

**MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**



**The Myth of the Democratic Project in Zimbabwe:
Power and Politics in the Movement for Democratic
Change [1999-2014]**

**By
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**Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in History.
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MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY

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DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to my family who gave me the moral, spiritual; and financial support throughout the four year course. I love you all.

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ABSTRACT

The history of the MDC has been authored by various scholars. Most available literature focused on the emergence of the MDC's activism in general and was silent on the democratic nature of the party in particular. The role played by public and critical public intellectuals in authoring history about the MDC has been associated with subjectivity vis-à-vis objectivity. Praise texts have been published from a pro-MDC perspective but the nature of democracy in the party has been undermined. The role played by the party in their quest to democratize the Zimbabwean political space was narrated in general and no justice was given on the democratic nature of the MDC. The state has been demonized and seen as contrary to the democratization process in Zimbabwe while the MDC has been viewed as a true icon of democracy. Therefore the study seeks to unearth the falsehoods which have been authenticated in the history of the MDC. It is an attempt by the researcher to relay on the democratic nature of the MDC. The researcher highlights on the diverse reasons behind the party's first and second split. The research also attempts to unearth the democratic loopholes in the MDC since formation, up until the end of the Government of National Unity. In a bid to make the study objective the study consulted various methodologies inclusive of qualitative and quantitative analysis. Primary and secondary sources were consulted as well. All in all, the study's main focus is to highlight on the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe, closely giving a critical analysis of power and politics in the MDC.

Glossary of Terms.

Myth- A widely held but false belief exaggerated or an idealized belief of a person or thing.

State- The civil government of a country.

Democracy- A form of government in which people have a voice in the exercise of power, typically through elected representatives.

Political Gladiator- Controversial politician.

Self- Aggrandizement [Noun] The action of promoting oneself as being powerful and important.

Chinja Maitiro [Guqula Izenzo]- The slogan of the MDC characterized with an open palm with the colors of the Zimbabwean flag.

Demonize-[Verb] Portrayed as wicked or threatening.

Intellectuals - [Noun] A person of a highly developed intellect.

Pseudo Democracy –Resembling, imitating democracy or false and in genuine democracy.

Dictatorship - [Noun] A ruler with total power over a country or an autocratic person.

Factionalism - An organized group splitting into factions.

Polity - An organized society as a political entity.

Draconian - [Adjective] Excessive harsh and severe laws.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace.
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union.
CIO	Central Intelligence Organization.
COG	Common Wealth Observer Group.
COPAC	Constitution Parliamentary Select Committee.
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme.
ESC	Electoral Supervisory Commission.
EU	European Union.
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme.
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity.
GPA	Global Political Agreement.
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change.
MDC-N	Movement for Democratic Change [Leader Welshman Ncube]
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change. [Leader Morgan Tsvangirai]
MDC-M	Movement for Democratic Change. [Former leader Author Mutambara 2006-2010]
MP	Member of Parliament.
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly.
NSC	National Security Council
NWPC	National Working People's Convention.
SADC	Southern African Development Community.
VP	Vice President.
WB	World Bank
Zanu-pf	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front. [Founded in 1963]

ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches.
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission.
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police.
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency.
ZNWVA	Zimbabwe National War Veterans Association.
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement [Founder Edgar Tekere]

Introduction

The study explores the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe in-conjunction with power and politics in the Movement for Democratic Change. There is a lot of debate on whether the MDC was formed to democratize the Zimbabwean political space or it was interested in power only. The movement has been characterized by scramble for leadership positions, splits and counter splits. The study is an attempt to justify that democracy was a myth in the MDC because, the party has been characterized with electoral malpractice, lack of transparency and accountability, violence hate speech, partisan and tribal politics. Power and politics within the party has generated a lot of debate on how democratic are these movements. The internal politics of the MDC has attracted a lot of criticism on whether there is democracy or a pseudo democracy within the party. The MDC has masqueraded as a democratic party while it has successfully failed to represent the interests of the people in Zimbabwe. The party has failed to exhibit democratic fundamental principles hence the study seeks to unearth the falsehoods which have been associated with democracy in the MDC.

When looking at democracy as an ideology Steven highlighted that, “one serious problem in Zimbabwean politics has been the possibility of becoming, “rich” by becoming, “democratic”¹. The study also sought to unveil the economic, social and political constraints in the country which, led to the formation of the MDC in 1999. The research also explores the reasons behind the first and second major splits in the MDC. The democratic nature of the party was thoroughly debated which will equip academia in understanding the history of the MDC’s activism in general and democracy in particular. The research ushers in a new area of study focusing on the democratic nature of the MDC because, most available literature generalized the history of the MDC and did not unearth on democracy in the institution.

The research was confined to the period 1999 up to 2014 for various reasons. The period saw the formation of the MDC and influenced political activism, continuous conflicts between civic organizations and the government. Other political and socio-economic developments were captured in different chapters favorable to the research. The role played by the MDC in the GNU was thoroughly debated in comparison with fundamental elements found in a democracy. The developments that led to the end of the constitution making process were analyzed as well. The study took into consideration the reasons behind the MDC second major split in general and democracy in particular, hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Literature Review

There is a lot of literature on Zimbabwe democracy in general and the MDC in particular but most of the literature was not concerned about the democratic nature of the party. It mainly focused on reasons behind party formation. Writings on the history of the MDC have been silent on how democratic was the movement. In terms of discourse the issue of democracy in Zimbabwe has attracted a lot of research interest and attention. What is disturbing is that most literature on the MDC has been authored by partisan scholars and by non- historians in particular. Most of the available literature has been found online hence little has been authored and published as books.

A biography by Tsvangirai tends to portray him as a democrat and demonize all those who differed with him.² Manyanya and Bond focused on Zimbabwe's economic problems and not on the democratic nature of the MDC.³ Geof Hill focused on declining economic conditions in the nation and was silent on the democratic nature of the MDC. Nyawo focused on the land reform program but unfortunately didn't highlight about democracy in the MDC.⁵ However these

scholars made the research informative as the study took into account some of their major contributions to come up with a well-balanced and objective research.

Alois Mlambo focused on ESAP,⁶ Sachikonye on political developments in Zimbabwean society but were silent on the democratic nature of the MDC.⁷ Goredema wrote on the diversity of governments of national unity across Africa and how the GNU in Zimbabwe failed to build durable peace,⁸ Makumbe highlighted on the history of the labor movement in-conjunction with state –civil society relations but did not relay on the democratic nature of the MDC.⁹ Above all ,these scholarly contributions were pivotal in unearthing some undemocratic sentiments demonstrated by the MDC since formation and in the 2009 Government of National Unity.

Raftopoulos wrote much on the labor movement and emergence of opposition politics in Zimbabwe, the nation's growth towards democracy and the democratic struggle in Zimbabwe but his study was silent on the democratic nature of the MDC.¹⁰ Gatsheni Ndlovu deliberated on national identity formation and crisis in a post-colonial state,¹¹ Masiphula Sithole and Makumbe highlighted on elections in Zimbabwe in line with Zanu-pf hegemony and its incipient decline but unfortunately neglected the democratic nature of the MDC.¹² Masunungure and Bratton wrote on the anatomy of political predators, leaders ,elites and coalitions in Zimbabwe and as well neglected the democratic nature of the MDC.¹³ These scholar's works were pivotal in making the research objective as their contributions helped the study relay some factors which led to formation of MDC.

Online publications such as the Daily News and other newspaper organizations country wide have authored much about the MDC but most of their literature has been silent on the democratic nature of the MDC.¹⁴ Brackings highlighted on the issue of poverty and the economic crisis in urban areas in Zimbabwe but his study was silent on the nature of democracy in the MDC.¹⁵

Most writings on the emergence of the MDC have been silent on the democratic nature of the party in general. However on the other side of the coin the works of Brackings and the Daily News have helped the study unearth some democratic loopholes in the MDC.

Muchabaiwa highlighted on the role played by NGOs in the formation of the MDC but, did not focus on issues to do with democracy in the MDC.¹⁶ Chavunduka and Choto attempted to highlight on violence in both Zanu-pf and the MDC camps but still the study was not convincing on the democratic nature of the MDC.¹⁷ Blessing Miles Tendai explored on how intellectuals authored patriotic history but did not focus on the MDC politics in general and democracy in particular.¹⁸ Chief to note is that the study also took into account the views of the above scholarship, and these outlined clearly on the reasons behind the formation of the MDC in 1999.

Nkiwane wrote on opposition politics in Zimbabwe, Hove on Zimbabwe's growth towards a democracy,¹⁹ Mashingaidze on the nexus between domestic and foreign policies in a collapsing militant state,²⁰ Fagbayibo on democracy in Africa,²¹ Meredith on power, plunders and dictatorial tyrannical tendencies in Zimbabwe but none of the above focused on the democratic nature of the MDC.²² However these scholars were vital in identifying key elements found in a democracy.

Magure highlighted on civil society's quest for democracy in Zimbabwe, Dorman on NGOs and the constitutional debate in Zimbabwe,²³ Dansereau on labor options within the MDC²⁴ and Chan on, Tsvangirai as a citizen of Africa but these publications were silent on the MDC politics in general and democracy in particular.²⁵ Mazarire wrote on Zanu-pf and the government of national unity as a hard road to reform but unfortunately the study was silent on the democratic nature of the MDC.²⁶ Chief to note is that, these scholarship reviews were important in

unearthing the democratic cleavages in the MDC. Magure's work laid the foundation of how the MDC was formed. Mazarire's work keenly identifies the state's strategies in the GNU and how the MDC successfully failed to represent the interests of the people.

Statement of the Problem.

Studies which highlighted about the history of the MDC have been written mostly by partisan scholars. Vast information about the MDC was not authored by historians but either from a pro Zanu-pf perspective. There is definitely little or no literature on how democratic were the MDC institutions therefore the study is an attempt to break new surrounding sympathy to the MDC. Most studies highlighted on the MDC, s participation in the elections but neglected the relevance of democracy in the institution. The research is justified as it unearths on the democratic nature of the MDC. The study viciously unpacked the elements contrary to democracy which were promoted by the MDC to justify that it was not a democratic institution. The reasons behind internal factionalism were highlighted clearly by the research.

Research Goals and Research Questions.

The study seeks to provide a historical analysis on the following goals and objectives

- [a] Analyze the reasons behind the formation of the MDC.
- [b] Analyze why violence is a common feature in the MDC.
- [c] Analyze the democratic nature of the MDC.
- [d] Explore why Tsvangirai still remains in power 14 years after the formation of the MDC yet in a democracy leaders come and go.
- [e] Explore the reasons why the MDC has been characterized by splits counter splits.

In an attempt to unearth on the democratic nature of the MDC, the study engaged the following research questions

1. When was the MDC formed and why?
2. Was the MDC formed to democratize the Zimbabwean political space?
3. Is the MDC a party driven by the quest to represent the interests of the people?
4. What was the cause of factionalism in the MDC?

Methodology.

Various methodologies were used in this study to make it objective. Information was extracted from textbooks, journal articles, reports and questionnaires. Information from the National archives was essential in exploring the study but the limitations were associated with lack of recent publications on the MDC as such, the information was vast in newspapers. The study benefited most from available literature on the MDC at the Military library in Gweru and at Bulawayo public library. The information had episodes about the MDC formation, constitution and accurate dating on developments which took place in 1999 up to the 2008 election period.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed in the study. These methods were beneficial in exploring on raw information in form of data to make the research objective. Figurative analysis was interpreted using the quantitative methodology and theoretical frameworks by the qualitative method. These methods distinguished factual information from raw data available and equipped the study to make it objective.

In this study unstructured interviews were used to obtain the necessary data needed to answer the research questions. Interviews were employed as a research methodology because they permitted the collection of data through verbal interaction with the respondents. The advantages of interviews were their flexibility. The disadvantage was that most people were uncomfortable on answering questions about politics. They suspiciously misinterpreted that it was information required by the President's office or part of journalism. The interviewer had to employ skilful

tactics in order to get the information or reluctantly trick old enlightened people into debates while getting information favourable to the study.

Oral history collected from members of the MDC was employed as well. Oral interviews were essential as information was also acquired from historians and political analysts. The main focus of the study was to carry out extensive research developments in the MDC hence much was achieved by the questionnaire approach. Focus group discussion with intellectuals, students and historians benefited the study.

The study employed non-probability sampling. This methodology characterised respondents recruited on their willingness to be participants in the study. It also relied on random sampling where participants were selected on the grounds of having a significant relation to the research topic. Primary and secondary sources of information were employed to gather sufficient information relevant to the study. Recent and previous dissertations available inside the MSU library equipped the study and to justify its relevance. Lastly online publications were explored to get current information on the MDC's power and politics.

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Chapter 1

Historical Background of Political, Economic and Social factors associated with the formation of the MDC

Introduction

There were a mirage of events associated with the formation of the MDC in 1999. The chapter classified these into categories inclusive of political, economic, social and ideological factors. Chief to note is that the civic organizations played a crucial role in the formation of the MDC. There is much to say on economic factors associated with formation of the MDC such as, the effects of adopting ESAP in the 1990s, state corruption, poor economic policies, accumulated debts and declining standards of living. The study also explores on political factors characterized by dictatorship, state authoritarianism on civilians and the introduction of draconian pieces of legislation to politically castrate opposition movements against the government's one party state. The roles played by student movements at UZ in line with civic activism to the formation of the MDC, were explored in the chapter. The disastrous Zimbabwean foreign policy was expagorated as well. Social factors associated with violation of human fundamental rights in conjunction with civic activism were expagorated in the research. The chapter also focused on how these factors led to the formation of the MDC.

Economic Factors and the formation of MDC.

E.S.A.P

Zimbabwe advanced through a socialist phase soon after independence in 1980. The socialist approach was successful 5 years after independence as the state had cordial relations with civic groups. The GDP was above 80% and the country enjoyed a period of relative peace and stability

since there was not much inflation. Things fell apart when IMF and World Bank introduced ESAP in Africa which was adopted by the Zimbabwean government in the 1990s and started an era of economic decadence in the Nation. Ncube said that ESAP, intended to solve the country's domestic and international debt and to promote investment, trade and growth of the economy.¹This was to be achieved through a strategy which involved domestic deregulation, trade liberalization, and investment promotion, fiscal and monetary policies to curtail government expenditure. Unfortunately ESAP led an economic crisis as, free trade reduced entry of foreign currency in the Nation. The nation's GDP began to decline as government expenditure was crippled by ESAP. The labour movement criticized the state because, the effects of ESAP were felt on workers since government levied high tax on its civilians. Continuous antagonism between state and civil society led the formation of the MDC in September 1999.Failure to implement reforms to the deteriorating economy turned the labour movement into a political party organized under the leadership of Tsvangirai in 1999.

The adoption of ESAP crippled the economy and led to high unemployment levels in the country. Mlambo pointed out that by 1994, government statistics revealed that 20,710 workers had lost their jobs since the beginning of the economic liberalisation programme.² The situation became chaotic in the nation as the state faced criticism from civic groups. The labour movement confronted the state over effects of ESAP. The liberalization programme was a disaster. People began to suffer, poverty levels were prominent. There was a public outcry for jobs and the state was reluctant to implement reforms. Many people were unemployed and others retrenched hence it remained the duty of ZCTU to advocate and lobby on their behalf. The state responded with a rebuttal and enacted draconian legislations such as Amendment of the Labor Relations Act in 1985 to suppress the union and increase the Minister's powers to interfere in the union.

Continuous conflicts between civil societies and the state later led to the formation of the MDC in 1999 as such, the ZCTU leadership decided to take an initiative, to lead and attempt solving the economic crisis.

ESAP caused problems which led to economic instability. Mlambo reiterated that severity measures that were imposed by ESAP led to the shutting down of many factories, massive retrenchment, declining real wages, skyrocketing consumer prices and a decline in the formal economy.³The situation was tense as it propagated continuous conflicts between the state and civic organizations. Western funded NGOs also played a crucial role in food aid nationwide, at the same time exposing state inefficiency internationally. The labor movement became popular in confronting the state over low wages and unemployment. With these developments the government resorted to repression and suppression of the labor movement but with little success. People continued to suffer as more factories closed down, street urchins became popular and government officials continued living in luxury which later led to the formation of the MDC in a bid to overthrow the existing government.

ESAP brought a lot of complications in the Nation during the 1990s. Raftopoulos noted that the deregulation of prices and the removal of subsidies on basic consumer goods under ESAP resulted in severe hardships for workers, the unemployed and the poor, all of whom battled to afford basic goods as prices skyrocketed and workers real wages declined.⁴ The removal of subsidies in education saw a number of school dropouts in colleges, schools and universities. In the health sector people died as they could not afford securing treatment. ESAP was problematic as the cost of living became expensive. The civic groups confronted the state over poor economic policies but in vain. The failure by the Mugabe administration to implement reforms pressured civic groups to unite under the umbrella term, “MDC”, in September 1999. The polity existed on

allegations that they wanted to democratize the Nation and implement reforms in the economic sector.

Scholars believed that ESAP was a great failure which saw the economy collapse. Ncube highlighted the effects of ESAP as disturbing economically.⁵ ESAP led to privatization of some public corporations and state parastatals. This saw the influx of multinational companies which centralized the free market economy driven by forces of demand and supply, into the hands of the white man. Many blacks suffered as foreigners continued to exploit blacks after independence. The whites became filthy rich while the, “POVO” suffered. The state was accused of creating such inequalities by civil society. These developments culminated in the formation of the MDC in 1999 after the civic groups thought it wise to represent the voice of the people by trying to initiate change of governance. Civic groups agreed to disagree with the state for almost a decade until ZCC, ZCTU, NCA and other civic groups organized themselves into a political movement in 1999.

State Corruption and the formation of the MDC.

The study explored on other allegations which were levied against the state by civil society groups. The state was criticized of corruption. Government officials were accused of abusing wealth and power. Makumbe said that the Land acquisition Act of 1992 saw state officials acquiring vast tracts of land while other civilians had none.⁶ Geoff Hill argued that Britain had launched a project of replacing stolen land back to the blacks but it stopped the project on realization that government Ministers were acquiring the land. The nature of corruption and antagonism between the state and civic groups over accountability saw the formation of the

MDC in 1999. Civic groups criticized the government of corruption and misuse of funds. The new polity emerged in a bid to overthrow the existing Zanu- pf government.

State Inefficiency and the formation of the MDC.

Other economic factors behind the MDC formation were declining service delivery and standards of living. The state was also blamed by civil society for inefficient policies characterised by giving war veterans money which facilitated the Nation's inflation to abnormal levels ever since the country became independent. Manyanya talked about black Friday and Red Tuesday. He argued that the state's decision in 1997 to give each of the registered liberation war veterans \$50 000 pension pay-out and \$ 2000 per month saw the country have a financial crises.⁷ The deal was aimed at quieting war vets protest against the regime's failure to meet the basic employment and improve their standards of living but this led to a budget buster and high inflation over night. This initiative forms one of the major conflicts between government and civil society which transformed the labour movement into a political party in 1999.

Political factors and the formation of the MDC.

State Authoritarianism.

The post-colonial period had its challenges in general and conflicts in particular. Tsvangirai and Bango argued the basis of the MDC formation behind state authoritarianism and violation of human rights.⁸ They argued that the period after independence saw the state initiate a reign of terror in Matabeleland under the code Gukurahundi. They say that when other ex-combatants and civilians in Matabeleland denied Mugabe as their president, he sent the 5th brigade trained by North Koreans to kill what were nicknamed dissidents.⁹ They recorded that innocent people were killed in Matabeleland including the young children who knew nothing about war. They said that

people were buried alive, burnt alive, beaten thoroughly, raped and threatened which, was violation of human rights.¹⁰ There is a lot of debate on whether these allegations were true or false but the ZDF commander Sydney Sekeramai denied these developments on British press and said the state was only maintaining order and not killing innocent civilians. These atrocities levied on human life are other reasons behind the MDC formation as, Tsvangirai has talked a lot about Gukurahundi in his rallies and campaigns nationwide to be part of other civic grievances against the state which, led to the formation of the MDC in 1999.

History recorded that before the influx of colonialism in Africa, land belonged to the blacks but whites came and initiated a reign of terror, confiscated the land by force and evicted the, 'natives' into reserves. Draconian pieces of legislations such as the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, 1931 Land Tenure Act and the 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act dislodged blacks off their fertile lands into gwaai shangani reserves hence colonialism was evil and ugly. In post-colonial Zimbabwe land acquisition methods were inherited by the state from former colonial masters to acquire vast tracts of land for state officials. Makumbe argued that in 1992, the independent press had exposed a land grabbing scandal whereby government and ruling party officials managed to get cheap leases on farms purchased by the state under the Land Acquisition Act.¹¹ The initiative was criticised by ZCTU and civic organisations which accused the state of corruption. The civic leaders called for accountability over nation resources but this fell on deaf ears. Continuous conflicts between state and civic groups latter on transformed the labour movement into a political party in the form of the MDC in 1999.

The study also explores on the contribution of state dictatorship to the formation of the MDC. The labour movement had expressed discontent over government inefficient policies highlighted under economic factors. The use of the army and police to terrorise civil society formed one of

the major grievances behind the formation of the MDC. The term Movement for Democratic Change was adopted when civic groups grew discontent over state leadership.¹² Mugabe was running for a fourth term in office despite failure of the economy under ESAP. Civic groups wanted change of state leadership. There were no clear signs that it was his last term in office hence Zanu pf remained reluctant on the issue of leadership renewal.

Demands of a People Driven Constitution.

It is important to note that Lancaster house conference in 1979 had signaled the end of the liberation struggle against the Smith regime as such, the nation became independent but was given a foreign constitution. This was a terrible mistake as whites continued to enjoy economic dominance wealth and power while blacks remained poverty stricken. The post-colonial state developed a culture of amending the Rhodesian constitution to benefit the elite only which made civic organizations view it with prying eyes. Continuous constitutional amendments saw the state and labor movement at crossroads. Makumbe highlighted that the 1985 Labor Relations Act was amended by the state in an attempt to weaken the ZCTU and increase the Minister's powers to interfere in the union.¹³ The civic groups made an outcry of a people driven constitution since the Nation was using the old Rhodesian constitution. The state culture of amending the old constitution to make political gladiators climb above the rule of law was condemned by the labor movement but in vain. Failure by the state to initiate a people's driven constitution led to the formation of the MDC in 1999. The ZCC in conjunction with other civic groups and the labor movement birthed the MDC in 1999.

Student activism and the formation of the MDC

The formation of the MDC has close links with student activism at UZ which made the state initiate draconian legislations such University Amendment Acts, to suppress SRC .It had become a culture that demonstrations against government one party state were rife at UZ. Indeed, the relationship between SRC and ZCTU was a threat to the state. Makumbe recorded that the SRC at UZ had used the May day celebrations to challenge government's one party state .¹⁴ In 1987 the SRC inspired by former Deputy Prime Minister Author Mutambara had massively demonstrated against government one party state, leading to the closure of UZ. In the same year ZCTU Secretary General Tsvangirai was detained for having expressed support for the demonstrating students harassed by police. Makumbe says the introduction of the UZ Amendment Act, National Council for Higher Education Act in 1990 gave government direct control of education. ¹⁵ These laws were considered draconian in nature as under the Rhodesian Law and Order Act, the state had used the army and police to suppress the labour movement accused of behaving like an opposition party. These developments saw sour state civic relations and perpetuated the formation of the MDC in 1999.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy in DRC

It is important to take into consideration the contributions of Zimbabwe's foreign policy in DRC which had negative impacts on the economy. Zimbabwe's voluntary mission of deploying troops to DRC in 1998 as part of the Southern African development community (SADC) peace keeping initiative began an economic crisis. President Mugabe sent troops to help resuscitate Laurent Kabila's reign in DRC and was later on joined by Namibia and Angola to suppress a civil war caused by rebel troops from Rwanda and Uganda.

This was disastrous and resulted in massive state unbudgeted expenditures in DRC which had negative impacts on the economy. The end of war was a fiasco. Zimbabwe didn't benefit from the war. DRC refused to compensate Zimbabwean losses in the disastrous foreign policy as many Zimbabwean soldiers died. Zimbabwe lost up to \$ 1 billion of military equipment supplies, money spent on military operations and food expenditure without the parliament's approval.¹⁶ Raftopoulos deliberated that Zimbabwe's participation in the war in DRC was not approved by Parliament but was an initiative dictated by the president.¹⁷ It is argued that the president, other national and military leaders stood to gain in terms of illegal diamond mining and contracts awarded to their private companies. However developments were a fiasco as Zimbabwe lost troops, ammunition and was forced to withdraw from the war.

There was wide spread discontent over Zimbabwe's participation in the disastrous foreign policy in DRC. Criticism was levied on the state by the general public, economists, civil society organization, politicians and the international community. The criticism was on the basis of large financial expenditures which had not been budgeted for. These had a negative impact on the country's economy. The disastrous foreign policy in DRCs is also a major reason behind the formation of the MDC because the civic groups labeled the president a dictator. They argued that his acts undermined the rule of law. The one man decision to venture in the war showed that he was above the law hence, civic groups championed the formation of the MDC in 1999 calling for restoration of democracy in Zimbabwe.

Social factors and the formation of the MDC.

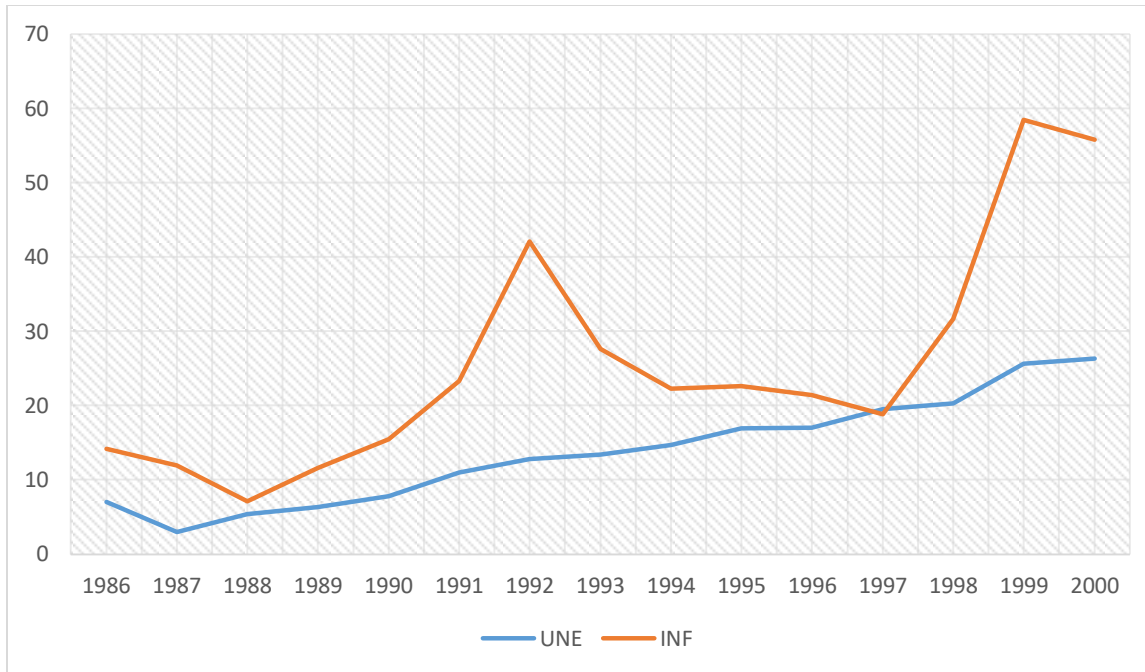
On the social aspects which led to the formation of the MDC, much has been explored by the study in line with economic factors since some events were interrelated. The issue of violation of human fundamental rights and state violence brought the state and civil society at cross roads

later leading to the formation of the MDC in 1999. Most draconian laws highlighted earlier were some contributing factors as they affected co-existence in society. State repression of civic groups was termed dictatorial and tyrannical.¹⁸The use of hate speech by state officials on civic groups was considered undemocratic. The civic groups were labelled as Western puppets of regime change. Decline of social amenities and standards of living propagated by ESAP played an instrumental role in the formation of the MDC in 1999. Chief to note is that what facilitated the formation of the opposition party were continuous clashes, conflicts and antagonism between the state and civil society organisations.

Unemployment and the formation of the MDC.

Crucial to point out is the issue of unemployment which affected people socially in general and culturally in particular. Unemployment levels as a result of liberalisation of the economy were disturbing and problematic. This is a major reason behind the MDC formation as the ZCTU was conscious of reforms since the economy was deteriorating.

Fig 10.4 Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency Unemployment and Inflation Rates [1986-2000].



The statistical evidence above from ZIMSTAT shows that the economy was deteriorating taking into consideration the period 1989 up to 1999. The ratio illustrated above highlights that from 1986 up to 1987 unemployment levels were below 10% and the economy stable was because the country witnessed a period of economic growth. Inflation started to accumulate from 1988 when it was below 10% up to 1991 where it had risen to 40% because of state inefficiency, corruption and the adoption of ESAP which crippled the economy.¹⁹ The relative period from 1991 up to 1998 had witnessed the growth of unemployment from below 10% up to 20% because of government inefficiency and the disastrous foreign policy in DRC which promulgated economic instability. The same years increased unemployment by 10% prior to 1997 when it was at 20%. This contributed to high inflation from 31% in 1998 to 58% in 1999 signifying that inflation rose by 27% within a year.

The above statistics justify that state inefficiency, corruption and ESAP impacted negatively on the economy and increased unemployment levels and inflation hence poverty. Many people were poverty stricken and this created conflicts and antagonism between government and civic groups. The labour movement confronted the state and led successful stay-aways to force government to review citizen's wages and salaries. The ZCTU took the initiative to criticise the state of corruption, abuse of wealth and power. The stalemate relations between government and civil society led to the formation of the MDC in 1999 as the economy was continuously deteriorating as civic groups advocated for change.

Conclusion.

In conclusion the chapter sought to unearth some of the reasons which led to the formation of the MDC in September 1999. Chief to note is that the movement's existence owed much to the labour movement which developed a culture of state criticism. The labour movement played a pivotal role in advocacy and lobbying on behalf of the people against the ruling Zanu-pf government. Economic social and political factors highlighted above were thoroughly debated in conjunction with the emergence of the MDC in 1999. It is of paramount importance to note that after the continuous state-civic society clashes, the ZCC in conjunction with other civic organizations formed the MDC in September 1999. This marked a paradigm shift in the history of Zimbabwean politics. An era of political activism between the ruling Zanu-pf party and the MDC began as such, Mugabeism policy was launched in 2000 in a bid to resuscitate his reign in Zimbabwe. All in all, the chapter viciously debated the developments in post-colonial Zimbabwe vis-à-vis the formation of the MDC in September 1999.

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Chapter 2

Democracy and the first Major Split in the Movement for Democratic Change

Introduction

The chapter explores on the democratic nature of the MDC and the major reasons behind the party's first split in 2005. It will be demonstrated that there were various factors which highlighted the undemocratic nature of the MDC as confusion rocked the party since formation. The quests by the MDC leader to promote their own interests were also responsible for the split. It is of paramount importance to note that the MDC was characterized with dictatorial tendencies and authoritarianism from the time of its formation. The unconstitutional banning of civic activist Munyaradzi Gwisai was not genuine enough to justify the party as democratic.¹ Growing tensions went unresolved in the polity as party members were expelled from the party unconstitutionally. Internal fissures were characterized by violence, dictatorship, corruption and lack of implementation of the party policies. There was growing tribal discrimination and lack of open democracy as the National Council failed to preside over party inefficiency. Therefore the chapter focused on democracy in the MDC and reasons behind the first split in 2005

The MDC had continuous internal fights and lacked collective decision making which was another major reason behind the split in 2005. Hate speech rocked the party and showed that many individuals were only interested in state power while they abandoned the demands of the general public. There were policy differences contrary to what was authored in the party constitution. All in all, this showed that the party lacked democratic fundamental principles and consisted of personal cult leaders who, were interested in achieving their own ambitions while hiding under the democratic garment hence, the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Democracy and violence in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The democratic ideology of the MDC created many questions than answers. During the movement's campaigns against state inefficiency, many young people violated the party's constitution.² Social workers in Bulawayo, highlighted that the MDC diverted from democratic fundamental principles after violence began to germinate inside the party.³ Many party officials were beaten thoroughly at the party headquarters by youths on allegations that they opposed the leadership. The MDC youths began violent campaigns against Zanu-pf youths at rallies nationwide and the MDC National Council institutionalized violence in the polity. The MDC slogan, "Chinja Maitiro, Guqula Izenzo", supported with an open palm on the flag was manipulated by many youths to discipline party opponents. In Bulawayo, MDC youths invaded a Zanu-pf supporter at his home in Nketa 9 and the house windows were reduced to fine salt as the youths threw stones all over the place.⁴ What is disturbing is that the MDC betrayed the people and misrepresented them by perpetrating violence which is an enemy of democracy. Instead of standing for the improvement of social amenities and building the economy, the party adopted violence. All these terrible atrocities characterized the undemocratic nature of the MDC.

There were many cases recorded in Bulawayo where the MDC youths had violent confrontations with the police at their rallies. Journalists were beaten thoroughly at the MDC rallies suspected to be state spies. In Tsholotsho where the Zanu-pf big wig Jonathan Moyo enjoyed popularity, MDC youths viciously fought with the police as the party leadership were conducting a rally in a local area without knowledge of the police. The party youths started the violence as, they threw stones at the police who retaliated in fear of the mobs advancing towards them.⁵ The violent nature of the MDC questioned the ideology of democracy in the polity. The youths perpetrated violence and a particular local newspaper journalist Samuel Sibanda was thoroughly beaten suspected to be a state spie.⁶ What is disturbing is that the polity claimed to be representing the

interests of the Zimbabweans but it committed terrible atrocities against mankind. This then justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution because democracy is totally divorced from violence hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Intolerance in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The intolerance at Harvest house relayed that the MDC had diverted from its founding principles because article 3.1 of the party objectives stated that there should be, "Respect for the individuals through provision and protection of fundamental human rights".⁷ Members of the party were expelled unconstitutionally. The youth were used as instruments to discipline party officials who opposed the MDC National Council. The MDC leadership supported violence internally because they were reluctant to rule over disputes from within. Other National Council leaders saw the perpetrators of violence as patriots of the polity hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Dovetailing with the above research, the reason why the study asserts that the MDC was not a democratic institution is because, the party banned Muzaradzi Gwisai and his International Socialist Organization unconstitutionally. This is so because, they had published an article on the MDC's failure to represent the interest of the people and its unwillingness to address issues and debates around the land reform.⁸ The MDC felt naked as the ISO were unearthing failures by the MDC to bring forth reforms they promised the people. To cover their inefficiency and ineffectiveness they unconstitutionally banned Gwisai and his International Socialist Organization in 2002. This was violation of the MDC constitution at the same time betraying the interests of the people. The polity claimed to represent the interests of the people but contrary, political gladiators masqueraded as democrats while they were clueless on how to democratize the Zimbabwean political space.

Democracy and Corruptions in the Movement for Democratic Change.

There was corruption and lack of implementation of the party's policies by the MDC secretariat. There was lack of transparency and accountability over party funds in the MDC.⁹ The National Council dictated decisions on use of party funds without the approval of the party structures in provinces nationwide. The president was accused of abusing party funds to achieve his own goals and objectives. The 2004 commission set had failed to reach a consensus on the violence and corruption in the party structures. Corruption was not tackled at National level as those holding prominent positions in the party embezzled funds while those below the party hierarchy had no powers to challenge the leadership in charge¹⁰ Chaos in the MDC tent showed that the polity was not a democratic institution because the Nation Council was divided over policy implementation.. All this confusion justified that the MDC was a pseudo democracy within a party hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Hate Speech and Democracy in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The MDC proved to be an undemocratic institution when one analysed the issue of hate speech in the party structures. Chihota argued that Sikhala caused the MDC split when he insulted Tsvangirai.¹¹ Sikhala was quoted saying that he would not be led by an uneducated person like Tsvangirai. In rebuttal Tsvangirai also uttered strong words to the former Saint Mary's lawyer. This fostered a culture of verbal altercations and antagonism in the MDC which is totally divorced from democracy. The party failed to democratically solve internal disputes and perpetrators of verbal altercations went unpunished in the polity. These issues justified that the MDC was not a democratic polity but it was infested with people full of their own personal ambitions, personal cult leadership, different ideologies and lack of collective decision making.

Tribal Politics and Democracy in the Movement for Democratic Change.

There was tribal discrimination in the MDC which relayed that the party lost its democratic vision. The MDC violated article 3.3.h of its objectives which stated that there must be eradication of all forms of discrimination including gender, sex, race, tribe, place of origin, and religion.¹² New Zimbabwe argued that during Morgan Tsvangirai's treason arrest, there were rumors of a faction suggesting a non-Shona president which was, Secretary General Welshman Ncube to replace Tsvangirai and rumors of tribal affiliations on the other hand.¹⁴ David Coltart however, claimed that people who believed these mythologies were narrow minded and did not understand the perspective of the MDC politics.¹³ Despite the defensive side taken by Coltart, the MDC camp had been infiltrated with tribal politics. Discrimination was prominent in the structures, which was contrary to democracy. The secretariat failed to settle their tribal differences and started fighting each other from within. This entailed that there was no democracy in the MDC as people were concerned about their own personal political affiliations contrary to democracy.

Democracy and policy inconsistency in the Movement for Democratic Change.

There were policy inconsistencies contrary to what was authored in the MDC constitution. In clause 3.3.b the other objective was to promote an open democracy, in which National government was accountable to the people through devolution of power, decision-making to the provinces, local institutions and structures.¹⁴ Despite these claims the MDC failed to meet the objectives of the party. The issue of devolution of power was violated by the National Council which dictated party policies to the provincial chairpersons unconstitutionally. The decision not to participate in the 2005 parliamentary elections was manipulated by the party president who decided on behalf of the National Executive Council not to participate in the elections. Tsvangirai abused powers invested in his office. There was no open democracy because the president refused to accept the

people's decision to participate in the elections which was undemocratic and unconstitutional. It is also problematic to call oneself democratic while refusing to participate in an election hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Democracy and Dictatorship in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The issue of dictatorship in the MDC justified that the polity was not a democratic institution. The leadership failed to agree on collective decision making because the President dictated resolutions without the approval of the National Council. The internal dispute over the MDC participation in the senatorial elections showed that there was no democracy in the MDC. Tsvangirai's one man decision not to participate in the election was undemocratic and unconstitutional.¹⁵ The members had won the decision to participate in the senatorial elections via ballot box but he denied the results and, abused powers invested in his office to violate the party constitution.

He was quoted saying,

“Well people have voted to participate in the elections against my own desire. In the future run I can no longer speak nor let you participate in this parliamentary election because I know that this is contrary to the party interests. Therefore, as the President of this party. I am withdrawing from this fraud and will officially remark to the World that the party will not partake in the election. I will answer at congress if the party splits.”¹⁶

This one man decision by Tsvangirai relayed that the party was not democratic and was led by a dictator. He undermined the rights of other individuals, the general public and decided to abuse power invested in his office to silence the National Council. All this was violation of both the

party constitution and human fundamental rights hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Democracy and the Course of the Split in 2005

There is a lot of debate on whether the split was a genuine sign to prove that either of the factions exhibited democratic principles or not. It was widely believed that the split had been fostered by undemocratic attributes demonstrated by Tsvangirai's dictatorship and infiltration by the CIO.¹⁷ The major reason behind the split was said to have been ushered in by ideological differences over whether to participate or not participate in the senatorial elections in 2005. Paul Themba Nyathi had told a press conference on 3 February 2005 expressing heartfelt condolences of the party's decision to participate in the parliamentary elections.¹⁸ All was contrary to the situation on the ground because the MDC top officials agreed to disagree on the issue of the MDC participation in the elections. These fissures in the cockpit also questioned if the MDC was formed to democratize the Zimbabwean political landscape or the movement was a pseudo democracy within a party? But these internal conflicts justified that there were democratic loopholes in the MDC camp.

Nehanda Radio reiterated that the MDC senior members were unable to agree on senatorial elections and the ruling was sent to the MDC National Council. The members voted 33-31 in support of contesting the election with two spoiled papers. However, Morgan Tsvangirai told the press that the debate was tied at 50-50.¹⁹ The irony of the events is that the pro senate faction had won via the democratic ballot system but Tsvangirai manipulated powers invested in his office as president and denied the results which was undemocratic and unconstitutional. If the MDC was a democratic movement it might not have split but contrary to democracy there were dictatorial tendencies in the polity, personal cult leadership, violation of the party constitution in general

and fundamental human rights in particular hence, the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

The MDC president denied the outcome of the poll, arguing that there was no reason of contesting an election where the electoral field bred illegitimate outcomes and provided for predetermined results.²⁰ Tsvangirai argued saying the Zimbabwean senate was once in the 17th amendment, which the MDC had protested in Parliament.

It is argued that Gibson Sibanda, the Deputy President of the party, called Tsvangirai to a National Disciplinary Committee hearing saying that, his acts at and after the National Council Meeting had violated clauses 4.4 [a], 6.1.1 [a] and [d] of the MDC constitution. Tsvangirai had violated Clause 9.2 of the Party's Disciplinary Code of Conduct. Sibanda accused him of addressing a lot of rallies misleading party supporters that the MDC was not participating in the elections. Tsvangirai was accused of writing letters to the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission telling them to register all the MDC candidates wishing to participate as independent candidates. His acts of influencing party provincial chairpersons not to respond to a letters written by the Deputy Secretary General on short listing of candidates made the split enavitable.²¹ All these internal problems in the MDC showed that there was lack of democracy and legitimacy in the polity. The MDC had violated their constitution, undermined minority rights and respect of fundamental human rights in the party hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

A lot of complications occurred in the era of the MDC politics. The National disciplinary commission authored Tsvangirai a letter making known to him that he had been suspended from office as the President. In rebuttal Tsvangirai argued that pro-senate group had gone against the party constitution by not carrying proper provincial consultations. Verbal altercations were

prominent as Tsvangirai called the pro-senate group puppets of Robert Mugabe. He argued that his followers were not willing to sell out the democratic struggle like Joshua Nkomo. He was quoted saying,

“If people desert me, I will not abandon the interests of the people. It is not a senatorial election only but an issue of confronting Mugabe and not selling out. Therefore we will not have a second unity accord such as what Nkomo did.”²²

All these internal fights question the ideology of democracy in the MDC. The MDC president refused to accept disciplinary measures levied on him by the National Disciplinary Committee. This justified that democracy lacked in the polity as the party had long back abandoned the interests of the people.

BBC News recorded that the MDC President expelled the pro-senate supporters in the polity and nullified the allegations and accusations instituted against him by the deputy president as he convened another National Council. The pro-senate group was nicknamed traitors and rebels which was undemocratic and unconstitutional. Major civic groups continued to support Tsvangirai because he had grass root support. The NCA consisting of a coalition of democratic oriented civic groups said the election was organised only as a result of an undemocratic constitutional change.²³ These developments justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution because of the nature of internal fighting and use of hate speech to label other individuals as traitors and rebels. The action of expelling the pro-senate group was undemocratic and unconstitutional. This was discrimination and violation of human fundamental rights in the party hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

The ideological differences between Tsvangirai and Welshman led to the split of the party in 2005. Welshman believed that the only way to democratise the Zimbabwean political space was via the electoral process while Tsvangirai believed that the outcome was illegitimate and prone to rigging by the state. Developments were put in place through various meetings to try unify the warring factions but all was null and void. Former South African president Thabo Mbeki made attempts to deal with the internal politics of the party but Tsvangirai termed his resolution methodologies as destructive. Hate speech was adopted as a way of fighting tribal discrimination in the polity but this was undemocratic and unconstitutional. All these developments violated clause 3.3.h of the party objectives in the constitution, which stated that,

*“the MDC shall seek mandate from the people to govern the country and cooperate for: the eradication of all forms of discrimination against gender, race, sex, religion, tribe, and place of origin”*²⁴

The lack of democratic fundamental principles saw the party split after the senatorial elections. Tsvangirai led the anti-senatorial faction and the MDC deputy president Gibson Sibanda alongside Welshman Ncube led the pro-senate faction.²⁵ Developments after the split justified that neither of the two factions were democratic because rebels from the pro-senate group were welcomed back by the anti-senate group as prodigal sons. This questioned the democratic nature of the MDC.

The pro senate faction was supported by Chimanikire and party spokesperson Paul Nyathi but later Chimanikire, Tsholotsho Senate Candidate Sipepa Nkomo, Kwekwe MP Blessing Chebundo and Binga Member of Parliament Joel Gabuza deserted to Tsvangirai. The pro-senate group chose former student union activist Author Mutambara to lead them.²⁶ The split marked a

paradigm shift in the history of Zimbabwean opposition politics. The 1999 democratic project in Zimbabwe finally split over different ideologies on participating in the Zimbabwe parliamentary elections but endeavour the democratic nature of the MDC has been questionable because rebels from neither of the two polities were welcomed back as democrats in the party. What is disturbing is that the MDC masqueraded as representing the interests of the people but the split justified that the party was a pseudo democracy interested in power only hence the myth of the Democratic Project In Zimbabwe.

Conclusion

In conclusion the MDC demonstrated to lack democratic fundamental principles in the internal politics of the party in general and activism in particular. The movement was characterised by internal fissures, violence, dictatorship, corruption and lack of implementation of the party policies. There was growing tribal discrimination, lack of open democracy as the National Council failed to preside over party inefficiency. The party had continuous internal fights, lack of tolerance and adherence in decision making which was another major reason behind the split in 2005. The use of hate speech by party officials demonstrated that the movement did not possess democratic fundamental principles. Nevertheless the democratic project was a myth as evidenced by the issues highlighted in the chapter. The course of the split was met with extreme violation of human fundamental rights, internal fighting and abuse of powers invested in the office of the secretary general and the president. This justified that the MDC was not democratic because it had long back abandoned the interests of the people.

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Chapter 3

Democracy and the MDC's Participation in the Government of National Unity.

Introduction

This Chapter wishes to capture the reasons why the MDC parties failed to go to the 2008 elections as a united party. It will be demonstrated that leaders of the factions pursued politics of self aggrandizement rather than saving the interests of the people. The chapter will prove that the MDCs leaders made numerous divisions to further their own interests and not the interests of the people. Both factions were pushing their own personal vendetta contrary to party agendas when the Government of National Unity was formed. The constitution making process was hijacked by the three political parties who manipulated people to vote in favor of their own political affiliations. What is disturbing is that the MDC claimed to be a democratic institution but it joined the controversial Government of National Unity which was totally divorced from democracy because, the people didn't vote for it. The MDC claimed to be democratic but they failed to democratize the Zimbabwean political space in general and remove constitutional injustices in particular. There was corruption and elitism in the polity. Civic groups were caught in the political turmoil during the constitution making process in line with violence perpetrated by MDC youths wearing Zanu-pf regalia, which questioned the democratic nature of the polity. The MDC was on a paraffin speed calling for people to vote yes in the 2013 referendum while the constitution was elite driven and not people driven.

Intolerance in the Politics of the Movement of Democratic Change.

The MDC factions failed to go the 2008 elections as a united polity because of their quest to suit their own personal ambitions at the expense of the Zimbabwean citizens. Both factions failed to settle their differences amicably and go separate ways peacefully but instead intolerance was institutionalized in the politics. What is disturbing is that the institutionalization of violence and hate speech between the two polities was totally divorced from democracy. The MDC masqueraded as democratic but the split in 2005 justified that the political gladiators were not interested in serving the people's interests. In July 2006 the MDC-M Member of Parliament Trude Johnson was beaten thoroughly by MDC-T youths after attending a rally at Mabvuku in Harare.¹ The complainant sustained head and neck injuries and recovered at Parirenyatwa hospital. What is disturbing is that the MDC claimed to be representing the interests of the people but unashamedly the so called democrats viciously fought each other. The violent nature of the MDC politics justified that they were interested in power only. Democracy remained between a dream and a nightmare in the polity.

The politics of the MDC were controversial in nature which questioned the relevance of democracy in the polity. Instead of representing the interests of the people both factions resorted to fighting each other ideologically and in the G.N.U. Ncube criticized Tsvangirai's faction as a big rotten tent which stinks to high heaven of dictatorship, violence and violation of what they stood against the State.² What is disturbing is that the MDC claimed to be representing the interests of the people but totally failed to practically exhibit democratic fundamental principles. The two factions were intolerant towards one another. They viciously fought each other ideologically using strong words as Sikhala once propounded that he would not follow an uneducated leader like Tsvangirai.³ If these movements were democratic then where did

intolerance germinate from within the polity? Even in the G.N.U, the political gladiators never ceased to fight each other physically and psychologically while masquerading as democratic instruments. The politicization of the party policies and internal disputes were totally divorced from democracy thus the MDC had long back misrepresented the people since formation.

Democracy and the MDC participation in the Government of National Unity

The G.N.U as an Elitist Pact.

The MDC's participation in the Government of National Unity justified that the party was never formed to represent the interests of the people. Instead it was led by political gladiators driven by the quest to achieve their own selfish ambitions. It is of paramount importance to note that the G.NU politics were elitist in nature. This is because the people never voted for its existence but it was politically driven as Maduku propounds .⁴ What is disturbing is that the MDC political gladiators claimed to be democratic but unashamedly joined the G.N.U elitist pact. A certain Political analyst highlighted in an interview that the G.N.U politics were controversial in the sense that the GPA partners masqueraded to acquire prominent leadership positions in big offices without taking into consideration the interests of the people.⁵ The G.N.U was a marriage of inconvenience because it enabled losers to re-affirm prominent positions in Government. Government Ministries were negotiated and selfishly distributed between political gladiators without the voice of the people which is equivalent to the voice of God in a democracy. In the GPA, 31 ministries were politically allocated with 15 taken by Zanu-pf, 13 [MDC-T] and 3 [MDC-M]. The decision by MDC political gladiators to sign the G.P.A was the same as hugging a hyena because the MDC abandoned the interests of the people and signed an elitist. Masses remained poverty stricken and the poor became poorer hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

It is of paramount importance to note that the G.N.U politics were not people oriented. The Zimbabwean Mail argued that Tsvangirai's one man decision to enter the G.N.U demonstrated the quest for his own personal ambitions as he never consulted the people and the MDC-T National Council. What is disturbing is that during the era of G.N.U Politics the MDC-T leadership accumulated personal power and wealth while the general public remained poverty stricken. Tsvangirai entered negotiations with the state which led to his purchase of a mansion house in Highlands. Reports reiterated that 1.5 million from the R.B.Z were channeled through his nephew Hebson Makuvishe who withdrew the money secretly without the knowledge of the MDC-T National Council.⁶ All this draws us to a conclusion that the MDC was never democratic because it was led by a political gladiators for more than a decade while people continued to suffer.

Also the entry of the MDC in the G.N.U was ululated with empty promises for the people. Various claims by the MDC political gladiators over the increment of civil servants salaries upon entering the government successfully failed to be a reality. The MDC delivered void promises to the masses who had long believed that the polity will deliver them to the promised land of milk and honey. A Social worker argued that Tsvangirai demonstrated interest in pursuing his own personal ambitions as he was caught in several dilemmas over his social life which put the MDC into disrepute.⁷ What is disturbing is that the people thought that the MDC was going to democratize the Zimbabwean political space but the polity successfully failed to exhibit democratic fundamental principles. Instead of representing the interests of the people in the G.N.U the MDC-T leader was busy hunting after women. He was charged for marrying Locadia Karimatsenga in November which was a taboo in the African religion but denied having done so in the MDC.⁸ The MDC tent proved to be filled with personal vendettas vis-a-vis the interests of

the people. Tsvangirai never consulted people upon entering the G.N.U. His quest for money and women saw him marry Elizabeth Macheke before the end of the G.N.U. People thought they were fully represented government but the, “big fish,” was busy running women errands. Therefore the MDC never existed to represent the interests of the people but the political gladiators had their own personal ambitions.

The quest for power saw the MDC fail to bring reforms which many people thought would be the main objective of the polity to fully emancipate the general public. An Ex-Militia in Bulawayo highlighted that the MDC even agreed to contest in the July polls while there were no reforms yet enshrined in the constitution. Muchabaiwa noted that the MDC failed to achieve reforms such as devolution of power, removal of oppressive legislations such as AIPPA and POSA, institutional reforms and de-politicization of institutions such as the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation, Zimbabwe Republic Police in general and the Army in particular.⁹ The MDC demonstrated that the polity was led by political gladiators because the parties failed to represent the interests of the people in the G.N.U. Instead of initiating a people driven constitution the polities made several amendments to the document to suit their own personal ambitions. Maduku argues that the massive Presidential office powers enshrined in the new constitution were still the same with those in the Rhodesian constitution.¹⁰ This is so because the President remained with power to appoint and dismiss ministers. His powers could not be controlled by parliament hence he could appoint judges and military leaders. What is disturbing is that the MDC claimed to be driven by democratic fundamental principles but they were feasting undisturbed, abusing wealth, women and power in the G.N.U. They successfully failed to represent the interests of the people in the G.N.U.

Democracy and Corruption in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The G.N.U politics were characterized by intense corruption among the MDC leaders in the Inclusive Government. Typical examples were the MDC councilors who were dismissed by the party National Councils over embezzlement of council funds. The financial Gazette highlighted that former MDC-T Mayor for Chitungwiza, Israel Marange served a one year jail term in 2010 following corruption as a result of criminal abuse of office.¹¹ What is interesting is that out of 26 commercial stands in Chitungwiza only 6 stands were sold using documentary procedures while the other 20 were treacherously sold by the town clerk.¹² The advent of corruption in the opposition party justified the undemocratic nature of opposition politics. The MDC masqueraded as key agents of democracy in general while they were successful underdevelopment agents in the G.N.U. The interests of the people were not represented but were manipulated by political gladiators hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

A lot of MDC councilors proved to be problematic when they tasted power under the G.N.U. In Chitungwiza the MDC-T President expelled 23 councilors. They were booted out on allegations of corruption which put the party into disrepute.¹³ What is disturbing is that the dismissal of these councilors was dictatorial because the manner of dismissal was not enshrined in the MDC-T constitution. Tsvangirai used his dictatorial powers to dismiss them without trial by the National Council. The Councilors were expelled on the grounds of amassing wealth for their personal ambitions. The MDC-T President Tsvangirai argued that they abused wealth buying expensive cars, houses and selling single stands to many people which put the party into disrepute. Chief to note is that the entry of the MDC in the G.N.U was celebrated and ululated nationwide while the party never represented the interests of the people. The corrupt nature of the polity demonstrated that it had been a liability rather than an asset to the people. The

challenge with the democratic project in Zimbabwe was the lack of democratic principles that would totally emancipate the people from poverty and political intimidations by the state.

The ironies of the MDC politics in the G.N.U were that, the evicted councilors deserted to other MDC factions which demonstrated the undemocratic nature of the MDC. Evictees from the MDC-T deserted to MDC-W to contest for Mayoral posts before the 2013 elections. Mwonozora reported that MDC-T councilors were jumping of the ship seeking salvation to MDC-W since they evaded investigations.¹⁴The nature of corruption in the MDC justified how they misrepresented the interests of the people in the GNU. The division in the party politics demonstrated how the polity had totally divorced itself from democracy long back. All this shows that democracy was a myth in the MDC. What is disturbing is that in Bulawayo and Chitungwiza, the MDC councilors were involved in housing scandals as they sold single stands to many people which, was corruption at its highest stage. Minister of Local Government I. Chombo threatened to dismiss the MDC councilors in Kadoma on allegations that they rewarded themselves with unlimited monthly allowances.¹⁵ Chombo reported that he wanted the MDC councilors fired and replaced by commissioners. This was so because in Bindura, Harare, Bulawayo and Chegutu, there were mismanagement of funds, improper allocation of stands and manipulation of tender procedures by the MDC councillors.¹⁶ All these allegations justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution but rather it was a corrupt movement driven by the quest to loot resources nationwide.

To demonstrate the undemocratic nature of the MDC politics during the G.N.U, chief to note is that a majority of the MDC councilors voted in favor of Zanu-pf Mayors in the July polls. The MDC-T National Council has for almost a decade threatened to expel rebellious councilors from the polity unconstitutionally. MDC-T Legislature for Red Cliff Happy-more Chidziva reported

that the MDC-T had prevailed against the state by winning seven council seats in Redcliff as Zanu-PF won two seats.¹⁷ The irony of the events as he narrated, were centralized on the theme of the Mayoral elections whereby Zanu-pf member Freddy Kapuya received five votes of which three came from MDC-T councilors. The chaos and confusion in the MDC justified that the democratic project in Zimbabwe had loopholes. The rebellious acts of the MDC councilors justified that there were internal grievances from within and corruption in the polity. Chief to note is the unconstitutional element of dismissal in the MDC politics without trial and disciplinary measures enshrined in the party constitution. MDC-T spokesperson for Midlands South MR Jameson Tauro agreed that councilors aspiring to be mayors were called to Harare and threatened with immediate dismissal.¹⁸ All these terrible atrocities justified that the MDC betrayed the interests of the people and started developing intolerance which, is also a reason of the first major split of the Party in 2005.

Democracy and the MDC's participation in the Constitution making process.

The participation of the MDC in the constitution making process during the G.N.U politics demonstrated clearly that the political party ceased to be as democratic institution. Many dictatorial tendencies were initiated to suit the interest of political gladiators. The writing of the constitution making process was not people driven but party driven by the elite. Gatsheni highlighted that the Kariba constitution was a secret agreement between Zanu-pf, MDC-T and MDC-W.¹⁹ This is justified because Maduku argued that the constitution making process was being imposed on people by the three political parties yet the people were bigger than the three polities.²⁰ Maduku argued that no political party had the right to give a Nation a constitution but the people had the right to deliver a constitution. To a larger extent the MDC failed to exhibit democratic principles because the constitution making process was hijacked by politicians who

wanted to suit their own personal vendettas. The MDC political gladiators successfully failed to represent the people but instead they represented their own members who continued to face warrant arrests under terrible atrocities committed nationwide hence myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

It is of paramount importance to note that the National Constitutional Assembly and other civic groups had initiated the crusade for a people driven constitution prior to 2000. What is interesting is that during the constitution making process, the civic groups were isolated as they lost centre stage in the process. Gatsheni reiterated that civil societies participated in constitutional outreach programmes countrywide as invited guests of political gladiators.²⁰ He further argued that amid the 2000-2008 election period, civic groups found themselves fabricated between Zanu-pf and MDC affiliations. It indeed reduced the civic groups to instruments controlled by political parties. It should be captured that the MDC ceased to be a democratic polity because the party isolated the NCA and fostered its own agendas vis-a-vis the demands of the people. The movement totally divorced itself from the people when it gained state power and recognition in the G.N.U. Improvement of social amenities and better living conditions all remained between a dream and a nightmare.

The constitution making process was politicised and manipulated by the three political parties. Maduku argued that the constitution making process was not democratic in nature. He deliberated that the constitutional outreach programmes were influenced by political manipulation of participants to vote in favor of what the three political parties valued. He also commented that ,there was violence during the outreach programme by giving a typical example of the dearth of Mai Musodzi Hall in Mbare.²¹ Indeed the constitutional outreach program was conducted under repressive legislations such as AIPPA and POSA characterized by political

intimidation and intolerance from the three political parties. The MDC failed to represent the interests of the people because it perpetrated violence against the state too. By adopting violent politics the MDC totally betrayed the outcry by Zimbabwean Citizens. The party youths perpetrated violence against the police who tried to maintain order during the outreach programs. An NGO activist highlighted that in an outreach programme in Tsholotsho, the MDC youths disciplined two young head boys who wear heading cattle wearing Zanu-pf T-shirts which justified intolerance in the polity.²²

It is important to note that during the outreach programmers, the MDC political gladiators organized their youth to masquerade as ordinary people offering their views in the constitution making process. The whole process was politicized as evidenced by the withdrawal of the NCA in 2013. As highlighted earlier the MDC was interested in acquiring state power vis-à-vis the interests of the people. The polity failed to implement key reforms before elections. MDC-T Member of Parliament for Harare West ,Josie Majome agreed that civic groups were caught in a dilemma of political turmoil during the outreach programs.²³ She said the presence of repressive legislations during the outreach program signals the failure by her polity to represent the interests of the people. One can argue that the MDC was not democratic because it successfully failed to democratize the Zimbabwean political space in the G.N.U politics. Its ideology of participating in the outreach program characterized by intolerance and violence showed that the polity did not possess democratic fundamental principles.

The democratic nature of the MDC created a lot of questions than answers during the G.N.U politics. After the end of the constitution making process, the MDC factions were on a paraffin speed encouraging the people to vote yes in favour of the constitution while the people had not

yet seen and verified the final draft. The whole process was politicized as citizens had not been given the opportunity to analyze if their opinions were properly cited in the final draft. David Saungweme a development agent reiterated that the MDC-T's "Yes Vote" campaign was manipulated and ill-advised because it neglected the democratic principles but instead dictated to the public opinion.²⁴ They rushed to campaign in favor of the constitution before it was taken to its stakeholders and constituents which demonstrated their quest for power and leadership positions while abandoning the interests of the people.

Blessing Vavu a NCA member argued that the MDC never wanted people to participate in the constitution making process.²⁵ Maduku argued on the basis why the NCA withdrew from the constitution making because he thought the outreach was not people driven but manipulated by political gladiators in the G.N.U.²⁵ The study argues that the MDC abandoned the interests of the general public and made political concordats with the state as the constitution making process. As Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Tsvangirai failed to ensure economic freedom and development but he achieved having several girlfriends while the general public remained poverty stricken hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

Maduku reiterated that the MDC was on a paraffin speed advocating for a successful referendum while the G.N.U printed only 90 000 of constitutional copies vis-à-vis the 13 million Zimbabwean population.²⁶ Indeed this was problematic in terms of public opinion but to the MDC all was well because the constitution enshrined the interests of politicians. The MDC political gladiators dreamt of themselves abusing wealth and power in the state house before elections. That is why they sought to speed up the referendum in order, to manipulate the voice of the people of whom they had misrepresented and forgotten long back. The polity's failure to

democratize the Zimbabwean political space justified that it was a pseudo democracy within a party. The MDC successfully failed to exhibit democratic fundamental principles in the G.N.U but instead they were agents of corruption and violence.

Conclusion

In conclusion the developments that characterized the formation and existence of the Government of National Unity demonstrated the undemocratic nature of the MDC. The advent of intolerance in the MDC politics evidenced by violence, political intimidation and hate speech were some major key factors. Chief to note was that the MDC claimed to democratic but it entered the GNU which was contrary to a democracy. This is because it was a politically negotiated pact which benefited the elite only as, people didn't vote for its existence. The MDC successfully failed to represent the interests of the people but successfully achieved intolerance, corruption and personal ambitions of political gladiators. The MDC failed to achieve reforms in the GNU such as devolution of power but they never tired dreaming of democracy in indigenous and foreign languages. The constitution making process was politicized by political gladiators. Civic groups were suppressed and given room as invited guests while the three polities devised the constitution to satisfy their political ambitions. All in all, the other major key proponents of the research which characterized the undemocratic Nature of the MDC were highlighted in the chapter.

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Chapter 4

Democracy and the Second Split in the Movement for Democratic Change.

Introduction

The July polls held in 2013 brought an end to the GNU in general and sparked an MDC internal revolution in particular. Internal disputes in the MDC were characterized by violence, hate speech, blame shifting politics and factionalism which clearly demonstrated that the MDC is not a democratic institution. Sekai Holland and MDC-T Renewal team members believes that Tsvangirai has overstayed at the helm of the party.¹They argue that in a democracy leaders come and go thus it is time for Tsvangirai to step down. The study seeks to highlight on the developments which led to the second split of the MDC. The open leadership renewal article and letter to Tsvangirai by Mudzuri and Mangoma largely contributed to the second split in 2014. The violence at the MDC headquarters and war of words vis-à-vis democracy will be highlighted as well. Defections and failure to unite the party were also major proponents of the research which characterized the undemocratic nature of the MDC. It will be demonstrated that the undemocratic nature of the MDC has largely contributed to its second split. The nature of conflicts in the MDC politics demonstrated that the party never existed to serve the interests of the majority in Zimbabwe but it existed to suit the interests of political gladiators. What is disturbing is that the polity still masquerades as democratic but it has successfully failed to democratize the Zimbabwean political space. Therefore the chapter focused on democracy in the MDC and reasons behind the second split.

Leadership Renewal Conflicts in MDC

There are multiple factors which led to the second split of the MDC. Among these was the issue of leadership renewal. The violent conflicts associated with leadership renewal in the MDC justified that the polity was not a democratic institution. The MDC-T National Council had removed clause 6.1.3 of the MDC constitution in 2009 to increase Tsvangirai's terms in office which was undemocratic and unconstitutional.² The irony of MDC-T politics is that, after the defeat of their messiah leader in the July polls, those who had manipulated the constitution to cement Tsvangirai's dictatorship, stood to confront him quit as president. This is because he had lost three consecutive elections against R.G. Mugabe. The manner in which leadership renewal issues were manipulated and Tsvangirai's refusal to step down after 14 years of dictatorship justified that the movement was not driven by democratic fundamental principles. In a democracy leaders come and go but Tsvangirai refused to step down arguing that his terms started when the original MDC split in 2005 hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

The MDC-T Leadership Renewal Article by Elias Mudzuri and the Second split.

The politics of the MDC since formation were characterized by democratic loopholes. Following the split in 2005 over ideological differences in parliamentary elections, Raptopoulos noted that the dramatic schism and implosion in the Movement for Democratic Change, Zimbabwe's main opposition party, in 2005-2006, has once again raised major questions about the future of opposition politics not only at national level, but also on the continent.³ The refusal by Tsvangirai to step down facilitated political turmoil in the MDC. Failure to exhibit tangible democratic solutions to democratize Zimbabwe triggered an internal revolution in the party. Elias Mudzuri demonstrated five fundamental principles to restore democracy which never existed in the MDC.

The study strongly maintains that the MDC is not a democratic institution because constructive criticism has been captured in bad light as rebellion or violation of the party structures by political gladiators.

In an article by Mudzuri challenging Tsvangirai to step down, he suggested five key steps which he thought would map a way forward for the MDC which had masqueraded as a democratic polity but in disguise. He highlighted that the MDC should either

[a] Maintain the party National Council and go for an early congress with same leadership.

[b] Summon an urgent emergence Congress before 2016 to solve leadership disputes.

[c] National Council leadership positions are contested at the 2016 Congress and come out fresh revived Leadership.

[d] Tsvangirai steps down ceremoniously as the party's godfather and a new leader succeeds him. He becomes like a "Mandela" of the party and allows re-engineering of party structures, inclusive of the party constitution which would limit the future president of the polity to lead for two terms only.

[e] Morgan Tsvangirai does not step down. He maintains his grassroots support and those against him unite to form their own party or adventurously join the various mushrooming political parties in the country.⁴

What is disturbing is that the MDC-T National Council successfully failed to exhibit democratic fundamental principles. Instead of taking Mudzuri's opinions into consideration, they went on a paraffin speed to announce on disciplinary measures to be taken against him. This was contrary to democracy and constitutionalism. The party chairperson Lovemore Moyo was mandated to take disciplinary action against Mudziri.⁵ All this mischievous behavior justified that there was no democracy in the MDC. In a democracy there is respect of human rights, freedom of speech

and of expression. What characterizes that democracy ceased to exist in the MDC is that constructive criticism was captured in bad light as rebellion or violation of the party constitution. The name MDC-T has been manipulated by political gladiators to make it an asset of Tsvangirai and his loyalists. This made the split inevitable in 2014.

Mangoma's contributions and the Controversy at Harvest House Headquarters.

The irony of democracy in the MDC was its association with violence and intimidation of party officials at Harvest House in Harare. Following Mudzuri's article, Elton Mangoma authored Tsvangirai a 1303 word letter suggesting that he should step down and be accommodated as the founding father of the polity in a constitutional amendment at congress .⁶He suggested that Tsvangirai pass on the political button stick to Thokozani Khupe who would then, finish his term until the 2016 congress decided on new leadership. The irony of events perpetuated the thorough beating and suspension of Mangoma on allegations that he had violated the MDC constitution and undermined the leadership of the party. The violence unleashed on Mangoma justified that there MDC was not a democracy. What is disturbing is that Mangoma was disciplined in the presence of the National Council members who were reluctant to take initiative and stop the youths vying for Mangoma's blood. To make matters worse the National Council manipulated the MDC constitution and suspended Mangoma without two thirds majority vote as enshrined in the MDC constitution on disciplinary measures.⁷ This justified that the MDC never existed to be represent the interests of the people. The party split was inevitable as divisions were prominent over leadership renewal in the polity.

In response to Mangoma's letter Tsvangirai ultimately told the Leadership Renewal Team that he was not going to step down.⁸ What is disturbing is that, the MDC leader called upon those opposed to his 14 year dictatorship to form their own political party. This then showed that the

MDC was not a democratic polity but it was a personal political haven of political gladiators. Tsvangirai and his loyalists refused to step down on claims that they have grass root support. The irony of events in the polity were efforts by the MDC leadership to reduce powers invested in the Secretary General's office in order to extend Tsvangirai's dictatorship beyond 14 years.⁹ In a democracy leaders come and go but the MDC have been running on a paraffin speed trying to extend Tsvangirai's dictatorship. All this mischievous elements of the MDC politics justify that the polity never exhibited democratic principles. There is no doubt that he wants to die at the helm of the polity. Failure to agree on leadership renewal led to the second major split of the polity in 2014.

Violence in the MDC and the Second Major Split.

The institutionalization of violence at the party headquarters at Harvest House showed that the MDC was not a democratic institution. Zimbabwe Independent reiterated on violence at Harvest House when Deputy Treasurer Elton Mangoma was assaulted in the presence of the party president.¹⁰ The violence was perpetrated by party youths after the former had asked Tsvangirai to step down as highlighted before. The violent nature of the MDC politics was contrary to democracy. It is also argued that during the GNU politics, the MDC youths perpetrated violence wearing Zanu-pf regalia at Harvest house in a bid to discredit the revolutionary party ahead of the 2013 elections.¹¹ Former MDC-T youth leader Promise Mkwanzani argued that MDC-T should not continue walking on an undemocratic path because after expelling Munyaradzi Gwisai, the party has violently continued dismissing innocent individuals.¹² He further perpetuated that constructive criticism was stereotyped as rebellion with violent dismissal. The institutionalization of violence in the MDC and the dismissal of party members unconstitutionally justified that the MDC-T was not a democratic party. Violence is totally

divorced from democracy and the conflicts over violence at Harvest house and leadership renewal divisions envisaged the second major split in 2014.

The violent nature of the MDC politics saw the eviction of former Marondera Central MP Ian Kay after he joined forces with former exiled party treasurer Roy Benet in calling for Tsvangirai to step down as MDC-T president. Reports reiterated that Ian Kay was chased away by, Peter Nyadendera, Richman Karonge, More Marata the party's youth chairman for ward 1 in Marondera's Dombotombo and Charles Ngwenya.¹³ What is disturbing is that, Marondera MDC-T district coordinators approved the dismissal of Kay without a directive from the National Council. All this was contrary to democracy and constitutionalism. According to the MDC constitution, dismissal of a member was presided by the National Council using the disciplinary code of conduct but, the District council manipulated the dismissal of Ian Kay. This shows that the MDC was a pseudo democracy within a party. Therefore, the violent nature of the MDC politics justified that the polity never existed to exhibit democratic fundamental principles.

War of Words and Democracy in the Movement for Democratic Change.

The issue of leadership renewal sparked an internal revolt in the MDC. Instead of solving their disputes amicably using democracy and constitutionalism, the MDC leadership successfully failed to settle their dispute over leadership renewal amicably. Many party leaders had called upon Tsvangirai to step down but, this fell on deaf ears as the party cadre maintained his illegal 14 year stay in office. Herald news reporter quoted Mr Tsvangirai in an interview arguing that he was a legitimate leader.¹⁴ Tsvangirai also threatened that if his opponents dared not to change their minds then a second split was inevitable such as the one that took place in 2005.¹⁵ In rebuttal the Renewal Team threatened to evict Tsvangirai by force if he refused to step down. The use of strong words between the warring factions justified that democracy ceased to exist in

the MDC. This was another reason behind the split because the renewal team members believed it was time for Tsvangirai to step down.

Former MDC Secretary General Tendai Biti argued that the MDC had long back diverted from its founding values and democratic principles. He said the party was like a Frankenstein Monster no longer recognizable.¹⁶ He argued that by convening a National Council meeting that banned Tsvangirai and his executive at Mendel, was an ideal of revisiting the party founding values. In rebuttal MDC chairman Lovemore Moyo argued that those who thought Tsvangirai could not lead them were free to form their own party.¹⁷ MDC-T spokesperson Douglass Mwonozora argued that the leadership conflicts were facilitated by Zanu-pf CIO although there is a lot of debate. The study highlights that there was no democracy in the MDC because constructive criticism was captured in bad light as rebellion. The strong language used by Lovemore Moyo signaled that the MDC was a party ready to suit the interests of Tsvangirai and cement his dictatorship. What is disturbing is that despite overstaying in power he has gone on a paraffin speed trying to cement his illegitimacy in rallies conducted nationwide

The issue of blame shifting politics totally justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution. Women Assembly chairperson Teresa Makoni blamed Roy Benet for causing factionalism within the party. She argued that Roy Benet paid people money not to defect to MDC-M in 2005. She even threatened that those factional groups trying to destabilize MDC-T were going to see the real spirit of Mbuya Nehanda descending on them.¹⁸ Makoni threatened people in Manicaland that when Tsvangirai becomes president he was going to descend upon all rebel and factional groups with an iron axe. The hate speech evidenced in Makoni's words justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution because in a democracy there is tolerance, respect and promotion of human rights. This also led to the split in 2014.

Makoni reiterated that Tsvangirai was under siege from a rebellious Zanu-pf faction, which was contrary to democracy and constitutionalism. Also the use of threats and hate speech by Tsvangirai in rallies conducted nationwide justified that the MDC was not democratic in nature. In an interview with a social worker who attended most of Tsvangirai's rallies, argued that he teased people who had voted for Zanu-pf in 2005 as useless people who could not even afford to buy themselves underwears.¹⁹ In 2000 Tsvangirai was broadcasted on ZBC threatening the mass public saying that they haven't started suffering hence they are yet to suffer. The use of strong words in the MDC has for long demonstrated that the polity ceased to be driven by democratic fundamental values and principles. Instead of serving the interests of the people, the party has successfully engaged it's self in factional battles locally and on international platforms. The warring factions led by Biti and Tsvangirai played politics of self-aggrandizement, as they appeared fighting over party assets such as the MDC-T logo, party headquarters, name and other fixed assets instead of representing the interests of the people.

Defections and Failure to unify the party.

The level of defections in the MDC politics proved beyond reasonable doubt that the party had democratic loopholes. The MDC Executive members successfully failed to convene on leadership renewal disputes. The reluctance to map a way forward for the polity, after its loss in the July 2013 polls made the split inevitable. The majority of the MDC officials had grown intolerant with Tsvangirai's overstay in power and the party's failure to implement reforms during the G.N.U politics. What characterized the undemocratic nature of the MDC was the ideological intention of manipulating the MDC constitution at congress in order to increase Tsvangirai's illegitimacy since he had fought a battle of Secretary Generals.²⁰ Divisions over leadership renewal facilitated desertions in the MDC. The former MDC-T Bulawayo provincial

spokesperson Gordon Moyo deserted Tsvangirai to join the MDC renewal team led by Tendai Biti because the former was refusing to step down.²¹ He deserted on allegations that the MDC had diverted from its founding values as evidenced by confusion in the polity. Failure to agree on leadership renewal and the ideology of revisiting the party's founding values characterized the split in 2014.

The advent of Sekai Holland at the helm of the party, as interim chairperson of the Guiding Council, to solve internal disputes failed to yield positive results. She was tasked to amicably settle down the disputes of the warring factions but unfortunately Tsvangirai's intolerance made the activity null and void. Holland deserted to join the renewal team as its Interim president. She accused Tsvangirai of seeking to amend the party constitution and arm himself with excessive executive powers.²² To a larger extent the defections justified that the MDC was not a democratic institution. Instead of representing the interests of the people, it is clear that MDC-Tsvangirai had become a personal property of one individual. The party failed to revert towards its founding values and fundamental principles. The party demonstrated that its democracy was a myth because it successfully failed to unify the warring factions. This led to the second major split in 2014.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, the nature of conflicts in the MDC justified that democracy ceased to exist in the party. The developments which led to the split were characterized by leadership renewal conflicts which created intense factionalism in the party. The failure by Tsvangirai to acknowledge democratic fundamental principles and step down made the split inevitable. Chaos rocked the polity and the party successfully failed to settle their disputes amicably. Resolutions made by Sekai Holland were considered destructive and thrown into the dust bins of history. The

war of words in the polity demonstrated that democracy was a myth rather than a reality. Failure to acknowledge constructive criticism ushered in by Mudzuri and Mangoma made the split inevitable because of intolerance in the MDC. Defections were prominent in the party. The violence unleashed on Mangoma and the level of intolerance in the MDC facilitated the second major split in 2014. For sure the MDC was not a democratic institution. If it was a democracy then the second split could have remained between a dream and a night mare, hence, the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

End Notes.

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2. Constitution of the Movement for Democratic Change, As approved by the Inaugural Congress of the MDC held at Chitungwiza in January 2000 and amended and adopted at the Second Congress at the City Sports Centre-Harare on the 18th of March 2006 and amended and adopted at the Third Congress at Barbour fields Stadium, Bulawayo on 30/04/ 2011.
3. B Raptopoulus, “ *Reflections on the Opposition in Zimbabwe: The politics of the Movement for Democratic Change*”, cited in The best Zimbabwe news site on the world wide web, Zimbabwe Institute in collaboration with Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 09/09 14,13:14:54pm.
4. E Mudzuri, “*Step down and be a ‘Mandela’ of the party* ” cited in Nehanda Radio, posted on 5 November 2013, 10:08am, retrieved on 10 /10/14.
5. Staff Reporter, “*MDC-T to summon Mudzuri for telling Tsvangirai to stand down and be a Mandela*”, cited in Harare News24, 13/10/14, 12:40pm.
6. Newsdze Zimbabwe, Mangoma Tells Tsvangirai to go, Sunday, 16/01/014.
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8. NewsdzeZimbabwe, Tsvangirai tells Mangoma: I’m going Nowhere, Friday 31/01/14.
9. F Zaba, “*MDC amends Constitution to suit Tsvangirai*” cited in Zimbabwe Independent, 08/10/09.
10. Zimbabwe Independent, Mangoma speaks on violence in MDC-T, 21/02/14.
11. Forum Desk, “*MDC-T crafts violence project,* ”cited in The Land is the economy and the Economy is the land.
12. P Mkwanzani, “*The MDC cannot continue on an undemocratic path,*” cited in Nehanda Radio, Posted on 10/03/14, 4:26pm.
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14. NewsdzeZimbabwe, Tsvangirai tells Mangoma: I’m going nowhere, 31/01/14.
15. Ibid.
16. Zimbabwean Mail, Dialogue between TendaiBiti and Richard Chidza, 16/05/14,page.7.
17. Southern Eye, WAR OF WORDS: Moyo wades into Tsvangirai ouster war, 26/09/14.

18. Tatenda Mabasa, “*I blame Roy Bennett for these problems: Theresa Makone on Manicaland*”, cited in Nehanda Radio, Mutare, posted on 25/07/13, 1:21pm.
19. Interview with T. Moyo, Social Worker, Nkulumane, Bulawayo, 29/06 2014.
20. F Zaba, “*MDC amends Constitution to suit Tsvangirai*” cited in Zimbabwe Independent, 08/10/09.
21. N Chiutsi, “*Gorden Moyo dumps Tsvangirai* ” cited in Sunday News, 21/09/14.
22. P Muzulu, “*Holland Joins MDC Renewal Team*”, cited in News Day Zimbabwe,17/09/14.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, it has been demonstrated that the MDC has betrayed the interests of the majority of the Zimbabwean people who viewed it as an alternative political movement from Zanu-pf. The MDC is characterized with politics of hero-worshipping, dictatorial tyrannical tendencies, politics of rewards in general and intolerance in particular. It has been demonstrated that the MDC has been characterized with a number of splits a clear indication that the political gladiators in the movement are highly intolerant and not representing the voice of the people which is the voice of God in a democracy. The splits clearly demonstrate that politics in the MDC is a political project to serve personal interests contrary to democracy and constitutionalism hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

The constitutional amendments at the 2014 forth MDC Congress held at city sports centre under the theme: Towards national convergence, the solution towards the National crisis, demonstrated that the MDC is a movement against democratic change. Power was centralized in the hands of Tsvangirai the MDC-T president who is above law and a law unto himself in the party. These made the president to be the custodian of the party name, party assets, supervise all leadership and to suspend National Standing Committee members through the National Council thus manipulation of the party constitution. The secretary general's position was diluted to create an all-powerful post for the president. The imposition of Tsvangirai's face and name on all party symbols and logo have created a power crazed dictator. The MDC-T president is now chief custodian of the party's finances and administration. Therefore the results of the congress demonstrate that the MDC is not a democratic institution because the party is now a personal property of an individual. The president now owns party property and has powers to dismiss members when he so wishes, hence the myth of the democratic project in Zimbabwe.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



QUESTIONNAIRE

Tinashe H Njodzi [R111459A] is a student from Midlands State University studying a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree in History. The main objective of this study is to review on democracy in the MDC. The researcher kindly requires you to fill in the questionnaires honestly, and wishes to assure the respondents that the information obtained will only be used for academic purposes only. The researcher respects confidentiality of the information, hence the questionnaire does not require you to write your name.

Date.....Sex.....

Signature.....

Organization.....

Male

Female

Register your Opinion by a single tick inside the box

1. Is there democracy in Zimbabwe? Yes No Not Sure

2. Is MDC a polity driven by democratic principles? Yes No
3. Should Tsvangirai step down as MDC-T President? Yes No
4. Is Zanu-pf CIO behind the second major MDC Split? Yes No
5. Is the MDC party a democratic institution? Yes No
6. What led to the party split in 2005?
- [a] Intolerance and violence in the MDC?
 - [b] Tsvangirai's Dictatorship?
 - [c] Tribalism in the MDC?
 - [d] Politics of self-aggrandizement.
7. How do you define the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai?
- [a] A democratic oriented individual?
 - [b] A puppet of the West?
 - [c] Political Gladiator
 - [d] Icon of Africa

Thank you for your response. God bless you.

Appendix 2

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Tinashe H Njodzi an undergraduate student of History at Midlands State University. I am undertaking a research on democracy in the Movement for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe. I would be grateful for your objective responses to the questions listed below. I would like to assure you that the information collected will be strictly for academic purposes and will be treated with uttermost confidentiality. I appreciate your coordination and support.

Date..... Sex.....

Signature.....

Organization.....

1. The MDC was formed in September 1999 by various civil society groups. It split in 2005 to form MDC-T and MDC-M. What were the reasons behind the split?

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2 .Why is it that many new political parties formed in Zimbabwe masquerades under the logo, “Movement for Democratic Change ”?”

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3. How democratic is the Movement for Democratic Change.?E.g. Does it uphold democratic principles i.e transparency, accountability, respect and promote human rights?

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4. In a democracy leaders come and go but Tsvangirai has refused to step down. How do you justify the democratic nature of the MDC?

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4. What are the reasons behind the MDC major split in 2014?

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Thank you for your response. God Bless you

INTERVIEW GUIDE

MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



INTERVIEW GUIDE

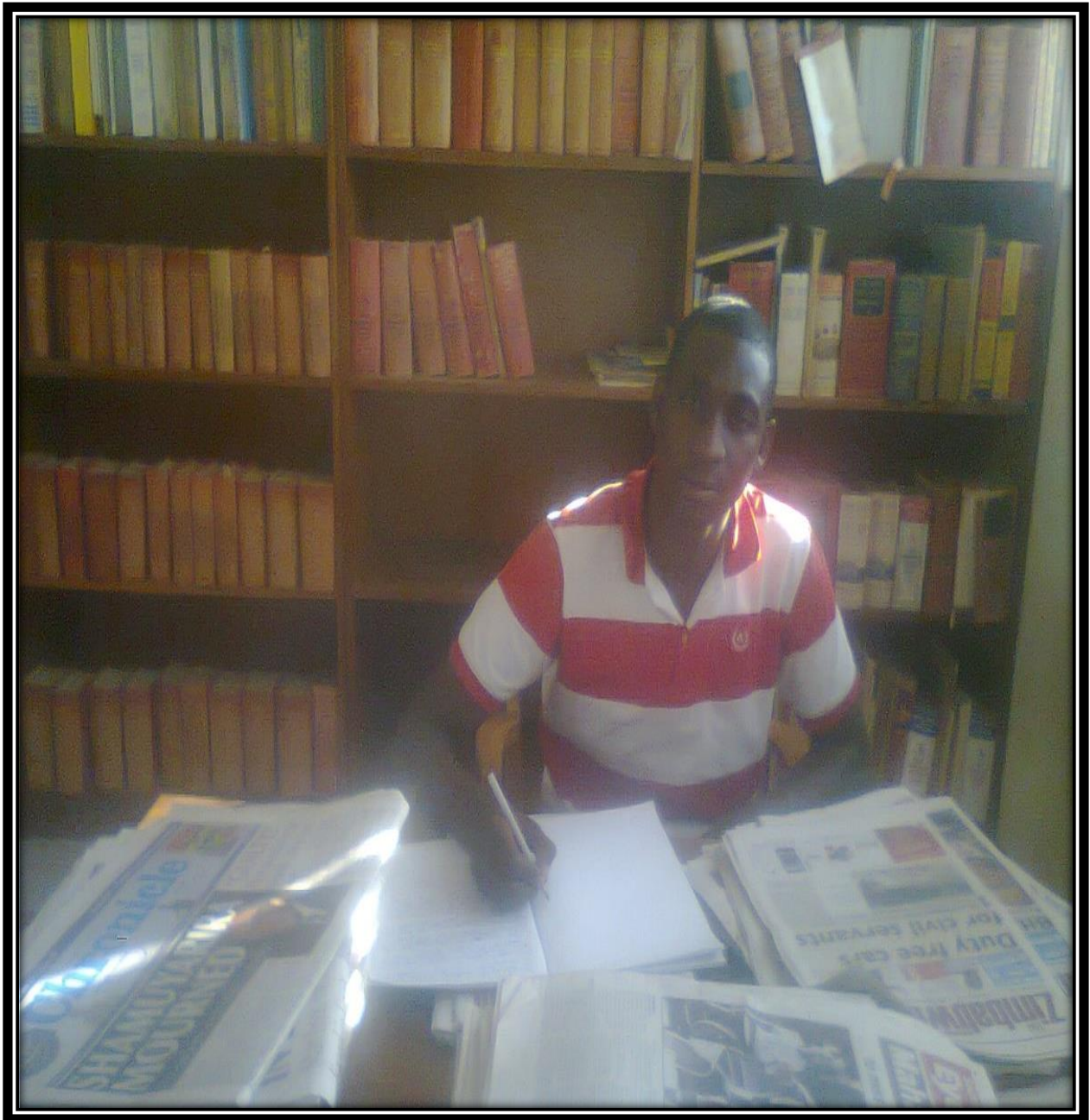
Tinashe Njodzi is a student from Midlands State University studying a Bachelor of Arts Honors Degree in History. The main objective of this study is to review on the democracy in the Movement for Democratic Change. The researcher kindly requests you to answer the questions with uttermost honesty, as the research is for academic reasons. Confidentiality of the obtained information will be observed.

1. What reasons lead to the formation of the MDC?
2. Can you briefly explain the reasons why the party split in 2005?
3. What led to the development of intolerance and violence in the MDC?
4. How democratic is the Movement for Democratic Change?
5. What role did the MDC play in the Government of National Unity? Did the party manage to represent the interests of the people and how?
6. What have been the reasons behind factionalism in the MDC vis-à-vis democracy?
7. In a democracy one leads for only two terms but, why has Tsvangirai remained as President of the MDC while his terms expired in 2010?
8. What are the reasons behind the party's second major split?
9. Where do you see the MDC in the next 10 years?
10. Do you think the MDC will govern the country one day?

Thank you for your response.

Dissertation Research pictures

Student Conducting Research at the National Archives in Bulawayo. 14/06/14



Researcher engaging youths on questionnaire research.



Student Conducting Research at the National Archives in Bulawayo.15/07/14

