which is determined
400 by another person and we are not even involved in that exercise because if
the ZANU PF Politburo does not meet to discuss this issue, then there is
no Heroes Acre. I say to Cde Masawi, rest in peace.

***MR BALOYI:** Thank you Madam Speaker for affording me this
opportunity. Firstly, I would like to say we are saddened by this loss of a
405 hero named Ephraim Masawi. We are very sorry to the Masawi family. I
would like to mention that I briefly worked with him when he came to
Chiredzi where I live. I saw him as a focused person who was organised
even in the manner that he spoke. He was accommodative to all the
people and even us the Changani people, he would also accommodate us.
410 He even tried to learn how to speak chichangani and this is something
great when somebody learns your language for the sake of communicating
with you. He appreciated other people's languages and culture, bearing in
mind that Zimbabwe is a multi-cultural country.

Madam Speaker, it is essential that as members of this House, we
415 should not begrudge each other. And we should accept it that our able
leaders are very capable of making decisions on the nominations of heroes
and we should respect that decision. The leaders were selected by us in a

democratic process and therefore we should respect them and the decisions they take on our behalf. This is called an august House, the Parliament of Zimbabwe, meaning to say, this is a respectful House and should be treated as such. We should not be divided as a nation by the conferment of the hero status on individuals by our leaders. Our leaders have conferred hero status on National, Provincial and District Heroes. We respect those decisions.

Madam Speaker, we need to clarify on the conferment of hero status regarding the departed heroes like Cde Masawi and other heroes who are laid at the National Heroes Acre. As far as I know, the heroism of an individual is based on the war of liberation. Some members here would wish for the hero status to be conferred on musicians and story tellers and other entertainers; this is not the topic under discussion.

When we are talking of national heroes, we are debating individuals who contributed in the liberation struggle for the emancipation of Zimbabwe and not other individuals who had different contributions. Members are free to suggest that the country establishes a new system of conferring hero status to individuals who excelled in other fields other than the war of liberation. And these may include musicians-cum comedian, the late Safirio Madzikatire but these cannot be equated to the liberation war heroes.

In conclusion Madam Speaker, the definition of a true national hero is that of an individual who is well focused and does not change course during their life time. This may include a person who starts his/her life as the enemy of the people but end up reforming to attain the hero status. If one changes their character from a people oriented person to the arch enemy of the people, such a person cannot be a National Hero. The Bible says you should run the straight race until you win. But if you run a race and get destructed on the way, you cannot be declared a hero. Some of the people mentioned here in the august House as potential heroes, were individuals who started their life on the right footing but changed the horses in mid stream.

***MR H. MUDZURI:** Thank you Madam Speaker, it is saddening that Cde. Masawi left us. We sympathize with his family because a family goes through a great trauma when it loses a father or a mother because nobody can replace the value of these parents in the homes. The conferment of a hero status is similar to the selection of a soccer star of the year when panelists select the best player, *creme-dela-creme*. Whenever you go throughout the country and people are discussing the soccer star of the year, if it is Peter Ndlovu, the whole country will be saying, it is Peter Ndlovu because of his nimble footedness. On the contrary, if a nonentity is selected as the soccer star, the soccer loving public will feel cheated.

The point I am trying to put across Madam Speaker, is that the selection of a hero should not be questionable, just as good as the sun rising, nobody blows the trumpet to say the sun is risen. Everybody can see the sun rising, but when there is darkness and suddenly the light comes up, there will be joy and ululation. My advice to my fellow countrymen is that, let us live an exemplary life which will make us attain the hero status without doubt or without any squabbles.

I will take the example of General Tongogara. He was a true hero and there was no argument on his conferment of the hero status but when it comes to these other people of questionable characters, *vana pombi yadonha*, our leaders have problems in conferring the hero status. The moral of this discussion is that we should live a blame-free life and work for the development of our country so that when we die, people have no problem in conferring us with our hero status because of our good deeds.

MR CHIOTA: Point of order Madam Speaker.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, what is your point of order hon. member.

MR CHIOTA: It is sad, unfortunate and disheartening for a learned hon. Member of Parliament to come up with a basic and sad insult to everybody. *Pombi yadonha* is not acceptable, he must withdraw.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, hon. members. I am at a

disadvantage because the headphones are not working, so I do not know the meaning of that in English or *siNdebele*. Hon. members, I am very serious, so I would want the hon. member to tell me what that means.

485 **MR CHIOTA:** *Pombi yadonha*, according to the *Shona* language is a man of no value and we are talking about a valuable man.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, hon. members. If that is the meaning, then the hon. member must withdraw.

***MR H. MUDZURI:** Madam Speaker, there is a problem because we now need a dictionary in this House. You said if the word means what
490 Hon. Chiota has said, I must withdraw, but because it does not mean that, I will not withdraw.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. member, I would want to hear your side. What does that mean?

495 **MR H. MUDZURI:** *Pombiyadonha* means a person who makes people disagree - [Laughter]

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Because you two have got different meanings to this, I will allow you to continue but can you kindly refrain from provoking other members.

500 ***MR H. MUDZURI:** I want to thank you Madam Speaker. What I have noted is that, whoever made a point of order made it when I was about to wind up. I say this looking at the fact that those who have the powers to determine who is a hero or not should listen to what the country is saying. It is not nice to hear the Masawi family saying that the august House was arguing over his hero status. I thank you.

505 **MR MATIMBA:** Thank you Madam Speaker I would like to take this opportunity to add my voice to this topic under discussion. Firstly, let me say that to be a hero, you need to actually deserve it. The issue here is that we are all saddened by the death of Cde Masawi and to the family as well, we are sorry that their beloved one died. There are issues that
510 Shakespeare would say 'the evil things that you do when you are alive, will live longer when you are dead and the good will live with the bones'. So according to Shakespeare he said, 'let it be with Caesar' and I will say let it be with Masawi. What I am saying is that those who were very close to him and those who were enemies to him, some will say may his soul rest in peace but there are other souls who were tormented by him.

515 I think we need time when we stand up as a nation, when we stand and condemn any bad behaviour, whether someone is in the grave or in the waters. For us to go by the old saying *wafa wanaka*, I think we are missing the point because our people will never repent and do good for the nation. Let me add on to the fact that has been alluded to by one hon.
520 Member, that Heros Acre *inzvimbo yavatsvene*, for whoever said that at whatever platform, I am sorry to say that is blasphemy of the uttermost because *vatsvene* as we know, is supposed to be something holly. The fact that Cde Masawi was enshrined at the Heroes Acre does not necessarily

525 mean that he is going to see heaven. As for all those who are happy that they will go to the Heroes Acre, I am sorry to say that you will go to the Heroes Acre and you will burn in hell. I am happy at one point that Masawi was said to be a born again at the time of his death. I would like to congratulate him for that and also Hon. Mwangagwa as I read in one
530 paper that he is now a born again. I would also like to congratulate him for that. I want to urge hon. members here present to desist from any demonic and satanic activities during and after campaigns. If they were to be born again, I think we should have a God fearing nation, which is free

535 of violence, which is loving and tolerating. Many have said that our friends on the other side, precisely ZANU, are trying to *Zanunise* the whole idea of heroes but that is not the point. You do not need to be ZANU PF to be a hero.

You just need to live a life worth of a hero, like that other hon.
540 member who has just spoken. When Josiah Magamba Tongogara died, it was no doubt that he was a hero. When Herbert Chitepo died, it was no doubt that he was a hero, but some of these people who are dying now whom I would say *anatabvemvuma*, I think it leaves a lot to be desired as to their deserving to be at the national shrine. I want to say that it is a

545 mockery to the nation when someone is trying to personalize and partisanise
a national shrine to make it partisan or a party institute. It is very wrong
whoever that person is. We are saying the National Heroes Acre belongs
to the nation and it should cater for the nation, heroes of the nation not
heroes of ZANU PF and not heroes of MDC but national heroes. It is
fundamental that we put this question into its right perspective.

550 Finally Madam Speaker, I would like to end on the note that it is
wrong to say to anybody that Heroes Acre *inzvimbo yavatsvene*. If you
die doing the wrong things, you simply go to hell, in your suits, in your
casket, whether it was bought by ZANU PF or whoever's money, you go
to hell. It is only honourable that we do honourable things when we are
555 living. Remember the evil will live longer after us. I thank you Madam
Speaker.

* **MR MHANDU:** I want to thank you for the time you have given
me. If you are not sure about something it earns you dignity by keeping
quiet, as you will not lose anything. I stand up to add my voice on the
560 death of Hon. Masawi. I am one of the few who had the privilege of
fighting and being a member of the liberation struggle when I was still
young. I realised that some of my colleagues who have spoken before on
this issue, in this House are not taking issues serious. When Hon. Masawi
began to be a politician, some of the hon. members who spoke were not
565 even born.

I want to say that I feel sorry on my own behalf, my family,
constituents and of all the parties in this country, representing all parties in
this country on the death of Hon. Masawi. I am sorry to be mentioning
parties like ZANU PF, MDC-T and MDC -M. I was sadly pained by the
570 loss of Hon. Masawi. It is because others in this House did not know Hon.
Masawi. The work of Hon. Masawi can be equated to those who went to
Mozambique or Zambia. He was a hard worker. He was not partisan, he
looked at the motive of the liberation struggle.

Hon. Masawi – I was asking that hon. members take heed to the
575 words that I am going to say. To those who do not know, Hon. Masawi in
his political career, whilst he was still in Harare, not in Mashonaland
Central Province - I started where his work begun so that those in the area
where he used to stay, can understand; so that those representing Mbare
know what I am talking about. I understand what type of man he was
580 because I was the Deputy Provincial Secretary for Administration for
ZANU PF in Mashonaland Central.

I worked with Hon. Masawi in that position and I want this House to
know I was elevated and worked day by day with Hon. Masawi so that I
could really get to know as Provincial Secretary for Security. So the issue
585 that Hon. Masawi was a violent and cruel man, I do not agree with that.
Hon. Masawi, for your own information, was a member of the Apostolic
Sect – [HON. MEMBERS: Ah! ah!] - I said that before that if you did not
know the history of this person, let me tell you as I worked with Hon.
Masawi day in day out. Hon. Masawi was someone who was very humble
590 and assisted in many cases. Hon. Masawi was someone who was very
helpful.

If you have a contrary view, it is because you never had the
opportunity to go and ask for assistance. I want to talk about Hon. Masawi
because I know his character. It is quite pitifull to hear elderly people in
595 this august House saying it is good that Hon. Masawi passed away. That is
not something to be said by elderly people and hon. members talking about
the deceased in that manner. Let us please have our dignity that we were
brought up with and taught by our parents.

I am one of the people who come from Mazowe North Constituency
600 and worked hand in hand with Hon. Masawi. We went to Mashonaland
Central with him and I actually mentioned it in our Committee of Home
Affairs and Defence that we should not talk about issues that we do not
know because we appear very foolish. Issues that so and so murdered so
and so - I invited the Committe on Home Affairs to come to Mashonaland
605 Central and talk with the people if there is anyone who was actually beaten
up or subjected to violence and torture by Hon. Masawi. No one stood

up....

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order! order! The machines are said not to be working, so can hon. members speak in English.

610 **MR DUMBU:** On a point of Order, it is unparliamentary to lie to the august House like what the hon. member is doing. He is trying to convince the House that Cde Masawi did not kill in his province yet it is on record that there are graves and police dockets in his province.

615 **MR MAVHIMA:** It is also unparliamentary for the hon. member to falsify issues. If he is quite aware of the killings that Hon. Masawi made he should tell them here and now and in which case he should give the names of the people killed by Hon. Masawi.

MADAM SPEAKER: Order, order, hon. members, may you refrain from making statements that you cannot substantiate. Hon. member, who was debating you may continue.

620 **MR. MHANDU:** Thank you Madam Speaker, just to add a few words, Cde. Masawi was one of the most loyal, dedicated and diligent leaders. He had the best leadership qualities, if anyone says Cde. Masawi was a murderer or anything of that sort, was violent – that person, I can say, is lying because I worked very closely with Cde. Masawi...

625 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, hon. members, may you stop using the word 'lie' in this House. It is unparliamentary to say that, so may you stop it.

630 **MR. MHANDU:** Thank you Madam Speaker. Finally, Madam Speaker, Cde. Masawi was very supportive. I am one of the excombatants who, during the election had run out of resources. I approached Cde. Masawi – not only myself but so many of us and without saying much, he came to my rescue all the resources that I required. He is one of those national heroes who actually made me to be here as Member of Parliament for Mazowe North Constituency. I thank you Madam Speaker.

635 **MS. A. NDHLOVU:** Thank you Madam Speaker. I would like to congratulate Hon. Mafios for moving this motion. Let me add my voice, Madam Speaker, to the motion and extend my heartfelt condolences to the Masawi family and Mashonaland Central Province as a whole. On behalf of all born-frees, I would like to extend my gratitude to heroes like the late Cde. Masawi and others who lie at the shrine and other heroes who are still living because it is as a result of their effort ...

640 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order. Hon. members, right at the back there. I do not want to name and shame you or send you out of this august House, if you keep on talking you will have to go out. You can go ahead hon. member and debate.

645 **MS. A. NDHLOVU:** Thank you Madam Speaker. I would like to thank Cde. Masawi and other heroes for allowing us to be born in a free and independent Zimbabwe – such a privilege did not just come on a silver platter but came as a result of their selfless sacrifices. So, I would like to urge all hon. members and all young people in this country to draw lessons from our national heroes and be nationalistic in nature, patriotic and have love for our country.

650 Madam Speaker, it is because of heroes like the late Cde. Masawi and others that in this country, women to start with, were able to get an identity. Those of you and other Zimbabweans who were born before independence suffered at the hands of the Smith regime and it is because of the selfless men and women who took it upon themselves to go and fight the imperialists, the colonialists, that even today the girl child is able to go to school and do the same program that the boy does. The girl child is able to apply and get the same job that the male gets, it is because of these sacrifices done by men like the late Cde. Masawi. And it is of paramount importance that we draw lessons from these people and respect them and draw lessons even to the extent that in our culture – not even in Shona – but the Zimbabwean culture – African even – it is not good to speak bad about the dead. - [HON. MEMBERS: *Kombayi maituka wani!*]

655 Madam Speaker, I would like to salute Cde. Masawi and other heroes for allowing us to enjoy the fruits of the liberation struggle; to enjoy the

670 land that belonged to our fore-fathers and to us Zimbabweans; to be able not to just be employees but to create the employment. Madam Speaker, it is of paramount importance that we salute these men and women. I thank you.

675 **MR. MADZIMURE:** Thank you Madam Speaker. In Shona we say, *afa anaka* but it is also taboo for such an occasion like this one, which was supposed to shower praise on the late Hon. Masawi and praise him. There is a lesson which we must draw from this debate. Again in Shona, *zvinonzi ukaona pachitwa zvakadai panguva yakadai, pane azunza chidembo*.

680 Madam Speaker, what we must use this occasion to do is to reflect on the whole policy of declaring a national hero. The biggest problem we now have is that people are now debating on the basis of which party do you come from because – some say, even the tribe you come from but I am not going to dwell on that. What we have failed to do is to persuade the people of Zimbabwe to take ownership on the issue of the hero. When *vaMuzenda*, the former Vice President, died and when a motion was moved in this House – there was no doubt about who Muzenda was. When *vaZvinavashe* died and a motion was moved in this House – there was no argument, there was no debate. When *vaNkomo* died, the same thing happened because people knew their hero but the problem we now have and also emanating from the fact of the arrogance from our leadership, the arrogance of this country's leadership, where people declare certain positions which will never bring the people ...

685 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order. Hon. Dongo, may you please return to your place.

[Hon. Dongo resumed his seat]-

695 **MR. MADZIMURE:** I was saying Madam Speaker, what the leadership has failed to do is to bring together the people of Zimbabwe and then to have a common understanding of who their heroes were. When Hon. Mhandu was talking about when Mr Masawi started his politics, there was no MDC during that time. No one can claim that when he started participating, he declared that he would be ZANU PF – people used to say that I am the son of the soil. What is meant was that you were doing a duty for the entire nation. This is what we have failed to do and those who are departing, especially the leaders, must know that they have left behind a very divided nation because of their pronouncements. Madam Speaker, I was shocked to hear Hon. Didymus Mutasa declaring that the Heroes Acre is for ZANU PF. What will happen tomorrow when we do not have a ZANU PF government? Are we going to excavate all the graves, are we going to abandon the national shrine? Who will be prepared to let his or her money go towards maintaining the Heroes Acre when you know that it is a party Heroes Acre. All the Heroes Acres dotted around the country – are the people of Zimbabwe going to continue paying for the upkeep of the widows and children left behind?

700 Madam Speaker, if we are a democratic people, it is important that we are taxed on something that we are in agreement with. If we do not agree on the criteria of choosing our national heroes, that item should not appear in the national budget. This is why people are talking about Mr. Masawi in a manner which does not only look at his own actions, but looking at the party as well. What did the party do to the people of Mashonaland Central? I was shocked to hear that there was no single person who died in Mashonaland Central. I know what happened at a certain school called Chaona where three people were beaten and died at that particular school. Some were taken to Howard, they died there, the *sabhuku* died at the Avenues. I am raising the issue because there was another declaration that nothing happened when people were killed. I am saying this because there is evidence, the people are there if the Attorney-General wants to arrest and persecute them as people claim, he has the records. If one would want the evidence, we have the evidence. If we are allowed to play a tape, we will play them and they include some members in this House. So let us be very clear, let us be honest with ourselves when we are dealing with matters here. We cannot throw stones when we are

staying in glass houses.

Madam Speaker, I want to say to the family, yes you lost Cde

735 Masawi, I sympathise with you. I used to talk to him, we knew each other, he has his base in Mbare and we know him better than a lot of people who claim to know him. I would not want our politics to continue on this trend where people are so divided. I know it is deliberate, when people want power, they go to a great extent of destroying the entire nation for the sake of power. We should desist from that so that Zimbabwe will move forward.

740 **MR MUDARIKWA:** Thank you Madam Speaker. I stand up at this great moment to salute the son of Zimbabwe, Cde Ephraim Masawi, Tangwena, Simboti. Heroism in Masawi is in his blood, heroism in Masawi is in his family, heroism in Masawi is in the tribe. Cde. Masawi was a youth leader, a commander, a commander of rare tenacity, a revolutionary fighter in the ranks of Ernesto Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral. Cde Masawi fought against poverty, colonialism, imperialism, hedonism. Heroes are born, heroes are never manufactured, you cannot manufacture a cause of a revolution. A revolution is a defined process where cadres put up their lives to fight against an oppression, to fight against a system.

750 Madam Speaker, we are faced with an unfortunate situation that when the war started, certain people were not born. When *Tsuro Tsuro we ndapera basa* was there, certain people were not born. It is unfortunate that we are faced with a situation where we want to define a hero. In our revolutionary process, we started with nationalists, we moved from nationalism then we moved into confrontation. We created heroic fighters, who fought against a system and then we brought democracy. In that bandwagon of democracy, you then accommodate everybody and when you accommodate everybody, they want to raise their heads high and want to be associated with something that is not part of them.

755 Madam Speaker, we are faced with a very difficult situation, the most difficult moment of frustration, frustration that has been created out of missing the vessel of revolution – it is not your fault, you were not born. It is not your fault, you did not have the blood of the revolution in you. It is not your fault, you were not a descendant of Mbuya Nehanda, it is not your fault, you never understood the cause of the revolution.

760 Madam Speaker, we stand up at this great moment – I used to talk to Cde Masawi in Parliament and he would say, heroes can stand up. It is better to be a grave than to be a slave, Masawi never accepted to be a slave of colonialism, he never accepted to be a slave of neo-colonialism. We have slaves of neo-colonialism at this great juncture of our cause of revolution. Neo-colonialism is a crime against humanity, neo-colonialism has a mind that has been washed away and it is difficult to get a mind that has been washed away. My daughter is doing medicine, you can transplant on any organs that exist on a human being but you will never do a transplant of a mind. The mindset of a person, if it is designed that this mind is a neo-colonialism or it is a sell out, you will not transplant it. So it is an unfortunate situation that we are faced with a situation of people making noise on things that they do not know. Mr. Masawi was a hero, Mr. Masawi will remain a hero. He was a national cadre who stood up to chart the way forward for our heroes.

770 My dear comrades from MDC, there is no party known as MDC. It is a movement of disgruntled comrades. All these people are ZANU PF. Some of them I know them. We had ZANU PF meetings together.

MR. CHITANDO: On a point of order Madam Speaker.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: What is your point of order hon. member?

780 **MR. CHITANDO:** Indeed, there is a party called MDC. I am a member of the MDC and I am an MP. He is misleading the House and he is telling lies. He should withdraw that. We are there, we are MDC and we are not disgruntled comrades.

795 **MR. M. KHUMALO:** Thank you Madam Speaker. My point of order is that in his recitation of his poem, the hon. member is attaching another political party which happens to be represented here. That is my

point of order Madam Speaker.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: There is no point of order hon. member.

800 **MR. HOVE:** Madam Speaker, my point of order is that I am not a disgruntled comrade. I am a very loyal and happy MDC cadre. So I just want him to withdraw that statement.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order hon. member. May you please desist from provoking other members.

805 **MR. MUDARIKWA:** Madam Speaker, I want to thank you for your motherly advice at this greatest moment. Comrades and friends, comrade Masawi was a cadre who fought the Land Reform Programme. It was a process of correcting what was done at the Berlin Conference that they must split Africa to themselves and comrade Masawi stood up and fought. We had hundred years of injustice. When we started the Land Reform
810 Programme, we were reversing what had been done by the Berlin Conference.

Madam Speaker, comrade Masawi was a son of the soil, a dedicated cadre of the revolution. He was not a sell out and he never looked back. To the family of comrade Masawi, I say you have lost a father, you have
815 lost a grandpa but to the nation of Zimbabwe, we have lost a hero who stood for justice. Comrade Masawi stood for the wishes of the people of Zimbabwe and wherever he is, he is a happy man because he died after we had completed the Land Reform Programme. It is unfortunate that this august House has turned to be a forum for heckling. We have professional
820 hecklers not professional speakers. They say I am an orator, yes I am an orator. It is part of my training from ZANU PF. I must educate those who do not know where they are coming from. I want to thank you for allowing me to stand up and this is only because of the revolution which is a process that is like an active volcano. Those who stand in the way will
825 perish. I Thank you.

MR HOVE: Thank you for affording me this opportunity to set the record straight. It is unfortunate that in this nation we are made to celebrate people who purport to have participated in the liberation struggle
830 of this country. Ephraim, Sango Masawi did not leave this country to go and train in Mozambique for the liberation struggle. He stayed in Mbare and I want to set the record straight in that I also notice that in this House there are *amafikizolo* in ZANU PF who are paving a way for their own recognition. Ephraim Masawi was a notorious patron of two Mbare beer
835 halls. It was Blue-bar and Mapetticoat in Mbare. The other thing that I need to bring to the attention of this House are the nefarious things that he used to do in Mbare. He used to be a pick pocketer and I stand to be challenged by anyone. He used to trouble Mbare residents and he is now being saluted just because he became a leader in ZANU PF. I think it is very sad indeed and an embarrassment on our side as a nation that
840 someone can just be saluted by virtue of assuming leadership positions in ZANU PF.

I aver that we need to revisit this issue of declaring certain persons heroes in Zimbabwe. We need to – because when this nation is festered with personalities who are of dubious credentials being celebrated as
845 heroes, is a cause for concern. There are people who have done much more who have not been celebrated as heroes. I am of the opinion that one day when the nation wakes up to its right normal senses such people need to be reburied elsewhere rather than a place called Heroes Acre. I pray that the day will come soon because to allow a person like Masawi to lie at
850 the same place with people like Simon Muzenda, Josiah Magamba Tongogara, I think is an embarrassment indeed.

We cannot continue to allow people of such dubious credentials to even be called national heroes in Zimbabwe. We are not short of national heroes, people like Mukono and Ndabaningi Sithole were not given a
855 burial place at heroes acre when we know very well the role they played towards the liberation of this country. We cannot allow such a situation to continue in our nation. I am of the opinion that we need in this nation to set a non political body that confers national hero status. We cannot

860 continue with the charade that is happening in our nation. I want to
conclude by saying that Zimbabwe is not short of heroes. We have real
heroes, people who have done wonderful things whom we need to respect
and accord all the necessary recognition and titles, but for us to lower our
standards and confer such a status on someone like Ephraim Masawi who
only joined ZANU PF after 1980, is an embarrassment. I heard people
865 who crossed the border like Tavarwisa, we cannot allow such a situation
and for me to remain seated and not say these things, it will be a transgress
of what Zimbabwe is supposed to be. With these few remarks, I want to
thank you.

870

Appendix B4: Condolences on the death of Senator Patrick Kombayi

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Tuesday, 28th July 2009

The House of Assembly met at a Quarter-past Two o'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

10 VISITORS IN THE SPEAKER'S GALLERY

MR. SPEAKER: I recognize the presence of teachers and students in
the Speaker's Gallery from Vuma Secondary School. You are welcome.-

[HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear]-

MOTION

15 CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR PATRICK KOMBAYI

MR. CHIBAYA: I move the motion standing in my name that this
House

APPRECIATING the great scarifies made by the various nationalists in
the struggle for independence of Zimbabwe'

20 APPLAUDING the role played by the late Patrick Kombayi in the
struggle for political, social and economic justice for this country before and
after independence;

GRATEFUL for his selfless dedication for the cause of the majority of
our country; and

25 CONVINCED that any criteria applied in selecting a national hero
would easily have picked out the late Hon. Patrick Kombayi for the position;

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS HOUSE

1. EXPRESSES its gratitude and appreciation for the heroic services
rendered by the hon. member in the quest for a free Zimbabwe; and

30 2. CONVEYS its heartfelt condolences to the widow of the late Patrick
Kombayi, his family and relatives.

MR. F. M. SIBANDA: I second.

***MR. CHIBAYA:** I invite hon. members to rise and observe a minute
of silence in respect of Senator Patrick Kombayi.

35 *All hon. members stood in silence*

***MR CHIBAYA:** In 1938 Hon Kombayi was born and bred in Gweru.

He grew up in Mutapa which is the first suburb. Mr Kombayi was a person
who advocated for the Zimbabweans to live a better life. In 1959 when he

40 was 21 years old, he was prosecuted because he was fighting for the black
people's recognition. From there he came out of jail and went to Bulawayo to
work for the Rhodesia Railways. He was trained as a locomotive driver.

From there he went to Zambia and joined others in forming ZANU PF.

In Zambia, he helped a lot of ZANU PF people in providing clothing and
other things. In 1980 he came back and helped ZANU PF campaigning for

45 1980 elections in providing transport because he was a successful
businessman. He was elected as one of the councillors in Gweru Mutapa

Ward and later on elevated to the position of Ceremonial Mayor. He
embarked on a lot of projects which includes Kudzanayi Bus Terminus, roads

50 and Iveme township. Because he was a good man, the people in ZANU PF
perceived that the power he had could take him to greater heights, so they
made lots of allegations against him.

I am talking of things that lots of us are familiar with, including my
fellow Hon Member Chivamba, whom I know is going to agree with what I

55 am saying. Being removed from the office of mayor did not stop him from fighting for the people's rights. Together with Tekere, he formed ZUM and stood up for elections in 1990 as a ZUM candidate. During his campaign tours, he was shot at near Gweru River. The people who shot at him were convicted but they were immediately pardoned by the President. The shooting did not stop him. He continued fighting for the people's rights. He
60 later joined the people's party MDC. Kombayi held a secretarial position at Provincial level.

In 2008 harmonised elections, Mr. Kombayi contested as MDC-T senatorial candidate for Chirumhanzu-Gweru Constituency and won the elections. In December 2008, Hon. Kombayi went to South Africa for
65 treatment. In June this year, Hon. Kombayi passed away as a result of the gunshot wounds. A lot of us were assisted by Mr. Kombayi. We are all encouraged to stand up and contribute on the good things that Mr. Kombayi did. Whether you are from ZANU PF or MDC, most of us were helped by Mr. Kombayi. Therefore to the family of Mr. Kombayi and to us as Members
70 of MDC, let us stand up and talk about the good things that he did. Thank you.

+**MR. F. M. SIBANDA:** Thank you Mr. Speaker, I will ask the House to be patient because this is not a laughing matter, but we are crying and remembering a hero amongst heroes. I have decided to speak in the
75 vernacular so that we offer our respect to our culture and go deep and not stammer. Here as I am, I coincidentally met Kombayi; you know that PF ZAPU went to London in 1979 to go and draft the Lancaster House Constitution. I was one of the gentlemen who was working for the reconnaissance. Those in the army know what reconnaissance means, it means
80 one who travels as an advance party to see that everything is in order so that enemies do not kill the leaders. I left with Lameck Chinomuta, he introduced me to Kombayi. I stayed with Kombayi - a clever man, strong and brave. He told me that he was a son-in-law to the Ndebeles and he came from Gweru whilst I came from Lower Gweru. I got to know him from then on until
85 independence in 1980. A lot happened in Gweru, he used to drive a black Mercedes Benz. Some people started saying that he wanted to be the President but since he was someone with money, it was proper for him to drive a black Mercedes Benz. There was a rumour that he helped the ruling Party by giving them train engines, so that is why they had rewarded him by
90 appointing him a Mayor. I do not know whether that is true or not. I am here to speak about a hero, what a hero amongst heroes is. I will also speak in English so that we all understand what a hero amongst hero is. A hero is someone who is brave who is courteous and who is respected

Hon. Maramwidze having entered the House wearing a trench coat -
95 *(Laughter)-*

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order, Hon Sibanda. Hon members it is good to note that I have got so many assistants otherwise I had not made any ruling about his dressing and may you proceed to debate.

+**MR. F. M. SIBANDA:** I said hon Speaker, I am going to explain both
100 in Ndebele and English. According to the New Collins English Dictionary, a hero is distinguished by exceptional behaviour. He is a man distinguished by exceptional pounds, mobility, superior qualities in any field. I am talking of a hero not a heroine. I need to reiterate because I want this to be very clear. According to the dictionary referred herein, a hero is a man distinguished by
105 exceptional courage, nobility superior qualities in any field. A heroine is a female, it is a woman possessing superior qualities or a woman idolized for superior qualities in any field. This means that a hero is a man who is brave and also respected as if he is noble. What is called nobility. A heroine is a respected women who is as brave as a lion, respected and noble. Here Mr.
110 Speaker, I am trying to make them understand about this man that he was a hero amongst heroes. Mr. Kombayi was a man who was brave, well mannered and respected. He was also working for people's human rights. If you take all this and view it seriously, you will see that he was a hero amongst heroes. As I was examining his heroism, I saw twenty attributes why
115 Mr. Kombayi should be called a hero or a national hero of Zimbabwe. Firstly, he was prepared to die for the love of his country through his condition. He

was prepared to die for this country. What I am saying is that Mr. Kombayi was a man with deep thoughts and he used to do whatever he thought of doing. He was prepared to fight during the war. Fighting in the war does not mean carrying a gun but he was prepared to assist. As I have said before, a hero is someone who is respected and brave and who can do anything that is good. Our heroes, some of them come from political parties. We want some of the heroes to come from the agricultural sector and some from the economic sector and some heroes to come from those who are looking after the disabled, people like Jairos Jiri. Some heroes should come from footballers because they entertain us or whatever because they entertain us. Some heroes are those that look after the disabled. This man Kombayi offered himself to die for the people. He was a man amongst man, he was a man of the people.

In Gweru, you would see starving people, disabled people even politicians going to him asking for help. That is why I am saying he was a man amongst man. He used to bring people together. He never discriminated - as I have said, he told me that he was a son in law to the Ndebeles'. He was married to MaSibanda and because of that, you can see that he used to bring people together, those who speak Shona, Ndebele, Shangani and English. So he was a nationalist by character. He also wanted development. He used to assist lots of projects in Gweru. There are people in business now in Gweru who were assisted by Kombayi. You know that there is Jairos Jiri Center in Gweru, He was one of the board members there. He used to work with Nara and he would assist the Jairos Jiri by providing food, seed and clothing. So to me, he is just as good as Jairos Jiri, because Jairos Jiri used to assist . Although Kombayi was a politician, he also assisted people. He gave people shelter. After *Murambatsvina*, a lot of people had no houses to stay in Gweru. Kombayi tried to look for tents and homes and some people were staying in his house so they could have roof over their heads.

I am trying to paint to people what Kombay really was. In Zimbabwe at the moment, we are saying the economy has no money, Mr Kombayi was a guru in economic issues because he knew about business and he was trying to work out that Zimbabwe gets money and people get employment. He was a strategic planner, he wanted people to discuss politics on full stomachs and not discuss politics on empty stomachs. So Kombayi was an all rounder. There are a lot of things I can leave out but this I will not leave out, Kombayi was patriotic, someone who was prepared to die for his country. It is difficult to explain in both Ndebele and English. He was that kind of person who would not leave things half done. So resilient, that is why he died still working for the people. Lastly, he was a forgiving person, Jesus said forgive them for they know not what they are doing and when he also came to this Parliament, he did not go about pointing fingers, he forgave them. Because he knew that some of those things they do they did not do them intentionally but they were just carrying orders. He was a forgiving person. That is why we keep saying Kombayi, Kombayi, today we say Kombayi you are a hero because he was a forgiving man. Mr. Chairman before I come to an end - *[laughter]* – alright I am sorry he is my Party Chairman so it can be confusing. Mr. Speaker Sir,

MR SPEAKER: Order, order let us hear him.

+MR FM. SIBANDA: I would like to point out that there are heroes who were never recognized, who in English are called unsung heroes. If I point them out, you know how I am going to end my debate, you will all stand up and agree with me that here are some of the unrecognized fallen heroes. The first one is William Kona, Father Nkomo said to William Kona take the Kona. William Kona is a hero amongst heroes, he has never been mentioned and nothing has been written about him but we know how much he worked for ZAPU up to independence. There is also the late Alderman Nicolas Mabodoko from Bulawayo , when Father Nkomo was working, he remained holding fort. He was never declared a hero and there is also Chief Mangwende, all the Zezurus from Murehwa know him, we used call him Chioko, do you know him? This person was a hero but you will realize that he was never recognised , he is a person who worked very hard for ZAPU

180 and there is also headman Bveke, Bveke is from Dotito and this is what Biti
 always says. Mr. Bveke worked very hard in Mashonaland Central
 educating people there, educating them that people should fight for
 themselves until he ended up in Mozambique but when he was buried he was
 just buried as an ordinary person, no recognition was placed on headman
 185 Bveke. There was Zwambila from Bulawayo, if ever you hear of Highlander,
 he was in charge of Highlander Bosso. He worked in the entertainment
 industry. We should also honour him by giving him hero status. Then comes
 Ndabaningi Sithole, he is a hero amongst heroes, because Mr. Speaker, in
 Zimbabwe, for one to be called a hero here in Zimbabwe, they look at your
 190 party affiliation.
 What I am trying to say is in future, when declaring heroes, they must
 look at other areas as well, Ndabaningi was a politician but Zwambila was a
 social leader. I am trying to differentiate. We the elders are now living the
 ball in your court, help me, I am not trying to feed you, I will take you
 195 slowly. Mr. Speaker there is a man called Njini Ntuta I was in the Speaker's
 Gallery when Njini Ntuta was contributing in Parliament in 1983/82 he spoke
 and disagreed with others, it was in 1982 or 83 I am not sure because I did
 not go to the library. He gave a speech and he was threatened by some boys
 here that the sun was not going to set for him. Parliament adjourned on
 200 Thursday and then on Sunday morning, whilst at his farm, the man died a
 painful death, he was beaten to death after he had made a speech here in
 Parliament. But here in Parliament we are protected, we have immunity but
 when you get outside you find people searching you around. Njini Ntuta
 made a contribution in this House but he ended up being murdered. He is a
 205 hero amongst heroes. Before I finish I will tell you.
 There is also George Mlala who died 2 days ago, the former ZIPRA
 Cadre. I understand some of them are denying him the hero status but he will
 become a hero when the time comes. There is also William Sivago from
 Bulawayo. He died last year and our people have forgotten him. Ladies and
 210 gentlemen, he is a hero. Jairos Jiri is a hero. Mabika the founder of the ex-
 Prisoners and Detainees Association, he died three or four years ago and no
 one remembers him. Solomon Mabika the ex-detainee, they know him. He
 is dead now and they have forgotten all about him but he is the one who
 started the first Chimurenga in 1963. The history of Zimbabwe says the
 215 revolution, the war started in 1964, what we know is that in Hwange, they
 started in 1963, Solomon Mabika was there that time and Mr. Mnangagwa
 knows that – *[Laughter]*-
 The last two, the other one is Mark Nziramasanga he was a publisher,
 the boy had not been born. Mark Nziramasanga died and he was not
 220 declared a National Hero. Then there is Jirira and Daniel Madzimbamuto and
 Emanuel Goche who worked for a long time as a doctor in Bindura. And a
 man called Jerry Nyambuya he was hacked because of politics, so Mr.
 Chairman, Mr. Speaker Sir, I am trying to – *[laughter]* - this is not a laughing
 matter. George Mlala died two days ago, he will be a hero when the time
 225 comes. There is also William Sivhambo, he died and they forgot about him
 but he is a hero. There are other heroes like Jairos Jiri, Solomon Mabika who
 was an ex-detainee and Hon. Mnangagwa knows him. He died but he is
 forgotten. However, he was one of the first people to fight during the
 liberation struggle. He started fighting in Wankie in 1963. There are others
 230 like Mark Nziramasanga who died and was also not declared a National hero.
 Other names are Jirira, David Madzimbamuto, Manuel Gucho, and Jeru
 Nyambuya who was slain for political reasons. -*[Laughter]* - Hon members,
 this is not a matter to laugh about. What I want to say is that Patrick Kombayi
 and the other heroes are heroes for this country. It is not good to laugh about
 235 such matters.
 I want to say that one day I am going to die and we are all going to die.
 I also want to thank the mover of this motion and ask him to amend his
 motion so that it advocates for the declaration of the late Patrick Kombayi as
 a national hero. A committee should be tasked to sit down and declare Patrick
 240 Kombayi a national hero posthumously, as well as the others who have died
 and have not been declared national heroes.

*MS MAHOKA: Mr Speaker, Kombayi was a person who was well

respected by others but he did not respect himself. So, when we give
condolences and talk about a dead person, let us speak truthfully so that the
245 heavens can also bear witness to what we say. Cde Kombayi was someone
who was strong and used to fight hard for leadership positions. He was a
jumpy character who was power hungry and was not a very straight person.
He was strong in the party but whenever he was given a small position in
ZANU PF, he did not like it. That is the reason why he left ZANU PF and
250 went on to join ZUM.
When he joined ZUM, he showed the same behavior of wanting big
leadership positions and when he was given a small position, he left ZUM
and joined the MDC party. Therefore, I would like to urge hon. members
from the MDC to speak truthfully about a person. I agree that Cde Kombayi
255 helped a lot of people in Kwekwe, who belonged to the MDC. I remember
that he was once arrested together with some members of the MDC and he
paid bail for all of them, he did not leave them behind. He also helped a lot of
people during the liberation struggle.
However, that does not take away the fact that he was a jumpy character
260 who was not really straight. He used to fight hard for leadership positions and
we should tell the truth about Cde Kombayi-[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible
interjections*]-
MR SPEAKER: Order.
***MS MAHOKA:** Mr Speaker, we should tell the truth. One cannot
265 look for bones in okra soup. So, let us speak truthfully and not speak about
things that we are not sure of. If we are MPs who are in the habit of lying to
our constituents, we should desist from telling lies and start telling the truth.
In Shona they say *wafa wanaka* but let us tell the truth about a person even if
he is dead.
270 ***MS CHADEROPA:** Mr Speaker, I would like to make comments
about what I know concerning the late Hon Patrick Kombayi. He was a
leader and he worked with Cde Ndemera when he was a Governor and
Kombayi was a Mayor. The late Kombayi had a misunderstanding with the
Governor when the Governor confronted him for misusing funds. What I am
275 talking about is true-[HON MEMBERS: Ah!]-
MR SPEAKER: Order.
***MS CHADEROPA:** When he misused funds, he had problems with
the Governor. He went to Shurugwi to discuss the issue with the Governor
and there the Governor accused him of misusing even more funds -[AN HON
280 MEMBER: *Saka pane chakanaka chaakaita here?*]-After being cautioned by
the then Governor Ndemera, he is known to have said to him, “The words
you have said are enough and you will never say them to me again”. After
that Governor Ndemera passed on.
MR SPEAKER: Order hon. members.
285 **MS CHADEROPA:** Of course there are some good and bad things that
he did, but we must talk truthfully about everything.
***MR HOVE:** I also want to make my contribution to this motion.
Since others have debated in vernacular I will do likewise. What we are
doing this afternoon is commemorating the life of Patrick Kombayi. He was
290 a hero who like everyone else had the positive and the negative side of him.
However, most of his works were positive. The unstable nature cited by the
previous member of being power hungry is irrelevant because everyone in
this House is power hungry, including the member who brought it up. It only
shows that he had potential to be a leader. He was underestimated and his
295 moves to other parties showed that he wanted to fully utilise his potential.
He also moved from party to party because there are certain things that he
valued and once those values were violated, he moved to a party where these
values were respected.
If we look at the history of some heroes at the Heroes Acre we find that
300 some were engaged in corrupt activities. some were murderers who went
even to the extent of murdering their fellow party colleagues. Mr Kombayi
might not have been laid at the Heroes Acre but he is a hero. It is not easy for
one to use his own resources to fund a national cause as did Mr Kombayi
during the liberation struggle. He was selfless and contributed greatly
305 towards the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 by funding the armed

struggle. The liberation struggle was fought in different ways. As in soccer, there are many players, some use their feet, some their hands, some use their heads and some their foreheads, but all making contributions towards the same cause. So, what Patrick Kombayi did during the liberation struggle is unquestionable. How many of us today would respect someone who made an attempt on your life ? Patrick Kombayi did not avenge. He was a man who helped everyone who was in need and I would call him a hero of heroes. My request is that he be accorded heroes status, not that he be buried at the Heroes Acre. Such tributes as I have given above of the life of Patrick Kombayi, should help us as we travel along life's journey. I thank you.

MR. BHASIKITI: I want to give my condolence message on this motion on the senior citizen of Zimbabwe, Cde. Patrick Kombayi. However, I would like to make quick corrections to some hon. members who did not have correct dates and place of birth of Hon. Patrick Kombayi. Senator Patrick Kombayi was born on 2 November 1938 in Takaedza Chirumhanzu. He started politics in Bulawayo in 1958. Like those who started politics during that time, he was one of the first to be detained under the first declaration of emergency by Edgar White together with Edward Ndlovu, Ziyapapa Moyo, Joseph Msika, Chirwa and E. Ndovi. It explains that he was one of the first participants in the revolutionary struggle. We should, in his condolence message, give correct information irregardless of which party he belongs to. We should take an example from the Speaker who asked hon. members to rise in silence in recognition of Hon. Pemhengahyi. Mr Speaker, death is not pleasant to anybody, perhaps to a witch doctor it would be pleasant. Any normal human being will not be happy when we talk about death. Senator Kombayi was a successful business man, one of the first African business personnel who operated in Southern Rhodesia. He was involved in the hospitality industry even until his death. He left Midlands hotel and Cecil Hotel - things established by an African indigenous Zimbabwean who strived to break through in the harsh economic times of the oppressive regime. He was a founder member of NDP, ZAPU, ZANU, ZUM and FORUM, which is part of his achievements and participation. You cannot take anything away from him, that is what he did. He participated in the liberation struggle, supplying all logistical material like what the other speaker has indicated.

Mr. Speaker, I credit Senator Kombayi for organizing the first big rally in support of President Mugabe in the 1980 elections. The life of revolutionaries and big historians are made to educate us and make us draw lessons as to how we should proceed in the future. I will take an example from the Christian domain where I belong. I will take an example of Jesus Christ's life. Jesus Christ's life is complementary and central to every christain way of life. Assuming Jesus had fallen to the temptation of bowing down before satan to get the authority he would have been given to rule over the empire he was shown, I think the whole purpose which he had come for would have been defeated – [MR. MADZIMURE: *Unofananidza Jesu na Kombayi here?*] – I am saying, it pays at time to be consistent at times in whatever one decides to do . In our African culture we are not supposed to say anything bad about a dead person but we all know that at independence the President preached the gospel of reconciliation but people were very bitter. Someone went ahead and shot a white man regardless of what the President was preaching. You can judge leadership there, we do not want to hide facts. Senator Kombayi was a revolutionary but he was very quick to anger, if you provoked him, he was always ready for fist fight. We all know that Cde. Kombayi and Tekere deferred to ZUM. This explains that as leaders they could not take instruction and discipline from ZANU PF. I just want to help some hon. members who are clamoring for recognition for heroes status. I do not know what background they are coming from because if we are talking of the Heroes Acre we have in Zimbabwe, it was enunciated by ZANU PF. During that time those in opposition who are MDC, were just denigrating the Heroes Acre and have rejected the idea to have the Heroes Acre in Zimbabwe. It is surprising that now the same members and party which were opposed to the Heroes Acre are now on the fore front of crying for recognition of their members to be given

370 such status and to be buried on the shrine. I think they are missing the whole argument, if they have repented, they should come clear and approach ZANU PF and ask how they can also be taken aboard at the Heroes Acre.

Mr. Speaker, paying a condolence means we should restrict ourselves to saying things which will make family members feel comforted in their loss. I therefore, want to urge members to avoid words which will make the 375 Kombayi family feel hurt. I say, may his soul rest in eternal peace. I thank you.

MR. M. SHOKO: I got to know Senator Patrick Kombayi in 1988 when he and I rebelled to form the Zimbabwe Unity Movement. I had heard about his exploits in the liberation struggle. I got to understand him. I got to 380 understand the kind of man that Patrick Kombayi was. The war veterans, detainees and collaborators who upheld the struggle for independence will remember the aims and objectives of that struggle. We struggled to dismantle the system of racial supremacy which was designed by the Ian Smith regime. We struggled to end exploitation , oppression of the black majority in this 385 country.

Never again, after 1980, did we think that the people of Zimbabwe would suffer - that people of Zimbabwe would be exploited, and not be allowed to associate, affiliate, express themselves freely. We all believed that we belonged to the same Mbuya Nehanda, Kaguvi and Lobengula you name 390 them but we were surprised when some of our brothers and sisters were no longer the same as these heroes Patrick Kombayi is a man who refused to oppress the very masses that he helped to liberate. He refused to change the aims and objectives and also rejected corruption. Patrick Kombayi, I think, deserves a national hero status.

395 His, our friends on the other side would say Patrick Kombayi .. -[AN HON MEMBER: *Inaudible interjections*] – Remember, it was one of the aims but the land would not mean anything without freedom.

However, Patrick Kombayi, myself and others who are on the other side said that if the land reform programme did not address the concerns that we 400 had. ... -[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible injections*]- I will not waste time, already we learnt the exploits of Patrick Kombayi you have heard about his work and how he helped to liberate this country.

Let me end my short contribution with an appeal. I would like to appeal to all Zimbabweans to learn respect and accept divergence of opinion. So 405 that we never again have a situation where a person who expresses a different opinion from yours is immediately labeled a sellout. I will also say that a divergent mind allows for criticisms , interrogation and analysis of policies that we formulate. This will lead to refinement of the final plans that we need to implement. If our nation learns to implement plans that have 410 undergone this process, then our plans will be implemented carefully and properly and our nation will move forward.

Appendix B5: Condemnation of corrupt practices

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Tuesday, 10th November, 2009

The House of Assembly met at a Quarter-past Two o'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

10 MOTION

CONDEMNATION OF CORRUPT PRACTICES

MR. BHASIKITI: I move the motion standing in my name that this House:

15 NOTING the existence of the African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption (APNAC) Zimbabwe Chapter which is a forum for Parliamentarians to share information and experiences in the fight against corruption;

CONCERNED about the high levels of corruption in our society and its impact on the economy especially on the poor.

20 FURTHER CONCERNED by the country's poor rating on the 2007

Corruption Perception Index.

NOW, THEREFORE, this House calls upon;

(i) the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature to lead by example by coming up with a Code of Conduct;

25 (ii) the three arms of government to condemn all corrupt practices in all sectors;

(iii) the Executive to review all relevant legislation with a view to strength them in order to deal with corruption cases;

30 ((iv) the Executive to consider the reports by the Comptroller and Auditor General's Reports seriously and make the necessary follow ups; and

(v) Legislators to adopt the APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter.

MR. MADZIMURE: I second.

35 **MR. BHASIKITI:** The motion I have is a motion which calls upon all hon. members to be more focused and united in looking at it and be less partisan on dealing with issues presented in this motion. I shall take a brief background on updating hon. members on what is up now and what its objectives are. I will highlight the issues related to corruption and how we as hon. members can intervene in trying to reduce this scourge.

40 APNAC is an African Parliamentary Network Against Corruption which was launched in Uganda in 1999 when Parliamentarians were meeting at a seminar on good governance. Zimbabwe was represented in this seminar by the former Hon. Member D.C. Mavhaire. After its launch, its offices were established in Uganda and subsequently offices will be rotating to sitting

45 countries where coordinating chairpersons would have been elected. The position of APNAC is to achieve a corruption free environment in all nations where economic growth and development can be achieved through effective, efficient and utilization of public resources for the betterment of the people. The objective of APNAC is to capacitate and strengthen Members of

50 Parliament in their pursuit of oversight duties so that they can be effective and efficient in monitoring public financial affairs and ensuring good governance. APNAC seeks to develop links with oversight committees of Parliament and parliamentarians across Africa and the whole world. To

55 realise this goal APNAC liaise with national and international organisation and institutions on anti-corruption related matters. It also serves as a contact point for parliamentarians committed to fighting corruption.

60 APNAC coordinates with civil society organisations who share the same vision of reducing corruption. It also sensitise and educates the population on the existence of threats and dangers and effects of corruption. The campaign or advocacy by APNAC is to encourage improvement of state

65 capacity to address and handle corruption issues timeously. It is pertinent to note that there is also APNAC Chapter in Zimbabwe. This chapter was established in 2004 but perhaps due to partisan approach in which its business was conducted, it did not emerge to be effective or carry out its

70 duties as was required of it. This saw the resuscitation of the aims and objectives of APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter this year in August at Holiday Inn in Bulawayo where APNAC held its AGM. This occasion was opened by Mr Speaker to give highlights and challenges ahead of this important organ. Fifty members gathered and formed a national executive council. It may

75 be pertinent for you to take note of the Executive Committee members which is in a non partisan approach, taking on board all the three political parties represented in this House. The Chairperson of the Zimbabwe Chapter is Hon Madzimure – MDC-T, Vice Chairperson Hon J. Mangena-ZANU PF, Secretary General Hon Bhasikiti-ZANU PF, Vice Secretary Hon S. Ncube-MDC-M, Treasurer Hon Chimhini-MDC-T, and Committee Members Hon S. Ncube MDC-T, Hon M. Khumalo-ZANU PF, Hon Matamisa-MDC-T, Hon A. Ndlovu-ZANU PF, Hon L. Mupukuta-ZANU PF, and Hon T. Saruwaka-MDC-T.

80 It may be important for me to explain and to give a guideline of what corruption is like. Corruption in general terms is the abuse of public position for personal gain or an individual or group to whom one owes allegiance. But the Oxford Dictionary Volume 1 defines corruption as a pervasion of integrity by bribery or favour. Or a pervasion of anything from its original

85 state of purity. Thus corruption takes many forms including bribery,
nepotism, patronage, theft of state assets, evasion of taxes, diversion of
revenues and etc. Corruption undermines good governance, distorting
policies leading to poor service and infrastructure delivery, reduced spending
in health and education and serious budgetary problems. It distorts the
90 political process substituting policy focused political competition with patron
clientèle relationship. The cost of corruption weighs on entrepreneurship and
results in the misallocation of country's human and economic resources. It
acts as a deterrent to foreign investment.

Endemic culture of corruption undermines public confidence in state
institutions and corruption diverts international aid away from its intended
95 targets reducing effectiveness. Systematic corruption increasingly prompts
donors to cut aid levels further undermining development effort. A case in
point is the Zambian experience where the nation lost about K2.8bn which
was intended to help their education, health and infrastructure development.
The donors had made an undertaking to give the Zambian economy that
100 assistance but on realisation that there was a lot of corruption in the civil
service in government whereby K30bn was reported missing or stolen by
officials in the civil service they ended up withholding that aid.

I want therefore to call upon parliamentarians to consider the problem
of corruption in our society with the seriousness it deserves. we cannot stand
105 and watch as corruption evolves to be a culture in our country. A report of AU
presented at the meeting of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa
in 2002 indicated that about US\$148 billion is lost through corruption which
indicates about 20% of investment being held through corrupt practices. You
also have a case in point in which the 2007 corruption perception index
110 pointed out that Zimbabwe was 150 in the 180 nations considered in that
survey. This is a serious case to take note of. As hon members of Parliament
we owe it upon the people we represent to ensure that corruption is reduced
in our country and Parliament should therefore play a leading role in
encouraging good governance and effecting change in our society.

115 Mr Speaker Sir, Parliament can pass legislation on Anti-Corruption.
This will be largely useless if political will is not there. Parliamentarians
should demonstrate their own commitment to combat corruption by their
personal integrity and that of Parliament. It is incumbent upon each member
of Parliament to demonstrate to the public that the way we conduct our
120 business is above board. We need as Parliamentarians to enact legislation on
campaign for finance reform including declaration of contributions and
expenditures during the campaigns that is where we are found wanting. As
we speak some have already started embarking in cattle slaughter at every
place they gather with people to just try and confuse our people in terms of
125 vote buying.

Mr Speaker Sir, I propose that Parliament should establish a code of
conduct for Parliamentarians and even for the Executive to try and reduce
corruption. We should enshrine in this code of conduct such statutes as the
130 protection of whistle blowers, those who can report the corrupt practices and
have them prosecuted timeously. It is saddening to note that even most of the
cases which gets to our courts some of them will not receive a fair
adjudication they deserve. A case in point Mr Speaker Sir is a case where
poachers were arrested. They confessed they committed the crime but after 2
135 days they were said to be missing from the cells and they were never
recovered. We need to curb corruption from even our police force, the ones
who are supposed to enforce our laws.

Mr Speaker Sir, when dealing with corrupt issues we need to be non
partisan and I reiterate that the mechanism that we need as Parliamentarians
to work together is the enactment of effective laws which curb corruption.
140 Parliamentarians should use their public structure as public figures to
denounce corruption and corrupt practices. It will be most effective if we
have hon members who are denouncing practices within their constituencies,
in their districts, even at provincial levels. But Mr Speaker as you are aware,
issues which tend to facilitate the existence and continuity of corruption is the
145 levels in which we have members -[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible*
interjections]- I wanted to highlight Mr Speaker that it is important for hon

members to be effective in fighting corruption, and they need to be people who can not be easily enticed and quickly bribed by members of our society and this can only be done if our members are also effectively remunerated.

150 We have the Kenya experience where they have tried to make sure that Members of Parliament speak boldly against corruption by making sure that they give them good perks, they get about US\$10 000.00 which ensures that it will not be easy for a member to be given US\$200.00 as bribery, so that they can not speak out on corruption.

155 We should learn from this example and even try to put new legislation whereby we have our own Parliament having its own Service Commission apart from the current Public Service Commission, which is the current status. As members of Parliament we begin to speak boldly against corruption. It will be clear that members also need protection and security even at their homesteads. This is the level we want to see our nation driving to. We expect Parliamentarians to be speaking with one voice on matters of corruption because the people we represent are the victims of corruption. Most of the money allocated for community development, infrastructure, health and education you find 60% of that money will be diverted through

160 corrupt practices and it will never reach the intended beneficiaries.

165 Mr Speaker Sir, Parliamentarians must also build alliances with the civic society for anti corruption mitigation. We should have legislative measures such as freedom of information and whistle blowers status elected as I have indicated earlier on. It is important that the issues relating to corruption can be disseminated to every corner of our nation. So we are

170 advocating that our people should have good access to daily information about what is going on in their nation and will challenge the ministry responsible for making sure that radio, news and television can be accessed by the greater part of our community.

175 Mr. Speaker Sir, I have already alluded to the fact that parliamentarians should effectively make use of their committee system to effectively arrest corruption in different ministries which they adjudicate. The Public Accounts should take centre stage and a leading role in making sure that they fight against corruption and with the help of Comptroller and Auditor General, it is

180 important that whatever document or findings, the Comptroller and Auditor General brings to the fore that they be critically looked at and there should be seriousness in trying to follow up areas of weakness to arrest this disease of corruption.

185 Mr. Speaker, it is also important that we as parliamentarians can make deliberate effort such as going about in road shows, explaining to the people and denouncing corruption and making sure our people can hear and see that our Parliamentarians are now at the fore front of fighting corruption. It is important in my view that parliamentarians should be afforded a budget to run their constituencies. This is the area where we have hon. members being

190 short changed just for the sake of winning people's minds. If we get a budget whereby a Member of Parliament will direct resources to better their lives of his people and they are not looking forward to be financed by this corrupt dealers for mere benefit or assistance during campaigns, it will help our nation curb corruption.

195 So it is in my view that as we move forward, the ministry responsible should try and think of such initiative to carry their duties and put a small budget to facilitate hon. members to carry their duties independently of influence from the public. It is shameful to note that corruption does not only thrive in developing countries but even the so called developed countries we

200 can see corruption exhibiting its ugly face. But, worse still if it involves Members of Parliament you could have looked at the Labour Party and the Conservative who were exposed for corrupt practices making unauthorised claims and demonstrating that practice is the damage effect especially if it is done by Members of Parliament. So what I am saying Mr. Speaker is that we

205 as parliamentarians should demonstrate in the way we live and conduct our duties and businesses so that we live above board and we are helping and facilitating in the curbing of corruptive practices within our nation. This is the purpose and objective in which APNAC was formed that Members of Parliament should participate in reducing the levels of corruption

210 even achieving the corruption free society if it is possible, if we as
parliamentarians take the centre stage in driving the levels of corruption. I
want to thank you Mr. Speaker for affording me this time.

MR. MADZIMURE: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I would want to thank
Hon. Bhasikiti for moving this motion. This motion was long overdue
215 because corruption as we all know, I hope that we all agree as members of
this House, is one of the biggest problem that we have which has caused
sufferings amongst our people. I mean those people whom we represent
within our constituencies in the cities and rural areas. I want also to take
advantage of the inclusive government because all the parties in this House
220 are represented. We are not particularly pointing at one political party but we
are talking of the entire government. Mr. Speaker as Hon. Bhasikiti has said,
APNAC is a group of hon. members or an advocating group to fight
corruption. The idea of having this particular group is to influence what goes
on in committees to ensure that when corruptive practices are raised in the
225 various committees, the members in those particular committees will have
special interest in the issues.

I can take an example of the report of the Comptroller and Auditor
General. The issues she raised are very pertinent and that issue of corruption,
which I think the committee on Public Accounts must make sure that it
230 follows up on that report to its logical position. It is the responsibility of
Members of Parliament to ensure that whatever comes out in a report, it is
followed up to its logical conclusion. I think it is now high time that we must
start to make and position this charter to Members of Parliament who will
make use of this. If it is proved that you were part of the corruption, you can
235 stand in this House and defend yourself. So as APNAC, we would want a
list of those members because we are only here to entrust the people who
elected us to ensure that we always say that in our prayers whether we come
into this House as hon members, we must be prepared. As APNAC, we are
going to support the importance for every Member of Parliament to declare
240 what they have. We cannot have situations where members become rich
overnight. If you think you can only be rich by taking what every other
Zimbabwean was supposed to have or to share, then you are in the wrong
House. We should register our assets. Why are you afraid to register your
assets? Why do you steal from the people you lead? From both sides of the
245 House, we are all hon Members of Parliament and we should not be partisan.
If you want APNAC members to lead by example, we will do so by
declaring what we have. We will also help in the review of registration to do
with corruption.

We have the Money Laundering Act which can be strengthened to
250 ensure that all acts of corruption are dealt with correctly. There is also the
Anti-Corruption Commission which, up to today, we have not heard when it
will be put in place. That is so disturbing because it is going to be done in
reverse where Parliament through the SROC sets interviews and recommend
the Commissioners to the President. In this case it is going to be the
255 opposite, the Commissioners will come from the Executive and then to
Parliament, which I think is a misnomer. It is sad and we implore the
Executive to ensure that this Commission is put in place. It is very difficult
at the moment to deal with the Anti-Corruption Commission because we do
not know its status as it has changed as far as the new Constitution is
260 concerned. We urge the Deputy Prime Minister, Prof. Mutambara to make
sure that we have the Anti-corruption Commission because the body to do the
investigations is not there. If they are there, we are not sure whether they are
legal or illegal.

Mr Speaker, perception rules. It is worrying to have Zimbabwe being
265 rated 150 out of 180 where corruption is being practised at an alarming rate.
What we now have to do as Zimbabwe is to fight to deal with that perception
and reverse the situation. I will give an example of Nigeria which was given
that negative perception. They put a strong fight against corruption and as a
result investors are now confident in investing in Nigeria but Zimbabwe has
270 not started fighting corruption. It is a well known fact that if you want to
start a business, everyone needs money to introduce you to their connections
and this will cost the investor double the price to invest in Zimbabwe. This is

the perception which those researchers get even from hon members like us. It is important that we start programmes to fight corruption. It might not be as significant but it is important to ensure that every member submits all his/her assets for registration. It is important to be known how rich you are and you can increase your riches.

We are also worried about what is happening at the courts. If you go to Mbare Court today and you want someone to get bail, it is like the person will be in the cell because you were late going there. A lot of cases never see the courts. This is from the Committee on Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs. It is very disappointing that a lot of thieves and murderers are found roaming the streets because they have paid. So, Mr Speaker, these are some of the things which worry us and this is the reason why we have Members of Parliament coming together to fight corruption. We are doing it in a non partisan way. We have a membership of 60 and out of the 60, it is almost 50/50, so the members are from MDC and ZANU PF. Most of the members are eager to fight corruption, few members may not be interested because they are beneficiaries, so they would not want us to succeed in the fight against corruption. Mr. Speaker, I do not think they will be able to do that because we have the Inclusive Government in place. We will not be targeting a particular party, we want Zimbabweans to share the resources.

Mr. Speaker, we urge hon. members to adopt the motion. It is important that we have got this body in this Parliament of Zimbabwe. The membership is open, you do not need to pay any moneys. We want a shared objective. We want those Members of Parliament who have got something in common to fight corruption and those members who would want to live honestly. That is the reason we have moved this motion to say we want to save our country. We want investors to come to Zimbabwe. We do not want a situation where few people are benefiting and the rest are suffering.

MR. H. MUDZURI: Thank you Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the mover of the motion Hon. Bhasikiti. Corruption is an evil that we in Zimbabwe have taken as part of our culture. I will start by defining corruption. The mover of the motion has already defined it as abuse of public office or public power for private gains. Another definition that is in a formula, says, it has three letters *c* is equal to $m + d - a$. *c* in this equation corruption is equal to *monopoly* plus *discretion* minus *accountability*. Now, for it to happen, there is need for one or an organization to have the monopoly. That may be monopoly of power, that may be monopoly of goods or monopoly of services. If this monopoly is invested in an individual or an organisation – that same person or that same institution has the discretionary powers to decide who takes what, when, how and why without being accountable or answerable to anyone. That is the route cause of corruption.

Our corruption in Zimbabwe cannot be separated from issues of governance. The level and severity of corruption, whether it is in the private sector, in the public sector, in the NGOs or in the church is inextricably related to the type of structure of governance. As we move from this continuum of good governance to misgovernance, it has been proved that in countries where there is no rule of law, where there is misgovernance, corruption is rampant. Whereas in countries where there is good governance there is respect of the law, corruption is minimum. So, if we are to tackle this evil, we need to also tackle our governance issues.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I start with the Executive because the motion identifies the Executive, Parliament and the Judiciary which are the three arms of government. In Zimbabwe, the Executive has arrogated itself excessive powers, some are not defined, some are defined, some are formal, some are not formal, to the extent that they determine what is going to happen to the judiciary, what it going to happen to Parliament and what is going to happen to the Executive. As long as that thing exists, all efforts to stamp out corruption will be useless. When I talk of the Executive, I will take an example of even the Head of State, His Excellency. I will take an example, in the *Herald* of 8th December, 1998. It was headed “Drought to blame for economic woes”. If anything, the Head of the Executive has consistently denied that corruption is the problem with his administration.

The President has asserted that all the problems that the nation is facing is a result of the drought, whatever that may. Even the most corrupt one routinely deny that their administration are corrupt. Then, if the Executive is still in denial stage - even the HIV experts they say if a person continues to say I do not have the disease, he or she will live in denial and that person will not look for proper remedy.

Mr. Speaker Sir, if we are still in denial stage, it means we are not prepared to look for the correct remedy. We have to accept that there is corruption so that we look for a remedy. I will talk of an incident Mr.

Speaker, it was the Executive that pardoned someone by the name Mudekunye after he was convicted for serious corruption charges, all it means is that the Judiciary will be weakened, they will not be agitated when dealing with cases of corruption. Mr. Fredrick Shava was pardoned after he had spent a few minutes in prison. All it means is that the Executive is bullying the Judiciary and Parliament and because of that, corruption becomes rampant. There is another issue mentioned by the honourable member, the issue of poor salaries. Corruption in the Public Service and even in hon members has become an epidemic, pandemic and serious. Why? - because the roles, obligations and responsibilities that these Members of Parliament have do not tally with what they get, hence there is this tendency to survive through corruption. So they lose their powers, they lose their deportation to engage in corruption. I am not saying so to condone or to say this is an excuse to corruption but I am saying this fuels corruption. It is like you are trying to put up fire with paraffin.

So what are we suppose to do? I will look at the legislation, there are some Acts or legislative provisions that promote corruption. If I look at the Act the Prevention of Corruption Act, in this Act there are two things the Act itself says. The acts of commission or omission that are done by the Head of State even if they are linked to corruption, they are not defined as corruption.

Again in that Act, the definition of corruption was narrowed to something that only involves the public sector or the relationship between the private sector and the public sector. Yet in public, corruption is in wide range of activities, for example, some forms of sexual harassment are examples of corruption and they are not catered for in this Act.

We have got the Official Secrecy Act. In this Official Secrecy Act, a member or an officer cannot divulge information of what happens in the ministry because of the provisions in this Act. So what does that mean? It means the officer will say I should be given permission by my senior in the Ministry who are the very culprits of corruption. If you ask someone who is corrupt to say tell me how you are being corrupt, because of this Act you will find that this information does not flow. People cannot divulge what happens in the ministry.

Related to the Official Secrecy Act is the AIPPA. The journalists have to apply to ministries if they want certain information. Let us see if this information is related to corruption, if they apply the minister himself will say I will come back to you or put your questions in writing. When they reply to those questions or to the investigations procedure that has been followed, they will make sure they sweep the dirty under the carpet.

I recommend that we need to exercise and respect the principle of separation of powers between the Parliament, Judiciary and the Executive so that Parliament does not become a Bill Cosby Show, or locally the Mai Chisamba Show. We talk and talk and debate and nothing happens because we do not have the powers to effect what we will have resolved. That is, this resolution should be taken and we should call the Executive to do this – we do not have those powers. So it means we just talk and have this rhetoric as mouth wash platitude.

We need to have an independent media which can have the investigating journalist procedures, they should be allowed to get into each and every ministry or into every organisation even the NGOs and take out any practices that will be dishonest there.

We need also to repeal the sections of the legislation that I have mentioned that will enable corruption to continue existing. We have to establish this independent and gender sensitive Anti-Corruption Commission.

400 This is not the first time that we are saying we should have an Anti-Corruption Commission. Does this Commission have the power? This Commission should have the powers to investigate and prosecute. This Commission should have the powers to inspect the records of the different ministries independently. This Commission should be independently
405 financed and it should plan and formulate anti-corruption strategies that they will implement. I will not touch on what the hon. mover of the motion has said. Yes, we need to have the code of conduct for Parliamentarians and also the code of conduct for the ministries, Judiciary and Executive, so that these codes of conduct will be our guiding principles.

410 We also need to establish and protect the whistle blowers. If someone blows a whistle that there is corruption there, that person will not be protected. If she/he is sure that she/he is protected, the chances are high that incidences of corruption will be reported and will be prosecuted. I would want to end by saying why the Executive is taking time to enforce the Land Audit. I suspect that it is because there were some corrupt tendencies that
415 were involved. Why the Executive is taking time to implement the Staff Audit of the Public Service like what the Audit or General's Report exposed, it is because there were bogus workers that were employed under illegal means. I think we need to have these audits and other mechanisms that will stamp out corruption.

420 **MR SPEAKER:** There is a white Isuzu ABK 3666 which is blocking the way, can the owner remove his vehicle.

***MR RARADZA:** First and foremost, I would like to thank Hon Bhasikiti for moving such a motion. I would also want to remind this august
425 House that our mandate is to right things that went wrong or to come and plan for things that will take our country into the future. It is not our intention and should not be our intention to debate targeting a specific individual. If we are to debate our issues in a constructive manner like people who are in an Inclusive Government, we will be able to achieve. The problem that we have is that whenever we debate, we direct our thoughts to
430 either a party or individuals, contrary to constructive criticism, the crux of the matter is that there is no one who condones corruption. Corruption is not only committed by those with money only or those without money but by a person who is corrupt. We should find a way to correct these anomalies irregardless of whether one has money or no money. We should be
435 concentrating on eliminating corruption whether it happened yesterday and see how we can then correct it from now onwards. I also subscribe to the idea of hon members declaring their wealth as soon as they become members of this august House. There is no value addition for members to come and debate irrelevant issues, such as that we went to eat sadza and one has a
440 bigger morsel of sadza than the other. The point is we should be looking at ways to eliminate this cancerous creature called corruption. What I have observed Mr Speaker Sir, is that we do not debate as hon members.

MR SPEAKER: Order, hon member, debate the motion.

445 **MR RARADZA:** Corruption is a bad practice and wherever one comes across it, one should speak out and shame it. No one should condone corruption, we should all fight against corruption, so that our country develops.

MR MBWEMBWE: Thank you Mr Speaker, I would like to start by
450 thanking Hon Bhasikiti for raising this important motion. I would also want to thank him for the courage and wisdom to realize that until and unless we address the issue of this cancer, we will not be able to turn around the economy of this country – our efforts will continue to be a challenge.

By raising this motion, Mr Speaker, hon members are asking for action. We have heard enough condemnation of corruption, we must now act and
455 demonstrate our commitment to prevention and eradication of corruption. APNAC Zimbabwe is a welcome development, and the starting point that we must adopt and build on is starting with the necessary pressures on the Executive, Judiciary and the Legislature.

460 Mr Speaker, corruption played a major role in the fast deterioration of the economy – yes, there was the issue of sanctions. Yes, there were many other challenges but we should acknowledge that corruption played a major

role in the fast deterioration of our economy from banking to agriculture to public service to the private sector. This is a disease which, like AIDS, will decimate our nation if not dealt with yesterday and vigorously – [HON.

465 MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]

MR SPEAKER: Order, order. hon member at the back there. Hon member please proceed with debate.

MR MBWEMBWE: Thank you Mr Speaker, as we re-brand that effort will not succeed without attention to this vice because to date, it has become
470 part of our brand and that is why we have a poor rating on the 2007 Corruption Perception Index.

Mr Speaker Sir, the Comptroller and Auditor General's report represents the enormity of this challenge. It is everywhere in our constituencies, we are dealing with it every day. You have hospital/clinic
475 assets, fridges etc being taken away from public institutions and being used for private purposes. It is vehicles, land and other assets for local authorities that are taken for private use and we find that our people are now becoming victims of this scourge which we must remove. Deliberately, systems and controls are disregarded as noone wants to take action because it starts with
480 senior people. Like they say, fish rots from the head.

Yes, there has been pronouncements condemning corruption and we all remember presentations by the RBZ Governor threatening to name and shame corrupt officials. What Zimbabweans are asking for is action and prosecution of the culprits to be able to deal with corruption. Many well
485 intended programmes, as already mentioned, meant for the ordinary people end up being hijacked by corrupt officials. It should not be a country of who you know or who you are connected to. If we look at parastatals, so many boards, we have looked at audit reports and found that corruption is actually exposed through these reports but the Boards are not able to act because the
490 individuals concerned are connected to certain individuals. Hence, corruption will continue to persist. They are unable to take action, unable to bring anyone to account and in some cases good systems and controls are in place but are simply disregarded. This calls for us to look at the value system that needs to be checked.

495 [*An Hon Member having passed between the member speaking and the Chair*]

MR SPEAKER: Order, order. Hon member you may not pass in between the speaker and the Chair. Please return to your seat.

MR MBWEMBWE: Thank you Mr Speaker, we can all look on the
500 reports on the inputs schemes, the distribution of the agricultural equipment, land allocation and the judiciary. Yesterday's *Herald* carried a story of a Harare Magistrate who resigned in protest. I want to believe that is a tip of the iceberg. What I am saying is that if we are not able to deal with corruption because we are not clean *hatingaiti nyaya yekuti kana usina wako waunoziva hapana chako*.
505

Mr Speaker, the Deputy Prime Minister Professor Mutambara has at various fora spoken about the value system - I want to go back to that. It is an area of serious concern and we have opportunity to address it now as we re-brand. Zimbabwe is good at coming up with good programmes, well
510 written Missions, Visions and Service Charters and spending money in launching the same. If we go round our ministries and other institutions, we will see how beautifully written they are and neatly displayed. They express their commitment to transparency, accountability, zero tolerance to corruption etc, but the actions on the ground and the actions that we exhibit/ inherent
515 show that the value system runs contrary to the Mission Statements and Service Charters. This is why when addressing corruption, we need to go back to the value systems that underly our behaviour.

Let me conclude by urging all hon members to reaffirm our
520 commitment to a corrupt free society by adopting the African Parliamentarians Network Against Corruption Zimbabwe Charter as a starting point to ensuring we have legislation that will protect our country from the scourge of corruption. We must ensure that government will take action and bring to account the culprits so that we can move ahead as a corruption free society. This is possible, what we need is not just formation,

525 what we need is a value system that will be part and parcel of defining our
 character – who we are – are we a corrupt people or not, that depends on the
 value system that we put in place. That will help our re-branding exercise
 that will also have an impact and will influence investors knowing what
 defines us in terms of character and the value system. Thank you Mr
 530 Speaker.

THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER (PROF. MUTAMBARA): Mr
 Speaker, I rise to support the motion to adopt the APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter
 and also to thank the hon members that have spoken in this House. In doing
 so, I will emphasize some of the points raised and also emphasise to hon.
 535 members why it is important to embrace the Zimbabwe Chapter. We must
 put in place legislation that is meant to combat corruption. We must, as we
 craft a new constitution, ensure in that big law, *imomo mubumbiro remutemo*
 – we guarantee the prevention of corruption in our country. This is a unique
 opportunity as we work toward crafting a new constitution that we ensure
 540 that this Constitution of Zimbabwe embraces the ethos and values of fighting
 corruption.

We must strengthen our corruption prevention in the country by
 supporting legislation to combat that. Laws on their own are not enough to
 combat corruption. Legislations are not enough to bring about a new
 545 dispensation in the country and in Africans in general. What we need are
 institutional solutions, to institutionalise the values of fighting corruption in
 our society. Members have spoken on the need of functional and separation
 of powers between the Legislature and the Executive and the Judiciary so that
 there are checks and balances within our country so that we combat
 550 corruption at institutional level.

The problem with values unlike the law, you can legislate and put
 things in place in Parliament but you cannot legislate moral, love and
 abhorrence. You develop and build the value system through social
 mobilization, by example, it is harder to craft a value system and much easier
 555 to come up with law. The challenge we have in the country is how are we
 going to build the values in our people to fight corruption in our society. We
 do not prevent corruption only by law but by your culture and what you
 believe in. We have the notion of the giver of corruption and the taker of
 corruption. The givers are those that promote corruption by providing the
 560 funds. So as we look at the legislation or solutions and changes we seek to
 put in the country, let us address the issue of those operations, multinational
 institutions and of those in the habit of providing the price much as we
 address those who receive the price. So our systems must address the issue
 of the givers of corruption.

565 The Media Commission, we must make sure that we quickly put it in
 place so that the Media can play its role in combating corruption. We cannot
 have a country where we have one national newspaper or television station –
 [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible Interjections*] – we need to put in place the
 Media Commission so that the Media can play its role in combating
 570 corruption in our country. The Anti-Corruption Commission, we must
 quickly put that in place and make sure that they do their job. It must be an
 independent commission with powers to investigate and powers to prosecute
 so that they can be in a position to bring about the management of corruption
 in our society. This can be done. The government is already putting in place
 575 the Media Commission and also the Anti-Corruption Commission.

Currently, the Anti-Corruption Legislation is being crafted by the
 Ministry of Home Affairs together with the Ministry of Justice but the
 important thing is that we need the profile of our Anti-Corruption activities in
 this country by having a Ministry that is involved in that than having a
 580 subsidiary or by the way of action of the Ministry of Home Affairs. In our
 courts, lenders have indicated the corruption in our courts of selective
 application of the law. We must make sure that we address these matters in
 our courts. Justice delayed is justice denied – [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible*
interjections]-

585 Let us promote good governance in the government, in our political
 parties and in the national institutions. Corporate governance is also
 important in the private institutions and also in the NGO community. Let us

have good governance in the way we manage the funds. You cannot talk about good governance when there is no governance in your political party.
590 [HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible Interjections*] - yes within our political parties we have good governance and Anti-Corruption mechanisms and checks and balances. We must have a talk around the subject of corruption within the country.

We do appreciate that the salaries we are paying are very low and so we need to address this subject. It does not make sense to give a Minister or Member of Parliament or a teacher US\$100 OR US\$200 and yet you know very well that their activities are beyond US\$300. Where do you think the money is coming from. We must make sure that we are paying the salaries that are in keeping with what people spent because if we are spending US \$5000 and earning US\$200 where is the money coming from. We must find a way to ensure that across the board, in the private sector and in the public sector, we are paying salaries that make sense because if they do not make sense, people are going to get money elsewhere through corrupt activities.
600 As we move forward, we are trying to recap the impact, to build a vision for the country, in terms of politics, economy and society, vision 2040 the destination of this country. Part of attaining that destination is to say let us make sure that we have a corrupt free society and we minimise activities of corruption in our country. We also want identities that are respectable and competitive. We are known for corrupt tendencies, for fraudulent
605 elections and for violence. We must take part in building our identity so that in 2040 Zimbabwe has what we call a collective identity in tourism, investment, trade, governance, people and culture.

If Zimbabwe is known for the right things in those areas then Zimbabwe will have a competitive identity and part of that identity will require us to have an Anti-Corruption Mechanism or legislation so that we are not known for corruption. When all is said and done, we talk too much in Zimbabwe, too many people, too much analysis, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Execution! execution! execution! Where are we in terms of execution and planning? What we want to see in this country is our plan and implementing the ideas that the hon members have spoken about today.
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When we say implementation matrix, what are we talking about? It is very simple, what is it that is going to be done? Who is going to do it? When is it going to be done? what are the resources that are required to do it? What are the milestones of success or lack of it? More importantly how are we going to measure success or lack of it in terms of performance management.
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I want, through you Mr Speaker, that this House in addition to embracing the chapter in Zimbabwe, we must also be very clear in terms of the implementation matrix so that we can walk the talk on the subject of corruption in our country. I thank you Mr Speaker and I move that we adopt this Zimbabwean Chapter for anti-corruption in pursuit for our national interest.
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MR BHASIKITI: I would like to thank hon members for speaking with one voice on this motion. I would like to recognise Hon Madzimore and his stance on urging hon members to declare their assets. While this might sound like a new phenomenon, it will be a very good stance we take in declaring that we are determined in fighting this scourge. I would also want to thank Hon Mudzuri who highlighted that corruption is also enriched in monopolies of service and decision making. Let us be wide looking and let us involve everybody in the fight against corruption. I thank you hon member.
630

I also want to thank Hon Raradza for taking a very clear position in support of declaration of assets and I think it was clear from his emphasis that as hon members, our drive to Parliament should be just the drive to come and execute the business of the House and not to have an opportunity to enrich ourselves. I want to thank Hon Mbwebwe for bringing in the re-branding aspect of our nation where we have to rebrand and declare ourselves as a nation which is determined to fight and eradicate corruption completely by adopting even new value systems in the way we do our things. I want to thank you for your contribution.
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I want to give my thanks to the Deputy Prime Minister Professor Mutambara who is very clear in his unequivocal approach to the issues of
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corruption that we have to institutionalise our value system and there have to be separation of powers. I think this is a very important position in which, if we allow it to be clearly separated and function as it should be, we will be able to advise or monitor each other to do the right thing all the time.

655 Furthermore, his stance on let us not be ending corruption but let be doers. That reminds me of a scripture in the Bible which says 'let us be doers of the word not just speakers deceiving ourselves'. I want to thank your for encouraging us to walk the talk.

660 Having said that Mr Speaker Sir, I want to re-emphasise one point by quoting what the Zambian Minister of Finance had to do in the event that the donors had pulled out aid because of corruption. The minister went to Parliament and said "the public finance mismanagement has dented the reputation of many in this government and it is for this reason that in this budget I have proposed that we allocate more resource to the Office of the Auditor General and the Anti-Corruption Commission so that they may carry out their mandate well". This view or notion is captured by the Hon Deputy Prime Minister's speech who emphasised that let us have a fully fledged ministry to just fight this scourge in our midst. With these few words Mr Speaker Sir, I want to urge the House to adopt that the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature do lead by example by coming up with a code of conduct and that the three arms of government condemn all corrupt practices in all sectors and that the executive review relevant legislation with a view to strengthen them in order to deal with corruption cases and that the executive consider the reports by the Comptroller and Auditor-General seriously and make necessary follow ups.

675 Lastly Mr Speaker, I would like the House to adopt the APNAC Zimbabwe Chapter. Motion put and adopted.

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Appendix B6: Ratification of the SADC protocol on Gender and Development

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Wednesday, 21st October, 2009

The Senate met at Half-past Two O'clock p.m

PRAYERS

(THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT *in the Chair*)

10 ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT

SWITCHING OFF OF CELLPHONES

THE DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I have to remind hon. senators to switch off their cell phones before business commences.

MOTION

15 RATIFICATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

THE MINISTER OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS, GENDER AND

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: Mr President, I move the motion

standing in my name:-

20 That Whereas, subsection (1) of Section 111B of the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides that any convention, treaty or agreement acceded to, concluded or executed by or under the authority of the President and with one or more states or Governments.

25 AND WHEREAS, the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development was concluded by the Member States on 17 August 2008, at Johannesburg, South Africa.

AND WHEREAS, the entry into force of the aforesaid protocol is subject to ratification by the signatory Member States in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures;

30 NOW, THEREFORE, IN TERMS OF SUBSECTION (1) of Section 111B of the Constitution, this House resolves that the aforesaid protocol be and is hereby approved.

Mr President, the SADC Heads adopted the Protocol on Gender and Development on 17 August 2008. Zimbabwe is a signatory to the Protocol. The Protocol was adopted in recognition of the crucial role women play in

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the preservation of African values based on the principles of equality, peace, freedom, dignity, justice, solidarity and democracy. The Heads of States were determined to ensure that the rights of women are promoted, realized and protected in order to enable them to fully enjoy their human rights.

40 In terms of Article 35 of the Protocol, State Parties have the obligation to ensure the implementation of this protocol at national level. However, according to Section 111B of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, any convention, treaty or agreement acceded to, concluded or executed by or under the authority of the President with one or more foreign states, governments or

45 international organisations:-

(a) Shall be subject to approval by Parliament and

(b) Shall not form part of the law of Zimbabwe unless it has been incorporated into the law by or under an Article of Parliament.

50 Zimbabwe has not yet ratified the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development. It is in this regard that the Ministry submits this memorandum for the ratification of the Protocol.

2. SCOPE OF THE PROTOCOL

55 The Protocol contains rights that are designed to promote women in the various sectors of the life that directly affect them. Mainly, the Protocol provides for the protection of the women's rights in the following broad areas:

- Constitutional and Legal Rights
- Governance
- Education and Training
- 60 Productive Resources and Empowerment
- Gender Based Violence
- Health and HIV and AIDS
- Peace Building and Conflict Resolution
- Media, Information and Communication

65 All the rights contained in the Protocol are also found in other human rights instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. However, the Protocol was designed specially to meet the needs of the African woman and more specially the needs of women in the SADC region, although it remains an essential part of the international women's human rights frameworks.

70 3. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE RIGHT CONTAINED IN THE PROTOCOL

75 The Protocol's main goal is to ensure that discrimination against women is eliminated through policies, legislative instruments and other administrative measures.

Articles that fall under Productive Resources and Employment seek to ensure the equal participation of women and men in economic empowerment programmes as well as equal access to property, productive resources and employment.

80 The section on Gender Based Violence specifically looks at measures that State Parties have to put in place to prohibit all forms of Gender Based Violence, and provide support to survivors through the provisions of affordable legal services among other interventions.

85 Part seven of the Protocol addresses issues of Health and HIV and AIDS. This section broadly speaks to the issues of gender dimensions of HIV and AIDS. State Parties are to adopt and implement gender sensitive programmes, frameworks and policies in the health sector.

90 Under the section on Peace and Conflict Resolution, provisions for State Parties to gender mainstream all information, communication and media policies and programmes.

3. JUSTIFICATION FOR RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL

95 Zimbabwe Government has so far made tremendous efforts which go a long way to meet the provisions of the protocol. Of particular note are the following:

- The Legal Age of Majority Act (LAMA) was promulgated in 1982 and it conferred majority status on women. Before this law, African women were regarded as perpetual minors.

- 100 Equal Pay Regulations (1980) provides for equal pay for work of equal value.
- Labour Act (2000) prohibits employers from discriminating against any prospective employees, in relation to employment, on grounds of, among other things, sex. The labour Act also provides for paid maternity leave of up to ninety days.
- 105 Public Service Pensions Amendment Regulations (1985) makes provisions for female workers in the public service to contribute to their pension at the same rate as male contributors.
- Matrimonial Causes Act (1987) provides for equitable distribution of matrimonial assets on divorce.
- 110 Maintenance Amendment Act (1989) requires a non custodian parent to contribute regularly to the maintenance of minor children in the custody of the other parent.
- The Administration of Estates Amendment Act (1997) protects the inheritance rights of surviving spouses and children.
- 115 The Sexual Offences Act (2001) protects women from sexual abuse and criminalizes marital rape and wilful transmission of HIV and AIDS. The Act also prohibits trafficking of persons for purposes of prostitution and imposes stiffer penalties for violations.
- 120 The Domestic Violence Act (2007) provides for protection and relief to victims of domestic violence.
- Section 23 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of gender and sex.

125 The National Gender Policy (2000) provides a guiding framework for mainstreaming gender in all sectors of the economy. The policy provides for women to effectively participate in key sectors of the economy such as Agriculture, Mining, Tourism, Industry, Commerce and Employment.

The above legislative measures and policies, indicate commitment on the part of the government, to promote gender equality and advance women's rights.

130 RECOMMENDATIONS

By ratifying the Protocol, the process of full incorporation of its provisions into national legislation can then be invoked in line with section 111B of the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

135 I therefore recommend this Protocol for consideration and ratification by the Government of Zimbabwe.

I thank you.

140 **CHIEF CHARUMBIRA:** Mr President, I rise to render my support with subsequent correction of some statements made in this Protocol. Overallly the Protocol is very progressive, I went through the objectives through the articles and this is what we also support, not only as a male but also as a traditional leader and also a representative of Traditional Leaders in Zimbabwe. We are always accused of being anti-women, unprogressive

145 implementing and crafting some outdated practices in the name of culture but I want to say let us prove these people wrong what is written here is what also culture supports and there is nothing contradictory but the writer at one point – I think he got excited and forgot something. I render my full support but under article 21, Mr President, it is very incorrect when the writer says State parties shall take measures including legislators to disregard traditional norms, including socio-cultural norms which legitimize and exacerbate intolerance on gender basis. There are cultural norms or traditional norms which in-fact legitimize and exacerbate the traditional cultural values. May be in other countries in the SADC and not in Zimbabwe. This statement is

150 unfortunate because in either *Shona, Ndebele* or *Nambya, Tinoti mukadzi haarobwi*, we all know that and this is culture.

So this statement is unfortunate as we are going to look on both sides of the overall good things that are in this protocol, and in support of this protocol we want to say that this statement on Article 210 is very unfortunate,

160 thank you.

SENATOR MUMVURI: Thank you Mr President, I rise to support

this motion in this Hon Senate. I think as the former speaker has said, this Protocol is quite in line with the modern living on gender. I want to go further and say these issues which are raised in this Protocol can form a basis for our constitution making process. This is one area in which there is agreement of the political affiliation where we agreed that we must promote gender issues as they are put in this protocol and some of them as they are discussed in here. So I am just encouraging that as we are taking the process to the people, we must elaborate on some of these issues to the people for our constitution making process.

SENATOR CHITAKA: Thank you Mr. President. I rise to support this protocol. I would have loved to support it 100%, but unfortunately they are some pages missing. I request that we be given the missing pages. So I do not know for this country, if there are incidences of us signing agreements with missing pages. So I do not know whether they were deliberately left out in the original protocol or they were found later on not to be applicable to Zimbabwe. I refer Mr. President to the actual missing pages, so before I give my 100% support, I would be very happy to get the missing pages.

SENATOR MUDZINGWA: I stand here in support of the protocol but although some of the misgivings have been sighted by Chief Charumbira, I think in future whenever we try to tackle the problems to do with the issues of tradition, we should clarify in detail so that it does not seem to imply otherwise to our traditional leaders. I also was of the same opinion as Chief Charumbira that this has been ratified. The statement or expression of tradition, we should not escape it. It has got negative impact on the traditional leaders. So what I am trying to say is that I am not very clear whether it has been left hanging. It is easy to ratify but the most vital part is implementation. I do not know whether this is going to be implemented later after ratification but I am offering a solution here. After ratification, we must immediately embark on implementation like what has been said that we have a problem of suffering from traditional nostalgia. The first way forward in respect of answering to the problems arising from gender advancement.

When it comes to parliament, at the present moment the only question is proportional representation. We know the attitude in our society, I am not trying to baffle my male counterparts that they are chauvinists. If during elections we put forward candidates saying males versus females, in most cases we find that the females lose. My solution is that we should have proportional representation 50/50 as it should be done in the next elections. That is the only way forward.

SENATOR DETE: I rise to fully support this protocol 100% in my view without amendments.

SENATOR MUCHIWA: I support this protocol but my query is that I can not adopt it without the other articles which I do not know the contents. As a woman, I want this to be adopted but can you please put other pages quickly so that we adopt this protocol.

THE MINISTER OF WOMEN'S AFFAIRS, GENDER AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (DR. MUCHENA): Let me respond to some of the issues raised. I believe with regard to article 21, I take into account what Hon Chief Charumbira said as well as Hon Mumvuri. The implementation of cultural practice; remember this is a SADC protocol and we do not know in terms of other countries how serious cultural practices such as beating up the wives prevail. Hon Chitaka, you must now fully support after reading the missing information. Hon Mudzingwa also made a point about the negative cultural tradition of the clause, but perhaps more importantly approving is easier but implementation is not. I appreciate very much because he has made a point and given an illustrative example. Indeed we have seen that those countries where there is proportional representation it is easier for the women number to increase. That also implies that the legislation should enforce parties to put women on the party list in a zebra situation otherwise, where there is no enforcement mechanism, proportional representation can even disadvantage the women.

Hon President Sir, the members will be interested to know that we have been carrying out a lot of studies learning from experiences of other countries and we are now fairly certain that a mixed system yields the best results in

225 terms of achieving our numbers. A mixed system with proportional
 representation, first past the poll as well as some affirmative action but I
 appreciate very much your proposals. Hon Dete thank you very much for
 your support without amendment.
 Hon President, I move the adoption of the SADC Protocol on Gender
 230 and Development.
 Motion put and adopted.

Appendix B7: Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections (16th March 2010)

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Tuesday, 16th March, 2010

The House of Assembly met at a Quarterpast

Two o'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

10 (MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

MOTION

VIOLENCE AFTER 29TH MARCH 2008 ELECTIONS

MR GONESE: I move the motion standing in my name;

That this House:

15 COMMENDING the people of Zimbabwe on a fairly decent election on
 29th March 2008.

CONCERNED by reports of alleged levels of murder, torture, rape,
 arson and looting that took place after the harmonised elections of 29 March
 2008.

20 FURTHER CONCERNED by the levels of lawlessness, abuse of the
 rule of law and abuse of state institutions in this violence,

NOW, THEREFORE, THIS HOUSE RESOLVES THAT:

A select Committee of the House be appointed to investigate the
 violence that took place after the March 29 elections and report its findings to
 25 Parliament.

MS T. KHUMALO: I second.

MR GONESE: I have introduced this motion in this august House so
 that we can have conversations about the events that occurred in our country
 after 29th of March 2008. As Zimbabweans I think we should be ashamed of
 30 what transpired. The country was in a state of war. We have a situation
 where people had to leave their homes and stay in the mountains. We had a
 situation where people had to leave their homes and come to the urban areas.
 We had a situation where Harvest House resembled a refugee camp and
 where our office in Mutare also resemble a refugee camp.

35 Madam Speaker, I think we do not want such events to happen ever
 again in our country. I believe Madam Speaker, that we must have frank and
 honest discussions of what happened with a view to making sure that such
 events do not happen again.

In this august House, we represent people. We were all declared duly
 40 elected whether it was fairly or unfairly done, whether it was achieved by
 cheating or rigging. The end result was that we were all declared duly elected
 Members of Parliament. I submit that it is our duty and responsibility to have
 frank and honest discussions about what happened. Madam Speaker,
 elections should not be a matter of life and death, elections should not be like
 45 a war. Let us look at Botswana – we had a motion in this august House where
 the SADC observer mission commended the people of Botswana for peaceful
 elections. Not a single life was lost in Botswana elections. More so, the
 elections in Namibia, not a single soul lost life as a result of elections. This
 motion is consistent with the provision of the Global Political Agreement and
 50 Article 18 is very clear. For the benefit of those who cannot read and those
 who can read but are too lazy to do so, I am going to go over the provisions of
 Article 18 so that it is very clear to everyone. Article 18 talks about the
 security of persons and prevention of violence and I am going to read it over
 so that it is clear to everyone.

55 ARTICLE XVIII

“18. SECURITY OF PERSONS AND PREVENTION OF

VIOLENCE

Noting the easy resort to violence by political parties, State actors, NonState actors and others in order to resolve political differences and achieve political ends.

60

Gravely concerned by the displacement of scores of people after the election of March 29, 2008 as a result of politically motivated violence.

Recognising that violence dehumanises and engenders feelings of hatred and polarisation within the country.

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Further recognising that violence undermines our collective independence as a people and our capacity to exercise free will in making political choices.

The parties hereby agree:

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a) to promote the values and practices of tolerance, respect, nonviolence and dialogue as means of resolving political differences;

b) to renounce and desist from the promotion and use of violence, under whatever name called, as a means of attaining political ends;

c) that the government shall apply the laws of the country fully and impartially in bringing all perpetrators of motivated violence to book;

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d) that all political parties, other organisations and their leaders shall commit themselves to do everything to stop and prevent all forms of political violence, including by nonstate actors and shall consistently appeal to their members to desist from violence.

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e) to take all measures necessary to ensure that the structures and institutions they control are not engaged in the perpetration of violence.

f) that all civil society organisations of whatever description whether affiliated to a political party or not, shall not promote or advocate for or use violence or any other form of intimidation or coercion to canvass or mobilise for or oppose any political party or to achieve any political end;

85

g) to work together to ensure the security of all persons and property;

h) to work together to ensure the safety of any displaced persons, their safe return home and their enjoyment of the full protection of the law.

90

i) to refrain from using abusive language that may incite hostility, political intolerance and ethnic hatred and unfairly undermine each other.

j) that while having due regard to the Constitution of Zimbabwe and the principles of the rule of law, the prosecuting authorities will expedite the determination as to whether or not there is sufficient evidence to warrant the prosecution or keeping on remand of all persons accused of politically related offences arising out of or connected with the March and June 2008 elections”.

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So it is very clear Madam Speaker, that this is what we have agreed in this document which is our guidance in the Inclusive Government.

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This motion is clearly in line with those noble objectives. At the end of the day, we are calling for, the setting up of a Select Committee of Parliament and the House of Assembly, this is a bipartisan committee which will

105

comprise members from the liberation party which is ZANU PF, members from the peoples party which is party of the future, the Movement for Democratic Change and for our other brothers that is MDC. No one should fear because this committee will be comprising of all of us in this august House. So I do not see why anyone should have any fear, intimidation if you have nothing to hide. Only the guilty are afraid, only if you know that you are partly responsible or that you participated in the orchestration of this event.

110

It is clear after the 29th of March that this violence did not just happen but it was clear that it was orchestrated. That there was a hidden hand somewhere and this emerged quite clearly with the use of vehicles that were used in the violence. Most vehicles like the Mahindra and the CAM, and we all know who can have access to such vehicles. It is important that we have a clear investigations to unravel what happened. So I think this motion should be supported not 100% but 150 or a 1000% by the members of this august House. Whole heartedly, I brought this motion which will assist us in achieving the noble objective of the Global Political Agreement.

115

Also this motion will set the record straight, there are so many lies that

120 were peddled around. One of them is that violence started with MDC but
because before the formation of MDC, there was no political violence in
Zimbabwe, that is a myth. We all know we have got a divergence degree in
violence, we all know of who is responsible for violence if we go back to
125 June 2008. The MDC is not a violent party but what we want is for the MDC
to have a peaceful transition. Regime change is not a crime and this is why
the Movement for Democratic Change was formed in order to achieve
political power through peaceful and democratic means. That is the objective
and we are very clear on that. If anyone wants regime continuity, they must
do that through good policy.

130 Our slogan is very clear that we have only two weapons to achieve
political power – a piece of paper and a ballot paper. We tell our supporters
that weapons to put MDC to power are these two, simply *Gugugu, Chinja
maitiro, hezvo uko*. Our problem is that in this country we have had a culture
of impunity and this dates back to 1980. It was noble to have a policy of
135 reconciliation but the down side to it or unfortunate part is that people who
were committing atrocities went unpunished. Those who were in the special
branch remained there, and they taught those who joined the special branch
and the CIO about the tricks of torture.

We want to get back to a situation where this culture of impunity does
140 not continue. We have had several periods of violence in our country, after
independence we had a *Gukurahundi* which ended in 1987 with the Unity
Accord. We also had some of the chaos related to the land reform
programme. We also had the *Murambatsvina* where homes were destroyed
and hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans displaced. Lastly we had a
145 violence related to the elections which were held after the year 2000.
This motion is not about to divide us but it should actually bring us
together so that we have collective sense of responsibility and we all come up
with a set of values which bind us as Zimbabweans. It should make us proud
to be part of the side of the African region which has been generally
150 exemplary as compared to other parts of Africa. Most of the countries in our
region have had elections which are not just peaceful but they invite all and
sundry to come to observe their elections as opposed to a situation where you
only want solidarity observers. Solidarity observers are those who are only
your friends and sympathizers. After landing at the Harare International
155 Airport, they go to the Rainbow Towers or another hotel and hold a press
conference and declare that the elections will be free and fair before they even
go to see what has been happening in the country before their arrival.
They will spend most of their time in the hotel or night clubs and at the
end of the day, they will just declare that the elections were free and fair.

160 They will even just come here and see no evil. We want to have elections that
we are proud of, where we can invite everyone to observe them. We want a
situation where we do not have selective invitation, where we will only call
those we believe are going to sing and dance to our tune. I am bringing this
motion so that we can interrogate what actually happen and then we can have
165 a report to this august House that we can look at the issue of transition
justice, reparation and compensation.

At this point in time I am not going into detail on what we in the
Movement for Democratic Change came across. I do not know whether my
colleagues also came across similar situations in the other political parties,
170 but in the Movement for Democratic Change, we have documented evidence
of what actually transpired.

I will start in general with the post March 29 elections. We clearly had
a fairly decent election on the 29th of March and obviously there were some
short comings here and there but it was generally peaceful. What was
175 problematic on those elections was the delay in the announcement of the
result, other than that the process had been fairly critical. After the 29th of
March, all hell broke loose and the people of Zimbabwe were subjected to
various forms of torture and assault. The general description of what was
happening and what transpired, some of the methods used in carrying out the
180 torture and the killings included what is called phalanger. Where you have
severe beating in the souls of the feet and where there is also beating of the
buttocks with thick sticks, some of which had been soaked in paraquat which

exacerbated the damage in victims. We also had instances where victims were forced to drink rat poison and *roga* and then axed to death, obviously talking of one Themba Muronda who was murdered. Even forcing victims to drink what is called genckem glue and one person died as a result of this. We also had situations where victims were thrown into fire and where they were tied inside a hut and burnt alive. We also had situations where victim's hands or feet were cut off. Those of us who were victims, we all know the infamous short and long sleeves where people were given an option of whether they wanted their hands or arms to be cut and they would be called long or short sleeves. All that was happening in the country. We heard of people who were shot either with the intention to kill or to injure. We had people who had their arms and legs broken. People would have burning plastics poured on their backs and genitals. We also had cases of arson and looting where victims' granaries and homes were burnt and household items and agricultural produce stolen. Victims identity cards were destroyed. With regards to livestock, we had situations where fuel was poured on livestock and burnt alive. We had animals which were hacked to pieces and left to die just to ensure that the owners of those cattle get to feel the pain and they were only being punished for having voted for Hon. Richard Morgan Tsvangirai.

I am now going to get some of the statistics which we have compiled and I am going to table this document for inclusion in the *Hansard*.

Victims of political violence between January 2008 to December 2009. This is what we have but the list is actually more extensive than this and I will go just by province. When we look at the people murdered per province, we have a graph which shows that the worst affected provinces were Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central and Manicaland. The perpetrators of this violence in some instances are known but they have not been arrested because our law enforcement agencies, in many instances, are being partisan and they are not doing their work in an impartial way.

Among perpetrators, we have members of the army, CIO, War Veterans, ZANU PF members and ZRP. We want these cases to be thoroughly investigated so that when members of ZANU PF say they are clean and innocent, they should support this motion so that an investigation can be carried out. This will enable us not to continue trading insults against each other.

I also have got a table which shows thousands of homes destroyed and it is as follows:

	Bulawayo 51+ incidents of violence
	Chikomba: 51+ incidents of violence
225	Chipinge: 51+ incidents of violence
	Chirundu: 51+ incidents of violence
	Guruve: 51+ incidents of violence
	Hurungwe: 51+ incidents of violence
	Kadoma: 51+ incidents of violence
230	Masvingo: 51+ incidents of violence
	Mazowe: 51+ incidents of violence
	Period between signing of M.O.U. And 15 September Agreement:
	Buhera: 51+ incidents of violence
	Harare: 51+ incidents of violence
235	Mutare Rural: 51+ incidents of violence
	Period between 15 September Agreement and February formation of Inclusive Government
	Harare: 51+ incidents of violence
	Mutare Rural: 21+ incidents of violence
240	Mutare Urban: 21+ incidents of violence

We had situations Mr. Speaker, where people came to carry out these various acts of torture. Mr. Speaker, as the MDC, we have compiled our roll of honour of people who have lost their lives and it is unfortunate that we have come to this. I want to table this roll of honour of members of the MDC

who have died and I will just outline those worst cases. We had Bakare Besther who has been beaten to death by ZANU PF youths at Stodart farm in Shamva on the 16th of May 2008. We have Bakacheza Joshua who was abducted by State agents and was short dead on the 25th of June 2008 in Harare. We have Bachitiani Moses who was assaulted by soldiers and ZANU PF youths and he died at Mutoko hospital in April 2008. Bote Solomon was also beaten to death by ZANU PF Youth Militia. I can go on and on but as a whole Mr. Speaker, we have more than 153 people who lost their lives. Muronde Themba was assaulted by a gang at Mudzi in 2008, he was poisoned and he eventually died.

Mr. Speaker, we also have pictures of some of the worst cases and I believe that they should be tabled in this august House. I wish to table some of the pictures which show some of the worst atrocities which took place (*pictures showed to hon. members*). This is the hand work of some people in this country which is not a work of fiction. I believe that if hon members doubt it, they should look at some of these pictures. I expect all hon members in this august House to be moved by seeing such pictures instead of saying such things happen in other countries. That is not the idea, at least I am happy that Hon. Mutinhiri is actually shocked and I can tell from looking at her that she is saddened by what she is seeing. Thank you very much Hon. Mutinhiri.

If you look at these feet Dr. Parirenyatwa, as a medical doctor, I am sure he can appreciate the kind of evidence which should have been applied. Why do we do such things to each other. The idea Mr. Speaker, some of my colleagues are asking. The idea is to ensure that we expose it, we discuss it and we debate it so that it does not happen again. We do not want to ever again have a similar situation like this. The purpose is to have a situation where we do not do it again.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I want us to talk on issues of transitional justice. The idea is not to revenge but the idea is to have people to confess what they did, that is why it is essential that we debate this motion. After we debate this motion, we set up a bipartisan

Committee that can come up with recommendations. I have got suggestions and I think one of the most important things we should have here is the setting up of a Truth and Justice Commission whereby those who are prepared to go and confess their acts can be forgiven. It is easier for a person who is a victim to forgive a person who has shown remorse and say I did this or whether it was through duress or through coercion but it is for people to come forward and confess all what they did and that Commission can then make a decision.

I fully subscribe to the principles of UNESCO, United Nations Economic Social Council that there are four principles. Firstly, it is the right to know. It is not just confined to the individual but it is a collective right of our society who can then get the correct information as to who did what and for what purpose. The second principle is the right to justice so that in situations where forgiveness alone is not enough, those people are brought to book, they are tried before a committed authority and get the justice they deserve. If they have to be imprisoned, if they have to be sentenced to death for what they did, so be it. The third principle Mr. Speaker is the right to reparation that we have a situation where those who lost their livestock, those who were injured can get compensation. Lastly the right to nonrecurrence, that if we have a situation, if any militia or any bases were established, they become outlawed

so that in future, wherever bases are set, they are not allowed to operate and they are destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, as a practicing lawyer, I have some experiences of what happened in the period after the 29th of March where people were brought to court with blood stained clothes and with serious injuries and they will be called to the court like that. They will be brought to the court and the prosecutor would say those same people are the perpetrators of violence and yet they are not able to walk because of the injuries they would have sustained. We had situations where some of those persons were remanded simply because our police force have been compromised, some because of

reasons beyond their control, just obeying superior orders.

310 I had a situation Mr. Speaker where the Police Officers did not find
anything meaningful on the docket when they request for remand forms.
They clearly take it that the accused person has been sleeping in his own
house and that is when a group of ZANU PF members came to his house
after twelve mid night, at 3 o'clock am and that they physically tried to
315 persuade him to go to a reeducation
camp and that he shouted and his
neighbours came to his rescue and they were able to chase these people away
and then they got arrested. The Police Officers said they could not proceed
with this case. In such situations, perpetrators of the violence were brought
320 to court but nothing happened. When people made reports to the police, they
were told sorry, this is political and my hands are tied. This shows that there
is another hand behind all this. It is therefore necessary as outlined in the
GPA that these people must be brought to book.

I would also like to urge my colleagues in this House to support this
325 motion because it is in line with the GPA and it is also in line with the
international trends that wherever we have such a situation, we must try to
make sure that these things do not happen again.

We want a situation whereby when we go for an election, we go there
knowing that we are only competing against each other. We are not fighting.
330 We want a situation where, if we go to a rally, people wear ZANU PF tshirts
while others wear MDC tshirts
and we address the same people without
fighting. That is all we are saying. When we go for elections, we want to say
to all, please come and observe, you are free to see what Zimbabweans are
335 doing, so that we can be proud of our nation. With these words I rest my
case.

MS. T KHUMALO: Thank you Mr Speaker. History will always
repeat itself. What happened in 2000 to date, did not come from nowhere, it
came from somewhere. Mr. Speaker, I will try and unpack that so that we
340 understand where we came from, why we are where we are and what we
should do? I will give you a quote from Rogak, L (2007). It says, "some
people believe that the eyes are a mirror to the soul, but others firmly believe
that it is the person's words that prove to be a more worthy indication of what
his or her true intentions are."

345 Mr Speaker, the CCJP went to all lengths to try and address atrocities
that took place in this country. I shall quote from them again. They said this
in 1980 and today it is 2010, but we are seeing the same thing. "There is a
need for deeper and more lasting reconciliation in Zimbabwe. It is only
possible when the magnitude of the happenings in the affected areas is more
350 widely understood by all those concerned, only when those who inflicted
untold hardships are prepared to acknowledge that they did so." That was 20
years ago. "Can a lasting reconciliation take place to those who live in
Zimbabwe? Only then can bitterness and fear finally be removed once the
fact that thousands suffered has been acknowledged."

355 My question Mr Speaker is, if most people do not know in the first
instance what it is that happened, why it happened, how can a reputation be
avoided – we are sitting in this august House today showing you gory
pictures of our own people that we claim to represent and some of us are
sitting here smiling as if it is normal.

360 Mr Speaker, I would like to give you a chronicle of the events that
happened in April 1980 to July 1990.

1980 Oct PM Mugabe entered into an agreement with North
Korea for the training and arming of a brigade at the
Zimbabwe Defence Forces.

365 1981 Aug North Korean 106 instructors arrive to begin training
the "5th brigade" to be used to combat dissidents.

1982 Dec The "5th brigade" has its "passing out" parade and is
ready for deployment (training took place on the
banks of Nyangombe River in Nyanga).

370 1983 26 Jan 5th Brigade is deployed in Matabeleland North.
Reports of atrocities begin within days.

Feb Atrocities continue and 1st documentation is presented to Government.

375 Mar JM Nkomo placed under house arrest and flees to Botswana. A four day Cordon around Bulawayo leads to 1000 detentions.

1984 4 Feb Food embargo is imposed on Matabeleland South and 5th Brigade is simultaneously deployed in the region, detentions follow, with thousands being incarcerated at Bhalagwe Camp in Matopo District.

380 1984 Pre election violence begins, mainly at the hands of ZPF youth Brigades, areas notably affected included Gweru, Kwekwe, Beitbridge and Plumtree.

385 1985 ZPF Youth Rampages continues before and after July elections, resulting in 2000 being left homeless and scores dead in Matabeleland, Midlands and Harare.

390 1985 ZANU PF youths rampages and continues before and after July elections resulting in two thousand people being left homeless, and scores dead in Matabeleland, Midlands and Harare.

1985 Feb The CIO orchestrated a spate of detention of ZAPU officials countrywide. Many of those detained disappeared permanently.

395 1985 July Zimbabwe had its second General Elections and ZANU PF wins although ZAPU retains all its fifteen seats in Matabeleland. There is a spate of post election violence targeting ZAPU supporters. Top ZAPU men including five MP's are detained on grounds of treasonous activities.

400 1986 Mar Two ZIPRA commanders in jail for four years are released. Dec A ZIPRA High commander is released to facilitate unity talks like we are in the Global Political Agreement after talks.

1987 Apr Unity talks break down

405 June All ZAPU rallies and meetings are banned and it is on record that; Sept ZAPU is effectively banned: offices are raided and officials detained. Our offices were raided and our officers were detained. History is repeating itself.

410 1988 June The Amnesty is extended to include all members of the Army who committed offences before the Unity Accord therefore, the perpetrators were spared. People of Matabeleland did not want a witch hunt, all the people wanted was a chance to be heard and somebody needed to give an ear.

415 There is a need for a deeper and more lasting reconciliation in Zimbabwe. This is only possible when the magnitude of the happenings in the affected areas is more widely understood by all those concerned. Only when those who inflicted untold hardship are prepared to acknowledge that they did so, can a lasting reconciliation take place between all who live in Zimbabwe. Only then can bitterness and fear finally be eased, once the fact that thousand suffered atrocities during those years has been acknowledged. 420 Once fear has finally receded, then victims will feel able to speak out about their experiences without dreading retribution. They did not want a witch hunt, just a chance to be heard.

425 These people had survived two terrible civil wars and they received no guarantee that it will not happen again.

Only one senior Minister expressed public regret for what happened. In fact ministers were on public record saying they will never apologise. Minister Mahachi in the Sunday Mail 6th September 1992 said "events during that period are regretted and should not be repeated by anybody, any 430 group of people or any institution in this country".

However, if most people do not know in the 1st instance what it was that happened, why it happened, how can a repetition be avoided?

Death certificates had fallacious causes of death filled in e.g. one murdered person has "stomach injury" recorded as the cause of death.

435 DISSIDENT NUMBERS

Probably

no more than 400. Ultimately only 122 dissidents turned themselves in (ratio of Government troops to dissidents was at least 391
PRIME MINISTER MUGABE 1982

440 At the passing out parade of the Gukurahundi Brigade (source Zimbabwe Defence Forces Magazine Vol 7#1) “The knowledge you have acquired will make you work with the people, plough and reconstruct. These are the aims you should keep in yourself”. Zimbabweans were being ploughed, unfortunately human beings can not be reconstructed and right
445 now we have shallow graves.

PRIME MINISTER RECEIVED DOCUMENTS DETAILING ATROCITIES

Government was aware that serious atrocities of wrong doings.

Chronicle 30/3/83 Minister of Information statement deemed that

450 Government had “inflamed the situation” or committed wanton killings he accused ZAPU of having made things worse. Today MDC is being accused of making things worse. History keeps on repeating itself. (chronicle 6/4/83) PM refuted allegations of atrocities and accused his critics of being “ a band of Jeremiahs (which) included reactionary foreign journalists, nongovernmental
455 organisation of dubious status in our midst and sanctimonious prelates.

P.M 18 April 83 Chronicle said “ obviously it cannot even be a sane policy to mete out blanket punishment to innocent people although in areas where banditry and dissident activity are rampant, civilian sympathy is a common
460 feature as it may not be possible to distinguish innocent from guilty, and indeed displayed a tendency to see all communal dwellers as potential “dissidents” deserving of punishment.

The issue of guarding statements being made by government ministers....

465 MR MAZIKANA: Point of order. Firstly the point of order is that the hon member has exceeded his time...

MR SPEAKER: Order hon member. It is not your duty to advise of the time, there are officers responsible for that. You are ruled out of order. Hon member you may continue.

470 MS T. KHUMALO: Thank you once again Mr Speaker Sir. The above statement was confirmed by the Minister of State in charge of CIO at a rally at Vic Falls that government has one option which they had chosen, the burning down of “ all the villages infested with dissident”, he added “ the campaign against 400 dissidents can only succeed if the infrastructure that
475 nurtures them is destroyed” Chronicle 5/3/83 in the same speech, he referred to dissidents as “cockroaches” 5th Brigade, DDT brought in to eradicate them. Once again Mr Speaker Sir, that event is repeated in the year 2000 and 2010. We are sitting here raising shocking figures about Zimbabweans being denied to exercise their right to vote.

480 At another rally in Matabeleland North in April 1983, the Minister of State and Security told a huge rally forcibly assembled crowd after a weekend long pungwe that “blessed are they who follow the path of the Government law, for their days on earth shall be increased, but woe unto those who will choose the path of collaboration with dissidents for we will certainly shorten
485 their stay on earth” Chronicle 5 April 1983.

With unintended irony, Hon Sekeramayi told an April rally in Matabeleland North that “the army will stay a long, long time... the majority of people now realise they have been misled by PF ZAPU” and understand the national character of ZANU PF. Chronicle 26 April 1983.

490 The phenomenon of mass beatings which had been so wide spread was replaced by a policy of removing chosen villagers to central Brigade camps, where they were beaten, interrogated or killed. These involved men but also women.

Some villagers continued to be beaten or killed in their village settings,

495 if they were caught engaging in activities perceived as subversive.

Throughout 1983 but particularly after March 1983, there was an increase in disappearances, 5th Brigade and CIO removed men from buses, trains or from

their homes and they were never seen again. Such people were often taken because their names were on a list showing them to be either ex ZIPRA or some kind of ZAPU official.

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Many who were beaten were left with permanent disabilities ranging from paralysis, blindness, deafness, recurrent miscarriages, impotence, infertility, kidney damage, partial lameness and recurring back and headaches. These injuries have left victims with impaired ability to work in their fields which is their source of livelihood for survival.

505

Case Studies

Neshango Line (next to Ningombeneshango Airstrip Tsholotsho West) 3 February 1983 – Mass beatings of villagers and shooting of two young pregnant girls, followed by their being bayoneted open to reveal the still moving foetuses. These two girls already pregnant and several others had been raped by members of the ZNA in November of 1982, who reportedly left by helicopter after several days of raping these girls. Zimbabweans in 2000 and in 2010 were raped. The Matabeleland people in 1980 were raped Kumbula School (approximately 5 km South East of Pumula Mission Tsholotsho West. 13 February 1983 – whole village beaten and 7 shot dead including a teacher, after digging their own grave. We stand in this country and purport to represent the interests of the poor.

515

Mr Speaker Sir, Sahlupheka (approximately 7km due South of Pumula Mission Tsholotsho West). February 1983 – the whole village was rounded up in the evening and very severely beaten. Five members of 2 families were chosen and shot to death in a shallow mass.

520

Cawunajena (10km South West of Pumula Mission). 8 February 1983 – Entire village rounded up and many were beaten very severely. Twelve men and women including 2 school teachers were shot dead. This happened during the night. The 5th Brigade camped nearby and the dead were not buried until one year later, by which time many bones were scattered around.

525

A woman was also abducted into the bush and shot with a baby on her back. In African culture, we respect the dead. I will try and say it in Shona and Ndebele so that you understand. “ People who send other people to go and kill others will never enter heaven. Today they are coming to us saying we should help them to amend the laws that they are breaking. We are saying avenging spirits should bedevil those persons that did wrong”.

530

Mr Speaker Sir, Gulakabili (approximately 20km South South West of Pumula Mission) 12 February 1983 – whole village abducted from nearby to the Pumula Mission Area, where they were beaten. Some were then forced to dig a mass grave, made to climb in and were shot. They were buried while still moving, and villagers were made to dance on the grave and sing songs in praise of ZANU PF.

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Ndawana (6 km West of Pumula Mission). February 1983 – The commander ordered the whole village into a hut and set fire to it. Once the commander left another 5th Brigade soldier let the villagers out of the hut, so they were spared.

540

Korodziba (West of Pumula Mission). February 1983 5th Brigade came

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to the school and took about 60 pupils aged over 14 years. They were all beaten and asked about dissidents. 20 to 30 girls were raped and then ordered to have sex with some of the boys while the soldiers watched. They were beaten for 3 hours.

550

4 March 1983 – 1985 villagers were murdered at night for being PF ZAPU members. Two children out of a group of children died of starvation trying to run away from the 5th Brigade in this area. They were trying to reach Ngamo. Here is a list of patients admitted to hospitals:

555

p. t435445
16/03/2010

560 *MR J. M. GUMBO: Thank you Mr Speaker, It is regrettable that we

are discussing the issue of what happened in the year 2008 today. You as our leader said that history is allowed to be used. I was of the opinion that if we started narrating our history from 1896 during the ShonaNdebele war and

565 those that followed – we can not live in harmony. In that vein Mr Speaker, I am of the opinion that we confine debate to the motion and not refer to history as it will unearth skeletons [

HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible*

Interjections] – we were quiet whilst you were debating. I think you should do the same for us.

570 MR SPEAKER: Order, Order. Hon Gumbo please address the Chair.

MR J. M. GUMBO: Does this then mean that if Members of the MDC speak...

575 MR SPEAKER: Order, Order. Hon Gumbo please address the Chair and ignore the Interjections.

*MR J. M. GUMBO: In that case Mr Speaker, ZANU PF Members of Parliament will walk out.

ZANU PF Members of Parliament walk out of the Chamber.

580 MR H MUDZURI: Thank you Mr Speaker Sir, with your permission and that of the House, I wish to add my voice to the motion by Hon. Gonese. Like what the Hon. Mover of the motion has said, we should actually interrogate the importance of this motion. Why this motion is important is in two fold...

An Hon Member having passed between the member speaking and the Chair.

585 MR SPEAKER: Order, order.

MR H. MUDZURI: The first one is that it helps the victims, those who suffered the violence to undergo a grief work so that they are allowed to say out what is within themselves – their pain. At least that creates room for reconciliation, that is one advantage of this motion. The second advantage is to have a detergent effect to the dirty reputation of our colleagues in the Inclusive Government. We are there just as a detergent, we want to wash them so that they are clean, we want to clean and cleanse them. Whilst we are helping these people, our colleagues in ZANU PF must not go back and play in the mud again after we have cleansed them. We are helping them to be repentant, we want a Damascus change – a change from Saul to Paul. By merely supporting violence, I think, that on its own says political violence is excusable. It is evil to say that kind of thing, we know we should interact as two parties of the people of Zimbabwe, we should take political violence as the evil it deserves. There has been a history of what happened during the *Gukurahundi* and why there is that link. I want to stick to what happened towards the 27th of June 2008.

600 Mr Speaker, all sins in the Bible were committed during that era. All crimes that are known were committed during that era. People like what has been displayed here were murdered, tortured, beaten, houses were burnt, cattle stolen – any living thing suffered this violence. What we should be saying is, what were the root causes of this violence so that if we get to the root, we are able to get collective action of what we should do to correct this anomaly, to correct this illness that is pervasive in society.

610 We know we have those who underwent a moment of madness once a decent voice is said. It is our hope that this moment of madness does not always occur whenever we have elections, whenever we are having these parties competing so that we become brothers and sisters who will be playing a game, who will be competing. We congratulate each other for winning, we do not want to humiliate the loser. But what happened after the 29th of March 2008? There were winners and there were losers but the losers had the control of the State machinery/institutions.

615 What happened after 29th of March was the State against innocent and defenseless citizens of this country. Why? It was a punitive measure, they wanted to punish them, not for committing any crime but for not voting for them. They wanted this to be used as a reference point in future, like what is happening now that we go back to our mood of towards 27th of June 2008 so that whenever we have elections, maybe next year, two years to come or five

625 years to come they will always be remembered. They want the people to remember the experience because this horrific experience will be to their advantage.

There are those who support the violence saying there was capability, both parties were involved. Not only is that immoral, it is also evil to equate those who were defending their win/vote and those who wanted to change the status quo through the attrition war game. It is like comparing the struggle for freedom and Smith's resistance to the struggle for freedom. What we want to do is, we want to say now this is what caused the violence. What are we going to do?

630 Definitely there is need to allow all Zimbabweans to interrogate what happened. There is need to allow the victims to shed their tears openly, there is need to ask the perpetrators to acknowledge that what they did was wrong – only that. We are not after revenging, no. We want to forgive but we want to know who we are forgiving. Yes, we will say God forgive them but they knew what they were doing.

640 Mr Speaker, I will narrow my discussion to what happened in Zaka Central, my constituency. Zaka Central experienced five deaths of four men and one female. The female was forced to drink poison by a group of soldiers who were acting as ZANU PF activists. The other man, Simbarashe Chikoma, teaching at Zaka Secondary School, was beaten the whole night till he passed away. He even cried saying is it my only vote that made MDC win. 645 They even took his cattle and goats in exchange for that vote but he was murdered. The perpetrators are known and in Zaka, we have Mayoyo who was master minding the atrocities and was directing the killings. On the 3rd of June 2008, seven people were attacked at our offices at Jerera Growth 650 Point where they had sought refugee after running away from the violence that was taking place from the wards.

They were forced to lie down, petrol was sprinkled on live bodies and they were set alight. That is where we had Christopher Mbana and Washington Ngana perishing. We also had those who were actually burnt but had not died, they survived. These are Kudakwashe Chimera, whom I think the damage is around 90%. We had Edison Gwenhure with around 60% damage and Isaac Mbanje with around 20% damage. What is surprising Mr Speaker Sir, is that those who were perpetrating the violence were former victims of violence during the Smith regime. Probably Smith would say I was fighting my brother, I was killing my sister because he was thinking differently – [HON MEMBERS: Shame shame] – I think this should be corrected. Even Ian Smith used violence but the number of people who were killed in 30 days that is in May/June, were more than 300 people. The rate of 665 killing in a situation where we are not in a war – that was too much. We had a situation where 10 people were killed per day. To support that and to find an excuse or scape goats for committing such atrocities is not pardonable.

As we are speaking Mr Speaker Sir, this spirit of violence is being revolved in the rural areas. There was a slogan which was used in June 670 elections that is the MAZDA slogan and I will explain what it means and it is now being used again. MAZDA stands for Mugabe *Achatonga Zimbabwe Dzamara Afa*. That is what MAZDA is being used for and not to mean a car. We also have WW issue, it is not a wrestling issue but it is Win or War issue. This tendency of saying a pen will never be mightier than a bullet, that is 675 barbaric, Hottentot.

Mr Speaker Sir, I recommend that as Parliament, when the Committee is set up, it goes to the country side and collect evidence, non biased and the findings are tabled here. It is not a mere tabling of findings. It is about what should we do so that this thing will never ever happen again in future. We 680 should ensure that the State institutions should never be abused by any leader in future. We should condemn violence in any form. I am now proposing that if we have the Domestic Violence Act, why do we not have the political violence act – [HON MEMBERS: Hear , hear] – I think my colleagues in the Inclusive Government will take the motion and see its intentions and the objectives and use them to correct and brighten our future.

685 MR MWONZORA: Mr Speaker Sir, I wish to put it on record that as I

am debating now, all the ZANU PF MPs have left the Chamber except Cde Chirongwe who is also walking out and the honourables who are here. I would have wanted that our colleagues in ZANU PF hear this debate because this event is not about the past. It is an event about the future. It is an event about the Zimbabwe we want. For the record, we have a dream for a prosperous Zimbabwe of happy sons and daughters basking in her generous and abundant sunshine. A Zimbabwe where people change their Governments without blood shedding from time to time. We need a Zimbabwe that fully exploits its natural resources for the benefit of its children. A Zimbabwe free from endemic and debilitating poverty and embarrassing unemployment. We need a Zimbabwe where young man and women can have a future and can dream of a career in full freedom. For that reason Mr Speaker, Zimbabwe has held elections since 1980. It held elections in 1980, 1985, 1990, 2000, 2005 and more recently in 2008. There are two reasons why Zimbabwe has religiously held elections. The first reason is that the issue of one man one vote, universal suffrage is one of the ideals of the liberation struggle. It was the dream of the people who fought for this country that people of Zimbabwe must go to elections. It was never the dream of Herbert Chitepo, Josiah Tongogara, George Silundika and Joshua Nkomo among others, that Zimbabwe should have elections which are not free and fair. It was not their dream that Zimbabwe should have elections marred by bloodshed and violence and that is why we hold elections. The second reason is the tacit acceptance by the government of Zimbabwe that in Zimbabwe, we must strive to be ruled by people who have the legitimacy and the blessing of the majority. So the Zimbabwe government knows the importance of elections. It was never the ideals of the liberation struggle that Zimbabwe has unfree and unfair elections. It is therefore the responsibility of all Members of Parliament and all political leaders to denounce violence. At this juncture I wish to commend His Excellency the President Robert Mugabe, the last weekend during the memorial service of our heroine Mrs Tsvangirai, President Mugabe denounced violence. That should be commendable, the Head of State and the President of ZANU PF has denounced violence. I hear many people expressing doubt on whether the President was genuine or not genuine. I would like to think that His Excellency was genuine because the people of Zimbabwe are tired of fighting one another and hearing hate speech and are also tired of violence. So, if some people in ZANU PF still want violence, which leader are they following because the leader of the Republic has denounced violence. When you set bases in the rural areas, which leader are you following because the Commander in Chief has said there should be no violence. I want to commend our Prime Minister for echoing what His Excellency has said about violence. The Prime Minister echoed His Excellency's speech over the weekend to say that violence must be nipped in the bud. So two principals of the Global Political Agreement have spoken against violence and the third principal has not spoken against violence. We call upon Deputy Prime Minister, Prof Mutambara to be as exuberant as he usually is on this issue – to come and debate this issue and denounce violence just like his colleagues in the inclusive government. I think we are now entering a new era where our leadership have said enough of fighting is enough. Our leadership is sitting in the same Cabinet, in the same Council of Ministers and in the same National Security Council and who are we to initiate strife in the grass roots? As we speak, there are reports of bases being set up in the country and there are reports of people who are gloating and boasting about what happened in June. What happened in June 2008 must stand as an embarrassment to the people of Zimbabwe. It is a piece of history that we can never be proud of. It is a piece of history that we would rather forget because there is nothing to be proud of and to hear a person gloating over what happened in June is sad. I drive solace from the fact that I speak the same tongue that was spoken by His Excellency the President during the memorial service and I

750 have no doubt that His Excellency meant it. Now it is the responsibility of
this unity government and indeed the responsibility of all responsible
Members of Parliament to make sure that Zimbabwe has credible elections in
the future. We are in the process of writing a new Constitution which is a
755 new covenant for our children, precisely because we do not want our children
and children's children to do to each other what we have done to each other
during our era. We want them to govern each other in peace. We want them
to govern each other in love. There are many people who do not understand
the phrase *Vincere caritas*. You hear it being said everywhere and what that
760 means is conquer with love. We want people to win elections in love. So we
want free and fair elections in the future.
We also want and demand equal access for political actors to the media
during an election – whether tomorrow it is an MDCT
government or an
765 MDCM
government and ZANU PF is in the opposition. We are saying here
that we want ZANU PF to have equal access to the media for campaigning,
even if it is in the opposition. So all the political actors of this country must
have equal access to the media. There must be equal access to the masses.
People must be free to campaign to access the masses. There must never be a
770 no go area for political parties in this country. Gone is the time where you
would be saying nobody of the other party campaigning in Mudzi or Mount
Darwin – that must be an era gone by. So there must be equal access to the
media. There must be freedom of political activity to the masses.
One of the most dramatic or the most unique features of the 2008
775 elections was the involvement of armed forces in elections. We saw army
colonels, army brigadiers and army generals taking part in an election,
wearing party tshirts.
We are saying the army, the police and the CIO have
no business in campaigning for political parties. They must be apolitical and
780 protect Zimbabweans during elections. They must be prepared to accept the
result of an election. The problem of involving the army in the political
affairs of the country is that you then make the generals and the colonels
political animals. When they are political animals, they are convertible.
So this involvement of the army, the CIO and the police in party
785 politics is a double edged sword that may turn against the initiators. They say
in Chinese, never sharpen your sword too much in case you are dispossessed
and the sword is used against you. So this precedent of using the army, the
police and the CIO must go. The place of our army is in the barracks or in
the front defending the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Zimbabwe.
790 The army is not there to change government or to keep governments there.
It is my plea to His Excellency and the Right Hon. Prime Minister and
the Hon. Deputy Prime Minister that they must move an inch that in the
democratization of Zimbabwe we do not have the army playing a part in
elections. They compromise the fairness of elections. After all Mr. Speaker,
795 the Zimbabwean army is recognized world wide to be a professional army. It
was known to be a very efficient army. We are destroying that image by
abusing the army during elections. We do not want to participate in the
erosion of the image of the army. We want elections that are free from
destruction of social life – we want an election that does not generate hatred
800 and destroy family ties. During the month of June, brother rose against
brother, sister against sister and cousin against cousin. This was because of
the intolerable characteristics brought about by the elections and there was a
lot of family breakdown relationships. A brother of mine is ZANU PF
supporter and I am an MDC – during this time of elections we were hunting
805 each other. We are saying we should not have elections that are like that in
the future. We do not want elections that cause a lot of massive looting.
In my constituency, in the area of Gotekote, Kazozo, to just name a
few, people and livestock were taken away to feed rogue elements at the
military bases and as a result massive poverty was generated. An election
810 Mr. Speaker should bring prosperity and in order to have a Zimbabwe that we
want, we must have elections that are free of murder, mayhem and starvation
of our people.

On the issue of campaigning methods, there are certain campaigning methods that make free and fair elections impossible. One of this campaign methods is setting up camps. These campaign camps become breeding ground for unrepentant criminals the people who raped old women, young women and children. These people are not genuine party supporters. I do not think ZANU PF wants rapist and murderers who represent the party. I call upon ZANU PF to disown these people.

I am reminded that because of the conditions created by these military bases, we then have a breeding ground for HIV/AIDS. People are raped and I am sure that when these rapists do it, they do it without any condom. So His Excellency the President, the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister must make sure that we have no military bases during elections – [Laughter] – Mr. Speaker, my apologies, my brain took an “r” instead of an “l”. The elections that we envisage in the future must never leave a breakdown of laws and the police must be empowered meaningfully to deal with political criminals that masquerade on the clock and behind the clock of political party representation. They should make sure that they deal with these people precisely. There were sad incidences where criminals were made to move freely we impart the police to arrest these people. Never again Mr. Speaker, should we have an election where accused persons become the complainant and the complainant become the accused. The police of Zimbabwe must operate 60 seconds a minute, 60 minutes an hour, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, thirty days a month and 365 days a year. There should never be a period where police are disabled from performing their duties. They should be able to arrest even during Presidential elections.

Mr. Speaker Sir, it is sad that our schools had to close – we must never have an election that will lead to the disruption of school activities. If we disrupt school activities, we are disrupting the lives of the future – we are not carrying Zimbabwe forward. Most students had their studies disturbed and I am saying we should not have a situation like that.

Old people had their homes destroyed – their goats and chickens were taken. We must never have an election where people are displaced from their homes. Their livestock should not be taken without their confirmation. We must never have an election where teachers are displaced from their schools like what happened in Nyakomba. I had this competent teacher Mr. Misheck Mukomba, he was displaced because of people who came to attack him. So we must never have an election that makes teachers to run away from the rural areas leaving the poor people that we liberated suffering. We liberated the people of Zimbabwe so that they can make choices for themselves.

Mr. Speaker, I have a back ground in the trade union movements. I have acted for most of my career as a legal adviser to trade unions workers' committee and workers. The rights of workers are paramount in this country. Trade Unionism taught me that workers include potential workers that is those people who are unemployed. During elections people must not exploit the poverty of the workers. Because of poverty, workers are asked to do unspeakable things to rape political opponents, to kill political opponents against their conscience but because of their poverty, they are forced to do these things. We will have a situation where the people who died and the person who killed is also a psychological problem because he would have been made to participate in what he did not want to do. We do not want an election that is premised upon exploitation of the poverty and the role of war veterans. The war veterans in this country did a wonderful job to fight in the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe. They deserve respect but we see what political parties are doing – they forget about war veterans for five years and remember them when there is an election.

They remember them when there is someone to be beaten and a few bottles of beer are given to them to do that. Suddenly, war veterans become important considerations in this country. That must cease and that is exploitation of war veterans. We want our war veterans to be free from political manipulation, to be free from political exploitation and if we are to take care of war veterans, we must care for them everyday. We must take care

of them before elections, during elections and after elections. Why do we remember them during elections? Mr. Speaker Sir, an election time must be a time that anybody looks forward to. It must be like Christmas, it must be like Easter, it must be like Independence, it must be a happy time. An election
880 Mr. Speaker Sir, must never be a period of anger, it must never be a period of despondence. Having said that Mr. Speaker I am seeing a lot of hope as we are about to write our own Constitution.

We must once and for all make sure we will not do to each other what we did last year or yesterday. Children and children of children's children
885 must never treat each other the way we have done in our life time. Mr. Speaker, in conclusion I would want to say that I am extremely sad that our friends in ZANU PF are not here during this debate. They are key to this debate and they are key to the resolution of this problem. No sensible ZANU PF person who thinks of the future of his party would want the party to be
890 associated with the badness that ZANU PF is unfortunately associated with. It does not guarantee the future of that party and yet we want ZANU PF to be there. We want ZANU PF people to be in this country in full freedom just like anybody else.

We want ZANU PF people to enjoy Zimbabwe today and the day after,
895 they must be there. We want other political parties like the MDC M, MDC

T, Mavambo Kusile

Dawn, the Patriotic Union of Matabeleland, ZANU

Ndonga, ZAPU Federal Party and ZAPU just to name a few. We want to
900 exercise their democratic right to free and fair elections and democracy in full freedom. I wish to thank you Mr. Speaker.

MS. D. S. SIBANDA: I move that the debate do now adjourn.

Motion put and agreed to.

Debate to resume: Wednesday 17th March 2010.

905 On the motion of MS D SIBANDA, *seconded by* MR. GONESE, *the House adjourned at Twenty One Minutes past Five O'clock p.m*

Appendix B8: Violence after 29th March 2008 Elections (17th March 2010)

5 PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

Wednesday, 17th March, 2010

The House of Assembly met at a Quarter-past Two o'clock p.m.

PRAYERS

(MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

10 MOTION

VIOLENCE AFTER 29th MARCH 2008 ELECTIONS

Adjourned debate on motion on the violence that took place after March
29, 2008 elections.

Question again proposed.

15 **MR J. GUMBO:** I want to thank Hon. Gonese for bringing this motion to this House for debate. We as ZANU PF welcome the motion that requests

that all things that happened during the elections of 2008 be made known to the people so that we learn from our mistakes so that in future such things are not repeated. It is in that view that we welcome this motion that Hon.

20 Gonese brought to the House.

The issue of violence is not an issue that can be attributed to one political party only. There were cases of violence that were committed from both major political parties that took part in the elections that is namely ZANU PF and MDC – T. That being as it is or as it may, it is now upon us as
25 leadership and as members of this august House to direct and guide our people that we represent here that, that behaviour cannot be condoned and that in future we should conduct our elections in a very peaceful manner. My only worry with the motion as at now is that we should as recommended by Hon Gonese have a select committee to investigate the violence, the murders
30 and the rape cases as he alleges.

Mr Speaker, I do not know what purpose that will serve for now like when we go out and start opening this pandora's box when people are

working already on a national healing process. It would be better that we discuss issues like these and make a resolution that these things are not to be repeated but to go out there and again start investigating matters, a lot of allegations will come out and again we find that as leaders and as representatives, we have again given our people an opportunity to start fighting each other. This is where I am worried about the recommendations that my colleague Hon. Gonese made on this motion. There is nothing wrong really about pointing out that there was violence because there was violence, but that violence cannot be attributed to one political party – [HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] -

As you can already see that even amongst ourselves as hon. members, we do not want to agree that there was violence from both sides of the political parties but it is very clear in my mind that there was violence which was perpetrated by both members of ZANU PF and MDC. The evidence is there. The degree to which it happened, I cannot give it because I do not have all the statistics but the truth of the matter is that there was violence. I do not think MDC – T would say that we should condone violence, neither should ZANU PF do the same. As leaders we should look at the future and say that is what has happened. We are in another political dispensation right now, whereby we are trying to have a new constitution, national healing of our people and should we want to go back and start opening the old wounds, we will definitely not achieve what we are intending to achieve.

That is what I stand up to contribute Mr. Speaker, that in that view I do not support that we should have a select committee of inquiry that should go out and start investigating what happened. We all know what happened, but is it necessary to continue to talk about it and achieve what? What is important is to talk about it and say let us learn from our mistakes and let us look into the future and let us have a form of convergence and work towards and work towards peace in the future. If it is the wish that maybe my colleagues from the MDC want us to go out and start investigating and come up with whatever we are going to come up with and achieve whatever they think to achieve, I do not support that.

I want to say here and now Mr. Speaker that that view is not constructive. The constructive way is not to hide anything that has happened, talk about it, but find a way of trying to avoid it in future so that we can make progress in our country.

MR MUSHONGA: My heart bleeds when we talk of political violence and especially in Mashonaland Central. None of the 18 constituencies where spared of political violence. We are talking here of the political violence which started in Mbire where Bigboy Zhuwawo and were murdered and that sparked the fire for political murders in Mashonaland Central. It went down to Guruve up to early June where six men died on the spot in the Chaona massacre. Members who sit in this House provided transport to ZANU PF Youths who carried out the activity. On that occasion, Tapiwa Meda was brutally murdered. Joseph Madzivamhete was again murdered by assault, Felix Chiriseri was murdered by assault, Emmanuel was murdered through assault, Alex Chiriseri was also murdered by assault. I have Alex Chiriseri's post mortem report and I will put it before the House. This report clearly shows that he had fractured legs and ribs and swollen genitals due to assault. This is from a government medical doctor and I will put it before the House for everyone to see.

POST MORTEM REPORT – A. CHIRISERI

This is violence in Mashonaland Central. If we refer to South African journals and the comments we see in these is that, the situation of violence in Zimbabwe is a worse situation outside war.

On the 28th of June, Councillor Chironga was murdered - he was a winning councillor for MDC for Howard Ward. This activity involved one of the members sitting in this House who bought two A4 rifles and shot the councillor. The truth is that one can run away but even after 50 years, one will have to face the act. Again in June these perpetrators came to my village and on the occasion they were repelled – and what was the price for this? 24 youths were arrested for exercising self protection. I have the bail forms and

I will put them before the House for everyone to see. These young men, when they appeared before the magistrate, he refused to put them on remand. He said members of the army have no right to campaign. On three occasions in Bindura, the Magistrate refused to put these young men on bail. They were only granted bail after the elections. I have the evidence here before the House.

BAIL FORMS

What does this mean? Yes we can hide today and think that because we are protected, we can go on and murder – the evidence is there. Chironga's, mother, brothers, including the sister were shot. They had broken arms and legs – they were victims but they were locked in cells. History will judge this. Those who murdered should come out and make a clean brain storm and I believe I am talking on behalf of those who committed violence. One can buy time but the truth will always remain the truth. Thank you Madam Speaker.

MS. A. NDHLOVU: I would like to thank the mover of this noble motion Hon. Gonese and the Seconder Hon. Khumalo for moving such a noble motion. I believe that the three principals, by coming up with Article 18 of the GPA, unanimously agreed that at some time, there was some violence and respect should be given to them for that.

Let me Madam Speaker, add my voice to this motion and remind this hon. House the reasons Zimbabwe went to war. It was because of the Smith Regime, apart from taking control of the natural Resources. The land was more importantly the need to get their right to vote. I want to remind hon members that the right to vote is indeed important – *Vanhu vakafa vachifira* the right *yekuvoter*. *Naizvozvo* it is critical and important to have that right to vote. Therefore I shun violence before, after and during elections.

Madam Speaker, it is indeed that there was some form of violence after the March elections. I personally was a victim in my Constituency. I would like to bring it to the attention of this House that on June 27 one Hon. member in my constituency physically chased after me at 10 p.m and I have the evidence. Upon being questioned, the hon. member told the police that he wanted to make peace with me. How is that possible when one chases me at 160 km per hour at 10 p.m. I personally support the need to investigate such cases so that perpetrators of violence can be brought to book and justice prevails. - [HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear] - One of my cars had its tyre punctured by nails and the person who did this is a party candidate named Cosmas Tembo. Because some of us have the spirit of forgiveness, we do not revenge but the truth shall come out and justice shall prevail. The long arm of the law will catch up with them. So I am 100% behind this and the idea of setting up a committee to investigate.

The other reason I support the motion is that most people were women, youth, children. Violence should be shunned in this country. I would like to urge members in this House to support this motion and expose any cases of violence as such. Thank you Mr. Gonese.

Let me conclude by urging everyone that the right that was won through the bullet and the blood shed at Chimoio should be protected and there should be no violence within the parties. *Pane nyaya dzatinonzwa dzekuti vanhu varohwa pa* Harvest House – this is our Constitutional right. I thank you Madam Speaker.

MRS MATAMISA: Thank you Madam Speaker. I also rise in support of this motion that is advocating for the selection or the appointment of the Select Committee in this House to look into the issues pertaining to the violence during the period of the run off to the Presidential elections of 2008. Madam Speaker, as an hon. member a woman for that matter, I really feel that I have to stand up and speak on behalf of the women in Zimbabwe out there who were victims of violence. The women of Zimbabwe out there who had their husbands killed and maimed, who had their daughters raped and on behalf of those women, I hereby stand for the women who were arrested for no cause. Madam Speaker, any form of violence is not on its own a solution to any problem. Violence during elections can only be used to put the user into the seat of power hence this time now that elections are

gone, they are history.

160 As hon. members of this august House, why can we not sit down and make a Select Committee of hon. members who can take it upon themselves to say enough is enough. The problem Madam Speaker is that we can not expect wars between brother and brother or sister and sister as what happened.

165 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order hon. members, keep quite, I will stand up and shame you.

MRS MATAMISA: Madam Speaker, they are talking because they do not want me to say it. As I speak now, I am going to say it as it is. The Presidential run-off has nothing to say about it. All it achieved was to leave a lot of widows, widows who were short changed who find themselves the next day they had to bury their husbands, who find themselves the next day they had to find somewhere to go and reside with their children after their husbands were killed. This is the type of widows that were left by the violence in the period from 29 March 2008 to the run-off days of the Presidential elections.

175 Men and fathers were maimed and some were kept in kraals of people who are still living and walking down the streets without answering to any questions. Hon. members here some of them, I tell you, when the day comes, the day of reckoning, I do not know where you will go. I have heard people singing saying *vachamhanya mumakomo, vachamhanya kupi asi vachashaiwa pekuhwanda*. That day will be certain and we are saying as hon. members, let us learn the correct way of doing things. You will find that because of this violence in almost every constituency, women were nurses of their husbands, their children and their loved ones who were injured, some with broken hands and palms. Some of the women could not even handle their own children who wanted to suckle milk from their mothers as a result of the violence. We want to see it as it is so that we find the best way to solve this for future purposes.

180 Madam Speaker, some of the women were turned into counselors to counsel the widows and others in their constituencies because as mothers they had to train their fathers who were tortured and show them that there was life even after those atrocities. Madam Speaker I get really worried because if we leave these things as they are until the next elections, then there is no election to talk about in Zimbabwe. As if that was not enough, let me bring to the notice of hon. members here that the girl children were raped and women were raped.

185 I will take you to my constituency Kadoma. One girl known as Lydia in Weverley was raped by eight people and of those eight, three were brothers from the same family, same father same mother. One of them was a soldier and the other one was not working. The mother took it upon herself to send away the girl child to Harare because we were going to make a follow up that she must go and make a report. In Rimuka at a base at the Vocational College, another girl was also raped by seven men. Madam Speaker, there were women who were helping these men to rape these children. They were even told to undress the girls and these girls were taken from the streets and driven to the bases. While at the bases, they were raped. Those are few cases that happened in my constituency.

190 I remember Madam Speaker on the 16th of June when Mr. Tembo was walking going to town, they were two of them. He was kidnapped by a group of people and taken somewhere where he was tortured in Mhondoro Ngezi and he resurfaced 3 days later. When I tried to go to the police to report the case on the 19th, that is when I was arrested for the reason that I had gone to say that the man that I had reported had been abducted was now back. On the same day in the evening, my husband was abducted by a lorry carrying over 40 armed soldiers. These are people who are being paid by government to serve the nation but they were used. Throughout the night many things happened to him. Only God knows how he came back home alive.

200 Madam speaker, this platform must be provided to the people of Zimbabwe. The people of Zimbabwe have a right to know who killed and maimed their relatives, who stole their stock, who did everything?

Zimbabweans demand that and we have a right to know.

This happened in Chakari where an hon member sitting here in this room – they took an MDC T member, beat him and left him for dead and they brought him to his bed and threw him there after they had destroyed everything in the house. It happened and it was being spearheaded by Hon members here.

On the 19th of June my driver was abducted, beaten and left for dead at ZANU PF headquarters. They thought something had happened and we had taken his body somewhere and maybe that is why my husband was taken and throughout the night he had to identify bodies because they said MDC had killed someone. My husband is not a politician and all this was started by an honourable senator in this parliament – a woman for that matter – ZANU PF thugs. I get worried. It is not Kadoma people who started this violence, there was no violence in Kadoma because there is no ZANU PF person in Kadoma. I tell you that the hon senator brought people from the resettlement areas in Sanyati. There were 12 roadblocks from Patchway mine – is that not violence?

Vehicles were stopped on the road and people's peanut butter and chickens taken by ZANU PF youths who were on bases and had no food to eat. These bases were established by none other than ZANU PF.

So, we are saying we should wholeheartedly support the appointment of this committee because I feel it is high time we came to our senses and show that we have matured. We cannot keep on doing what is wrong because other people want to stick to power at whatever cost. The people of Zimbabwe are saying no, enough is enough. Today the parliamentarians are here but Zimbabweans are saying no. Everything that has a beginning should have an end and the end should be now.

In Chakari Constituency – that is where in Kadoma we heard of people being asked if they wanted short sleeves or long sleeves. People were maimed and they cannot grow crops or fend for their families, but there are Hon members here who call themselves honourable. Why Lord? The councillor and MP for Sanyati took the losing councillor of MDC to a base and when he came back he had both hands in plasters. He is a father but all his hands were in plasters. What if things change tomorrow and those very people become victims? How would they take it?

We are saying we do not want to do it that way. We are saying let us come to our senses and reconcile, but reconciliation will never be done by one side. It is done by willing minds. If the other side is not willing enough, how can we reconcile?

I want to talk of Mrs Chipiro who had her lips chopped and her body was thrown into a hut and she was burnt alive in Mhondoro Ngezi. It is a sad story -[*Mrs Matamisa in tears*] – that is why you see my tears running down. Before I end let me say that democracy in Zimbabwe has become so expensive that it is costing human lives. In the light of this inclusive arrangement, we are saying that an establishment of the select committee is a sound idea which is based on sound principles of atonement of sins that were committed by brother against brother, sister against sister, uncle against uncle etc. This allows for naming and shaming and we are saying after that the culprits must be tried and punished for the sake of national healing.

Madam speaker, the people of Zimbabwe are saying we will need reconciliation at the end of the day, but reconciliation cannot come before each person says what he or she did. Yes, people are saying it was violence from both sides but yes, let us come out from both sides and say what we did in front of the people who were made victims so that at the end of the day we reconcile the nation, there is national healing and we go forward and are free.

As we are preparing for the constitution – it is unfortunate that other MPs have now set bases so that none will reach their constituency during the constitution making process. I do not know what kind of people we are? I do not know what is good for us? This is the only platform where the people of Zimbabwe would write a constitution which would allow peaceful transfer of power in the future generations.

We are saying what the motion is asking, I think the motion is long overdue. Zimbabwean victims know who did what to them and it is their

285 right to thank the government when it has done a good thing.
MR MAZIKANA: Thank you , I have a quote protection from the Holy Bible which is from *I John 1 verse 8*. Here I quote, “If we claim to be without sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us” and *verse 9* says “ if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just and will forgive us our sins and purify us from all unrighteousness” -[HON MEMBERS: Then confess your sins]-

290
 Madam Speaker, this is a very emotive motion and it is being debated by young children. We are adults and if we are honourable members- and if we continue to debate this motion that touches the heart with that kind of behaviour in this Chamber, we are being mistaken. The Head of State, His Excellency, the President and the Commander- in- Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, in this Chamber when he officially opened this House, he alluded to violence that occurred after March and said we have to heal and heal the nation. We were listening yesterday and members from this side were completely silent when hon Gonese was moving this motion. We know violence took place in our country and we know people were maimed, killed and raped and he asked that “why do we do this to each other” and he did not proffer an answer. -[HON MEMBERS: *Ko ndiyeka anga abvunza saka waida kuti apindure here?*]- It is a question which he threw to all of us. He also tabled before this House a list of Zimbabweans who lost their lives and whose houses were burnt. Look at the list carefully it contains victims from the other side only. Are we being sincere that we do not know of any ZANU PF supporter who was victimized? We also lost lives from this side and we also nursed victims of violence. What we are seeing in this House -[HON MEMBERS: Provide the list]-yes the list can be provided. I agree that Hon Mushonga, when he went to Mashonaland Central and gave MDC victims and those who lost their lives- but Hon Mushonga is he really not aware of even one ZANU PF supporter who was victimised? -[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]- Madam Speaker, can I be protected? Can I be heard?

315
THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order hon members. Can there be silence in this House.
MR MAZIKANA: Yesterday we heard Hon Thabitha Khumalo pointing a finger to a leader as if the leader is the one who had incited that violence. As far as I know, there is a leader who said if Mugabe does not go peacefully, we will remove him violently. We have seen violence in other countries like Kenya, Somalia, Afghanistan, Palestine and South Africa - [HON MEMBERS: *Hatinei navo*]- that is violence and what is our relationship to these? How do we feel when we are talking on the issue that touches the soul -[MS T. KHUMALO: Do you have a heart or a soul?]-
Prophet Isaiah in Chapter 61 verse 1, I quote “ The Spirit of the Sovereign Lord is on me, because the Lord has annointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim freedom for the captives and release from darkness for the prisoners”(*New International Version*)-[HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]-

330
THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order hon members! You do not even fear the word of God. Let us have order in this House.
MR MAZIKANA: I will go back to *Prophet Isaiah 61 verse 1 to 4...*
MS MATAMISA: On a point of order Madam Speaker. We are not in a church and we have had enough of that.

335
THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon Matamisa your point of order is over-ruled.
MR MAZIKANA: Thank you Madam Speaker. What kind of healing are we talking about if we fear to refer to the maker of human kind. If we are afraid to refer to the holy scriptures, what national healing are we referring to? Shame indeed. If this motion is meant to score political scores, then I would not support such a motion. Just a reminder in case we have forgotten, there are police officers who were petrol bombed in Harare. *MaZupco akapiswa*.

345
 My message is violence begets violence and if we train our youths to be violent, they will grow into violent adults. We forget that Harare was engulfed in violence because a certain political party had advocated for a

removal of a head of state. That is violence. Our debate is focusing on “*we are innocent*” “*they are guilty*”. John says “*if we have not sinned then we are not truthful*”. If you go to Zaka East, there was an agent whose eyes were taken out and murdered -[HON. MEMBERS: By who?]. If you go to Bikita, there were cases of murder and people seeking refuge in mountains. We are saying hon members, enough is enough! The President of Zimbabwe said never again should we go back to that state of violence.

350 Our hands are not clean all of us. -[HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]-

355 **MR MWONZORA:** On a point of order. It is my understanding that when we debate the hon members cannot make certain allegations. You have to be factual. The hon member is accusing everyone in this House of committing murder. I did not. That is wrong.

360 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Hon member can you withdraw that?

MR MAZIKANA: I said, everybody our hands are not clean.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: If you said everybody's hands are dirty, then you have to withdraw that -[HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]-

365 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Hon Mazikana, can you kindly stand up and withdraw what you have said?

MR MAZIKANA: I withdraw.

I do not support the selection of a parliamentary committee to investigate this because already a finger has been thrown -[HON M.

370 **KUMALO:** Hon Mazikana is mad!].

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon member who has said Hon Mazikana is mad, can you withdraw that?

MR M. KUMALO: I withdraw my statement Madam Speaker.

MR MAZIKANA: If you listened carefully to the contributions from

375 the other side, it was painting us guilty of all the atrocities that were committed. How do you expect us already to be a Committee when we are coming in with tainted hands... - [HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible Interjections*]

-we are not worthy to be part of this Committee. I thank you.

MR M. KUMALO: Thank you Madam Speaker, the trend the world over is uniform that opposition parties boycott the chamber when aggrieved, but eventually return to business upon the realization that the ruling party is prepared to continue without them in the House. I welcome members...

MR BHASIKITI: On a point of order Madam Speaker, we are in an Inclusive Government – we have no ruling party. He claims that he comes

385 from a ruling part which does not exist. We need to correct that and set the record straight – he must withdraw his statement.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon members, can allow debate to go on in this august House. Hon Bhasikiti I heard you. Hon Kumalo can you stand up and proceed.

390 **MR M. KUMALO:** Madam Speaker, allow me to restart my introduction Madam Speaker. The trend is uniform all over the world that opposition parties boycott the Chamber when aggrieved... - [MR BHASIKITI: He continues!] -

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, Order. Hon Kumalo, we no

395 longer have a ruling or opposition party in Zimbabwe – we have an Inclusive Government. So please stop referring to other parties as opposition.

MR M. KUMALO: Madam Speaker, I was just giving the trend the world over. I welcome members from the opposition party. Madam Speaker, I rise to contribute to this noble debate. And I seek to support the movers of

400 the motion in my account as a victim of systematic and politically motivated electoral violence. I, unfortunately happen to represent an urban constituency which also witnessed the ugly face of the pre, during and post March 29th 2008 electoral violence. The Constituency that I represent is St Mary's, which happens to be in Harare. Allow me Madam Speaker to

405 recognize that at times it is unfortunate that even at a pulpit you can also find the devil preaching and at times better than those who are anointed.

Madam Speaker, electoral violence in St Mary's was engineered, funded and implemented by some overzealous ZANU PF activists and they abused the State Machinery. Our community, that is the St Mary's Constituency,

410 witnessed the establishment of torture bases across the constituency. Some

structures were turned into torture bases and these structures include houses of Well known and familiar ZANU PF activists, Council premises were not spared from being turned into torture bases and a near by river by the name Manyame also acted as a base for the ZANU PF hooligans.

415 In Ward five which happens to be my Constituency Madam Speaker, the worst in terms of the level and occurrence of politically motivated violence was witnessed. In this area, one ZANU PF Councillor by the name Tendekai Maswata who was then contesting to be reelected as a Councillor used the whole lot of his property, cars, house and even financial resources
420 to support this violence. We started seeing a fleet of unregistered vehicles in the Constituency operating day and night and these were used to kidnap and abduct innocent and law abiding citizens. The vehicles ranged from known trucks such as CAM, Mahindra and Isuzu – which were associated with the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.
425 One Christopher Pasipamire, losing candidate in the House of Assembly for ZANU PF was one of the rank leaders in not only financing the act of this electoral genocide but masterminding the lawlessness and abuse of the rule of law in St Mary's. He was assisted by, I have made reference to Tendekai Maswata: former Councillor of Ward 3 Karingwindi; Ben Mubayi,
430 Councillor Darlington Nota - the former Acting Mayor of the City of Chitungwiza and *Amai* Kasinamunda just to name but a few. This *Amai* Kasinamunda from Ward 2 is a Zimbabwe Republic Police detail and an apologetic ZANU PF activist in her own right. Madam Speaker, Sir I need to put ...

435 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, order. Hon. member I can not be a Madam Speaker and Sir at the same time.

MR M. KUMALO: I apologise Madam Speaker. I need to put it on record that these people are familiar to me and what I am narrating is not what came to me through hearsay but I am an eye witness as a *bonafide*
440 resident of my constituency. Activists from MDC-T were tortured in my constituency Madam Speaker. Property worth thousands of dollars was destroyed during this period in question and four deaths were reported. Tendekai Maswata and Darlington Nota's houses were turned into torture bases in Ward 5 and Ward
445 2 respectively. A number of MDC-T activists were kidnapped and abducted to these two notorious bases manned by ZANU PF thugs. One of our party young activists, Tafadzwa from St. Mary's was axed on his forehead by Mike Chin'ai, a ZANU PF youth who is employed by Chitungwiza Municipal Police. The matter was reported to our local Police Station, but instead and
450 to my surprise and to many as well, I together with 10 of our activists were arrested and had to struggle to regain our dear freedom. We had to languish at Harare Remand Prison for close to a month yet we were the victims of organised state funded reign of terror.

Madam Speaker, we also have Jonathan Malindati, another activist from
455 Ward 5 in St. Mary's, a survivor in this spate of violence, is the third to narrate his ordeal at the hands of lawless and marauding ZANU PF hooligans, then based at Maswata's house which assumed a new function after the 2008 polls. This was done to wipe and coerce MDC members and activists into submission and instil fear so that a reference footnote will
460 remain so as to let the people of Zimbabwe be afraid of voting ZANU PF out of power. Some people were forced to vacate their places of residence by the escalating violence in St. Mary's.

Madam Speaker, I was not spared by this trail of electoral violence since I was one of the contestants for the House of Assembly seat. I, together
465 with my immediate family, was forced to flee from home and briefly found refuge at a certain boarding school in Mashonaland Central. I was pushed into double dealing and masquerading as a civil servant who was on a study leave. I stayed with a cousin who happens to be a teacher there for a while up to the time when some strangers started questioning my sincerity. I had to
470 be strained into regularly visiting the school library in pretence of preparing for an examination. I had to abandon this temporary home, a refugee camp and fled into a particular neighbouring country but leaving my family in hiding near Nyamapanda. I could not afford carrying with me my family to

foreign land. The drama became an expense to me. Most of our activists
 475 could not afford to bankroll their flights to safe places and this had to brave
 the harsh political climate which was prevailing in St. Mary's and other areas.
 Madam Speaker, this became too expensive for me because I had to
 fend for some under privileged MDC activists who wanted to try to safeguard
 their lives by fleeing to other places where they were not known or could not
 480 be recognised as MDC supporters.

Let me conclude by supporting this motion on the appointment of a
 Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the politically motivated and
 state sponsored violence that befell Zimbabweans before June 27 run off or
 just run off as it is commonly known. Our beloved country's history is
 485 pregnant with electoral and politically motivated systematic violence, but the
 citizenry is a peace loving and God fearing lot. The perpetrators of this
 violent should be brought to book so as to deter would be offenders and
 perpetrators in future elections. The national healing, integration and
 reconciliation process will not succeed if we do not expose both the
 490 perpetrators and the victims.

Madam Speaker, may God bless Zimbabwe by giving it God fearing
 and spiritual leadership who do not subscribe to violence as a source of
 getting a mandate to govern, I thank you.

MR MATONGA: Madam Speaker, thank you for allowing me to take
 495 part in this debate. As individuals, as a nation or as people, we do not
 tolerate any acts of violence. It does not matter who it is – [HON.
 MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] – I think if the hon members can allow
 me to debate so that they can listen to my contribution. There was violence
 in the country. The country was gripped by acts of violence from both sides
 500 of the parties and there is evidence to that. If we are really concerned by
 getting justice, I think it is also important that we listen.

I have a 100 page report Madam Speaker of acts of violence that were
 committed by members on the other side of the House. I have the pictures as
 well to prove the violence. I am glad the hon. member who spoke, Hon.
 505 Marvelous Kumalo, he was also part of that violence. He led a gang of some
 15 youths on the 30th of March in 2008 *nerekeni netsvimbo*. It is unfortunate
 that my battery has run out, I have the pictures of the victims, Darling Noto
 and the wife – [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] – head *yakaita*
 split.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, hon members on my right, please
 510 can you listen to the hon. member

MR MATONGA: The report that I have, and I also have relatives of
 mine who were on the other side of the political party who were also killed.
 That is why I do not condone any form of violence because it is not good on
 515 anyone. It is good to shout of obscenity. We have a problem and what is the
 source of the problem. We can go and hold public hearings but what result
 are we trying to get. No one is coming up with a problem statement which
 requires a solution. Until and unless we accept that there was violence, we
 are going nowhere as a country. We can even go as far back as we can, but
 520 that is not the solution. Sanctions are a form of violence because you are
 depriving people of their right to live in the country by applying sanctions.
 We need to go back to that level to say what was the source of violence. The
 reports are there – [AN HON MEMBER: *Inaudible interjections*] – *Kana*
usina kubenefita pamunda ndezvako.

I have a 100 page report which I am going to submit to Parliament. I
 have pictures as well of violence perpetrated by members on the other side of
 the House. I have a picture of Trudy Stevenson, one of their own. We have
 pictures by the Hon. Minister Welshman Ncube, of violence that was taking
 place at Harvest House against their own people. I have reports in
 530 Mashonaland Central where the Hon. Member Mushonga was. I have a
 report of what transpired – [HON. MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*]-
 which I will submit to this House.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order hon. members.

MR MATONGA: I said I have a report of what transpired in
 535 Mashonaland Central and pictures of people who died. I have a report of
 what transpired in Manicaland and hon members who are also sitting here

were arrested after instructing thugs to burn tobacco barns. I have also pictures and police reports. I am going to bring them and hand them over to the Speaker. I move onto Masvingo and Renco Mine and I have evidence of who was hiring who in Bulawayo, Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North and Chegutu. – [HON MEMBERS : *Inaudible interjections*]-

The point I am trying to make here and put across is that a Select Committee will not bring the results that we are looking for because already we are accusing each other of acts of violence. So noone is going to come up with any solution. You can shout but at the end of the day, that is not what we are after – [HON MEMBERS: *Inaudible interjections*] – *Kudedzera hakuna basa, handi vhunduke ende handitye.*

You are making accusations which you cannot prove and I will not be scared to debate it. I think it is a waste of time in bringing out unnecessary debates. I will bring my report to the House.

A Profile on the MDC (T) Acts of Treachery

1.0 INTRODUCTION

On the 29th of March 2008 Zimbabweans voted in the inaugural Harmonised elections. Contrary to the expectations and wishes of the western world mainly Britain, America and Australia, the elections were conducted in an atmosphere conducive to democratic polling.

The seemingly political maturity exhibited by the political parties and the general public and the police engagement with stakeholders contributed to the peaceful environment that prevailed in the pre election period.

Whilst the preparations for the elections and the actual polling itself went on quite well, some discrepancies were discovered during the verification process, leading to the delay in the announcement of some of the results. The delay was used as an excuse for premature claims of victory by the opposition at the instigation of their principals and the subsequent court litigation and acts of violence.

When the diplomatic route through the engagement of the regional grouping failed and litigation did not achieve the desired result for the opposition, the MDC (T) faction resorted to the so called mass-stay away, which was in fact a clarion call for violence

This document will expose the following:

- Vote rigging activities by MDC (T)
- MDC (T) economic destabilisation programme
- Acts of violence by the MDC (T)
- The MDC (T)'s Transition strategy
- The MDC-USA/UK Sponsorship Platform Memorandum of Understanding
- MDC (T)'s unholy alliance with NGOs and Civic Groups

2.0 ELECTORAL FRAUD ACTIVITIES

The MDC has not shied away from showing its unquenchable desire to rule Zimbabwe at any cost. Apart from the violent tactics it also surreptitiously organized a well-calculated vote rigging strategy. This strategy was financed by NGOs such as National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). It targeted all individuals employed by ZEC to work as election officials and voter education officers. These were paid large sums of money through the Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (ZESN) ranging from \$3bn to \$50bn to exploit every available opportunity to influence an MDC victory. It is of interest to note that ZESN was the official voter education agent engaged by ZEC which threw all caution to the wind and openly sided with MDC (T) from the beginning to the end of the election process.

As a result of this deceitful scheme, a widespread electoral fraud pattern emerged and in most cases so carelessly that it renders the electoral process a mockery. A few examples will be cited here for the sake of clarity.

- In the Mazowe South House of Assembly Constituency in Mashonaland Central, **MARGARET ZINYEMBA** of ZANU (PF) was declared the winner at the Constituency Command Centre after polling 4109 votes against her close rival **MODERN CHITENGA** of MDC (T) who got 4052 votes. These were the results that were announced and pasted at the Constituency Command Centre. However, on forwarding the results to the National Command Centre, a ZEC official changed figures on the Form V23 to read as follows; **MARGARET ZINYEMBA** ZANU (PF) 3086 votes whilst **MORDEN CHITENGA** MDC (T) got 3599 votes. These were the

600 results that were ultimately announced on television and radio effectively
 declaring the MDC (T) candidate the winner. However, on cross checking
 the announced results, our police systems quickly detected this anomaly
 and we asked ZEC to verify and it indeed discovered that the ZEC official
 in Mashonaland Central had fiddled with the figures all in a bid to propel
 605 the MDC candidate into victory. This anomaly was however immediately
 rectified.

□ At times figures would simply be switched. For example, at Five Streams
 Primary School, Ward 25 Mutasa South Collation Centre, Manicaland, the
 presiding officer at the Collation Centre received Form V11 for Warnham
 610 Primary School which indicated the following Presidential results;
ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE 40 votes, **MORGAN TSVANGIRAI** 30
 votes, **SIMBA MAKONI** 5 votes and **LANGTON TOWUNGANA** 1
 vote. Instead of writing the results as presented on Form V11 onto Form
 V23 the official wrote the results in respect of Warnham Primary School as
 615 **ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE** 30 votes, **MORGAN TSVANGIRAI** 40
 votes, **SIMBA MAKONI** 5 votes whilst **LANGTON TOWUNGANA** had
 1 vote. As a result of this misrepresentation of figures, **CDE. ROBERT
 GABRIEL MUGABE** was prejudiced 10 votes and **MORGAN
 TSVANGIRAI** got an extra 10 votes.

□ At other times ZEC officials would simply ignore results of a polling
 station or several polling stations. For example, the results for the four
 Umguza Wards that is Ward 3, 10, 11 and 17 were not captured in the
 Constituency Summation despite the fact that the Forms were deposited in
 the record (envelope for Bubi Presidential elections results). The total votes
 625 for the omitted four wards per candidate were as follows; **CDE. R.G.
 MUGABE** 686, **MORGAN TSVANGIRAI** 680 votes, **SIMBA MAKONI**
 911 votes and **LANGTON TOWUNGANA** 38 votes.

□ At polling stations, the presiding officer would complete the Form V11
 with all correct details which were countersigned by agents of all
 630 participating political parties (though in some instances these agents were
 even avoided). On collating the figures at Ward level some ZEC officials
 deflated ZANU (PF) votes whilst inflating MDC (T) votes and at times
 those for Simba Makoni. The Forms V23 were then endorsed with distorted
 figures which were then submitted for announcement. **(See Annexure ‘A’)**
 635 The above is just the tip of an iceberg of the many cases that have since been discovered. All
 this treachery has now been uncovered and MDC is well aware of this discovery. This is the
 very reason why they are now running around trying to get support from outside the country.
 However, the situation in the country remains under control with President Robert Gabriel
 Mugabe and his cabinet in charge till the electoral process is finalised and a new government
 640 sworn in. Meanwhile, over 30 ZEC officials have been arrested for contravening section 87 of
 the Electoral Act, Chapter 2: 13, **“Failing to perform electoral duties as is required by this
 act.”**

3.0 MDC ALLIANCE WITH NGOS

The MDC has mobilized several NGOs to ravage Zimbabwe’s socio-political
 645 arena. These NGOs are brought into the country on the pretext of development
 programmes, which ironically are not brought in through proper government
 channels, but are clandestinely smuggled in by night or behind the scenes. In the
 main, these programmes are used to extort or bribe the impoverished folks into
 supporting the MDC. A few examples that quickly come into mind are:

650 · National Democratic Institute that is chaired by Madeleine K. Albright.
 · CARE International and PLAN International that give out food handouts at
 MDC meetings and rallies.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit
 organisation that purports to work towards strengthening and expanding
 655 democracy worldwide. The organisation claims to provide practical assistance to
 civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions.
 However, in Zimbabwe they are strongly linked to MDC(T) supporting them
 financially and materially including training their agents in vote rigging
 techniques.

660 Since the country’s laws [Political Parties (Finance) Act Chapter 2:11] do not
 allow foreign funding for political parties, the MDC(T) uses NGOs as a conduit of
 laundering in funds for their political activities.

4.0 MDC AND CIVIC GROUPS

An unholy alliance has been forged between MDC (T) and several civic groups namely:-

- o National Constitutional Assembly (NCA)
- o Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA)
- o Men of Zimbabwe Arise (MOZA)
- o Save Zimbabwe Campaign
- o Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe
- o Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU)
- o Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network (ZESN)
- o Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU)
- o Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ)
- o Law Society of Zimbabwe (LSZ)

The USA and the UK heavily sponsor these civic groups that have rapidly become anti-government by nature. The Law Society of Zimbabwe, for example, receives assistance from the British Law Society on the premise of false allegations of persecutions on lawyers by the Zimbabwean government (**See Annexure 'E' page 5**). The MDC uses the channel of these very same civic groups to launder in money to circumvent limitations imposed by legislation. These civic groups have often mobilized the public with food handouts to stage violent demonstrations mostly in urban areas.

The NCA is now very vocal about a new Constitution, yet when a new Constitution was proposed in 2000 they vehemently campaigned against it. This self-contradicting stance is a total incoherence with the burning desire of some Western countries especially UK and USA who heavily sponsor the destabilisation crusade in Zimbabwe.

The Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) organisation has in many a time been involved in skirmishes with the law enforcement agents after engaging in unauthorised and at times violent demonstrations. The same goes for the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ), who purport to represent the interests of teachers when in actual fact they have a political agenda.

At numerous occasions these civic groups have fought among themselves over the use of donor funds. NCA leadership has always been at each other's throat over money.

5.0 TRAIL OF VIOLENCE

MDC has always taken every opportunity to engage in violent acts mostly bordering on terrorism, to please its Western sponsors through portraying an imagined image of political instability in Zimbabwe. It has always been hoped that violence and the subsequent State response would be used as an excuse for international intervention in the regime change agenda. The MDC as a violent party continues to institute violence on the innocent civilian populace of the country and within its own rank and file.

Morgan Tsvangirai is on record for inciting violence during his campaigns where at one time he indicated that if the President Cde. Robert Gabriel Mugabe does not hand over power peacefully he will remove him from office violently.

5.1 Pre-Election Period

Since March 2007 the rampant acts of terrorism by MDC activists have left a lot of vehicles damaged, people injured and property destroyed. MDC has continued on this warpath.

However, in the run up to the 2008 Harmonized elections security agents have had to remain highly alert and vigilant to ensure a peaceful environment. The Police strictly maintained a zero tolerance to violence although the MDC continued to probe the patience of the government through malicious verbal attacks and intermittent physical acts of violence.

The pre-election period was generally very peaceful as all parties were able to campaign freely throughout the country. Despite the peace that prevailed the MDC continued to destabilize this peace and engaged in some acts of violence.

The following is a summary of some of these incidents:-

□ Masvingo Province

On 16 February 2008, MDC members held a meeting at Renco Mine Community Hall that ended at around 1530. Four MDC members namely Siyai Neshanje (37), Elson Mutonhori (42), Emson Chiro (34) and Lawrence Mubhidha (30) then went around the compound shouting MDC

slogans and went to one Haruzive Jeferat's homestead chanting MDC slogans, denouncing and threatening him and his family. Haruzive was Renco's ZANU (PF) aspiring councillor.

730 The accused persons were later arrested and charged for C/S 46 (2) (v) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act. "Intimidation" Renco CR 17/02/08 and Masvingo C.I.D Law & Order DR 09/02/08 refers.

□ Harare Province

735 On the 29th of February 2008 the accused, Marvellous Khumalo, an MDC (T) candidate for St Mary's constituency, led a group of about 100 youths on a march of violence armed with small axes, machetes, sticks and knobkerries, moving from door-to-door harassing people in St Mary's. They were also displaying a big banner written "**MDC Tsvangirai.**" This was in direct contrast of the peaceful and serene electoral atmosphere obtaining elsewhere in the country on that Election Day. These thugs went 740 to house number 6785 St Marys where, Darlington Nota, The Acting Mayor for Chitungwiza resides and started singing songs denigrating the Mayor and his security guards.

745 They were ordered to leave by the Security guards, but they refused, instead they threatened to assault the guards. The guards withdrew into the premises, prompting the youths to throw stones after them. Fortunately, nothing was damaged and no one was injured.

Accused persons were arrested and charged for C/S 36 (1)(b) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, Chapter 9:23, '**Public violence**'.

750 In the morning of the 30th of March 2008, Marvellous Khumalo again led eleven MDC (T) thugs namely; Steven Gomo, Themba Mapinduka, Eveline Matuwi, Miriam David, Trevor Mutizwa, Pharaoh Kasambira, Obert Muchawaya, Amos Kumbwe, Takura Majoko, Biggie Forget Gore and James Museza, to the House of Job Sikhala, former MDC MP for St 755 Mary's, Chitungwiza carrying a mock coffin with inscription denigrating Job Sikhala. This culminated in a stone throwing engagement that left Job Sikhala's house with shattered windows and a few individuals severely injured.

□ Matabeleland South Province

760 On the 4th of March 2008 the accused, one Freeman Tshuma, an MDC (Tsvangirai) activist, of Marcedale Compound, Figtree, Plumtree, was standing at a tree where there were two ZANU [PF] posters. One poster was for the ZANU [PF] Presidential candidate, **Cde ROBERT GABRIEL MUGABE** and the other had Dr. SIKHOZA NDLOVU, ZANU [PF] House 765 of Assembly aspiring Candidate for Figtree Constituency.

Freeman Tshuma was seen in the act of tearing the poster of Cde R.G. MUGABE by Khumbula Mpunzi who later confronted the accused and warned him against the act. The accused then placed some torn pieces into his pocket and left another piece on the tree.

770 Accused was arrested and charged with C/S 152 (1) of the Electoral Act Chapter 2:13 A.R.W. Subsection 3, "Destruction of a political poster." Figtree CR 03/03/08 refers.

□ Masvingo Province

775 On the 6th March 2008 and at around 2000 hours, one **Muchinezvi Taonezvi** was on her way from President Mugabe's star rally, which was held at Maungwa Secondary School. She was in possession of Cde Mugabe's campaign poster. As she entered Mapondera Bottle store, the accused, **Gido Nyikadzino**, approached her and shouted at her saying 780 "Satani uyu handidi kumuona" pointing at the poster. The accused later tore the poster into pieces.

The accused was arrested for C/S 41 (1) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act Chapter 9:23 "Disorderly conduct". Gutu CR 37/03/08 refers.

□ Harare Province

785 On 16 March 2008 at 2100 hours a ZANU (PF) youth **Peter DANDIRA** NR 47-2000426 D 85 aged 22 years of number 1534 D Overspill, Epworth retired to bed and he was in good health.

On 17 March 2008 at 1000 hours Portia TADYANEMHANDU aged 14

790 years of the same address checked to find out why DANDIRA was not coming out of his room to greet her as usual. She opened DANDIRA's room and discovered him lying dead in a pool of blood and was wrapped in a blanket.

Investigations were carried out and two MDC activists namely Lloyd MUNEMO aged 20 years of number 1129D Overspill, Epworth and Takudzwa NHAMBURO aged 22 years of number 1129 D Overspill Epworth were arrested. Investigations are still in progress. Epworth Police CR 252/03/08 refers.

5.2 Post Election Period

800 Although the actual voting day experienced a peaceful and tranquil environment across the country, the MDC soon after, went on a campaign to incite the people to disregard poll results and called for an immediate surrender of power by President Mugabe and ZANU (PF). They contemptuously and unlawfully declared themselves winners of the Presidential election according to their imagined percentages of victory. All this was aimed at instigating people into

805 insurrection. Instead of awaiting the proper electoral process to run through to its finality, they jumped the gun and alleged vote rigging to justify an immediate occupation of Zimbabwe by foreign forces. Their supporters ran amok in most of the urban centres beating up people and destroying property. Former white farmers, whom

810 they had promised to give back farms, mobilized some unemployed thugs and started visiting the farms threatening the resettled black occupants. Senior ZANU (PF) and government officials received threatening phone calls at odd hours, some from within the country and others beyond the borders and abroad all by MDC activists obviously incited by Morgan Tsvangirai and his

815 faction. The SADC extra ordinary summit held on 12 April 2008 did not yield MDC's expected diplomatic intervention. On 15 April 2008 whilst in Botswana, Morgan Tsvangirai directed Ian MAKONE, the party's Elections Director, to intensify political disturbances in the country. This was intended to result in an international outcry thereby justifying international intervention.

820 These instructions were issued by Morgan Tsvangirai since his Western allies were reportedly not happy with the peaceful situation that had existed before, during and after the Harmonised elections. The British Prime Minister Gordon Brown has reiterated his support for the efforts being made by the MDC to

825 remove the current government from power (**See Annexure 'B1' and 'B2'**). The communiqué issued by the SADC heads of State and delegations declaring that there was no crisis in Zimbabwe had compromised the Western position on Zimbabwe.

Cases of petrol bombing, road blockages and other sinister acts of violence such as arson and mob attacks were reported across the whole country in the so-called

830 mass stay-away.

The following are some of the heinous activities by the misguided opposition MDC (T) party:-

□ Bulawayo Province

835 On 29 March 2008 at 0100 hours, there was a bombing incident that occurred at House Number 2510 Emakhandeni, Bulawayo, owned by the Zanu (PF) House of Assembly aspiring candidate for Emakhandeni-Entumbane, Judith MKWANDA N.R 08-292542G73 aged 55 years. MKWANDA went to bed on 28 March 2008 at 2100 hours, and was

840 awakened at 0058 hours by a noisy explosion, which was subsequently followed by a second heavier explosion. Upon waking up complainant heard sounds of two vehicles driving off fast from the incident in two different directions.

845 Complainant later got out checking the extent of the explosion. She then discovered that the windowpanes for the four windows and a French door were shattered. A report was then made to the police. Police on attending the scene discovered two exploded detonators and cordex that had been used to ignite and explode an unknown explosive. As a result of the explosion no serious injuries were inflicted, except the

850 complainant who sustained a minor bruise on the left elbow. However, the house sustained the following damages; a crater at the bottom part of the

house structure on the veranda, cracks on the beam filling of the veranda, five broken asbestos sheets, shattered windowpanes, and a scorched non runner vehicle. Luveve Report Received Book 0274693 refers.

855 On 15 April 2008 at 0320 hours, a Nyamweda bus Registration number AAF 3176 was on its way from Plumtree to Harare with 68 passengers on board. When it got to the Warren Park round about, the driver saw a fire burning on the other side of the roundabout in the middle of the road. The driver stopped the bus and tried to reverse, but suddenly saw 10 to 15 MDC (T) thugs approaching from the front and side of the bus. They threw stones at the bus, shouting and demanding the immediate announcement of election results and accusing the occupants for going to Botswana without voting.

860 The driver jumped off and ran into the grasses. The passengers also jumped out through windows and doors of the bus escaping from the attackers. One of the attackers had a 20-litre container suspected to be containing an inflammable substance while another holding a piece of a smouldering piece of tyre, boarded the bus and set it alight.

865 The passengers managed to offload most of their luggage except a few items that were burnt in the bus. One women aboard the bus Simangaliso VUMBU aged 28 years of Number 29 Toran Avenue Marlborough sustained a sprained ankle as she dropped from the bus window while another a Malawian by the name Hassan Africa MUZOZI aged 33 years, of 9 Bangwe Blantyre, Malawi sustained a minor burn on the left forearm.

870 Simangaliso Vumbu was taken to hospital. The bus was completely burnt. Investigations to apprehend the offenders are still underway. Warren Park RRB 0276397 refers.

□ Harare Province

880 As the MDC (T) party intensified its bid to violently remove the present democratically elected government out of office, a mass stayaway was called for. In the early hours of 15 April 2008, as commuters made their way to work, they discovered that most major roads particularly in the high density residential areas had been barricaded. Commuter operators intending to bypass the barricades had their vehicles either stoned or burnt by unruly MDC (T) elements. Similar reports were also received from in and around Harare and Bulawayo.

885

□ Mashonaland East Province

890 On the 13 April 2008 at around 1000 hours at Chingwaru Business Centre, Murewa, HATIRARAMI MUPANGURI N.R 47-005891-T-47 a male adult aged 48 years of Mwenga village chief Mangwende, Murewa; WELLINGTON MBOFANA N.R 47-007635-e-47 aged 48 years of Huni village, Murewa and MUDZIWANA MICHAEL N.R 63-456592-x-47 aged 69 years of Tarwirei village, Murewa were at a ZANU (PF) independence preparation meeting when they were approached by MDC supporters who were travelling in a Toyota Hilux without a number plate.

895 The occupants who were singing MDC party songs jumped off the vehicle and assaulted ZANU (PF) members present at the meeting with sjamboks, sticks and knobkerries.

The three complainants were injured and a report was made to the police.

900 The four accuseds who are well known MDC activists were later arrested. Murewa RRB 0300004 refers.

□ Bulawayo Province

905 On 15 April 2008 at about 1200 hours, two (2) accused persons namely Tinashe MAKONI aged 34 years of Number 337 Nguboyenja, Bulawayo and Hughs MUCHIMBA aged 20 years of Number 7531/22 Tshabalala, Bulawayo were arrested for forcing business people to close shops at Mashumba Shops, Manwele Shops and Hlalo Shops, Bulawayo. The accused were arrested after Mrs. NDLOVU of Mashumba Superette, Bulawayo, made a report to Police. The accused were arrested and brought to Mzilikazi Police Station and the case is under investigations on RRB 0241223 refers.

910

□ Bulawayo Province

On 15 April 2008 at around 0400 hours, MDC hooligans stoned a Toyota Hiace white in colour on registration Number AAC-8994. The motor

915 vehicle belongs to Milford NCUBE who is employed by Igwebu Breweries, Steelwork Road Bulawayo. He resides at Number C220 Njube, Bulawayo. The accused person threw stones resulting in the motor vehicle sustaining a hole on the front windscreen and a dent on left passenger door. The value of the damage is estimated at \$55 billion. No one was injured. Investigations are still in progress under Western Commonage RRB 0279893.

Bulawayo Province

During a patrol by Support Unit Reaction Group, barricades of tyres, stones and bins were discovered along Hyde Park, Masiyepambili Drive, Mpopoma Drive near Mpopoma Service Station and Cleary Drive near Msitheli Secondary School and the group removed them and ensured the roads were clear. The following places had barricades removed by the Police:

Burnt tyres at the intersection of Khami Road and Intemba Road

Stones along Luveve Road between Mpopoma High School and

930 NocZim Garage

Along Nketa Drive opposite Total garage

Along Cleary Road opposite Msitheli High School, Mpopoma

Three (3) places along Mpopoma Drive between Hyde Park and Luveve Road

935 Along Hyde Park Road opposite Magwegwe High School.

Mashonaland West Province

On 15 April 2008 at about 0845 hours, three MDC (T) Youths namely Joram CHIMBEYA aged 31 years of 23570 Umvovo, Chegutu, Nalaid MOKETSI aged 24 years of Number 3019 ZMDC, Chegutu and Shepherd JACK (NFPK) approached a tuck shop belonging to John KUNGUMA and found it open. The trio accused the Shop Assistant Memory KUNGUMA aged 21 years of defying the MDC stay away. They struck her once on the neck with a stick.

940 The youths allegedly took four (4) loaves of bread without paying for them and gave it to the public who had gathered to watch. Police on patrol reacted to the scene and managed to arrest Joram CHIMBEYA and Nalaid MOKETSI. on. Accused are being charged for Contravening Section 46 (v) of the 3rd Schedule to the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act Chapter 9:23 "Employing any means whatsoever which are likely materially to interfere with the ordinary comfort, convenience, peace or quiet of the Public or does any act which is likely to create a nuisance.

945 **6.0 MDC'S ECONOMIC DESTABILISATION PROGRAMME**

In its bid to achieve the objectives of its agreements with the United States of America and Britain the MDC has engaged itself in various acts of treachery.

955 These manifest themselves through:-

Sponsoring of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001 in the United States of America

Invocation of travel bans against ZANU (PF) officials and senior government officials.

960 Expulsion of children of senior government officials from Australia.

Economic sanctions on Zimbabwe.

Stayaways and boycotts

UK and USA companies that are sympathetic to the MDC

Small-scale enterprises (owned by indigenous people) badly affected

965 through wanton destruction or threats.

6.1 The United States Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001

The MDC in its relentless efforts to ensure Zimbabwe remains under the spotlight of the international community instigated measures that would see the country being labelled undemocratic and lacked the rule of law. The Act was passed to ensure that economic sanctions force the government to give in to the demands of the MDC.

970 6.2 Travel Bans

The MDC again in its efforts has managed to secure European Union travel bans on high-ranking government officials and members of the ruling ZANU (PF) party. The travel bans have since reduced economic opportunities for the local industry which was once Western oriented and

hence the Look East policy adopted by the government.

6.3 Expulsion of children of senior government officials

980 Children of senior government officials and ZANU (PF) officials in
Australia were removed from colleges and sent back home at the instigation
of MDC (T). All these efforts by the so-called ‘international friends’ of the
MDC were meant to frustrate the government. Such manipulative efforts by
985 MDC (T) have not done much to frustrate the ZANU (PF) government’s
quest to achieve full political and economic emancipation for the people of
Zimbabwe.

6.4 Economic Sanctions

MDC in their selfish efforts to gain political power and take over
government persuaded Western countries to impose economic sanctions
990 that have caused untold suffering not only to the targeted ZANU (PF)
members and senior government officials but also to the generality of the
Zimbabwean populace.

6.5 Stayaways and Boycotts

995 Over the years the MDC and affiliated organisations like the Zimbabwe
Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and National Constitutional Assembly
(NCA) have called for mass stayaways as a way of destabilising the
economic base of the country. The ZCTU has become the astute and avid
mover of MDC (T) programmes of industrial boycotts, stayaways and
strikes. The stayaways and boycotts have always resulted in destruction of
1000 property and threats to life besides loss of economic production.
Since the formation of the MDC there have been a series of stayaways and
boycotts. On 18 March 2003 a total of 87 cars were vandalised and 158
people were arrested countrywide. In Kadoma urban there was extensive
destruction of shops and supermarkets. In St Mary’s a bus registration 675-
1005 198k carrying pre-school children was set on fire. Fortunately there were no
injuries.

These barbaric acts have contributed much to the socio-economic
difficulties our people are facing now.

6.6 UK and USA Companies

1010 Most of the western companies domiciled in Zimbabwe have been used as
tools in the regime change agenda by the Western world. When mass
actions and boycotts are called for by the MDC these companies are on the
forefront to respond as these actions help to economically destabilise the
country. They quickly close their shops and chase away workers in support
1015 of the stay away. They also change prices of goods and services hourly as if
the economy is changing every hour. All this is sabotage, a manifestation of
sheer hatred of Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe’s government.

6.7 Small Scale Enterprises

1020 The indigenous black majority who have embarked on small and medium
scale enterprises as a way of earning a living and enhancing the country’s
industrial output have been targeted during these MDC’s violent activities.
These have included the destruction of shops and burning of buses and
commuter omnibuses, at times endangering human life. People intending to
go about their lawful business have been subjected to severe threats and
1025 even damage of property to force them into the MDC agenda thereby
causing insecurity in the nation.

7.0 COVET MDC POWER TAKE OVER PLAN

1030 Interestingly, the Movement For Democratic Change had already made
arrangements for the take over of power from the present government well before
the elections. However, the assistance that MDC was set to get from its erstwhile
sponsors was not to come on a silver plate but through sacrificing and betrayal of
the gains made in the liberation struggle as evidenced by documents below that
outline the party’s intentions.

1035 This was to be effected in a manner and fashion tabulated in the MDC’s Transition
Strategy document authored by Tendai Biti Secretary General of MDC (T) (**See
Annexure ‘C’**).

Highlighted hereunder are excerpts of the document.

1040 Those individuals recruited by ZESN and accredited by ZEC selected for the
vote rigging activities were receiving between \$3bn to \$50bn to exploit any
available opportunity to inflate MDC votes.

- 1045 MDC (T) would soon after the poll quickly claim victory through the ballot box but still publicly labelling the electoral playing field uneven.
 - Immediately remove from office the Commissioner General of Police, Commander of the Defence Forces, Commissioner of the Prison Services, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor and other senior government officials.
 - Mobilisation of the Democratic Resistance Committee (DRC) to render the country ungovernable should there be resistance on the expected normal transition.
 - 1050 Swearing in of Morgan Tsvangirai as President was scheduled for Monday 31st March 2008.
 - Retired Colonel Dyke was to become the Army Commander and other ex-BSAP members had been lined up for high posts in the ZRP.
 - Over 1500 Zimbabweans in the British Army, Navy, Airforce and Security were already lined up for various posts in the security sector.
 - 1055 Retired Justice Gubbay, Justice Fergus Blackie and Justice Paradza, a criminal fugitive now based in New Zealand were also lined up to come back and take over judiciary functions obviously in retribution to those in the former system or arrangement.
 - An envisaged de-ZANUfication exercise that entailed systematic cleansing of the civil service through purging of all senior officials and replacing them with former Rhodesians was to be immediately effected.
 - 1060 The exhumation of several heroes from the Heroes Acre and interring new heroes like Chiminya and Tandare (MDC activists who died while engaged in acts of violence and terrorism).
 - 1065 Repossessing and auctioning of all vehicles, tractors and equipment given to the doctors and resettled farmers through the on going Mechanisation Programme.
 - Restoring land to all former white farmers and throwing out all newly settled black farmers.
 - 1070 Even though the MDC's intended plan of transition has been uncovered, the opposition and her Western sponsors will not rest in their bid to unlawfully take over power from Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his government.
- 8.0 MDC – USA/UK SPONSORSHIP PLATFORM: MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING**
- 1075 Tsvangirai is power hungry to such an extent that he has lost knowledge of the direction the wind is blowing in regard to the country's sovereignty. He seeks to reverse all the gains of our hard won independence. Morgan Tsvangirai has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with his so-called 'international friends' particularly Britain and America. (See Annexure 'D').
 - 1080 The following are some of the highlights as contained in the document:-
The MDC (T) will be assisted with funds to carryout its economic sabotage on the country in return for:
 - o Repealing of the war Veterans Act, Labour Relations law, Land Acquisition.
 - o Transfer ZESA, PTC, NRZ in equal proportions to UK/USA.
 - 1085 o Give back farms to whites
 - o Cheat rural folks by purporting to give them title deeds
 - o Introduce school fees – education for a minority few whites
 - o Scrap grants at colleges and universities.
 - o Introduce educational, income/ property qualification as the right to vote in national and local elections.
 - 1090 o Restructure police [Support Unit]
 - o Give an equilibrium in the defence command to black/white
 - o Abolish the oppressive minimum wages legislation
 - o Increase the banking licences capital requirement so as to deprive the indigenous institutions.
 - 1095 o Abolish social dimensions fund and not to compensate fired workers
 - o In order to discredit ZANU (PF) the MDC [T] will:-
 - a. Hoard fuel from garages to make Zimbabwe empty, compensation will be given to these garages.
 - 1100 b. Approach wholesalers and retailers to withhold basic commodities.
 - c. Work against the Unity Accord of 1987.

9.0 CONCLUSION

- It is without doubt that the ZRP does not brook acts of terrorism aimed at

- deposing a democratically elected government we therefore join hands with
 1105 the rest of the security organisations in the country in maintaining law and order.
- The ZRP will not allow this country to be a haven of terrorism and all culprits fanning violence will be brought to book.
- Similarly, all security agents are strongly encouraged to remain on high alert
 1110 and vigilant in the wake of acts of violence seeking to subvert the gains of our independence.
- Significantly, these acts are not about democracy but just acts of terrorism. Zimbabwe like any other progressive nation that cherishes peace and tranquillity has provided a clear constitutional process of assuming power.
- 1115 Constitutional bodies like the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) should be given the space to execute their constitutional mandate.
- Members of the public should be continuously encouraged to respect law and order for violence is blind and indiscriminate.
- 1.0 INTRODUCTION**
- 1120 Some reports were received to the effect that on the 16th of April 2008, a large group of MDC (T) members led by one Chipso **NYAKAKWETU** of Village 2, Mayo Resettlement Area, Manicaland, went on a rampage in the area. They burnt down four homesteads destroying fifteen thatched huts, tobacco barns and fowl runs belonging to ZANU (PF) members.
- 1125 Following the reports of an MDC (T) campaign of violence and destruction in that area, the Commissioner General of Police accompanied by a team of senior police officers visited Villages 1 and 2 of Mayo Resettlement Area. The Commissioner General of Police had very disturbing observations on the ground.
- 1130 **2.0 DESTRUCTION ORGY**
- Three scenes of this ugly trail of destruction under Village 1 and 2 Mayo Resettlement Area were visited and the following was observed:-
- (i) Gwadzima Homestead
- 1135 The rowdy MDC (T) group attacked the unsuspecting Gwadzima family of fifteen members and severely assaulted Mr. Cloud **GWADZIMA** aged 51 years. They went on to set on fire a kitchen hut destroying all the property that was inside including their entire maize harvest of about four tonnes. They also burnt down tobacco barns destroying several bales of unprocessed tobacco. A fowl run with over a dozen chickens was also set on fire. **(See pictures marked 'A')**.
- 1140 (ii) Chikware Homestead
- The MDC (T) gang was chanting their party slogans ordering all ZANU (PF) members to leave the resettlement area and go back to the communal lands. They went to Mr. **CHIKWARE**'s homestead, a ZANU (PF) election agent in the recent elections, still chanting their party slogans and singing songs of praise to Morgan
- 1145 **TSVANGIRAI**. They severely assaulted Mr. Micho **CHIKWARE**, N.R. 49-095212-K-42 aged 37 years and set on fire eight structures that included three houses, tobacco barns and a fowl run. **(See pictures marked 'B')**. This family also lost:
- Over 3 000 kgs of tobacco
 - 1150 · 18 bags of unshelled groundnuts
 - 10 bags of sorghum
 - 3 buckets of soya beans
 - A bed and mattress
 - 4 blankets
 - 1155 · Clothing including school uniforms
 - One knapsack
- The family also lost all other foodstuffs that were in the kitchen hut. Five chickens and four ducks that were in the fowl run were also destroyed including a dog that was thrown into the burning hut.
- 1160 Micho **CHIKWARE**, who positively identified some of the suspects including Chipso **NYAKAKWETU**, who is a neighbour, pleaded with them but the MDC (T) people were so violent and ruthless and left the helpless **CHIKWARE** family with barely nothing to live on. Twenty one members of the **CHIKWARE** family have now been made destitutes.
- 1165 (iii) Mutasa Homestead
- The rowdy MDC (T) group then proceeded to village one where they accosted a

sixty-five year old war veteran Kudakwashe **MUTASA** NR 63–460346-L-27 at his homestead and severely assaulted him with chains. The victim sustained serious injuries on the head and hip. The gang using an axe chopped down to threads the kitchen door and smashed 40 window panes of the main house. They went on to burn a kitchen hut destroying about 12 bales of unprocessed tobacco and also a barn destroying about 8 bales of tobacco that was still under processing. The granary, containing recently harvested and unprocessed maize was also torched. Fifteen members of this family have been left destitute. (See pictures marked “C”)

3.0 POLITICAL POLARISATION THROUGH TERROR

3.1 De-ZANUfication

The general observation in this area vividly reflects a serious political polarization through MDC acts of terror. ZANU (PF) party members are living in extreme fear of attacks by MDC (T) thugs who are openly preaching the Morgan **TSVANGIRAI** pledge to purge all black settlers for former white commercial farmers. It is clear that the de-ZANUfication programme pronounced by Morgan **TSVANGIRAI** in his Transition Strategy document is being systematically implemented.

Only Morgan **TSVANGIRAI** posters were seen hanging on the trees and not even a single person was seen wearing a ZANU (PF) T-shirt. ZANU (PF) members are even harassed in shops and at grinding mills by MDC (T) supporters. At Rusununguko Business Centre, a grinding mill owned by one Tapfumanei **MASAMVU**, ZANU (PF) supporters are charged fifty million dollars per bucket whilst MDC (T) supporters are charged five million per bucket. Ironically this Tapfumanei **MASAMVU** is said to be the ZANU (PF) Information Secretary in that Ward. Is it a case of running with the hares and chasing with the hands? The Police Reaction Team on the ground is working flat out to put a stop to this and bring all culprits to book

3.2 Effects of ZANU (PF) Intraparty Divisions

Senior ZANU (PF) party leadership that is, District level upwards including the two Makoni North House of Assembly Constituency protagonists namely, Vongai **NEMAIRE** and Rosy Chipso Shiel **MAHERE**, is very conspicuous by their absence in this area. The two Makoni North House of Assembly aspirants were both registered under ZANU (PF) in the recent elections. They last went to that area just before the elections which they both lost to Elton **MANGOMA** of MDC (T) party. The ZANU (PF) supporters complained of total neglect from the ZANU (PF) leadership.

During the recent Harmonized Elections, the two ZANU (PF) Makoni North House of Assembly candidates contested and managed to split the party’s votes giving the MDC (T) candidate Elton **MANGOMA** an undeserved advantage. Elton **MANGOMA** garnered 5 055 votes against Vongai **NEMAIRE**’s 3 657 and Rosy Chipso Shiel **MAHERE** 3 482 votes. The combined votes for the two ZANU (PF) candidates would have stood at 7139 resulting in a ZANU (PF) victory. One wonders why such political indiscipline among leaders should be allowed to go unchecked and expose the party to such ridicule. The local Councilor Ward 35 Mr. James **MUNETSI** of ZANU PF is fighting a lone battle against a growing MDC (T) threat led by Elton **MANGOMA**.

It is important to note that out of the 8 wards in the Makoni North Constituency four Wards (1,2,9 and 35) went to ZANU (PF) whilst the other four (3,4,5 and 36) went to MDC (T). With the general political malaise observed on the ground, we could be heading for more difficult times should no resolute action be taken to immediately revive the grassroots structures.

4.0 NGO ACTIVITIES

It was observed with serious concern that, NGOs, obviously carrying MDC agenda, have become hyper-active in that area. They are re-enacting the ninetieth century occupation of this country by the whites, infiltrating the area on the pretext of bringing aid to the people. At the GWADZIMA homestead, one of the victims of the MDC campaign of destruction, a group of NGO representatives from Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) based at Newlands in Harare, was seen talking to the people and promising assistance. Ironically they had brought nothing and were content with mere collation of data, having already visited other victims in the company of James **MUNETSI**, the local councilor. (See pictures marked ‘D’). The NGO representatives included:-

- 1230 (a) Precious **SHUMBA** NR 42-148002-V-42 of Number 16 York Road, Newlands and employed by Action Aid International Zimbabwe.
 (b) Ilalio **SAMUNDOMBE** NR 08-686175-V-08 employed by Adventist Development and Relief Agency.
 (c) Peter **MUTIMATI** NR 42-126286-Q-04 of Number 166 Tsanzanguru Township, Rusape and employed by Action Aid Rusape.
- 1235 (d) Netty **MUSANHU** (nee RUSERE) NR 22-156557-N70 of Number 3150 Mapereke Road, New Marlborough, Harare and employed by Adventist Development and Relief Agency. She was driving a Ford Ranger Twin Cab Registration Number AAA-0333 navy blue in colour.
- 1240 (e) Zivai **NENGOMASHA** NR 63-921119-B-66 of Number 2 Mulberry Close, Newlands, Harare and employed by Adventist Development and Relief Agency.
- It is quite disturbing that NGOs are quick to be on the ground winning affection of government supporters before even the government itself is aware of the level of predicament of its own people. In any case, one wonders why and how the NGOs get access to the party grassroots without the party structures and government systems knowing.
- 1245
- 5.0 RESTORATION OF ORDER**
- The MDC (T) orgy of violence, despicable as it is, will not be allowed in this country. The Police have deployed heavily its officers, including Support Unit and other uniformed officers to track down all the culprits, wherever they are. Elton **MANGOMA** is also being sought so that he can answer to the violent activities of his supporters, who with all certainty, are acting on his instructions and directives. The following MDC (T) activists are suspected to be behind this reign of terror in Villages 1 and 2 of Mayo and Police are keen to interview them:-
- 1255
1. Chipso **NYAKAKWETU**
 2. Fletcher **MANGOMA**
 3. Edward **MANGOMA**
 4. Njuma **NONA**
- 1260
5. Peter **MHONORO**
 6. Abraham **CHIFAMBA**
 7. Kenneth **MAKONI**
 8. Brighton **MUPONDIWA**
 9. Maidei **CHAPANDIRA**
- 1265 It is clear that the contents of the Morgan **TSVANGIRAI** document stipulating the restoration of white supremacy and total reversal of all gains of independence is being strategically implemented. The police, however, will act with dexterity to nip this in the bud. The police will leave no stone unturned till all culprits are accounted for.
- 1270 ***MR. HURUVA:** Thank you Madam Speaker. It really pains me when I hear people debating in this way. I thought it was a time where we should not talk about parties but about our livelihood. It really pains me when I hear the immaturity of members in this august House. In my constituency, I do not boast that there was no one who was ill treated or beaten because no one was worth to be treated in that way. I think that we should talk about having a committee but the committee should not be there to revoke us because in every area where there was violence, others provoked and others retaliated. When people fight, even in a home where the husband fights the wife, you will find that the wife also retaliates in a way. In this august House we should talk about this situation and come out with a workable solution as mature people. If we continue talking about beating and wronging each other, I do not see any peace in this House. What I am asking now is that for those who think we should have a committee – we are not doing anything. I thought we would be able to work together and consider this as being caused by hunger or immaturity in politics.
- 1275
- 1280 My biggest plea to you Madam Speaker is that we should not continue hurting each other. We should stop that because in every area where violence took place – in St Mary's, if we ask the comrade who was speaking, we had him say he ran away and he was beaten and then those who beat him also retaliated. You cannot go to a witch doctor that rapes your mother. The people in this august House should work together and find a way forward. Let us see to it that we do not repeat the same error. Let us not go back to ask
- 1285
- 1290

for the people who beat you. Let us come up with a way forward. For those who are here, what I know is that here in Zimbabwe, so many crimes were committed. Some were paid for and some were not. The whites who were in the Rhodesian forces – I personally did not want to see them but those are some of them who were actually helping out although they caused the problems. Let us not continue having such a situation at the moment, we have the President and the Vice Presidents – there are some who like them and some who do not. In this inclusive government, we are all obliged to respect each other. I plead that we respect each other in this inclusive government – let us be mature and find a way forward for development to take place.

MR. CHITANDO: Thank you for giving me this opportunity to debate. I think it is one of the greatest motions by this august House. I would like to thank Hon. Gonese for moving this motion. I wonder why other people are saying that the select committee should not be set. Article 18 of the GPA states that the perpetrators of violence should be brought to book. Secondly, the motion is trying to address the healing process in a faster way. The motion itself seeks to have free elections where the winner is legitimate. I would like to give a chronicle of events which happened in my constituency. On the 23rd of April 2008, a Councillor for Ward 24 by the name Ruzive called a meeting of ZANU PF supporters and organized the elimination of MDC agents in that ward. On the next day, we lost Zivai Mapurisa, Farai Gikinya, Juliet Jikita and Amos Murongo. The pictures that you were seeing here were of some of these people who had broken legs – all these people were beaten by ZANU PF. The people who were ring leaders were Dada and Chinhamo. The case was reported to Muchakata Police Station and nothing has been done to convict culprits.

We go on to ward 15, ZANU PF had a base at St George Roman Catholic Church. The base had Murinye and others as its ring leaders. They took 20 goats, 150 chickens, 50 turkeys from the people and slaughtered a cow. There was a base where there was this man called Big Fish. I think he had allowed them to get into that base and that base is divided by a fence of ZRP police at Muchakata. At that base the wife of Councilor K. Mamuto was abducted by the Big Fish and the police were just listening. I phoned the police and they were not able to deal with that Big Fish. I would like to say to Hon. Mazikana who was quoting the Bible and I also want to quote the Bible and read the verse which was read by these people and the verse was read by a lady who was called Colonel Katsande. I do not know if she is related to Lt. Col. Katsande and I still have the verse. It is in Ezekiel chapter 9 verses 6 and 7 which says “kill the old men, young men, young women, mothers and children but do not touch anyone who has the mark on his forehead. Start here at my temple. So they began with the leaders who were standing there at the temple”. Verse 7 says “God said to them defile the temple. Feel its courtyards with corpses. Get to work! So they began to kill the people in the city”. That was the verse that was being read at the base. I would like to say to the hon. members if we want to heal this country, it is important for us to have a Select Committee so that it will be able to cleanse Hon. Bhasikiti because he is not part and parcel of that. It is also important for the people to say that the Select Committee would be able to go into Gokwe and say, Hon. Mangami you are free. It is important and I think we should have that Committee but I think those who have dirty hands like some honourable members here, we should say let us have that Committee.

I thank you Madam Speaker.

MR. BHASIKITI: Thank you Madam Speaker. I would like to congratulate the mover of this motion for bringing to the attention of the House that we had a peaceful 29th March election. That was the first punctuating statement and then the hon. member goes further to narrate the aftermath of the 29th March election which was now the run-off. Madam Speaker, it is very clear that when people went for elections to seek support from the majority of people in the 2008 elections which culminated in the 29 March elections, all parties had free and fair moves to the electorate to market themselves and present themselves to the election day without any notable violence to mention as also acknowledged by the mover of this

motion.

What is then critical in my view Madam Speaker is to analyse the causes of violence after the March elections. What led to this spate of violence when people had conducted themselves very well in the 29th March election which was quite cumbersome and which had councilors, Members of Parliament, Senators and the President? All these people were seeking to be elected in one election and this was done in a peaceful manner.

Then, we are now talking of the aftermath to the run-off which was now characterized by violence. Before we go on to label and pointing fingers, we should establish the cause. It is very clear Madam Speaker that after the 29th March elections when there were delays in the announcement and verification of the results, those who were - short of good term, but those commercial farmers who had surrendered their land had come back to their farms and were claiming ownership and said now, we are taking over because so and so is winning the elections.

Madam Speaker, our nation as we know the history of it, came after a protracted struggle, liberation struggle to reverse forever the inhumanities which were carried out by the colonial masters and their faces now surfaced after the March elections. It became clear to everybody that now we are heading towards re-colonization and reinstatement of our yesterday enemies. It just sensitized the revolutionary Zimbabwean people into the right gear of defending their country. That is what I thought the mover of the motion would highlight. The people were sensitized into a war when they realized the White colonial farmers had now come and reclaim and regaining ownership of what they had rightly surrendered. Then it was a different scenario.

People died in numbers in Mozambique not what you are reading now. For sure, life is precious and we do not celebrate when a single person dies but people died in thousands, in millions when we were fighting for this country but if anything which threatens the gains of the struggle appears, our people are revolutionary, they are sensitised to defend their country and heritage, hence the cause.

Madam Speaker, I agree with some hon members who have alluded to the fact that we need political maturity in our Zimbabwean political field. We do not need 10 years to acknowledge that sanctions are evil. We do not need other people to come and assist us to say you are Zimbabwean and look at your Zimbabwean problems and solve them in a brotherly and friendly manner. This attitude of seeking other voices outside our borders to come and intervene – to come and show their strength to redirect the affairs of Zimbabwe is wrong. As long as we keep on that path, we will keep perpetuating the essence of violence. Let us be the masters of our own destiny. I agree that we do not want violence and violence occurred but the basis of it, I have already explained.

Now I was explaining that members of this hon House should not be bogged down into petty and finer details of who died there and the presentation of those lists as if it becomes news. It is not news, it is pathetic. We do not want it and even the causes of it should be stopped. Why do we not speak if we want power and if we want to compete on the political field? Why can we not shut down the outside world and be people sent by our electorate and not people who work for foreign bosses or minds. If we achieve that, then we will stop political violence. That is why I have already alluded to the fact that before the 29th of March, in this generation, everyone was free to campaign, to move around and demonstrate his prowess and abilities and propaganda to the electorate. There was no violence but when we temper with our national heritage, our people will react spontaneously. It is not a cause for pointing fingers to anybody.

Madam Speaker, I do not want to waste your time and other member's time, especially by those who want to be imaginative. First go back to what happened yesteryear, in the 1980s and 1890s – it is not necessary. We do not score a point by proving that someone is more evil than the other. Rather, we should concentrate on issues that will take us forward as a nation – issues that will even stop those who are wayward in their thinking to see the same vision which we have as a nation. What point does it make to come here and point

- 1420 out that there was an Hon member who murdered his own dear wife brutally?
Does it benefit anybody? We know this happened in our own country. It does not score a point to say that was from the MDC. We do not want evil things to be advocated for or campaigned for in this House. We are not here for that, we are here to build our nation to set parameters for a good Zimbabwe and for good governance. If you put forward a select committee as proposed in this motion, before you go any further – not taking reference to this controversial committee, just take cue into the COPAC...
- 1425 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order Hon Matonga, can you please go back to your place.
- 1430 **MR BHASIKITI:** Madam Speaker, I was about to explain how irrelevant a parliamentary select committee of this motion is, by reference to the issue of COPAC. You see, we are always going in circles. We say who should be there? We need three rapporteurs, etc and we do not trust each other when we go out on this controversial issue. They set up a reconciliation ministry in their endeavour to move out and make progress slowly but surely. Now we want to go and overtake them and think that we will create something better. If it is the business of the House to create such trials – I think it is better for the one side which thinks it will work to try it alone because we cannot go into something we know the results before we enter into it.
- 1435 Madam Speaker, the motion is okay. We have to talk about the ill things that happened in our country. We do not want to advocate for them. I thought the hon member would take a challenge to other hon members in this House to say, can members be responsible for peace making, reconciliation and non violence in their own constituencies as was the case in Mwenezi East before the 25th of March and after June. There were no cases of violence. Why? It was because I stood strongly to say we do not achieve anything by attacking each other.
- 1440 However, where people were overtaken by emotions for the obvious reasons I have stated, we had to bear with them. We respond differently to situations. If someone dies, you find some will faint and cry, but others will bear their grief within their hearts. We had to bear with all the wrong things that happened and I am happy that all the principals acknowledged that these things should not happen again in our country.
- 1445 Perhaps what I would urge and further advocate for is that as our principals – the three of them, what we also want to see as subordinates is that we want to see home grown solutions, home grown politicians who are bred from Murewa and still remain the dung of Murewa people not people to advocate for policies that are Australian bound or Brazilian bound. We can waste our time debating and insulting each other, it is not right. When I stood up Madam Speaker, you were very right to say please listen to the debate. Let us debate and talk about it. I know one day we will be heard because we have talked about it and our people will give us a pat on the back. Going further with that, is war mongering. On those few words the mover of this motion has a task to go and re-word the motion. He has put a good motion but we do not want this House to be propagating this and to be a source of this.
- 1460 **MR GONESE:** I move that the debate do now adjourn. I am assuring hon members that I am not going to close this motion before I give hon members enough time to debate. I was talking to Hon. Bhasikiti earlier today and we agreed that we would not adjourn the debate. This is the usual practice that we agree as to when to adjourn as long as each of the hon members is given enough time to debate.
- 1470 **MS D. SIBANDA:** I second.
- 1475 ***MRS ZINYEMBA:** Thank you Madam Speaker. What we are debating is a very important issue. Had it been that we are not being mature, why are we going back to the past? When the Prime Minister acknowledged that there were sanctions there was chaos in this House.
- 1480 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** We have hon members who say we want to continue with the debate now. Can we know of the reasons why they want us to continue?
- MRS ZINYEMBA:** It is because I need to debate today, may be

tomorrow I will not be there.

-[HON MEMBERS: Divide the House!]-

1485 **MR MUTOMBA:** This issue we are discussing has touched me most like it has done to other people. The time is there and I do not see any reason why we should stop debating.

MR MANDEBVU: We cannot go to sleep whilst there are people who have killed people.

1490 **MR ZHUWAO:** Thank you. I rise to object to the motion that we adjourn the debate. If you look at the *Order Paper* there are 37 items and when we came here from our Constituencies we came to debate and I do not think it is fair to the people who have elected us, for us to do justice to 37 items on the *Order Paper*. I suggest that we should continue with this debate until each one of us has debated. It costs money to keep Members of
1495 Parliament overnight in Harare. Maybe some of our colleagues on the other side want to stay in Harare. Some of us are tobacco farmers and we want to dispose of this business so that we can go and attend to our business back home.

1500 **MR GONESE:** I felt that my motion was made in good faith and if hon members feel that they want to debate, I would say so be it. I have no problem with that. I am not going to close the motion because everyone is going to be given an opportunity to debate.

MR MATUTU: Whenever there is a dispute as to whether there are those for or against, that is the way that dispute is resolved.

1505 **MR GONESE:** I have not formally withdrawn my motion but I was only explaining the reasons motivating that we adjourn the House. I have not withdrawn that motion. I believe everyone will be given a chance to debate.

MR MATUTU: Let us divide the House.

1510 **THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I now call for the division of the House.
Bells rung.

House divided.

There being no Noes, the question was accordingly affirmed.

Debate to resume: Thursday, 18th March 2010.

5 **Appendix B9: Presidential Speech: Official Opening of Parliament (13th July 2010)**

PARLIAMENT OF ZIMBABWE

THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THIRD SESSION – SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

10 *Tuesday, 13th July, 2010*

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT

The House met, pursuant to Proclamation, in the House of Assembly.

(MR. SPEAKER in the Chair)

15 **THE CLERK OF PARLIAMENT** read the Proclamation of the President of Zimbabwe dated 13th July, 2010, summoning Parliament to meet this day for the dispatch of business.

20 **MR SPEAKER:** I have to inform the House that at Twelve O'clock noon today, the President of Zimbabwe will declare the causes of his summoning Parliament to meet.

MR. SPEAKER left the Chair at Ten Minutes to Twelve o'clock noon.

THE HONOURABLE SENATE in attendance in the Chamber.

THE PRESIDENT OF ZIMBABWE, being seated in the Chair, was pleased to address the Senate and the House of Assembly as follows:

25 *Madame President of the Senate,*

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Honourable Members of Parliament,

30 *I welcome you all to this Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of Zimbabwe. Consonant with our people's wishes and with help from our SADC friends, we formed the Inclusive Government in February last year. More than a year on, our unity and determination as a nation have seen us*

come this far, even if still severely challenged by the persistent actions of our detractors.

Madame President,

35 *Mr Speaker Sir,*

Article VI of the Global Political Agreement underscores the right and duty of Zimbabweans as a sovereign people to make a Constitution for themselves through a people-driven process. We are now at the critical stage where outreach teams are traversing our country, collecting the people's views for inclusion in the new Constitution. It is, indeed, important that the Outreach Programme ensures that we emerge with a Constitution which is genuinely Zimbabwean in letter and spirit.

40 *Pursuant to the terms of the Global Political Agreement, I am pleased to note that significant progress has now been made in establishing the four Independent Commissions provided for in our Constitution. In fact, the Commissions are now fully functional. As part of this undertaking, the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission Bill, the Electoral Amendment Bill and the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission Amendment Bill, will be brought for the House's consideration during this Session. The Referendums Amendment Act shall also be amended to render it consistent with the other constitutional and electoral changes.*

50 *Madame President,*

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

55 *Through the implementation of the Short-Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP), Government has succeeded in bringing about a modicum of stability to the economy after a decade of decline caused by the illegal and hateful sanctions imposed by Britain and its allies. Notable strides in improving economic performance include the revival of capacity utilization in our industries; containment of incessant price increases for goods and services; improvement in service delivery in health and education; rehabilitation of basic infrastructure such as roads, water and sanitation facilities, as well as the normalization of relations with key international financial institutions.*

60 *With regard to capacity utilization, industries whose work rate had declined to below 10 per cent rose to around 45 per cent, taking advantage of the new investment opportunities and the prevailing stable macro-economic environment. As a result, the economy grew by 5,7 per cent last year, benefiting from a 14,9 per cent growth in agriculture, 8,5 per cent growth in mining, 10,2 per cent in manufacturing, and 6,5 per cent in tourism.*

70 *Government will continue to prioritize the need to galvanize the economic growth momentum to achieve a 5,4 per cent growth by the end of this year, and go beyond that in 2011, under a stable macro-economic environment with single digit inflation. This exacting goal will inevitably require improved efforts in mobilizing capital for industry, support to agriculture and other productive sectors, and enhanced efficiency of strategic public utilities, particularly, in the power and water sectors.*

75 *Government continues to re-engage the international financial institutions over the country's debt, with a view to reaching some agreement so as to unlock new financing. The current nascent recovery of the economy and the existing limited fiscal space demand that action be taken to reinvigorate the economic recovery process. The Minister of Finance, in the 2010 Mid Year Fiscal Policy review scheduled for presentation in this august House this week, will no doubt outline specific interventions in this regard. This whole thrust will be further amplified and accelerated through the Medium Term Plan, also to be launched during the life of this Session of Parliament.*

85 *Madame President,*

Mr. Speaker Sir,

Emphasis has shifted from reliance on aid as a critical factor for economic

90 *development to investment, both domestic and foreign. The heightened*
mobility and intense competition for capital resources underlines the need to
work assiduously to enhance the country's appeal as an investment
destination. As part of this effort, Government is currently processing
Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements with several
95 *countries. Agreements with Iran, India, Kuwait, Botswana, Singapore and*
the OPEC Fund will be brought to Parliament for ratification during this
Session. The Zimbabwe Income Tax Act shall be amended during this
Session, in order to align it with regional and international best practices as
well as to ensure compatibility with the fundamental tax principles of
100 *simplicity, equity and consistency. The Deposit Protection Bill, which seeks*
to transform the Deposit Protection Scheme presently enacted as a Statutory
Instrument under the Banking Act, into an independent statutory entity, shall
also be tabled before this Parliament.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker Sir,

105 *To ensure that agriculture plays its role of guaranteeing food security and*
anchoring our agro-based economy, priority will be accorded to increasing
the sector's productivity through timeous and adequate provision of inputs,
equipment and skills training programmes. With planning, for the 2010/2011
summer season already underway, it should be possible to overcome the state
110 *of ill-preparedness that seemed to always hound us in the recent past.*
Given that the phenomenon of global warming is now a potent reality, as
evidenced by more frequent droughts and shifts in weather patterns in our
part of the globe, it is imperative that we expand our irrigation capacity as a
caution against the increased climatic risk. In this regard, Government is
115 *working on an irrigation master plan, in terms of which two million hectares*
are projected to be put under irrigation over the coming 10 to 20 years.
Already, 300 hectares of communal irrigation schemes have been ear marked
for development in 2010, with financing from the Public Sector Investment
Programme (PSIP) and the European Union. In addition, 78 non-functional
120 *communal irrigation schemes will be resuscitated. Furthermore,*
Government in partnership with the private sector and cooperating partners,
is developing a National Smallholder Farmer Support Programme, aimed at
boosting household food security through the provision of inputs to
communal, old resettlement and small-scale farmers. Promotion of
125 *conservation agriculture is also going to be intensified, to enable farmers to*
make savings on draught power requirements and minimize land
degradation.

The development of the livestock sector is of critical importance as a source
of beef and dairy products for both domestic and export markets. Key in
130 *realizing this objective is enhanced animal disease control, which guarantees*
good animal health. Efforts to avail more resources for national vaccination
and control of contagious diseases will be intensified. More importantly,
Government will continue to strengthen the marketing framework for
agricultural products, in order to effectively reward farmers for their efforts.

135 *Madame President,*

Mr Speaker, Sir,

The mining sector continues to rise in importance as a growth node in the
country's economic revival. This year, the sector is expected to record double
digit growth of more than 20 per cent, as a result of firming mineral prices,
140 *increased investment and stable macro-economic environment. The Mines*
and Minerals Amendment Bill, which was first presented to Parliament in
2007, shall be tabled once again, for consideration in this august House
during this Session. The Bill will seek to discourage speculation, facilitate
investment in the mining sector by both local and foreign investors, as well
145 *as ensure that the country derives maximum benefits from its vast array of*

minerals. The Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation Bill which provides for the establishment of the Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation, shall also be brought before this House during this Session. Through the Zimbabwe Exploration Corporation, Government will be more actively involved in mineral exploration and thereby be in a position to determine the types and quantum of the country's existing mineral resources.

With Zimbabwe now projected to contribute around 25 per cent of the global diamond output, there are huge prospects for the diamond subsector to emerge as a major driver of the country's economic turnaround. Local beneficiation of diamonds shall be encouraged through mechanisms that will require producers to set aside 10 per cent of their production for local cutting, polishing and jewellery manufacturing. The Kimberly Process Monitor's Report declared the country as having fulfilled the Kimberly Process's minimum requirements, as per the Joint Work Plan agreed to in Swakopmund, Namibia. The same Report indicated that the country should be allowed to proceed with the immediate exportation of its diamonds. However, those ill-disposed to us have not given up on the use of absurd conditionalities and other dilatory tactics in a bid to block the sale of our diamonds. Let there be no doubt whatsoever about our resolve to sell our diamonds for the benefit of our country and her people.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker, Sir,

As part of efforts to revive the manufacturing sector, a new Industrial Development Policy to be implemented from 2011 to 2015, shall be launched before the end of this year. The Policy will address the issues of skills shortages, availability of adequate lines of credit for working capital, recapitalisation, capacity utilisation, cost and availability of utility services, as well as the issues of tariff and non-tariff barriers. The Policy will be anchored on principles of global best practices, such as investment protection, local empowerment, policy consistency, value addition and development of integrated value chains. Government is also reviewing the 1994 Trade Policy, with a view to improving market access for goods and services, promote competitiveness of local exports on the global market as well as expand and diversify trade within existing and new markets. The National Incomes and Pricing Bill, which seeks to effect the removal of price controls in line with pronouncements made in the 2009 Budget Statement, shall similarly be presented for consideration during this Session.

Madame President,

Mr, Speaker, Sir,

Persistent erratic power supply remains a potent threat to the successful turnaround of the economy. However, Government is working on initiatives which would see a gradual easing of the situation. These include measure to boost internal power generation through the ongoing rehabilitation of Hwange Power Station, where five out of six units are expected to become operational by end of this year. The Bulawayo Thermal Power Station will also be soon resuscitated. Investors will be invited to participate in power projects as independent power producers or under other suitable publicprivate partnership arrangements. Use of renewable energy sources such as solar, biofuels and ethanol blending shall also be promoted. These measures will need to be complemented by implementing demand-side management measures and the promotion of efficient use of energy. The installation of prepayment metres, already underway, should help improve ZESA's efficiency in billing and revenue collection. The Energy Regulatory Bill, which seeks to establish an Energy Regulatory Authority that will regulate the energy supply industry, will be brought to Parliament during this Session.

Madame President,

Mr Speaker Sir,

205 *The carnage we continue to witness on our roads underlines the need to expedite the upgrading of our road infrastructure. This is a mammoth task which Government alone cannot undertake. Accordingly, Government is working on arrangements to enlist private sector participation in the dualisation of our major highways. Our drivers should be made to exhibit a greater sense of respect for the sanctity of human life by driving with due care and attention on our narrow roads.*

210 *To ensure effective maintenance of transport infrastructure and easing of congestion at the ports of entry, the Zimbabwe Border Post Authority Bill, which provides for the establishment of an authority to carry out this responsibility, will be tabled during this Session. Furthermore, the Civil Aviation (Amendment) Bill, which seeks to provide for the separation of regulatory functions from airport operation functions by the Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe, will also be brought to this august House.*

Madame President,

Mr Speaker, Sir,

220 *The small and medium enterprises sector has proved to be the most enduring business sphere, while also being the seedbed of entrepreneurship the world over. To ensure that an enabling environment exists for the sustainable development and growth of the local sector, a Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Bill shall be brought for consideration by Parliament during this Session. Government, through the relevant Ministry is in the process of upgrading Savings and Credit Clubs into registered co-operatives. Several*

225 *of the registered co-operatives have already done a commendable job by way of providing housing to their members.*

Government has since gazetted the amended Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Regulations which incorporate the concerns and suggestions

230 *by various stakeholders. The amended Regulations provide for employee and community share ownership schemes, among other in-built features that guarantee broad-based empowerment. The establishment of Sectoral Committees comprising representatives from Government and industry, will ensure that the implementation process remains mutually consultative and*

235 *sensitive to sector-specific considerations.*

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

It is regrettable that, owing to unavailability of capital, very little development took place in the housing sector over the last decade. However,

240 *it is expected that the situation will change for the better, following the establishment of a National Housing Development Loan Facility, under which US\$10 million has already been disbursed towards the provision of housing. In addition, US\$1 million has been released to the Housing and Guarantee Fund for purposes of guaranteeing mortgage advances for lowcost*

245 *housing by building societies and finance institutions. This, of course, is far from being adequate, considering the existing huge housing backlog. I therefore urge building societies, financial institutions and the general corporate sector to quickly move in and complement Government programmes.*

250 *Madame President,*

Mr. Speaker, Sir

The water sector is a critical enabler in any economy. As such, Government will continue to channel available resources towards the rehabilitation and upgrading of urban and rural water supplies and sanitation services. In this

255 *regard, centres such Beitbridge, Gweru, Kadoma and Mhangura, will be accorded immediate attention. Resources will also be marshalled towards the completion of ongoing dam and allied projects construction.*

As a response to the persistent problem of environmental degradation, the Environmental Management Act shall be amended to provide for more

260 *deterrent penalties against offenders. The amendments will also provide for the establishment of an Environmental Standards Enforcement Committee and Environmental Committees in urban local authorities.*

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

265 *In order to accelerate the development of the local tourism sector, Zimbabwe has been designated as a Tourism Development Zone through Statutory Instruments 46 and 60 of 2009. This provides for the offer of a rebate of duty to operators registered with the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority with respect to acquisition of new equipment, modernization of facilities and goods imported*
270 *exclusively for the tourism industry. In a move that will certainly improve its efficiency, the Immigration Department has not computerized its operations at the Harare International Airport, Victoria Falls Airport, Kazungula and Beitbridge ports of entry. The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority, in partnership with Afrosoft, a software developer, has launched a mobile gateway which*
275 *will enable tourists to access critical information on the local tourism industry using mobile phones.*

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Effective development and application of communication technologies (ICTs)
280 *is a sine qua non of economic competitiveness in this era of the knowledge-driven economy. In pursuance of this goal, Government, through the Ministry of Information Communication Technology, has come up with a national ICT Strategic Plan. Consultations on the legislative framework to underpin development of this sector are underway. The overarching goal is*
285 *to turn Zimbabwe into a knowledge-driven society and an ICT hub in the region.*

As we move towards increased regional integration, it is expedient that we work on harmonizing the examination and quality assurance systems in the country with those in SADC and beyond. In so doing, we guarantee the
290 *relevance and competitiveness of Zimbabwean qualifications and labour force in the global arena. Accordingly, the Zimbabwe Examinations and Qualifications Authority Bill and the School Examinations Council Amendment Bill will be brought to the House for consideration during this*
295 *Session. The Indigenous Languages Bill, providing for the preservation and promotion of indigenous languages, will also be tabled fore this august*
300 *House. To alleviate the plight of less privileged students, Government, with assistance from UNICEF, has expanded the scope of the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) facility to cover both tuition and examination fees to cater for needy secondary school pupils. Needy students in tertiary institutions of learning will continue to receive assistance under the*
Government Cadetship Programme.

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Mindful that health is a fundamental human right, Government has over the
305 *years sought to achieve universal access to high quality health for all. However, the attainment of this grand objective has been retarded by the challenges largely emanating from the economic difficulties experienced by the country in recent years. In an effort to trigger increased flows of resources into the health sector and in consultation with the donor*
310 *community, Government has come up with a National Health Sector Strategy (2009 -2013) and the Health Sector Investment Case document, the later outlining priority areas of investment in the sector.*
Ongoing works to refurbish and equip central and provincial hospitals will continue. The Medical Aid Societies Bill, which will provide for the
315 *registration and regulation of medical aid societies will be tabled in this House . I wish to express profound personal appreciation to all who have*

assisted us through the donor-supported staff retention scheme for the health sector. The support has greatly stabilized the staff situation in the sector.

Madame President.

320 *Mr. Speaker, Sir,*

The Attorney-General's Office Bill shall be introduced in Parliament during this Session. The Bill will take Law Officers out of the Public Service and provide for functions and powers of the Attorney-General's Office Board.

325 *The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Amendment Bill, which aims to incorporate into the Code the suggestions by members of the public, shall be brought for consideration. Furthermore, a Media Practitioner's Bill which*

will repeal the part of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act which deals with the registration of journalists and privacy issues, will also be tabled during this Session. In line with the SADC decision to ensure

330 *our region migrates from analogue to digital platforms by 2013, Government will mobilize resources to ensure Zimbabwe becomes digitally complaint before then. Equally, platforms for rural information should get a boost from the redeployment of equipment sourced for the just ended 2010 World Cup.*

335 *Our civil servants, and indeed the bulk of the general workforce, continue to bear the brunt of the economic hardships, as they have to make do with limited incomes in the face of high service charges. I wish, once again, to thank them for continuing to exhibit great fortitude and resilience under these very difficult circumstances. I also wish to assure civil servants that*

340 *Government, as their employer, has not reneged on its commitment to ensure future improvement of their conditions of service. Efforts in that direction are continuing in earnest, with the desire to ameliorate their situation as soon as it is practically possible. Addressing the issues of excessive public*

345 *utility bills, and salary levels, to ensure that they too are aligned to the capacity of the economy, will also be necessary. On a general note, I wish to appeal to our corporate sector to work towards serving jobs by embarking on alternative cost-cutting measures instead of resorting to labour lay-offs at the first instance.*

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

350 *Following ratification of the SADC Protocol on Gender Development in October 2009, focus is now on implementing the provisions of the protocol, notably the call for equal gender representation in politics and other levels of decision-making. Government, through the Ministry of Women Affairs,*

355 *Gender and Community Development, is in the process of coming up with a Women's Council Bill. The Bill to be presented to this Parliament will facilitate the establishment of a Women's Council to coordinate implementation of women's empowerment programmes in the country.*

360 *Government has also set up a Women's Development Fund, which will provide loans to women without need for collateral security. The fund was allocated US\$1 million under the current Budget, which is to be managed through the Post Office Savings Bank.*

Madame President,

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

365 *The nation continues to enjoy peace and tranquility, which is a critical ingredient for sustainable socio-economic development. We therefore wish to pay tribute to our defence and security forces for continuing to fulfill their constitutional obligation of safeguarding the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty. To effectively discharge their mandate, the police naturally*

370 *depend on the support and cooperation of other stakeholders, including the general public. It is in this regard that I wish to applaud the recently established partnership between Business and the Police to fight white collar crime. The Trafficking in Persons Bill, which will criminalise human*

trafficking in accordance with the Palermo Protocol to the Anti-Organised

375 *Crime Convention, will be introduced in this august House during this Session.*

On the diplomatic front, we shall seek to deepen our cooperation with all the members of the international community. The International Agreements Bill, which aims to rationalise the system of ratifying, publishing and domesticating international agreements, shall be tabled in this Parliament.

380 *It is also our fervent hope that the resumed dialogue with the European Union will yield a positive result. On the whole, the turnaround of our economy, empowerment of our people as well as the promotion of social justice and peaceful co-existence will continue to define our engagement with the world community of nations.*

385 *Madame President,*

Mr. Speaker, Sir,

Lasting unity can only thrive in an atmosphere of open and brotherly dialogue, trust, and mutual tolerance. The Organ for National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration is spearheading this process. In pursuance of its mandate, the Organ will engage political parties, civil society, traditional

390 *leaders, churches and other related experts, in an effort to promote national healing, reconciliation and cohesion.*

The unity and sense of optimism prevailing in the country under the banner of the Inclusive Government is for all of us as Zimbabweans to cherish and jealously guard. We should continue to be prompted by the sense of confidence in ourselves and a resilient faith in our national heritage. We have to remain rooted in the reality that we are the sole guarantors of our independence and economic emancipation. This should therefore bid us to exert our collective will, intellect, and energies to the utmost in pursuit of our

395 *shared vision of a strong, democratic and prosperous truly independent Zimbabwe. May we each play our part in fostering national healing, cohesion, unity and integration, in order to guarantee sustainable economic and social transformation of our nation.*

400 *Madame President,*

405 *Mr. Speaker, Sir,*

Allow me to now commend these matters for your consideration and declare this, the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Republic of Zimbabwe, duly open.

I thank you!