The post-liberation leadership and governance failures of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) of Zimbabwe (2017 to 2020)

By

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Abstract

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 marked the first step towards the partition of Africa. After this date, Europeans began to colonize the continent. Colonialism was an economic enterprise which was meant to boost the economy of the colonizers. Both South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (today known as Zimbabwe) were colonised by the British. This study examines the legacy of colonialism in these two countries. It looks at the impact of colonialism on how liberation movements such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Zimbabwean African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) have led their respective countries since independence. The specific purpose of this comparative study is to examine the causal factors that have contributed to the failures of African liberation movements in terms leadership and governance since independence. The study followed a qualitative paradigm using desktop research. As such, it relied on secondary sources such as books, journal articles and documents which talk about the two liberation movements (that is, the ANC and ZANU-PF). Most of these sources are available online. Collected data were analysed thematically. To locate the study in the broader context, historical institutionalism and competitive authoritarianism were used as grounding theories. One of the findings is that the failure of the liberation movements in the two countries were due to both the colonial legacy and African leadership challenges. While the results of the study are specific to the two case studies, they paint a bigger picture about the failure of African liberation movements in general to manage the switch from being liberation movements to becoming governing political parties. As such, one of the recommendations of this study is that African liberation movements should do self-introspection and cross-reference with other liberation movements across the African continent in order to address some of their failures.

Keywords: Colonialism, Colonial Legacy, Democracy, Liberation Struggle, Nationalist Liberation Movement.

Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ANCYL	African National Congress Youth League
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CAR	Central African Republic
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
DA	Democratic Alliance
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FFP	Freedom Front Plus
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LGE	Local Government Elections
MK	Umkhonto Wesizwe
MPLA	People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NEC	National Executive Committee
NWC	National Working Committee
NA	National Assembly
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program

SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front
TA	Thematic Analysis
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZP	Zulu Police

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my late Mother Mandisa Blossom Solani. May her beautiful soul rest in peace!

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Throughout the writing of this dissertation, I have received great deal of support and assistance from different people.

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Declaration

I, **Asisipho Solani**, hereby declare that this dissertation entitled "The causal factors that contributed to the failures of the liberation movements in Southern Africa after independence: A case study of the ANC and ZANU-PF, 2017-2020" is my own independent original work. It has not been submitted before for any other academic examination at any learning institution.

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Date:…….30 September 2021 ………………………………………………………………

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The African continent has been under the control of the colonial powers ever since the scramble for Africa from 1885 to the 1960's. The European countries started dividing the African continent so that they could control its people and its natural resources while also controlling them politically. The African continent became a contested terrain among Europeans. This created difficult conditions for the African people who were oppressed and exploited by different Europeans. This state of affairs continued until Africans embarked on the liberation struggle aimed at freeing themselves from colonial oppression. African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and many others called for the liberation of Africa. They wanted African countries to govern themselves through self-determination. While the call for liberation was always there, it was given more impetus by the outbreak of World War II. Having been part of this war, and having seen white people being defeated, Africans realized that their white counterparts were not invincible after all.

The liberation struggle took different forms. The first part took the form of negotiations with the oppressors. When this strategy failed, Africans embarked on the armed struggle. In the case of the African National Congress (ANC), for example, the armed struggled was launched on 16 December 1961. By this time, several African countries had already obtained their political independence. Amongst them were Ghana and Nigeria. Others were to follow soon after that, with Angola and Mozambique joining later in 1975. In the case of Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), it was Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) that led the liberation struggle. After independence in 1980, these two liberation movements merged to form Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF).

The aim of this study is to investigate the factors that contributed to the failures of the African liberation movements to transition from being liberation movements to becoming governing political parties. In order to illuminate the discussion, the study will use South Africa's ANC and Zimbabwe's ZANU-PF as case studies.

1.2 Background and rationale of the study

As mentioned above, the aim of the study is to extensively look at the challenges faced by African national liberation movements in the post-independence period. This is a comparative study between the ANC and ZANU-PF in the period 2017-2020. This period was chosen because both in South Africa and in Zimbabwe the two governing parties' (ANC and ZANU-PF) disintegration became more evident as Presidents Cyril Ramaphosa and Emmerson Mnangagwa ascended to power. They presided over weak parties compared to the past. Intriguingly, both leaders claimed to be coming with a "New Dawn."

A quick look at different liberation movements across the African continent leads to the conclusion that they have been affected by both similar and different factors which had an impact on how they have performed as governing political parties. The two critical areas of analysis are: leadership and governance. In carrying out this analysis, both endogenous (internal) and exogenous (external) factors shall be taken into consideration. At a macro level, the study shall examine how deep and entrenched the legacies of the colonial system in Africa are and how much contribution has been made by African leaders in these leadership and governance failures.

1.3 Research Question

The main research question to which this study sought to find an answer is the following:

What are the causal factors that have contributed to the failures of African liberation movements in playing their role as governing political parties post-independence in the areas of leadership and governance? Specifically, what can we glean from an analysis of the ANC and ZANU-PF in the period 2017-2020?

1.4 Research and Objectives

The objective of this study are:

- To establish the challenges that National Liberation Movements face in the post-colonial period when they run government;
- To find out how entrenched and deep-rooted colonialism was and its impact in the post-colonial African politics; and
- To proffer some ideas on how these challenges could be addressed or averted.

In a nutshell, the study looks at causal factors that contribute towards failures of leadership in government when liberation movements became governing parties after independence.

1.5 Chapter outline

The study is divided into six chapters, which are organized as follow:

1.5.1 Chapter one: Introduction and background to the study

This chapter has provided an overview of the study before focusing on the historical background of colonialism in Africa. The chapter has further outlined the actual process of colonialism discussing how and why it started as well as how it evolved.

The study's aim and objectives, as well as research questions, have also been presented in this chapter. The chapter ends by providing an overview of the problem and by stating how the entire document (Mini-Thesis) is organised.

1.5.2 Chapter two: Literature review

This chapter will review existing works on the theme of the study. It will address the study's fundamental analytical framework, looking at concepts of colonialism, challenges of Liberation Movements in Post-Colonial Africa and other issues capture in the literature by various authors. This chapter will look at the role played by African National Liberation Movements from a general perspective and with specific reference to the two case studies. The chapter will also discuss the relationship between colonialism and Africa in the post-colonial era in order to provide the broader context within which the present case studies could be understood. The chapter will then discuss the rationale of the study before presenting the conclusion.

1.5.3 Chapter three: Theoretical framework

Because the study focuses on the challenges faced by African National Liberation Movements post-colonialism, it is grounded on two theories: Historical institutionalism and Competitive Authoritarian theories. Importantly, criticisms leveled against these theories will be discussed, and justification for using the theories despite those criticisms shall be provided. Lastly, the relevance of the theories will be discussed before drawing the conclusion.

1.5.4 Chapter four: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will entail describing how the study was carried out. The data collection process, data analysis and any challenges experienced during the data collection phase and how such challenges were either minimised or dealt with shall also be covered in this chapter.

1.4.5 Chapter five: Research Findings and Analysis

This penultimate chapter will present and discuss the findings of the study. It will also analyse the data collected so that it would be easier for the reader to understand it better. The analysis will focus on issues of party politics, which will mainly look at factionalism and power struggle. The primary focus will be on the ANC and ZANU-PF which are liberation movements and governing parties in South Africa and Zimbabwe, respectively. This will confirm the point made at the beginning that this is a comparative study. As such, the results will have to draw from both South Africa and Zimbabwe to highlight both the similarities and differences.

1.4.6 Chapter six: Summary, conclusion and recommendations

This last chapter will pull the entire mini-thesis together – starting from the introduction right up to chapter 5. Firstly, the key findings of the study will be reiterated. Secondly, the chapter will make recommendations which will be informed by the findings presented in Chapter 5. The recommendations will take two forms. Some will specifically draw from the study itself with the view to suggest what needs to be done in order to improve the current practice. Others will propose the way forward in terms of possible future studies on the same theme.

Now that the scene has been set, the next chapter will focus on the literature review.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

With the background already presented in Chapter I, the purpose of this chapter is to provide some discussion of the burgeoning literature on the conditions of post-colonialism in the African continent. As per the title of the present study, this will be a comparative analysis between Zimbabwe and South Africa. Zimbabwe and South Africa are close to each other in terms of their geographical location. Moreover, politically and economically, the two countries are interlinked. Importantly, the Nationalist Liberation Movements in these countries supported one another's efforts during their respective struggle to free themselves from white domination. Firstly, the discussion shall look at the concept of colonialism. Secondly, it will broadly look at colonialism as a concept before narrowing it down to the liberation movements of the two selected countries. The present mini-thesis focuses on the role played by the liberation movements in their transition from the colonial period to the post-colonial era, which is the post-independence phase. Specifically, it addresses the question: at what stage was it particularly challenging for the liberation movements? For example, what did the transition from being liberation movements to assuming the position of being modern governing political parties entail and how did these liberation movements deal with this transition? Much of the consolidated literature review examines the challenges that are faced by these liberation movements after years of political independence and after they became governing parties.

This study looks at both the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) of Zimbabwe to provide a comparative analysis. Within this context, the present chapter considers the nature of both South African politics and Zimbabwean politics. This will allow for an examination of the nature of liberation movements both prior to and after liberation and furthermore examine the challenges they had to wrestle with. This comparison is important because both countries experienced similar colonial rule as both were British colonies and both had a settler colonial system. However, South Africa will also present another angle since it went through what is now referred to in the literature as 'colonialism of a special type' (Turok, 2008) as referred to

in the Strategy and Tactic of the ANC in 2012. This refers to the apartheid era whereby the colonizer was living together with the colonized. Also, the once colonized Boers oppressed black people.

Structurally, this chapter will flow in the following manner: Firstly, it shall look at the idea of colonialism as a concept from a broader perspective and then narrow it down to the selected cases. Secondly, the chapter is going to look at the general legacies of colonialism. Thirdly, the focus shall be on the liberation struggle in both the ANC and ZANU-PF and how liberation was attained in both cases. Lastly, this chapter will briefly look at both countries' post-independence period as they became ruling or governing parties.

2.2 Colonialism

In a general sense, colonialism refers to the process whereby Western countries took control over other countries (globally, but especially in Africa) with the aim to dominate over them and extract their mineral resources and agricultural products in order to satisfy the taste of their home governments in Europe. In a nutshell, Africa experienced both direct and indirect rule. Mamdani coined direct rule as 'centralized despotism' and he coined indirect rule as 'decentralized despotism' (Mamdani, 1996). This sort of control gave powers to the foreign countries to impose domination and control in any way they could in order to establish permanently organized repression. This repression would bring about various developments such as destroying the cultures of the indigenous people and also exploiting those indigenous people (Cabral, 1970).

Colonialism unfolded in different ways. In certain instances, it brought about direct control whereby the colonisers settled in the country and governed it themselves. On the other hand, colonisers utilized the pre-existing traditional governance structures and appointed their own people to take key and strategic positions to rule the natives. Colonialism had vast shapes and styles in different countries depending on who colonised that region. For example, the French colonised most of the countries in West and West Central Africa. In the main, French colonisers adopted the policy of *assimilation* whereby they made Africans to adopt French culture and to live like the French people. A number of Africans succumbed to this enculturation process thereby losing their own African identity. In the British colonies, indirect rule prevailed

whereby African traditional leaders were coopted to rule by Western laws. Here, the line between the coloniser and the colonised was very thin (Mamdani, 1996)

However, in the context of South Africa, the situation was slightly different. The British and the Dutch changed hands in controlling what would later become the South Africa we know today. The kind of colonialism that existed in South Africa is generally referred to as 'colonialism of a special type' (Turok, 2008) as hinted above. This is because the colonisers oppressed the black people they were living with. When the British finally withdrew in 1910, the Black majority continued to languish in oppression under the Boers (who were later known as 'Afrikaners'). Both white groups (English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking) practiced separation in its various forms. Afrikaner leaders such as JBM Hertzog were instrumental in promoting segregation policies. These segregation policies were formally legalized in 1948 following the victory of the National Party (NP) that was led by Dr. DF Malan. It was this party which implemented the Apartheid system that sought to segregate people according to their racial lines (Goldberg, 1985; Posel, 1991).

The liberation struggle is understood to mark the phase in which the colonised people started to resist colonial rule. Available evidence from various sources shows that in different parts of the African continent the approach towards liberation took diverse forms. In certain instances, liberation was characterized by warfare. In other instances, the peaceful approach to liberation was adopted. However, there was a common notion that the language best understood by the settlers was violence. As a consequence thereof, violent means became the general norm in the liberation struggle (Fanon, 1963). The concept of a liberation struggle was about attaining political power and self-determination by the African people (Mhanda, 2002). Several liberation movements in different countries across Africa led the liberation struggle. Among them were the following: FRELIMO of Mozambique, ZANU-PF of Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia, KANU in Kenya, MPLA of Angola and many others. National liberation entailed active participation by the progressive forces to engage in the fight for their political independence.

As Amilcar Cabral once stated, "The objective of the national liberation is therefore to reclaim the right usurped by imperialist domination" (Cabral, 1970, p.4). Although the theoretical framework shall be the focus on the next chapter, it is important to note that from a theoretical perspective, national liberation is only attained when the national productive forces are

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completely free of all sorts of domination and oppression (Cabral, 1970). In a nutshell, colonialism was about power dynamics. Those who wielded power (military or economic power) dominated over those who were powerless. Eventually, following sustained struggles, African countries obtained political independence. At this point, liberation movements ascended to the leadership positions and began to determine their future. But, as discussed below, this marked the beginning of a new era whereby these African leaders found themselves faced by another struggle of a different type – the challenges of freedom.

2.3 Commonalities in the Liberation Struggle

It is critically important to begin this section by looking at common patterns between liberation movements across the geographical divide. Firstly, these liberation movements were mostly formed by groups of people either of the same religion or people of the same ethnic background, hence on a number of occasions there were internal disputes caused by tribal and ethnic differences. The African National Congress was formed by an elite group of Christians in 1912 in Bloemfontein. In Zimbabwe, the liberation movement ZANU PF was formed on the basis of tribal and ethnic lines. President Mugabe led ZANU, a breakaway from the ZAPU that was founded by Joshua Nkomo. The Shona speaking locals dominated the ZANU and the ZAPU was dominated and led by the Ndebele speaking people (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011).

As mentioned earlier, there was direct and indirect rule, which Mamdani coined 'centralized despotism' and 'decentralized despotism', respectively (Mamdani, 1996). This sort of control gave powers to the colonisers to impose domination and control in any way they could in order to establish permanently organized repression. This repression would bring about various developments such as destroying the culture of the indigenous people and also exploiting those indigenous people for the benefit of the colonisers (Cabral, 1970).

2.3.1 The Liberation Struggle in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe (formerly known as Southern Rhodesia) gained political independence or political freedom from Great Britain and Ian Smith's white minority rule in April 1980. There is a view that "The struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe can be divided into two phases: pre 1972 and Post 1972, 1972 was a watershed year in the struggle because it marked the beginning of the

armed struggle in earnest" (Clarence, 2005:3). Zimbabwe obtained its liberation through an armed struggle from 1963 to 1979. This period was characterized as a very violent one since the process of attaining independence was accompanied by bloodshed. It is thus classified as a classical revolution (Laakso, 2003). However, Zimbabwe is not immune from the challenges faced by other African countries in the post-independence period. For example, there is the issue of entitlement, a particular mentality from many (if not all) liberation struggle leaders who feel that they are entitled to lead forever. The notion of liberators becoming oppressors or victims becoming perpetrators has manifested in Zimbabwe (Smith, 2010). This has become crystal clear (Fanon, 1963). After gaining political power, the ZANU PF government made attempts to turn Zimbabwe to a 'one-party state'. This was tacitly proven by their response towards divergent views to theirs (Laakso, 2003). These attempts however did not succeed and Zimbabwe continued to be a multiparty state.

It is important to note that though Zimbabwe went through a classical revolution of attaining liberation, there were also negotiations on the table to have clear terms of reference that are known as the Lancaster Resolutions. After years of people fighting for liberation for Zimbabwe, the coloniser was forced to have negotiations and attempt to find common ground. These negotiations took place in a city situated at the northwest of England known as Lancaster, hence the resolutions were known as the Lancaster House Resolutions. The liberation movements tool over economies that were controlled by the white minority and the above-mentioned Lancaster House Resolutions limited the newly elected democratic leadership to implement the radical redistribution policies in attempting to address the inequalities of the previous regime which was the colonial settler by Great Britain (Crespo, 2019). Thus, as the African political leadership took the reign, their hands were already tight. They could not do what they had planned to do at independence. The terms of the agreement bound them.

2.3.2 The Liberation struggle in South Africa

The liberation struggle in South Africa has a long history. The Dutch arrived in the Cape in 1652. This was followed by the creation of a refreshment station in the Cape for the travellers. The latter began to notice essentials in the land and developed interest in it. They started invading the land. The invasion did not receive a warm welcome by the Khoikhoi community because "the settlers took over the land for their own cultivation, so they could sell supplies to passing ship" (Callinicos, 1987:23). This marked the first conflict. There was resistance from

the begging hence it is said "only a few years after settlers, there were clashes between KhoiKhoi and setters, mainly over the use of land" (Callinicos, 1987:23). The author states that the different viewpoints between the local communities and the Europeans led to "a war that lasted for almost five years and the Khoi people were defeated and seized all their livestock in the process (Callinicos, 1987).

Things got more complicated later, there was discovery of Gold in South Africa in the 1880's and this attracted even more interest from foreign states. Across Africa, following the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference, there was a scramble for Africa or the partition of Africa. This colonial project was called colonialism whereby European countries took control of many African countries (except for Liberia and Ethiopia). Within this context, Britain became the colonizers of South Africa. British occupation had begun in 1875 but the Dutch came in and exercised control interchangeably with the British. The discovery of gold created conflict between the British Empire and the people of Dutch descent who had established independent areas of control after moving away from the Cape inland. This resulted in two wars between the two white groups, one on 1881 and another one in 1899. The British Empire won the second war in 1899 (Callinicos, 1981). The colonial project was then in progress like in other countries in Africa.

However, as mentioned earlier, in the context of South Africa, the situation was slightly different from what obtained elsewhere across Africa. The British and the Dutch changed hands in controlling what would later become known as South Africa. As mentioned earlier, the kind of colonialism, which existed in South Africa, is generally referred to as 'colonialism of a special type.' This is because the colonisers oppressed the black people they were living with. When the British finally pulled out in 1910, the black majority continued to languish in oppression under the Boers (who were later known as 'Afrikaners'). Both white groups (English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking) practiced separation in its various forms. Afrikaner leaders such as JBM Herzog were instrumental in promoting segregation policies. But the segregation policy was formally legalized in 1948 to be what we now know as the Apartheid system that sought to segregate people according to their racial lines (Goldberg 1985). This followed the victory of the National Party led by Dr. DF Malan. Therefore, "The apartheid regime dominated South African society from 1948 to early 1990's, but its durability should not be mistaken as sign of internal stability and coherence" (Posel, 2011:319).

In the late 1940's a very racially discriminating system was introduced called Apartheid, which found its basis in racial segregation. The project of this system was brutal racial segregation, which promoted white supremacy (Maharaj, 2008). This system was not different to other oppressive systems because its main interest was to promote control of the country's economic system and to retain it in the hands of the white minority "The apartheid project substantially deepened the economic imprints of race, hardening racial boundaries on the possibilities of accumulation, access to skills and economic advancement" (Posel, 2011:336).

The apartheid regime protected the white supremacy. Indeed, "the idea of race was explicitly regarded as a currency of economic opportunity and reward, as much as measure of social standing, respectability and moral worth…being black under apartheid was a sign of economic subordination, along with political subjugation…" (Posel, 2011:336) that clearly defined the status of the black people in the apartheid. However, it is also believed that the apartheid regime was not merely a racial segregation project aimed at safeguarding cheap labour. On the contrary, just like slavery, apartheid was an economic enterprise (Callinicos, 1981).

The system faced resistance from the onset and hence the strong anti-pass campaigns, which led to the defiance campaign of 1952. The regime faced resistance. The first approach was negotiation, but the apartheid regime refused to agree to negotiation. There was strong defiance campaign in the 1950's against the regime and its laws like the pass law that led to a direct confrontation that killed people in the Sharpeville massacre in 1960. This incident made the National liberation movements to enter into the armed struggle. This new development was epitomized by the official launch of Umkhonto WeSizwe on 16 December 1961. The PAC also launched the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) as a response to such brutality. Liberation movements opted for an armed struggle against this regime out of necessity, not because they had the desire to fight. It was the last resort they had at their disposal.

The ANC faced strong repression from the apartheid government and many leaders were sent to exile by the ANC. This was done for their own safety and also to ensure that there was international mobilization against the apartheid regime and its ruthless series of legislation. Among these leaders was the former ANC President and the longest serving president, Oliver Reginald Tambo (Jordan, 2017). The National Liberation movements could not continue operating within the borders of South Africa. Many strong figures were arrested and sent to Robben Island to serve their long sentences. They were charged for high treason and were

sentenced to life imprisonment. Included in this list were: Nelson Mandela, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg.

Following this incident, the liberation movement had to start operating underground. Many activists followed other leaders and went into exile in various countries across Africa and abroad. Consequently, the ANC developed working bases in various countries. Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola, for example, were ready to host the ANC. Later, the ANC established its Headquarters (HQ) in Lusaka at the behest of President Kenneth Kaunda whose support for the liberation movement was relentless. There was intense, military and political training in these countries. After many years, the ANC had its first conference which took place outside the borders of South Africa. This conference was held in Tanzania in a town called Morogoro in 1969. It was a consultative conference and the first of its kind. The intention was to frankly discuss what ANC members were concerned with so that a solution could be found. Leaders such as the late Thembisile Christ Hani were vocal at that conference. In 1985, under the presidency of Oliver Tambo, the ANC had its second consultative conference in Zambia in a town called Kabwe. There were operations within that country which needed the ANC to meet and shape the way forward. Among them was the Church Street in Pretoria bombing in 1983. This incident made the apartheid regime to respond even harsher than before through violence that was directed to civilians (Smith& Tromp, 2009).

The liberation movements were banned in South Africa from 1961 but the struggle continued. Students played a critical role in organizing themselves in fighting against the oppressive apartheid regime, hence the June 1976 uprising. In the 1980s, the country became ungovernable and civil society began to organize themselves. This resulted in the establishment of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983. As pressure mounted against the state, the situation got out of hand. As a strategy, the apartheid government turned Black people against one another. The Homelands were used to achieve this goal. In present-day KwaZulu-Natal, for example, Inkatha and the Zulu Police (ZP) were coopted in various ways to work with the notorious apartheid government's henchmen known as Kitskonstabels (Mngomezulu, 2016). Many lives were lost in the process.

But, as the country became ungovernable and as the international community joined the fray in showing disapproval of what the apartheid government was doing to black people, the collapse of the apartheid regime seemed imminent. Consequently, the regime had no other

alternative but to resort to negotiations. The regime was already declared as an antithesis of democratic practice. South Africa was dubbed a 'pariah state' (Mngomezulu, 2020). The gross human rights violation in South Africa saw sanctions being imposed by many countries against the apartheid government.

It should be mentioned that the apartheid regime survived for some time. This was due to several factors. Firstly, some members of the international community were critical of the apartheid government but continued to trade with it clandestinely. Secondly, the South African government used national resources as a survival mechanism. Thirdly, knowing that international support was dwindling, the apartheid government established internal systems to ensure self-sustenance. Local banks and industries were established for this purpose. But as time went on, it became clear that apartheid could no longer be sustained. Consequently, the apartheid government was forced into negotiation with the liberation movements, especially the ANC. This process, which began in the early 1990s with the return of some of the exiled leaders was epitomized by the Groote Schuur Minute (Graham, 2018). Further discussion termed CODESA Talks resulted in the establishment of a democratic South Africa. But there were still sunset clauses that were agreed to in order to protect the property of the white minority. In retrospect, this was a recipe for sustained economic inequalities. Through this agreement, white economic interests were safeguarded. This meant that even when the black majority obtained political freedom from their white counterparts, the economy would remain in the hands of the white minority. This is what we are witnessing today.

The decision to embark on negotiations was a difficult one because it failed to produce the expected results, i.e. the liberation of the black majority. To some, it was seen as a sign of defeat. However, it should be noted that the ANC was prepared to make a move after proper consultation with its structures and members of the movement - both in exile and in prison. Then there were the CODESA negotiations which gave a guide on the process to be followed in order to usher in a new political dispensation in South Africa (Maharaj, 2008). The culmination of this process was the first democratic election which was held on 27 April 1994.

The end of the liberation struggle was attained through rigorous negotiations. Unlike in Zimbabwe, these negotiations were not out of classical revolution but rather a peaceful engagement to ensure that a new rainbow nation was born. Another reason was to avoid the

bloodshed that would have resulted from a sustained armed struggle. The situation was further compounded by the fact that Black people were now divided, with some falling on the side of the oppressive regime -both overtly and covertly. The negotiations were between to government of FW De Klerk who had assumed the position of President after the 1989 election and the African National Congress. It was those negotiations that gave birth to the first non-racial elections in April, which were won by the African National Congress.

This decision to start negotiations with the apartheid regime was informed by the theoretical understanding that in any revolution, negotiations are always better than waging a war as they lay the foundation to avoid damages (Maharaj, 2008). In 1994, following the successful CODESA negotiations and the first election, certain developments took place. At the time, Cyril Ramaphosa, (now the President of South Africa) was the Secretary General of the ANC. He played an important role on the road to freedom. He was also part of the team that assisted in the drafting of the Interim Constitution that was finalized in 1993. He told the ANC's 49th National Conference in December 1994 that the National Party government "was effectively vanquished at the negotiations table" (Mbatha, 2017:57). This statement proved that the indeed when the smooth transition was attained, the ANC was the winner in the sense that it achieved its goal of setting the country free without bloodshed as it had wanted all along before the apartheid government forced it [the ANC] to resort to the armed struggle in 1961.

Unlike many National Liberation Movements across Africa and elsewhere in the world, there was no classical revolution or confrontational war before this freedom was achieved. On the contrary, the ANC inherited the leadership responsibility from the regime. This change was characterized by the reconciliation spirit. There were even some apartheid officials who continued to serve in the democratic dispensation in the first democratic administration of the Government of National Unity (GNU) led by the late President Nelson Mandela. Among them was FW De Klerk who was appointed by Mandela to be his Second Deputy-President after Thabo Mbeki. There were many others who still formed part of the new administration as per the negotiation agreements (Mbatha, 2017). In appreciation of the work done by the ANC in liberating South Africa, the South African electorate has ensured that the ANC wins all the elections since 1994. Even in 2019, the ANC lost some seats in the National Assembly (NA) but still won the election. This was despite the fact that the party contested the election evidently divided and even killing one another without shame. Had there been a strong opposition, the ANC might have suffered defeat. In fact, opposition political parties in South

Africa should be ashamed of themselves for having failed to project themselves as alternatives to the ANC. While this augurs well for the ANC, it is not good for democracy since it has the potential to promote complacency in the ANC.

2.4 The legacies of Colonialism

The imprints and legacies or vestiges of colonialism are still visible in the post-colonial period across Africa. Cooper (2002) alluded to this point when he stated that the post-colonial administration inherited a weak state which was caused by the erstwhile colonial (and apartheid) administrators. The primary issue on the legacy of colonialism is the fact that there was never much transformation made in terms of the infrastructure and even in terms of the institutions of government. There was merely a shift in control and the institutions that were made to serve the minority were still kept in the same shape, except that they are now being occupied by the group that Fanon refers to as 'the middle-class native bourgeoisie' (Fanon, 1963). These are the people that Fanon identifies as the betrayers of the liberation struggle because they mobilize people through slogans of independence but fail to articulate the economic policy they want to drive forward. This process is also known as the "The revolution betrayed" where these bourgeoisies totally break the bond between the masses and the liberation movement (Southall, 2013). They became the small famers of Europe because there is nothing that they have changed but have continued where the Europeans left off (Fanon, 1963). Fanon further refers to these leaders as the managers of the Western enterprise because their cluelessness will take them back to the colonial powers for survival.

The structural legacies refer to the different structures that are still followed today in post-colonial Africa that were used by the colonial rulers. While they inherited the colonial structures, the liberators have wittingly or unwittingly become the oppressors just like their predecessors (Southall, 2013).

Social customs were changed to be legitimate laws to pave a way for power and authority to be given to chiefs by the colonisers. That power allowed some level of dictatorship. This kind of power was known as decentralized despotism where all dominance was given over to chiefs, and as long as the West was acquiring a surplus it did not bother or interfere with how they ruled their locals (Mamdani, 1996). To make things worse, there are African leaders who refuse

to step down (Mngomezulu, 2013). These are some of the most evident remaining legacies of colonial rule. These African leaders see the need to support one another. They do this at the expense of the masses. The second liberation process is then a threat to the hegemony of the liberation movement. The use of violence by former liberation movements post-independence has been the order of the day in Zimbabwe and other African countries. This has been adopted from colonial rule. This is why Fanon argues that the language understood by the settler and the native is violence. The colonial rule used force to maintain its hegemony and power. Later, liberation movements deployed a similar approach to keep this power to themselves. Zimbabwe is a classic example even though it is not the only country to be characterized by this bad practice.

2.4.1 ZANU PF's Mode of government

Historically, the administration of Robert Mugabe has always been harsh towards people who had different views to those of the state. This attribute did not only manifest itself in the post-independence era. Even in the years of the struggle, there were traits of such tendency. In 1978 ZANU PF detained ten of its "dissidents" in the camps in Mozambique for allegedly plotting to overthrow Mugabe (Laakso, 2003). The response to opposition has always been brutal in nature with the intention to vanquish – a classical case was the removal of Joshua Nkomo from government through intimidation. Hence, the arrival of the Army on Nkomo's farm in February 1982 indicates the level of intimidation and use of state machinery to silence opposing views (Chiyora & Guzura, 2011). Later, Nkomo fled to Britain and the Ndebele people were told directly to support ZANU-PF (Laakso, 2003).

Subsequently, the expulsion of Edgar Tekere who was a well-known Zimbabwean politician and the second last and last secretary general of ZANU was also a classic example of how Mugabe responded to those with opposing views. ZANU-PF thus "failed to break the tradition of the authoritarian and guerrilla war violence thus violence as well as colonial settler repression" (Gatsheni, 2003:112). Crespo (2019) believes that the impact of colonial rule has direct impact on African states today. The above-mentioned events were to give some context on the nature of ZANU-PF towards opposition parties such as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDC). The general norm is that there is a clear pattern of suppression of general views from the civilians and the military has been a response to that case (Kagoro, 2010). There was a

clear agenda to minimize competition in the election process. This is referred to as 'semi democracy' or 'Quasi democratization' (Musungure & Shumba, 2012).

Gatsheni (2003) believes that the problems currently faced by Zimbabwe emanate from four things (pre-colonial society, colonialism, the armed struggle and the ZANU-PF rule). The Zimbabwean administration is ranked lowest in terms of implementing democracy as the government imposes violence and repression on its opposition parties (Crespo, 2019).

Chigora (2015) believes that ZANU-PF has been able to retain political power over the years because of its ability to disregard democratic processes. This is done through allowing the election process to unfold but behind the scenes manipulate and use undemocratic means to win the elections (Chigora, 2015. These means are used to protect the hegemony hence it is argued that ZANU-PF is mainly preoccupied by the protection of the regime, not the wellbeing of the citizen but the ruling elite (Gatsheni, 2003). The observation is that,

> In sustaining itself in power since 1980, (ZANU-PF) government has used a plethora of strategies firstly, it has relied on nationalist rhetoric based on its role in the war of liberation and bringing independence and democracy thereby gaining support not only from the majority black Zimbabweans, but also from many leaders in developing countries. Secondly, through intimidation, the use of violence and coercive tactics originating from its liberation war legacy, it has managed to whip people into line ensuring that its support base is strong come election time (Chigora, 2015:5).

This shows that ZANU-PF was prepared to do all in its power to protect its political power even if it disregards the will of the majority or commits the gross human right violation.

From a general observation, it is clear that the political rhetoric that Chigora speaks about is no longer that relevant hence it is argued that "it is clear that in Zimbabwe the dominant nationalist ideology that guided the liberation struggle has become bankrupt" (Gatsheni, 2003:100). This means that the ideology no longer has the power it had over the years. The liberation movements then took a sharp detour and abandoned their founding ideological positions hence they just became irritating rhetoric to the masses. They focused more on the state capture, political deployment and excluded the youth and majority of the black people who suffered income inequalities and poverty. This has created problems like internal party fights or

triggered debates on who should lead for the sake of looting (Crespo, 2019).

The comrade deployment (also known as "cadre deployment") of incapable leaders deployed in government creates a state that is inefficient. The creation of new duplicating positions in government in Zimbabwe created useless positions which resulted in wasteful expenditure (Sibanda, 1998). This was clear misuse of power by the newly elected rulers in the name of transformation. It was promoted by only deploying those in close proximity to the leadership (Crespo, 2019). Some still believe that Zimbabwe has become a kleptocratic state through the regime of ZANU-PF. Beyond internal factors there were also external forces that contributed to the modern-day challenges of Zimbabwe. Among these is the collapse of the Soviet Union and later the introduction of the economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by the World Bank and the IMF. Such developments resulted in the economic decline of Zimbabwe. The imposition of international economic sanctions also contributed immensely to the further deterioration of the country's economic situation to the state in which it is today.

2.4.2 The African National Congress's mode of governance

South Africa gained political freedom in April 1994. This marked a turning point for South Africa. Following the successful election, the country forged ahead in building what was termed "the rainbow nation" (Baines, 1998). The African National Congress won the elections with 62% majority (Crespo, 2019). The new democratic South Africa has been characterized as one of the most progressive political systems in the continent and compares well with other mature democracies globally.

The South African Constitution adopted in 1996 is regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. South Africa has been viewed as one of the countries with a stable political system hence the idea of the rainbow nation as an attempt to forge nation building (Maharaj, 2008). The notion of "Government of the people for the people by the people" (Maharaj, 2008) has been the general understanding of what democracy means to many people. This notion seeks to put the interests of the people as a priority and compels the leadership to do so because it is elected by people and therefore accounts to the people. This has been the general assumption about what democracy means. The international community views South Africa as a democratic country and it took a clear position on the issues of human right. South

Africa is understood to be a country that has national unity, peace and human rights as the cornerstones of its democracy. This is applauded by the global community.

According to Crespo (2019) many liberation movements took over power driven by the democratic vision and embracing the hopes for democracy. However, in some instances it was contradictory and the very same liberation movements were undemocratic themselves. But, despite these accolades, South Africa is still regarded as one of the countries with huge margins between the rich and the poor with high levels of inequality. The first problem that many liberation movements encountered was the economic problems when they took office as ruling parties (Crespo, 2019). Hence it is argued that "Tackling inequalities in society remains a serious challenge in South Africa, as the rich are rapidly becoming richer while poverty is increasing among those who are already poor" (Mnkeni-Saurombe & Zimu, 2015:3). The inequalities were structural and were inherited from the apartheid regime, which catered for the minority (Mnkeni-Saurombe & Zimu, 2015). However, the ANC decided to focus mainly on creating the national bourgeoisie, which in the South African context are the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which only changed the lives of the minority and made them rich and not addressed the question of poverty and inequality (Crespo, 2019).

South Africa used more than 300 state-owned companies created by the old regime in pursuit of its BEE in the democratic dispensation. This only benefited the ruling elite (Crespo, 2019). This then presented a high gap between the rich and the poor. It further created the high rate of youth unemployment. This is not only true for South Africa but is also true in other newly liberated countries – including Zimbabwe. The internal conflict also arises from high inequalities and gives birth to rebels within the party. Factionalism becomes the order of the day. These political fights are a product of power relations (Crespo, 2019). Examples of these developments can be seen in the Central African Republic (CAR), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Africa, and many other African countries.

The other issue worth noting is that the major challenge for the liberation movement was the inability of the nationalist leaders to deracialize the state apparatus from the institutions to the economy. Thus, till today in South Africa, the wealth of the country is still predominantly in the hands of the white minority. It is believed that even the land is still in the hands of the same minority (Crespo, 2019). Only a few Blacks have moved up the economic ladder since 1994. This means that there were limited radical transformation polices that were followed after

independence. There was no sufficient redistribution of resources or there was lack of what is called the redress in a radical manner which requires decisive leadership to transfer ownership from the historical ruling class to the current and historically disadvantaged people. Therefore, in a nutshell, despite the accolades showered on South Africa, the country has had its fair share of mishaps.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, there are a number of issues raised in the literature on the subject of the present study. The chapter has looked at what colonialism is and its main project. Secondly, it has outlined the challenges faced by the liberation movements during the liberation struggle and when they assumed power. It argued that they later transformed into political parties that were given the responsibility to lead their independent countries but they were not ready for this new assignment. What is clear from the discussion above is that some problems are geopolitical. Importantly, endogenous and exogenous causal factors for the current state of affairs were enumerated. While the focus of this study is on South Africa and Zimbabwe, there are also similar patterns that are discernible across the geographical divide. As mentioned above, different types of challenges in the post-independence era in these two liberation movements (ANC and ZANU-PF) have been established. It has been argued that they are a product of the same colonial rule.

By using a comparative approach, this study presents a more meaningful theoretical discussion covered in the literature. The next chapter will focus on the theoretical framework which guided the present study.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature related to the present study. It considered the views expressed by other authors on the theme of this study. The purpose of the current chapter is to discuss the theoretical framework on which this research is grounded. In simple terms, a theory is defined as a set or system of ideas, which are used to give meaning to certain data presented or issues stated (Koh, 2012). In the main, the role of theory in research is to simplify and explain phenomena which might look complex. It also helps to distinguish between the more important to the less important information.

The first part of this chapter will identify the theories that were used to guide the study. The different sub-headings associated with the theories shall be enumerated and discussed and their characteristic features identified. In other words, the chapter will look at the branches of the theories used in the study, and also look at the leading scholars of the theories in the discipline of social sciences. Lastly, this chapter will look at the problems or critiques of the theories by other scholars. The critiques are important because they give an insight into the shortcomings of the theory used in a study. However, the fact that the theory has critiques does not mean that it is not applicable or that it should be automatically written off. On the contrary, it means that such criticisms prepare the scholars to be vigilant and to look at the possible blind spots. It is through such vigilance that researchers are able to produce credible research reports in the form of articles, book chapters, books, etc.

With all the above having been considered, the researcher will then link the theories to the research question presented in Chapter 1 of the present study. The theories that will be discussed in this Chapter are: Historical Institutionalism and Competitive Authoritarianism. In attempting to understand these theories, the researcher shall look at them from different angles. This chapter is structured in chronological order. Firstly, the researcher shall specifically look at the theory of Historical Institutionalism. Different aspects of this theory shall be looked into

but will begin by firstly defining institutionalism and look at Historical Institutionalism as a theoretical framework. Secondly, the researcher shall look at Competitive Authoritarianism. Thirdly, researcher shall look at path dependency, not as the main theory but as the supporting theory to explain the main two enumerated above. Lastly, the researcher shall examine the challenges of the theories and then apply them to the present research topic by providing justification for their choice or by looking at how the theories relate to the topic of this study.

3.2 Historical Institutionalism

It is firstly important to explain the word "Institutionalism". To a certain extent, institutionalism connotes an approach to the study of the political institutions. These political institutions entail collective structures, the set of rules and regulations and procedures (Goodin, 1998). This forms a key part in understanding the political landscape, which includes governance through the operation or functioning of certain institutions (Bell, 2002).

Historical institutionalism is a very broad theory that deals with a macro or large scale of data. This theory is interested in explaining current outcomes by having a clear historical analysis as a tool (Steinmo, 1992). Historical institutionalism looks mainly at the ways in which the institutions shape the current political arena. Historical institutionalism scholars are interested in looking at the historical events and particularly looking at certain decisions taken in the past, which have to do with or have an impact on the current epoch (Steinmo, 1992). Historical institutionalism scholars look into history, not just as a set of events that have taken place in the past but also as an explanation of the current issues faced in the current period. Moreover, this historical knowledge assists in planning the future. This is the utilitarian and educative role of history. The importance of these historic events proves the notion that indeed "history matters" when it comes to historical institutionalism. As a general norm, historical institutionalism always allows a process of moving from back and forth (Pierson & Skcopol, 2002). This theory, in practical terms, asks historical questions as to why something important happened or why certain things did not happen. Responses to such question allow us to understand why certain countries are stable and why other countries are not stable even though they all went through the colonization process discussed in the previous chapters above. In that sent, the theory assists in making sense of these differences among African countries.

Historical institutionalism scholars start to see the institutions as the legacy or historical imprints of the historical processes (Thelen, 1999). Such processes from the beginning do more than just channel policy and structures; they continue to be at the center in the outcome process. Historical institutionalism stresses that contemporary imprints are embedded in the institutions (Thelen, 1999). In a nutshell, historical institutionalism seeks to demonstrate the ways in which institutionalism over time has re-manifested or has been re-made over a period of time (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002). In short, this is what historical institutionalism entails.

3.3 Competitive Authoritarian Theory

The competitive authoritarian theory is another theory which guided this study. Historically, the theory was coined by Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way in 2002 and it is a regime that is neither entirely democratic nor autocratic. The competitive authoritarian theory is not a new phenomenon. In the 1920's in East central Europe, Argentina and Peru, the theory manifested itself as it did in the mid-1940s (Levitsky & Way, 2002). Some scholars referred to this phenomenon as "semi authoritarian" until the term was coined (Schedler, 2002). The democratic institutions in the competitive authoritarian theory are present and operational but they are not fully followed to the core. There must be a clear distinction between a democratic and an authoritarian regime. However, the competitive authoritarian theory has elements of both regimes and one can argue that it occupies a centre between these dialectical different regimes. It is argued that "In competitive authoritarian regime formal democratic institutions are widely viewed as the principal means of obtaining and exercising political authority" (Levitsky & Way, 2002:52)

The competitive Authoritarian theory is viewed as the hybrid regime because it combines both the democratic and autocratic process (Howard & Roesller, 2006). Thus, competitive authoritarian theory is defined as a system which has democratic institutions in which procedures are formally intact but are constantly disregarded or undermined by an authoritarian logic (Gunnay, 2016). The established democratic institutions may be manipulated to protect the interest of the incumbents and the outcomes are not clearly obvious that they would be in favour of the incumbents. That is the distinguishing point with the autocratic regime where it is most obvious that the dictator will come out victorious (Dunno, 2013). This means that "The elections are meaningful in the sense that the opposition does at least stand a theoretical chance

of winning" (Bogards & Elischer, 2015:7). In fact, in some cases the incumbents lose the elections. From a theoretical perspective, for competitive authoritarianism to manifest itself, the incumbents must be uncertain about the outcomes of the elections (Levitsky & Way, 2002). This theoretical grounding assists in understanding why former liberation movements in Africa in general and those in the two discussed in this study face the challenges they are confronted with. Whenever their victory in an election is uncertain, they resort to semi-authoritarian mechanisms to ensure that they emerge victorious.

3.3.1 Characteristics of the Competitive Authoritarian Theory

Firstly, competitive authoritarian regime holds regular elections just like in the democratic regimes (Howard & Roesller, 2006). Secondly, there is a dominant political party or ruler that is coercive and disadvantages the opposition parties thus resulting in the dominant party securing victory over other parties in the elections (Howard & Roesller, 2006). In some instances, there is fear instilled in the opposition through the use of the military to interfere in the election process by threatening the opposition in support of the incumbents (Levitsky & Way, 2002). This is what used to happen in Zimbabwe under President Robert Mugabe. Therefore, "Elections in the competitive authoritarian regimes are usually free of fraud, but the political environment under which they take place is all but fair" (Gunnay, 2016:41). The political environment depends mainly on the power of the incumbents to influence the state and utilize some state resources and apparatus to suppress the opposition parties in the elections (Bogards & Elischer, 2015). The other political parties are allowed to compete in the elections, but they do so under politically unfair conditions and the incumbents may place barriers on the opposition's ability to contest on equal terms (Dunno, 2013). Thirdly, in some instances, the media is manipulated to be bias towards the incumbents during the election process and indeed the playfield is rigged and favors the incumbents (Dunno, 2013). In a nutshell, there are elements of both democratic and autocratic regimes within the competitive regime and that is what makes it a different regime that is unique from others.

3.4 Path Dependency Theory

Firstly, path dependency theory involves arguments about institutions continuing to develop in responding to the forever changing conditions, environment, continued political maneuvering

of ways some of which are still stuck in the past or in historic trajectories (Thelen, 1999). It is also clear that once a set of institutions is operating, the actors begin to adapt that process or set of systems and it is this system that reinforces and reflects the historic systems (Pierson, 2000). This is the reason why it is said that "the colonies and third world countries without colonialism and their integration to capitalist world economic systems, would be today prosperous nations" (Albertini, 1980: 46).

Put simply, path dependence theory is a renouncement of proceeding stages in what is called the temporal sequence. This is the manifestation of the decision taken in the historical process to suit a certain situation because it was relevant and now such decisions re-bounce in the current era but might no longer be relevant due to time changes. But it will still re-bounce as a result of historic decisions (Pierson, 2000). It is the aspects of the way 'new' political realities still preserve old patterns of the previous system (Friedman, 2021). In a nutshell, what has occurred in the past will then affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events later. That in itself justifies the notion that was mentioned earlier that history matters in these theories (Pierson, 2000).

Path dependency speaks about the increase in returns. This is simply when there is historic causation in a series of events, where current dynamics are triggered by certain processes or decisions taken at one time to get to reproduce themselves (Stichcombe, 1968). The scholars of path dependency allude to the fact that timing and sequence are crucial in particular events (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002). In a study that discusses Africa's journey from colonialism to the postcolonial era, this theory assists the two mentioned above in explaining the sequence of events over the years. It traces the history of governing political parties from when they were still liberation movements and assists in explaining the transition from one phase to the other.

3.5 Critique of both Historical Institutionalism and Competitive Authoritarian Theories

As mentioned earlier, theories are a set of ideas that are used to simplify and explain certain problems. It should be stated from the outset that no theory is perfect. Secondly, there is no single theory that could be used to explain all human situations. Each theory is as good as it can explain certain phenomena. Where it fails to achieve this goal, it is rendered irrelevant to that context but not necessarily entirely useless. There are a number of theories and in many

situations, there are both positive and negative effects of each theory, hence there are even counter-theories in some instances. In that sense, in this part of the chapter we shall look at the challenges of Historical institutionalism and Competitive Authoritarian theories. However, before we continue with that criticism, it should be noted that critiques on the theory do not mean that the theory is written off or that it is not credible. All it means is that there is an opportunity to improve or expand the theory to respond to its challenges or weaknesses as outlined by other scholars.

3.5. 1 Critique of Historical Institutionalism

As discussed above, historical institutionalism focuses on the institutions and tends to identify the chosen policies as logical explanations, which are generally accepted. But the problem with this approach is that one cannot simply use a few chosen events to explain broader issues (Pierre, 2005). Another concern is that historical institutionalism cannot even explain the policy shift. Hence, some scholars actually argue that historical institutionalism cannot generate valid knowledge because the data collection is through a process of selected cases, not randomly. They argue that these cases might not be enough to explain certain phenomena (O'Donnell, 973). This then means that certain cases are selected to address a certain agenda. This process focuses mainly on the selected cases which are chosen to address certain phenomena in explaining why certain things happened and tends to ignore why other things did not happen (Linz, 1978).

Moreover, the theory tends to neglect the policy formations, the involved political actors or the agencies of actors. It also neglects the development or evolution of the policies (Pieerre, 2005). Historical institutionalism theory fails to give a conceptual and exact explanation of conflicts. This is also informed by the fact that a lack of explanation of actors' roles is another glaring weakness of this theory. It should be recalled that conflict is when actors start to have different perspectives. This is mainly done through actors not institutions (Pierre, 2005). Lastly, historical institutionalism tends to exaggerate and even to a certain extent negate the role played by actors in the process. The reasons that Historical institutions cannot explain policy-making processes entirely is precisely because policymaking and its evolution demand the actors to be involved with no actors (Pierre, 2005).

These are some of the criticisms leveled against historical institutionalism. But, as stated earlier, these criticisms should not be interpreted to mean that this theory has no value whatsoever. On the contrary, such criticism supports the view made earlier that no theory is perfect and that no single theory can help us explain all phenomena. A theory that is perfect to explain a particular situation can be found wanting when applied to another situation. This is the nature of theory.

3.5.2 Critique of Competitive Authoritarian Theory

As explained above, the theory was developed during the period when many countries were in transitional phases from autocratic regimes to more democratic regimes as it was the end of the Cold War. This was the time when the colonial project was finally collapsing and colonies were beginning to attain their independence (Levitsky & Way, 2002). The assumption was that competition is mainly expected in states when moving from being dictatorships to being democratic states. There was a way of clinging onto power by the dictators (Levitsky & Way, 2002). However, it has been established that it is not necessarily the case all the time as there are states that move from more established democratic regimes with a strong democratic foundation to competitive regime (Levitsky & Way, 2020). This means that any state from any regime can turn out to be a competitive regime.

There is a view that "This theory is time and context specific and therefore may not have much predictive power in the future" (Bogards & Elischer, 2015: 5). This means that this theory does not have a strong ability to predict the future because it focuses on the context-based situation. The theory only looks at the regimes and omits that there are other components like democratic, unstable competitive and full authoritarian regimes. Moreover, the theory fails to look at the process of autocratization. Lastly, this theory fails to look at hegemonic authoritarian vs. competitive authoritarian regime (Bogards & Elischer, 2015). These are some of the criticisms levelled against these theories.

3.5.3 Relevance of the theories to the present study

Despite the challenges raised about the theories above, the researcher still continued to use them to understand what is at play in the present study. It is important to note that this study is

deductive in nature and that it is a normative study. Being deductive is when one starts with theory and moves to specific cases as opposed to being inductive whereby one starts from the specifics and then develops a theory. Firstly, the study is about the transition from being oppressed nations to being liberated nations. One of the challenges raised in the study is that liberation movements were formed to operate under difficult conditions and that there was secrecy in the leadership. This was done in order to avoid information leaking to the sell-outs or the enemy. This process of secrecy rebound in the post-independence period where former liberation movements are governing and where they operate.

Soon after assuming power, African nationalist leaders started to show a lack of transparency. Whenever they felt that the chain of command was not followed properly, they acted ruthlessly to instill discipline and force compliance. This was opposed to democratic practices and leaned more towards dictatorial tendencies. Other liberation movements had to establish military wings or become military wings themselves. In such situations, it could be seen that the commander of the political party was the one making final decisions. This was the institutional practice that was created a long time ago. On many occasions, resistance to the liberation movements led to them being removed or certain leaders being removed from their positions. This created what is called 'the critical juncture' according to historical intuitionalism scholars. In essence, this means that this is the moment created and which has the ability to resuscitate the historical decisions taken.

The creation of vanguard structures during the struggle years created elitism whereby only certain individuals were fully briefed about what was going on. The outcomes of this practice in the post-independence era are that there is a complete break of chain between leaders and their followers. This is one of the reasons why many countries (including South Africa) battle with service delivery protests. Leaders are cut-off from their constituencies and therefore have no clear understanding of the issues that affect the masses on the ground on a daily basis. In order for one to understand this current situation, one needs to look at the historical origins of the present order, hence the relevance of historical institutionalism.

Historical institutions are viewed as legacies of the past but they are still relevant today. The reality is that in many African countries, post-independence, it was only a matter of the changing of managers, but some institutions remained the same way they were during the colonial era. This is the reason why other structures or institutions remained the same. A case

in point is the judicial system in the South African context. The new actors got used to the idea such that they even decided to keep it that way.

The other issue noted in this study was the fact that liberation movements post-independence were not prepared or ready to govern, they lacked what was called the intellectual resources. This is not to say that their intellectual capacity was not there. It means that African leaders did not understand well the idea of governing under a democratic order since they were used to obeying the chain of command. Some wanted to adopt the same approach when they took over.

Historically, there were structures that were created by oppressive rulers to violently deal with people who held different views from the leadership. These institutions were empowered and fought against anyone differing with the rulers. In order to understand the present-day violence by current leaders, one needs to look at historic institutions like the city police who continue to be violent even post-independence. In order to understand how this institution works, one needs to dig in the history to understand the impact of these institutions because (as mentioned above) history matters. Lastly, there is what is referred to as historical causation. This simply refers to the vestiges of the past, which find a place in the present. The re-appearance of these events proves that indeed timing and sequence matter to a great deal in this regard. Therefore, we can safely say that historical institutionalism may have its weaknesses as shown above but it fits neatly in the present study.

On the other hand, we have witnessed the one-party systems manifesting and, in many instances, we have witnessed the dominant party system. In many cases, the dominant party system happens to be the liberation movements which fought against the white domination of colonialism. For example, in South Africa, the ANC is the ruling and dominant party. Zimbabwe also has a dominant party system where the ruling party is the ZANU-PF. Both in South Africa and Zimbabwe regular elections are held but these elections have some challenges. Particularly in Zimbabwe, some always complain about the election process and a lot is said in the literature about the nature of their elections. The application of democratic principles is highly contested or people doubt whether they are implemented to the fullest or not. In fact, others argue that they are completely disregarded by the incumbents. Therefore, despite its criticism, the competitive authoritarian theory remains relevant to the study.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has focused on the theoretical framework which guided the study. The researcher has established that theory is a system of ideas that are used to explain or simplify problems faced by society. It was mentioned in this chapter that no theory is perfect and that no single theory can be used to understand or explain all phenomena. The theories relevant in this study are historical institutionalism and competitive authoritarianism with one sub-heading, path dependence. The chapter has established that this theory is about the importance of institutions in explaining the outcomes. The researcher has also looked at the shortcomings of these theories and established that historical institutionalism tends to neglect the contribution of the actors; hence certain things cannot be explained through this theory like policy development and conflicts. In this chapter, the researcher stated that competitive authoritarianism cannot predict future events as it mainly focuses on the time and context. Also, the researcher mentioned that these theories are about selected cases, not random cases, hence it might be problematic to generalise. Lastly, the researcher linked the theories to the study and mainly linked issues raised by the research topic and the research questions.

Importantly, the researcher also brought some work from the literature review to link the theory to the study conducted. It was argued above that it is through the application of the theory that we can able to explain certain events occurring now because of the decisions taken in the past. In other words, the message from the discussion in this Chapter is that the present owes its existence in the past. Put differently, the past has a space in the present. It is this understanding that will enable us to appreciate and understand some of the activities carried out by liberation movements such as the ANC and ZANU-PF which later became governing political parties after independence in their respective countries.

Now that the theories on which this study is grounded have been presented and explained, the next chapter will focus on the methodological approach adopted for this study. The next chapter will discuss how data were collected and which research paradigm was adopted and why.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed extensively the theoretical grounding of this document; it presented a theoretical framework which guided the study. This research methodology chapter looks at how data were collected for the study. Furthermore, it discusses the research design, data collections methods used and data analysis. The methodology chapter also provides information on how the data sets were packaged after the data collection process had been completed to enable the data analysis process to proceed smoothly.

As a general norm, there are different methods of gathering data that are used within the research community. These include the quantitative method, which mostly uses quantifiable data sets; the qualitative method, which uses non-quantifiable data usually presented in the form of words, and the mixed method that combines the two. Other authors use the term 'triangulation' which also means using more than one method to collect data on the same topic (Berg & Lune, 2017). Researchers also talk about different research paradigms, by which they suggest approaches or models to conducting research. The qualitative study focuses on answering the *how* and *why* questions (Yin, 2003). This research project is a comparative case study, which looks at the challenges faced by liberation movements post-independence. The comparative study is between the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and the Zimbabwe African National Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the research methodology chapter talks to the data collection strategies used for both countries.

4.2 Justification for the selected research method

Designing a dissertation involves making decisions on how the study will be carried out and also deciding on the types of sources that will be used. According to Durheim (2014), a research design is a set of methods and procedures used in collecting and analyzing measures of the variables specified in the research problem. As mentioned above, this study is a desktop study. Such a decision was informed by several reasons. Firstly, the time constraints predetermined

this choice as the project had to be completed within a specified time period. Secondly, the challenges associated with securing interviews with politicians made it difficult to choose a different method such as interviews or even surveys. Politicians are preoccupied with meetings and other issues. Even after an appointment has been secured, things can change at the eleventh hour and scuttle the entire plan. For these reasons, interviews would not have worked in this study. Thirdly and most importantly, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and its accompanying lockdown regulations meant that it would be difficult to have one-one-one interviews with potential informants or to travel to Zimbabwe or the ANC archives at the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape and spend time there. Thus, one had to consider these realities and use other data collection methods to still complete the research.

4.3 Data collection methods

As mentioned above, this study is qualitative in nature, relying primarily on secondary sources obtained from the library of the University of the Western Cape and other internet sources. This data collection method focuses on written and published academic books, book chapters, journal articles and documents of the ANC and ZANU-PF which are available in hard copies as well as in the form of soft copies available online.

As a norm, a number of issues can affect sample size in a qualitative study. The sample size should be large enough to sufficiently describe the phenomenon of interest or the study undertaken to respond to the research question. But, at the same time, a large sample risks having repetitive data. However, the grounding principle is the concept of saturation (Masson 2010). In desktop research, saturation is essential because it assists in assessing whether the study has collected adequate and quality data to be able to proceed to the analysis phase. For this study, there was a clear need to verify data using saturation.

As mentioned above, there is 'triangulation' which some researchers use when carrying out research. Put succinctly, triangulation is the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon (Patton, 1999). Triangulation is very important because it is a method that is used to check the reality and the validity of the data by double-checking the information obtained through the usage of one method against other methods. Triangulation further tests validity as has already been mentioned above through convergence of information from different sources (Patton, 1999).

It is important to note that there are different forms of triangulation, namely: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. Then there is a process of saturation, which also becomes important in the data collection process. Saturation simply means that no new information is forthcoming (Berg & Lune, 2017). This applies in empirical research as much as it applies in desktop research. Once sources keep mentioning one and the same fact or facts it means that there is nothing new that the researcher is likely to find. At that point, it is advisable to stop the research and begin with the analysis of the already collected data in order to present the findings.

In a nutshell, this study used what is generally referred to as desktop research. By definition, desktop research is research that does not necessarily rely on empirical data but uses pre-existing sources and interprets them to address the research question at hand as well as address the research objectives of the study. It is part of the qualitative research process and it does not include surveys or questionnaires.

4.4 Desktop research

A desktop study is the research technique that mainly involves sitting at a desk, reading books, using the internet and retrieving existing data (Bernard, 2000). Bernard (2000) argues that desktop research is a collection of data from the existing resources and it is often considered as a low-cost technique in the sense that it does not require a lot of money. For this study, the desktop approach appeared to be the most appropriate method to use because the information that this study was looking for is available from old materials, old journal articles, textbooks and electronic newspapers. All that was needed was to interpret such data in the context of the research topic and the research question. This study looked mainly at academic materials in trying to address the research problem and most importantly to answer the research question as well as address the research objectives. Given that other researchers within the research community view this data collection method as viable, the present study conformed to the research practice. As such, the results of this study are as credible as any study would be.

4.4.1 Pros and Cons of Desktop Research

The desktop study's first advantage is that it mainly deals with secondary data, which is material that has been assessed and tested by different scholars. After having collected

sufficient data and having used the triangulation method to get more insight on the theme of the study, I was able to get a better sense of what some of the causal factors for the problem under investigation are.

The other advantage of desktop research is that unlike empirical research, it is less expensive, and the resources needed are already available at the university library or at public libraries. Another advantage of using this method is that for students, the internet is free on campus. It was therefore easy to access the internet in order to collect data. This saves a lot of time, which would have been needed if other data collection methods were used in the study.

However, one of the challenges of conducting or carrying out a desktop study is that it consumes a lot of time since the researcher has to read more sources and spend a lot of time on the internet searching for information. The current study was not an exception. The study entailed reading many different materials in order to make sense of the data. This was a challenge because there is already a lot of work published on the challenges of liberation movements across Africa. Similarly, more studies have been conducted on the challenges faced by the ANC and the ZANU-PF. This meant that one would have to read widely in order to get a better sense of these causal factors. Not only was it necessary to read what others have said about these liberation movements, it was also important to read their documents where they do self-introspection. The latter entailed going through their published documents including policies and manifestos. This was done in order to track the changes that these parties have made in response to internal and external criticisms levelled against them.

4.5 Data Analysis

In line with the dictates of qualitative research, the data sets collected are analyzed thematically. This means that the information is grouped together according to the themes which emerged. Thematic Analysis (TA) is the form mostly used in qualitative studies as it has been used in this study. This method of analysis focuses on grouping recorded data into patterns right across the set of data presented (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This method is deemed important because it provides insight and knowledge about the study. Lastly, in the context of the present study, this method gave deeper meaning and appreciation of the entire study. With the various data sets that were collected, packaged and analysed, it was easier to present the result of the study by

revisiting the aim, objectives and the research question. These issues will be revisited in the subsequent chapter which presents the results of this study.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the research methodology that was followed in carrying out the study. It looked at how data were collected for the study. The chapter furthermore discussed the research design and data collection methods used in the study. Lastly, it discussed how the collected data sets were subjected to analysis in order to give meaning to them. In short, this chapter provided detailed information on the data collection process that was followed in carrying out the study. The methodology section also provided information on how the data sets were packaged to enable the data analysis process.

Having discussed how the study was carried out, the next chapter will be presenting the findings of this research project.
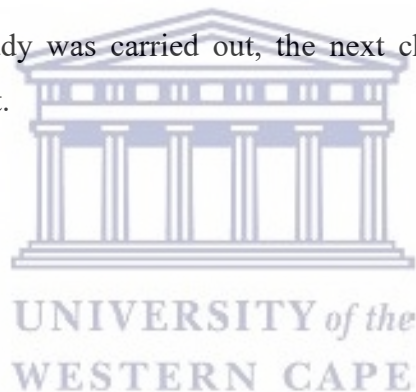
CHAPTER 5

Findings and analysis

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed at investigating the causal factors that have contributed towards the failures of leadership and governance in the African National Congress (ANC) and Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) from 2017 to 2020. This is a comparative study between these two liberation movements in the Southern African region. The study expounds this theme with the view to illuminate our understanding on the causal factors that have dented the image of liberation movements in the post-independence era when they became governing political parties.

This chapter will present the findings of this comparative study indicating the factors that contributed to the failures of the liberation movements in leadership and governance. This issue shall be looked at both from a macro level in the context of Africa in general and at a micro level where South Africa and Zimbabwe shall be the focal point as case studies.

The study has established that African national liberation movements have encountered different challenges at different times, under different contexts, and in different magnitude. As the chapter will show, some of the challenges are specific to individual political parties and/or countries while others transcend these boundaries. This chapter shall present what have been the findings of the study. The findings shall be presented thematically for ease of reference, detailing and explaining each of these themes in line with the research questions and the research objectives presented in Chapter 1.

5.2. The Party Politics

Under this theme, the focus is on the different factors that have contributed to the failures of the ANC and ZANU-PF at the party level. This includes factors that affect the operation of these parties and manifestations of these politics and how they have become factors that have contributed to the failures of the ANC and ZANU-PF leadership and governance politics. This

is important because as a norm, the party politics shape the outlook of these respective political organisations. The party politics generally direct the government policy positions and the party becomes the center. If the center is not holding, the impact will manifest in the manner in which the country is governed. Therefore, the political parties as political institutions have a vital role to play in determining the direction a country takes. The stability and instability in a country have consequences on the operations of the government. Specific elements can be enumerated under this theme. These are discussed below.

5.2.1 Factionalism

The concept "factionalism" or "faction" has different attributes from one country to another or from one political party to another. Therefore, there is no absolute definition of this concept. In other words, the concept lacks universal definition. In the context of the present study, factionalism means "a group or combination acting together within and usually against the larger body as in a state, political party and church" (Hove, 2019: 203). Factions are a group of people or politicians and bureaucrats who choose to belong to a particular group within a particular political party. They continue to fight with the opposing grouping within the party. The intention is to continue controlling the organisation or to gain control of the organisation and also to replace the incumbents (Hove, 2019). Hence, it is argued that: "factionalism is as any relatively organized group that exists within the contexts of some group and which (as a political faction) competes with rivals for power advantages within the larger group of which it is a part" (Hove, 2019:203). In many regards, people believe that factionalism has only a negative impact in an organization. But the reality is that in some instances factionalism can have a positive impact depending on how it plays itself out in that particular organization. For example, having factions in an organization can assist by keeping those in power on their toes. This could lead to democratic consolidation and avert complacency by those in power.

5.2.2 Factionalism in the African National Congress

Factionalism is one of the contributing factors that have led to the failures of the African National Congress in terms of leadership and governance. Factionalism is irrefutably one of the major problems faced by the ANC in the new democratic dispensation. In a nutshell, factionalism is the domination of the liberation movement by a small group or clique of

political elites within the organization (Gumede, 2017). Many can argue that factionalism is a problem that only manifested during the democratic dispensation. But there is an ongoing debate that factionalism in the ANC can be traced back from the years of exile where within the ranks of the movement there were "groupings" (Gevisser, 2012). This factionalism is also traced in the first consultative conference of the ANC, which was held in Morogoro, Tanzania in 1969. Here, the groupings that were led by Chris Hani wrote a memorandum to the leadership of the ANC listing their concerns. They were criticized harshly for doing this (Gevisser, 2012). In retrospect, this was necessary as it created the platform where disgruntled members of the ANC (especially those in exile) could table their concerns. The present study has established that this is still a factor that challenges the ANC as the Political Report of the Polokwane Conference clearly stated that factionalism has been institutionalized within the congress movement.

Factionalism in the context of the African National Congress includes a process of marginalizing those who differ with you politically as it happened under the presidency of President Thabo Mbeki, where the alliance partners (COSATU, SACP and SANCO) were isolated (Gumede, 2012). Factional battles are brutal in nature and they paralyze the operations of the organisation, hence the view that "the problem with factional battles is that they are zero-sum game, the battles are ruthless, they aim at obliterating" (Mashele & Qobo 2017:75). According to Mashele and Qobo (2017), in a factional battle it is either you destroy or you are destroyed. This has been the order of the day in the ANC from the Polokwane Conference in 2007, to Mangaung in 2012 and during the Nasrec Conference in 2017. In these conferences, one faction dominated the ANC. This allowed the faction to operate freely both in the party and in government. Unfortunately, these factions have weakened the ANC.

However, in the 2017 conference at Nasrec, there was stalemate between the NDZ17's Radical Economic Transformation (RET) and the CR17 factions. The president came from a Cyril Ramaphosa faction (CR17) and the Secretary General (SG) Ace Magashula came from the Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma faction (NDZ17). This brought a new flavor in the politics of the ANC since there is no faction which can claim to have full monopoly of the organization. Consequently, in the post-congress era, the in-fighting within the ANC has continued unabated. The factional fights have been so visible for the public to see. The continuation of the fight proves the idea that factions dismantle the unity within the organization because factionalism

creates groupings that are unforgiving (Mashele & Qobo, 2017). The continuation of the fight led to the suspension of the ANC Secretary General, Ace Magashule. This fight is ongoing.

The negative impact of factionalism is that the once powerful liberation movements lose support and political credibility. In the process, support during an election dwindles. The results of the Local Government Election (LGE) in 2016 and those of the National and Provincial Government elections in May 2019 buttress this view with regards to the ANC. In both elections, the ANC's support was significantly reduced as some opposition political parties such as the EFF, IFP and FF+ gained ground. The factional fights within the ANC continue to be a factor that contributes towards the failures of the ANC. The in-fighting causes delays in the actual work that needs to be done by both the ANC as an organization and as the governing party. In the process, the needs of the people who voted the party into office are neglected while leaders fight amongst themselves. It becomes the survival of the fittest. In other words, improving the lives of South Africans takes a back seat and does not become a priority. Instead, controlling political power becomes the focal point for the different factions. This is how the ongoing factional battles in the ANC has undermined the electorate and weakened the ANC.

5.2.3 Factionalism in the Zimbabwean African National Union-Patriotic front (ZANU-PF)

The ZANU-PF, like the ANC, is not immune from factionalism. However, its experiences unfold slightly differently from the ANC. For example, unlike the ANC, the factional battles of the ZANU-PF are not as fluid as the ones outlined above. In the ANC, factional lines change from time to time based on the political agenda at a particular era in history. In the case of ZANU-PF, it goes beyond this point. Ethnicity plays a critical role on how the factions unfold. The two dominant ethnicities are the Shona and the Ndebele (just like in Kenya the tussle is usually between the Kikuyu and the Luo – with the Kalenjin coming into the picture under President Daniel arap Mooi's administration). These divisions play themselves out in factional politics.

Factionalism is one of the contributing factors that lead to the failures of ZANU-PF in leadership and governance. Factionalism is one of the major problems faced by the ZANU-PF in post-independence Zimbabwe. The evolution of factionalism in both ZANU-PF and the ANC can be traced from the years of the struggle. Therefore, it's not a new phenomenon in

both liberation movements. However, they manifest in a crystal-clear manner that is visible for everyone to see. In the ZANU-PF, the dominant faction is the Shona grouping, which is informed by the demographic composition of Zimbabwe where the Shona people are the majority and the Ndebele just beneath the Shona. The Ndebele people in Zimbabwe had been an ethnic group that occupied its own land and had its own king Mzilikazi. Unlike the Shona, they were conquered in a war with the British where they were trying to resist colonial rule. The Ndebele were fighting for their own independence as an ethnic group. As a result, during the liberation struggle, conflict with the Shona began in the training camps (Ndlovu- Gatsheni, 2009). Thus, this confirms that unlike the ANC, factionalism in Zimbabwe is deeply ingrained.

The Shona faction has always been dominant and generally chases away those with opposing views (Hove, 2019). According to Hove, the origin of the ZANU-PF factions stem from the factional roots of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which was led by Joshua Nkomo. Even the rise of President Robert Mugabe was as a result of factional fights. In other words, Mugabe was a beneficiary of factional battles. In the center of the factional fights in the ZANU-PF were ethnic differences and ideological standpoints. The dominant faction has always intended to swallow other factions. Even in government, this trend has been sustained since 1980 when Zimbabwe obtained political independence from Britain. Dominance by one political party in Zimbabwe can be explained by this historical context.

The 1980 independence gave power to the Shona thus ensuring the dominance of this ethnic group. The Ndebele continued to be marginalized by the Shona (Ndlovu- Gatsheni, 2009). There was never a successful programme to build and unite the nation in Zimbabwe post-independence. ZANU-PF dismally failed to define and craft a clear nation-building programme to bring all ethnic groups together but chose to centralise power and exclude others (Onslow, 2011). Therefore, the factional battles continued in the post-independent Zimbabwe even when the ZANU-PF was governing following the merger of ZANU and ZAPU to form ZANU-PF.

In the recent times, within the ZANU-PF there were two groupings competing over control of the party. The Gamatose faction was led by Joyce Mujuru and was fighting Emmerson Mnangagwa who enjoyed the support of the now late President Mugabe. In the 2014 congress, Mnangagwa was replaced by Joyce and she viewed herself as the next president after Robert Mugabe. Like in the ANC, President Mugabe had interest on who should come after him. However, over time Joyce began to pose a threat to the throne of President Mugabe.

Consequently, there was another grouping called G40 which supported Grace Mugabe. However, the name did not gain support even from the war veterans and Mugabe recycled Mnangagwa to replace Joyce. Here, factional interests prevailed over national interests.

The new Deputy President had his own grouping called "Team Lacoste." However, President Mugabe's leadership dealt with whoever had a different opinion from both the party and the state. This meant that the factional lines of the party shaped the outlook of the Zimbabwean government. Mnangagwa was not fully rehabilitated according to Mugabe and he still had interest to become president of Zimbabwe. This was against Mugabe's wishes who wanted his wife Grace to take over from him. In the process, he continued to undermine the war veterans. This started manifesting through Mugabe firing Mnangagwa again. As a result of Mugabe's action there was a revolt from the freedom fighters which led to the staged coup by the military that subsequently removed Mugabe as sitting President.

Flowing from this synopsis, it is clear that factionalisms has been a factor that has contributed to the failures of leadership in the ZANU-PF. Over the years, the ZANU-PF focused fully on factional battles and on who gets to control the party and neglected the main responsibility of serving the people of Zimbabwe. Factionalism continued to cripple ZANU-PF. This is one of the reasons why there has never been proper political stability in Zimbabwe since independence. Instead, there has been a battle for the soul of the ZANU-PF. Political instability in the party translates to the poor performance of the party in governance.

5.2.4 Power struggle and leadership entitlement in the ANC

The power struggle and who gets to control the African National Congress is always at the center of the factors that contribute towards the failures of the ANC in leadership and in governance. Those who get to have political power in the party get to influence the ANC in government and become the center. They deploy their preferred candidates.

Power struggle was initially between those who were not part of the armed struggle and those who were part of it in exile. The group of leaders that were involved in the armed struggle, which include those who were in exile formed part of the military wing of the liberation movements (the MK in the case of the ANC). These old cadres within the ranks of the

movement felt that they had some sort of entitlement to take key positions within the ranks of the organization as the governing party and, later, in government. The exile leaders felt that they had delivered freedom to the people of South Africa and for that reason they should be placed at the top level of preference on who must ascend to power within the movement.

As mentioned above, there is a sense of entitlement as clashes ensue between those who remained in the country and those who were either political prisoners or were in exile during the struggle. However, the current leaders in the ANC (both the President and the Secretary General) were not in exile. As such, the factional lines have taken a new shape and this proves or buttresses the point made earlier that, factional lines in the ANC are fluid and can change from time to time. Hence, there are alignments and re-alignments. You find people supporting a particular candidate in one conference and switch to another candidate in the next conference. This is necessitated by the change in the political environment. In other instances, party members are primarily concerned about their own political careers and survival. This informs who they support at any given time.

In fact, liberation movements feel that they are the only legitimate representatives of the people because they fought for liberation (Stunner, 2003). This is a false stance. It creates the wrong impression that those who never went to exile or to prison are less of cadres. The reality is that those who remained inside the country had to deal with apartheid operatives on a daily basis. The African National Congress views itself as the only legitimate voice to represent the people of South Africa and they claim to understand what is good and bad for the people of South Africa. The status of being the liberation struggle movement granted them a permanent responsibility to lead South Africa. It was within this context that former President Jacob Zuma said that the ANC will lead until Jesus Christ comes back. He may have said this in a particular context – perhaps in a lighter note – but the reality is that what he meant was that the ANC will lead South Africa indefinitely because it is the one that liberated South Africa. Thus, it can be argued that liberation movements like the ANC focus entirely on controlling the party politics and neglect their primary responsibility, which is to care for the interests of the people they lead.

What compounds the problem is the fact that not all of those who were in exile directly participated in the liberation struggle. Some had joined their parents in exile and had a better life compared to those who remained behind. As such, this "entitlement" is in a way misplaced

and misguided. The ANC had a glimpse of this when Lindiwe Sisulu asked where Gwede Mantashe was while she and other exiles were fighting for the liberation of South Africa. This was 'cheap politics' given that people like Mantashe had to dodge bullets from the apartheid operatives on a daily basis while representing the interests of the oppressed masses in COSATU, ANC, SACP and UDF. In this case, Lindiwe Sisulu felt that she was entitled to a leadership position more than Mantashe who never went into exile. This was an unfortunate reading of the political situation. It created another faction of the exiled versus the non-exiled.

After ascending to powerful positions, former liberation struggle leaders bring the mentality and the style of leadership of the liberation movement into government. This style of leadership is highly dominated by a top-down approach, where certain concepts like 'democratic centralism' are abused, misused and misapplied – both wittingly and unwittingly. This style of leadership reduces the consultative process with the branches and is inimical to democratic principles that acknowledge the importance of taking the mandate from the people. This kind of leadership brings the military mindset of the liberation movement (Saunders, 2009). Leaders expect to be listened to without any question whereas in a democratic order the masses are used to making contributions to any discussion.

The other challenge becomes the leadership style of those leading the ANC post-independence. This study has established that different kinds of leadership styles have manifested since 1994. In one way or another, these leadership styles have become a challenge to the ANC. Nelson Mandela embraced consultation and consensus building. The tenure of President Thabo Mbeki centralized the power mainly to the office of the president. The 1997 conference of the ANC empowered the president to appoint cabinet, premiers and mayors even if it was against the will of the people in certain respective provinces (Gumede, 2009). The policy making and evaluation processes were centralized in the office of the president. Since then, centralization of power has become the order of the day in the ANC (Southall, 2013).

The ANC conference further gave the president more powers than other officials of the party, even Director Generals of different departments started to account directly to the president rather than the sitting ministers of the various government departments (Gumede, 2009). A sense of authoritarian style of leadership began to develop. It has also become clear that the traits of neo-patrimonialism where people are bought or put in high positions to protect the interest of certain leaders has been adopted (Mamdani, 2017). This does not only happen with

individual leaders but holistically the entire movement feels that it should govern until the end of the world. Consequently, in many different cases, opposition parties are not well-received and always feel attacked and viewed as those who were not there in the struggle but want to benefit after all the hard work was done (Stunner, 2003).

5.2.5 Power struggle and leadership entitlement in the ZANU-PF

The power struggle and who gets to control the ZANU-PF is also a factor that contributes towards the failures of the ZANU-PF in leadership and in governance. The people leading the ZANU-PF get to impose the party's position on government. Cadre deployment is managed to protect the interest of those leading.

Those who were in the armed struggle dominate in the power struggle. Unlike in the ANC, the warlords or war veterans have serious influence in the politics of Zimbabwe and the Army plays an instrumental role in this country. The warlords feel entitled to continue giving direction forcefully even in the post-independence years. Anyone who is not coming from the ranks of the army is not regarded as an eligible leader to lead Zimbabwe and ZANU-PF. Moreover, force is the order of the day. The ZANU-PF had always made it clear that they prefer that Zimbabwe should be a one-party state and they did not see the need for different political parties to exist in Zimbabwe. It is for this reason that the other political parties faced a harsh response from the ZANU-PF. This was the case with the MDC.

The entitlement in the ZANU-PF went a step further and was not merely the party that would lead forever but President Mugabe too viewed himself as the leader appointed by God to lead Zimbabwe and believed that no one else was to lead until he was no more. President Mugabe could go as far as changing the decision of the national conference and viewed himself as someone with superior logic. His word was like a gospel in the Christian community. His word was final irrespective of the view of the majority. Whereas in the ANC the view of the collective supersedes the view of the individual and democracy is the order of the day, ZANU-PF adopted more of a socialist outlook where there was democratic centralism which entrusted the president with more power. Unlike the ANC that had different leaders in the post-independence era from Nelson Mandela, to Thabo Mbeki, to Jacob Zuma and now to Cyril Ramaphosa, ZANU-PF has had only two leaders since independence in 1980, Mugabe and

Mnangagwa. In the ANC, leaders are a product of highly contested conferences but in Zimbabwe it took a coup for Robert Mugabe to step down which clearly explains the level of entitlement he possessed.

This power struggle and entitlement is a factor that contributes to the failures of ZANU-PF in leadership and governance. There is lack of innovative ideas to take the country forward. Leaders become relaxed and focus mainly on the protection of their positions. It has been established that Mugabe removed leaders because they posed a threat to his hegemony not because they were incompetent. A case in point is that of Joyce Mujuru who was a seasoned politician in her own right. This proves that leaders tend to be selfish. They ignore the country and focus on their self-enrichment at the expense of the poor masses. The leadership of ZANU-PF under President Mnangagwa decided to have what is called 'selected amnesia and denialism'. Instead of taking responsibility as a liberation movement that was now the governing party, ZANU-PF under President Mnangagwa began to shift the blame to the administration of the former President Robert Mugabe (Gwekwere, 2018). He forgot that he was part of that administration. The inability to have honest introspection by the leadership becomes a contributing factor in the failures of the ZANU-PF. The members of ZANU-PF instead of correcting the issues within the party just decide to become cheerleaders and praise the leadership like they did when President Mugabe decided to expropriate the land while also committing political killings and gross human rights violation in Zimbabwe in the year 2000 (Rapanyane, Ramasela & Tirivangasi, 2020).

The poor leadership skills manifested through bad economic decisions taken by the leadership of the ZANU-PF (Raftopoulos, 2010). The trend of bad economic decisions has continued even under the new leadership of President Mnangagwa. The current leadership is characterized as an administration that is buying everyone from the judiciary, the media, the state to traditional leaders. The leadership is deep-rooted on the patronage network to serve and continue leading (Hlatywayo & Mangongera, 2020). This leadership relies mainly on the high level of patronage. This study has established that nothing has shifted from Mugabe to Mnangagwa (Noyes, 2020). There was change of administration but the status quo remained. In a way, this should not come as a surprise. Mnangagwa was Mugabe's deputy for many years.

5.3 The ANC and ZANU-PF as the governing parties

The performance of the African National Congress and ZANU-PF in government has been a contributing factor towards the failures of these liberation movements. In the context of this study, it is important to look briefly at the period when these two organisations ascended to power, including their preparedness to govern, and specifically look at the challenges the movements have faced as the governing parties. Although other factors may overlap with party politics, it shall be elaborated below how these factors manifest or play themselves out in the government.

5.3.1 Preparations to govern by the ANC

The African National Congress did not sufficiently prepare itself for taking over the country. There was never a clear phase that was aimed at preparing the movement for governing the way it prepared itself for a civil war that never eventually happened. This manifested itself in the quality of leadership that the party put in government in 1994. The poor quality of leadership in governance was even acknowledged by both then President Nelson Mandela and the then Secretary General of the party Cyril Ramaphosa in the 1994 conference (Mbatha, 2017). The leaders were not essentially trained and were not mentally aware of the enormous jump from overthrowing the apartheid regime to becoming a party that would represent the majority of South Africans (Mbatha, 2017). The ANC was scattered all over the world preparing itself militarily for the war and never gave itself time to prepare to govern. The 'ready to govern' document speaks to the policies but not about extensive training of taking over sophisticated government entities (Mashele and Qobo, 2017: 24). Poor service delivery is also influenced by the caliber of leadership and how ill-equipped they are to run these different departments given that they were never prepared for the positions they occupy.

The present study has established that the ruling party follows the principle of democratic centralism from the Communist Party of China. However, unlike China, the ANC deploys comrades who are not competent to run the state. Instead of removing incompetent leaders, the party resorts to rotating or recycling them to different departments instead of deploying highly skilled cadres and individuals who can deliver (Southall, 2013). The inadequate preparation to govern by the ANC is also a factor that contributes to the failure of leadership and governance in South Africa in general. The ANC acknowledged that it has not been able

to create a capable state to govern the country (ANC, 2012). The manner in which the government performed in the process of managing issues in the period of the Covid19 pandemic in 2020 proves that the state is not capable to govern at the level where it would be possible to withstand trying times. The poor performance of the health MECs in different provinces presents a clear example of cadre deployment of people with no capacity and skills to govern. In other words, cadre deployment which is not accompanied by capacitation is yet another factor that contributes to the failures of the ANC leadership to do well in government.

5.3.2 Preparations to govern by ZANU-PF

Political independence in Zimbabwe was attained through a classical revolution of the armed struggle. Therefore, like the ANC, ZANU-PF did not have enough time and resources to prepare to take over government. There was never a clear process of bridging the gap between the revolution and the governing mode. The traditions of the military were evidence that there was not much change in terms of structure. The fact that the army in Zimbabwe plays a critical role in the politics of the day in all aspects in the country proves that there was never a transition from the army mode to the modern governance system. This manifested in the poor quality of leadership that the party put in government. The idea of democratic centralism is the major principle followed in Zimbabwe.

Even this terminology clearly links the type of the regime they aspire to be, even having Politburo which is the policy making committee of a communist party. Zimbabwe cannot be entirely classified as a democratic state given the political structures that exist in that country. ZANU-PF's inability to govern Zimbabwe has led to intermittent uprisings and protests by the labour movements and civil society including academics and doctors. This state of affairs led to the formation of a strong opposition party [the MDC] that threatened the hegemony of ZANU-PF. This was as a result of poor governance. The inadequate preparation to govern by ZANU-PF is a factor that is similar to what contributes to the failure of leadership and governance in South Africa. ZANU-PF could not address the socio-economic conditions of the people. Poverty and unemployment continued to frustrate the masses (Gwekwere, 2018).

The leadership of Mugabe inherited an economic structure that was not meant to cater for the majority of Zimbabweans. Like in South Africa, the economic empowerment benefited the

elite group (Rapanyane, Ramasela & Tirivangasi, 2020). The conditions continued to be bad even during the tenure of Mnangagwa. This was despite the promises he made before he assumed power in the post-Mugabe era. The economy of the country was on the meltdown (Rapanyane, Ramasela & Tirivangasi, 2020). The conditions got worse. Even simple things like bread became expensive in Zimbabwe. The fact that Zimbabwe lost its currency was evidence of the country's economic decline.

To this day, the government is performing badly in administering the country, hence the people are busy trying to cross borders illegally to look for a better life in neighbouring countries. Millions of Zimbabweans are in the diaspora (more especially in South Africa since it is one of Zimbabwe's neighbours). No one would dispute the fact that South Africa has many Zimbabweans with proper documentation to travel because of the conditions in Zimbabwe. However, there are also many Zimbabweans who are in South Africa illegally. The reality is that the situation in Zimbabwe is not getting better, in fact, it is getting worse under the administration of President Mnangagwa. This proves that forty years after independence, ZANU-PF has still been unable to steer the country in the right direction.

5.3.3 Corruption in the ANC

Corruption has been one of the major problems faced by African liberation movements post-independence and South Africa has not been immune from this problem. In the context of the ANC, corruption is not something new in the democratic era but there are traits of it even back in exile. Corruption was a normalized phenomenon in the liberation movement. There were even car smuggling syndicates, which dealt with stolen cars for senior ANC officials. This was initially accepted until it got out of hand. Some ANC comrades were involved in the drug smuggling world as well (Gevisser, 2012). This shows that corruption is not something new in the ANC but is an old practice that has been followed by different leaders. What has changed is the context and magnitude.

Many saw nothing wrong with this and kept protecting one another. In the democratic dispensation, corruption manifests itself in different forms, from awarding fraudulently obtained tenders to money laundering to even the most recent episode still under investigation by the Zondo Commission into State Capture. Stealing money meant for service delivery for

personal enrichment and personal gains is also regarded as corruption and many leaders do not see it that way. State capture means "the efforts of firms to shape the laws, policies, and regulations of the state to their own advantage by providing illicit private gains to public officials." (Netshitendzhe, 2018:4). When the state is captured, the policy positions are influenced and also certain individuals influence the appointment of cabinet as alleged by certain ministers who were said to have been called by the Guptas and promised government jobs. In fact, this is described by some as moral bankruptcy by the leaders of the liberation movement (Gumede, 2017).

President Cyril Ramaphosa entered office with a clear campaign of fighting corruption and cleaning the ANC. However, things are not getting any better. While the Zondo Commission is still in progress, there is more corruption in government under President Ramaphosa's watch. This has manifested itself through the maladministration of the money meant for Covid19 relief fund estimated to be R500 Billion. This money which was meant to develop the health infrastructure and to help the country to fight the pandemic was misused and stolen. Post-2017, when Ramaphosa was elected to lead the ANC when he won by a very small margin against Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, there is no sign yet of any decrease in corruption in the country. Instead, it is getting worse. There is lack of conscience in stealing money that is not only meant for public use but specifically meant to save the lives of South Africans from the Covid19. Ramaphosa's myth about "The New Dawn" has not materialized – just like it has happened with Mnangagwa's Zimbabwe. There too, there is no "New Dawn" as people were made to believe.

This study has established that corruption is one of the problems faced by the African National Congress. The leaders are busy working hard in advancing self-enrichment as opposed to serving the people (Southall, 2013). This has become clear not only in how the leaders managed the covid19 relief funds but in other areas too.

As 2021 began, President Cyril Ramaphosa signed into law the Political Funding Bill which seeks to create or promote a transparent process of funding for political parties in South Africa. When political parties go to conferences that have different business people funding certain candidates, in most cases it is because these business owners have interest to either benefit from the business deals or influence the policy positions of the country. There is a toxic relationship between politics and money in South Africa (Friedman, 2018). The idea is that the

interests of certain business people need to be protected because they are the funders of the organization. As they normally say, "there's no free lunch in business", which means that business people always have an interest to benefit. They see their donations as an "investment". This should not come as a surprise because capitalism itself seeks to make profit and expand more even at the expense of others. The Bill aimed to manage the funding process and to compel political organizations to disclose funders, especially those 'donating' more than R100 000 annually. This was to ensure that big businesses do not end up controlling political parties and having the state captured (Friedman, 2018). Now that it has been signed into law, everyone expects to see its impact in combating corruption while encouraging transparency. Corruption in South Africa is structural. Hence, it is said that, "corruption in South Africa is not because of bad or weak law enforcement agencies but it is embroiled in the speciality of the class formation of the black elites" (Van Hodldt, 2019:1). This means that corruption is not about having rotten potatoes but is informed by the class contradictions. Corruption is one of the factors that contribute to the failures of the ANC leadership in government. Through the wrongful use of money that is meant for social services and improving the lives of the ordinary South Africans like the covid19 relief fund that is a debt from the World Bank and the IMF, politicians are doing the country a disservice. The money will be paid by tax payers yet leaders misuse those funds while the poor continue to suffer even more.

5.3.4 Corruption in the ZANU-PF

ZANU-PF, like its sister liberation movement the ANC, has been facing corruption as one of the undermining factors of the leadership and effective governance. The elements of corruption in Zimbabwe have been manifesting through patronage, which is about certain individuals getting certain benefits because of their support to the incumbents. The idea of neo-patrimonialism becomes effective where people are put in certain positions to protect their sponsors. The state resources are channeled through various means, which seek to provide support to the incumbents. The ZANU-PF spent much of its time and resources trying to protect the political power and neglected the basic needs of the people. More resources are spent to plot and finance political work, which does not seem to make a positive impact in the lives of the ordinary people. The exodus of people from Zimbabwe is evidence that there has not been much attention paid to service delivery aimed at improving the lives of ordinary Zimbabweans.

Generally, corruption has been one of the major problems faced by African liberation

movements and Zimbabwe has not been immune from this problem. Instead, Zimbabwe has been one of the countries in the SADC region that has suffered the consequences of having corrupt leaders who ascended to power at the dawn of democracy. Those who are supposed to uphold the rule of law and fight corrupt activities are either bribed or intimidated. In the end, they become accomplices.

Corruption has been rampant in Zimbabwe. There has been no accountability. People have been deployed by the liberation movement in order to advance personal interests. The sad reality is that corruption has made leaders to be distant from the people from whom they are supposed to receive the mandate to govern. The gap between leaders and their followers has become wider (Onslow, 2011). The administration of Zimbabwe like the one of South Africa was committed to dealing with corruption but the cadre deployment of the corrupt figures in the ZANU-PF continued to feature in the new administration even after the election of 2018 (Rapanyane, Ramasela & Tirivangasi, 2020). Corruption manifests itself through cadre deployment which also contributes towards the failures of leadership and governance by the ZANU-PF. Indeed, corruption is still the order of the day in the different arms of the state in Zimbabwe (Noyes, 2020). Corruption in Zimbabwe is structural in the sense that it is intertwined in all arms of the state. There is a syndicate from parliament to the courts of having ZANU-PF people protecting the irregular decisions taken by the ruling party even in courts. Indeed, corruption is one of the factors that contribute to the failures of ZANU-PF leadership and in government.

5.3.5 Structural Transformation

Both South Africa and Zimbabwe inherited a certain structural system that was meant to provide for the minority. Zimbabwe suffered from the effects of decisions taken by Ian Smith or the colonial legacy (Maunganidze, 2917). It has become clear that there were no core structural changes within the system of government when these liberation movements took over. Instead, the countries we have only replaced the managers of the same system. Subsequently, they have experienced challenges in transforming the lives of the African people because the systems are still the old ones that did not provide for the majority of South Africans and Zimbabweans. Until these structures change, there is no hope that the current status quo will change. Those who are rich get richer, while those who are poor become even poorer

(Shamyurira, 1977). This is a challenge to both the ANC and ZANU-PF as the ruling parties. Transforming a colonial and an apartheid regime system did not cater for the needs of the majority of South Africans and Zimbabweans. Therefore, soon after independence, there was supposed to be a structural evolution. Unfortunately, there has not been much done in this regard and there is no sign that this route will be taken anytime soon. For some reason, the new nationalist leaders in both countries have become comfortable with the structures they inherited from their predecessors. This is an indictment on these African leaders who have failed their people who voted them into office.

5.4 Conceptions of democracy

The notion of "Government of the people for the people by the people" has been the general understanding of what democracy means to many people. This notion seeks to put the interests of the people as a priority and compels the leadership to do so because it is elected by people and therefore accounts to the people. This has been the general assumption about what democracy means. In the main, African leaders have deviated from it. The irony is that they claim to embrace democratic principles.
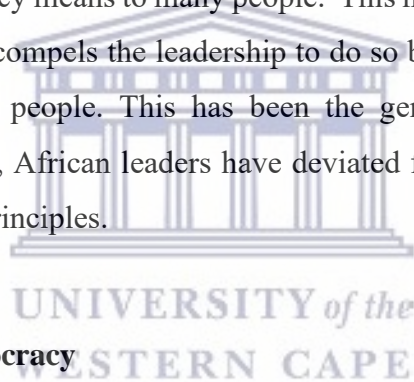
5.4.1 Basic principles of democracy

The African National Congress in its own policy documents states it clearly that it seeks to have a non-racial national democratic society as stipulated in the National Democratic Revolution (ANC, 2012). From the Freedom Charter adopted in 1955 to the Strategy and Tactics document and lastly to the Constitution, the ANC has a clear posture on the kind of organization it wants to be. Noticeably, democracy is one of its founding principles in its policy documents.

In the ANC, the democratic principles are not completely followed by the leadership practices. The basic principle is taking the mandate from the masses of the people. The ANC has been able to provide people with an opportunity to vote for their leaders. Unlike in many African countries, South Africa has been able to constantly and regularly hold free and fair elections. However, there is a challenge of accountability and transparency when leaders enter office. For example, under President Mbeki, public representatives were more loyal to the party and the

president than to the masses of the people. Since then, there has been minimal consultation on certain decisions to be taken by the leadership. More evidence of this practice is surfacing from the Zondo Commission. We can mention the removal of both President Mbeki and President Zuma where there was never a clear consultation process to hear the views of the voters who voted for these leaders to lead. Now, when the ruling party decides to remove its elected leaders, it then breaks one of the basic principles of democracy and silences the voice of the voters who constitute the majority compared to the politicians.

When the ruling party makes policies, it does not consult the general population about the policy and even within the party there is minimal consultation, everything is centralized within the dominant faction. The current decisions taken by government in dealing with Covid19, especially the restrictions put in place, is in a way not democratic. No proper consultation process was followed to get the public opinion. This includes banning the use of tobacco and liquor in level 5 March 2020, there was no clear consultation process. Even the decision on the level 5 in 2020 March and level 4 in 2021 lockdown regulations which restricted the rights of movements by citizens of the republic was not based on a consultative process. The decisions might have been progressive or in the public interest but no proper public consultation process was followed by the leadership. In that sense, the democratic principles were not adhered to.

In a nutshell, this amounts to disrespecting the voters. Under normal circumstances, leaders are meant to be in constant communication with the general population for mandates and to ensure accountable and transparent governance. This requires a leadership that is on the ground and not aloof like the ruling party that only goes out to the people to have their views pre-election time then vanishes after securing votes and taking over power. What has become evident in this study is that there is a lack of understanding of what democracy stands for to some leaders. Moreover, many deliberately misuse their powers to undermine the democratic principles. The liberation movements ended up betraying the principles of the liberation struggle and the democracy that was fought for (Gumede, 2017).

In the case of the lockdown, the deployment of the army to use force to manage people was not a democratic style of doing things. People were now forced to comply with the rules that they were not consulted on. The army was forced to perform a duty it was never trained for. This certainly leads people to start losing trust in the democratic process. As a consequence, in the South African context, we have seen a decline in the electorate in the last national and local

government elections in 2016 and 2019 (Southall, 2019). Lack of the implementation of democratic principles by the ANC is one of the contributing factors that has led to the failures of the ANC leadership and its poor performance in government.

5.4.2 Basic principles of democracy in ZANU-PF

ZANU-PF presents itself as a democratic organisation disguised through regular elections. But even through that process of disguising it has not been successful. Generally, when there are elections in Zimbabwe there are always complaints about the fact that elections were not free and fair. This proves that ZANU-PF is not a democratic organisation. The fact that Mugabe only got removed through a coup explains that indeed Zimbabwe is an authoritarian regime. Even beyond Mugabe, in the current admiration there is no democracy to speak of. The leadership of ZANU-PF under President Mnangagwa generally characterizes the opposition parties as the agents of the West or the former colonisers. This is despite the fact that the country embraced multi-party democracy which allows for differing opinions.

Even the election processes are not followed fairly, there is always violence and intimidation of people supporting opposition political parties (Beardsworhts, Cheeseman & Tinhu, 2019). A similar tactic is still being used even under the new administration of Mnangagwa, which shows that there is not much shift.

The ruling party compromises the rule of law. The manner in which the government responded with violence in the protest of the doctors and used force to control them proves that there is no democracy that is being followed in Zimbabwe (Raponyane, Romsela & Tirivangasi, 2020). The tactic of using force and violence is still the order of the day in 2021 when the state deals with different views. There is a total disregard of the public opinion in Zimbabwe and yet democracy is about getting the mandate from the people. In this regard, decision-making takes a top-down approach. The government of Zimbabwe has not fulfilled its function like a democratic state. The various government institutions on a number of occasions have proven that they are not democratic as the will of the people does not prevail (Dube & Makaye, 2014).

In the current regime, there is not much that has changed, the institutions continue to disregard the democratic process. The ordinary citizens of Zimbabwe on a number of occasions have

been excluded in major discussions taken by the ruling party. This resulted in a conflict between the state and the labour movements and the response of the ruling party was violent and brutal. The decisions taken by ZANU-PF in the name of redress undermined the democratic process. In the past, there were human rights violations. This action was disguised through claims of being a left organization (Raftopoulos, 2006). The incumbent leadership of Zimbabwe under Mnangagwa has failed to get its authority of legitimacy through democratic elections but resorted to violence as a tool to enforce his authority (Beardsworth, Cheeseman & Tinhu, 2019). The state continues to rely on repression and abuse of human rights for survival by the leadership of ZANU-PF (Noyes, 2020).

It is important to note that Mnangagwa was the enforcer or instigator of violence in Zimbabwe under Mugabe and the language that he understands better as a war veteran is violence. That is why violence is still instrumental or is used as the main weapon in Zimbabwe (Feldstein, 2018). There is dominance of the army in Zimbabwe and that shapes the politics of the country (Hove, 2017). The army is always deployed to protect the regime of the ruling party in the name of bringing stability as the ruling party views itself as the only legitimate voice of the people (Melber, 2018). The intention is to continue to be in power and political leaders are prepared to use different forms and means to remain in power.

We have witnessed this situation through elections in Zimbabwe where politicians undermine the democratic principles of free and fair elections (Melber, 2018). Even under the COVID-19 pandemic, just like in South Africa, Zimbabwe has strict lockdown regulations and the army is deployed to ensure that people comply with the restrictions that they did not consent to. This is a classical example of how authoritarianism plays itself out in the ZANU-PF and Zimbabwe. Total disregard of democratic principles by the ZANU-PF is one of the contributing factors that leads to the failures of the ZANU-PF leadership in government.

5.4.3 Public Institutions in the ANC government

The Public institutions are empowered by statutes to fulfill a certain obligation and to make sure that there are checks and balances. These institutions are meant to protect the democracy of the country and to also protect the ordinary people. They are the voice of the voiceless and protect every citizen from leaders who abuse their power at the expense of the citizens.

This study has established that some institutions are used to fight political battles. Those who are running these institutions abuse the power conferred on them by the Constitution to settle political scores at the expense of the democracy of the ordinary people. In the South African context, these institutions include Chapter 9 institutions such as the Office of the Public Protector. On many occasions, this Office has been manipulated to settle political scores among politicians. It is a known fact that public institutions are embroiled in the political fights. This makes the Public Protector's Office a playground for political battles (Powel, 2019). While the focus at the moment is on the current incumbent, evidence shows that her predecessors have been coopted by politicians to advance similar interests.

We have also seen courts being used to fight political battles. This could weaken the power of the judiciary. Part of the problem is that appointments are made by the President. One could appoint his people so that they could protect him or her should a need arise. In fact, the courts are the battlefields of the political leaders to fight political fights. This could pose a threat to whoever manages to influence the courts. No one should control the courts because these institutions are meant to protect ordinary citizens, their Constitutional right to justice and enhance the basic principles of democracy (Powel, 2019).

We have also seen the SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) being used as propaganda machinery to fight political battles or to settle political scores (George, 2016). While this happened, government dragged its feet in addressing the situation. This should not come as a surprise because politicians have a way of protecting one another. Those who were comrades in the trenches fail to understand that as government they have ceased to be "comrades" and have become public representatives. These are some of the vestiges of liberation struggle politics which have found their way into modern government institutions.

5.4.4 Public Institutions in the ZANU-PF government

There are different arms of the state in every country. These arms seek to perform their roles freely and to be able to monitor the checks and balances. These institutions include parliament and courts. The Zimbabwean Electoral Commission (ZEC) is accused of being captured by the

ruling party (Hofise, 2018). The ruling party has continued to be accused of rigging elections through its influence on the electoral commission.

Public institutions are empowered by statutes to fulfill a certain obligation and to make sure that there are checks and balances. These institutions are meant to protect the democracy and the constitution of the country. Lastly, they are meant to protect the civilians. They are the voice of the voiceless and should protect every citizen from leaders who abuse their power at the expense of the citizens. They should be able to hold everyone accountable and ensure that no one is above the law. However, this is not the case. ZANU-PF started to interfere with the courts and all those judges who took decisions against the ruling party were sidelined and staunch member of the party were made judges in trying to protect the regime. Therefore, ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe does not rule fairly because of its intervention in the judicial arm of the state.

There was infiltration even in the country's broadcasting service. This institution had no freedom of speech as expected in a democratic state. ZANU-PF resolved to expand its control in the key institutions of the state as part of the process of protecting its political power. The broadcasting commission began to be controlled by the ZANU-PF and then the media became a weapon to manage the people. Though the broadcasting commission is an institution that is meant to inform the people of Zimbabwe on things freely and fairly, it became the mouthpiece for the governing party (Raftopoulos, 2004). Even under the current political setting, the media continues to be controlled in the ZANU-PF. This was witnessed in the protest of the public servants where the state manipulated the media of the country and used it to rationalize its undemocratic actions. These are some of the sad realities that characterize ZANU-PF.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. In doing so, it grouped the findings according to themes, which were expounded both in their broader general context and with specific reference to the ANC and ZANU-PF that were used as the comparative cases for the present study. As evidenced in the preceding discussion, the causal factors that contribute to the failures of the liberation movements to operate as governments are very broad and different. Firstly, it is important to note that there are similar patterns in the liberation movements from

one country to another. But equally, there are also different factors, which stand out in each country depending on the prevailing political context. These dynamics have been considered in the discussion above.

According to the findings presented in this comparative study, this diversity is primarily caused by the fact that the two countries exist in different contexts, hence, the challenges sometimes differ either totally or in certain magnitude. Secondly, as time goes by, the challenges keep on evolving while new ones arise. For example, in the context of South Africa, the challenges faced by the ANC in 1997 and 2019 differ markedly because both the context and material conditions have changed and new challenges are born from time to time. It has been established in this study that some of the factors come from external influences. But mainly, it is problems that come from within the movements that make former liberation movements struggle to operate as government. The decisions taken by the political leadership and failure to decide on certain issues contribute largely to the problems former liberation movements have to contend with. This is the context within which the ANC and ZANU-PF's challenges in the independent South Africa and Zimbabwe should be understood. The line between a liberation movement and a government is thin.

Now that the results of this study have been presented in this penultimate chapter, the next and last chapter of this dissertation will focus on giving a brief overview and a conclusion. Lastly the last part of the chapter will also make recommendations from the study as a way forward.

Chapter six

Summary, Conclusion and the Recommendations

6.1 Summary

This last chapter pulls together the entire document and reflects on what has been discussed in the previous chapters. The purpose of this study was to examine the causal factors that contribute towards the failures of liberation movements in leadership and governance. Specifically, it looked at the ANC and ZANU-PF post-independence from the period 2017 to 2020 and conducted a comparative study. This was done with the view to explain why conditions of the ordinary African people have not changed much even during the post-independence period. The year 2017 marked the year of change for both liberation movements. In Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe finally stepped down as the head of state after 37 years in office – having ascendedsa to power in 1980. When this change happened, many people across the world were looking forward to the change that this unprecedented development was going to bring to the people of Zimbabwe. Though it was just the change of a person not the entire organization, everyone was interested to see what was going to happen in Zimbabwe and to many Zimbabwean people both those residing in the country and those in the diaspora.

On the other hand, 2017 December was an elective conference of the ANC where President Jacob Zuma stepped down as president of the party having assumed this position in 2007. After number of attempts to recall him as president invoking Section 89 of the National Constitution and after many protests for his removal, the moment finally came when his term of office in the ANC ended. People were looking forward to this change on how it would affect Zuma as the President of the country – a position he was still entitled to occupy until his term of office ended. Some people were hopeful that things would change for the better under the new leadership. Out of curiosity, this study was interested in exploring the change and the shift in the period from 2017 to 2020. It was out of those historical events that this study looked at this particular period in history.

Chapter one gave a historic background of the study. It also looked at the objectives of the study and listed a series of questions that the study aimed to respond to. Chapter two focused

on the conversation of the scholars or what is called the scholarly review. The literature review provided a clear foundation and understanding on the battlefield of ideas. Through this exercise, I was able to gather information about the views of the scholars in the discourse. Chapter three focused on the theoretical framework of the study. It discussed the theories that were used in the study in trying explain the phenomenon that had been identified as the focal point. The theory chapter became the guide that would knit the study together. Chapter four paid particular attention to the methodology that was used in the study when collecting data. This chapter provided a clear journey that was travelled in trying to explain how data sets were collected. There was an attempt to present the justification on why a particular research paradigm was chosen. Among other things, it was noted that the decision was informed by different issues like the nature of the research under the covid19 conditions and other reasons. Then chapter five provided the findings of the study. Lastly, chapter six (the present chapter) presents the conclusion and the recommendations of the study.

6.2 Conclusion

This section shall briefly provide an overview or conclusion of the study in a chronological order from the first chapter to the last chapter one. This study aimed at examining the causal factors that contribute towards the liberation movements struggling to operate as governing parties. To expound this point, a comparative study was done between the ANC and ZANU-PF focusing on the period from 2017 to 2020. It emerged that these causal factors mainly came when these liberation movements assumed political power in the post-independence period. However, it also became clear that there some that can be traced from the years of the liberation struggle in both organisations. The study further established the extent to which these liberation movements could be responsible for these factors. Though other factors are the legacy of the colonial and apartheid systems and therefore present themselves as external forces, the bulk of the factors are as a result of the failures of the liberation movements to adjust from being liberation movements to becoming governing political parties. South Africa and Zimbabwe share both similarities and differences in terms of their experiences. In general, Africa's current challenges and the ANC and ZANU-PF's challenges are as a result of both external and internal causes. As such, any attempt to find a solution to these endemic challenges would have to consider both causes.

6.3 Recommendations

This Mini-Thesis is limited because it is a case study. This means that it focused on the African National Congress and Zimbabwean African National Union Patriotic Front. Thus, although it assists in terms of giving pointers in a general scale, it cannot give a broader perspective on the challenges faced by liberation movements in the post-independence era across the African continent. The assumption or hypothesis made by the study focuses on the ANC and ZANU-PF. One recommendation is that a broad study should be carried out looking at other liberation movements which became governing parties in their respective governments. As shown in this study, the challenges faced by liberation movements are different from one country to another and also challenges faced by liberation movements evolve from time to time. This means that these challenges are not static but dynamic. Therefore, they require studies that could be carried out from time to time in order to establish the extent to which the time factor impacts on the performance of these former liberation movements. These changes could be informed by domestic politics of different countries or even international politics or the geopolitics.

Another recommendation is that a comparative study should be carried out with more cases than the two that have been used in the present study. This would assist in testing the validity and reliability of the findings of the present study. There should also be a further study to look at the response of new political parties that seek to liberate people from the hand of the liberation movements and test if the challenges faced by them are the same as the ones faced by the liberation movements such as the two discussed above.

In terms of recommendations to the liberation movements, firstly, there must be clear process in terms of addressing corruption publicly. Any member found guilty of involvement in corruption should be held fully accountable and strict measures should be taken against such individuals. Anyone found guilty of corruption should never be deployed in government or be given any leadership role in the party. Strict measures must be put in place to avoid anyone using state machinery or apparatus to fight political battles. Anyone found guilty of this offense must be held accountable and be banned from leading the party. There must be a compulsory life style audit. Public representatives must always be ready to be asked to come forward and inform the people as to how they amassed wealth that does not match their salaries. All public representative must declare public all their assets and debts even before commencing with their term office.

The cadre deployment process should be revisited and deployment should only involve highly qualified technocrats. The minimum requirements for deployment should include a minimum of bachelor's degree from the Universities of advanced diploma from the Universities of Technology. The existing public officials need to be given additional training where they will be given more challenging and advanced tasks to develop their ability and skills to lead in public offices. At the department level the administrative side must not be tempered with by politics and the contracts of the Director General (DG's) and Deputy Director General (DDG's) must be longer at least minimum 10 years for continuation and clear impact analyses of the policies of the department. The organisations must develop a state with the capacity to hold public representatives accountable. Anyone who failed to deliver as a deployed cadre must be removed from that particular position.

A credible online system meeting the fourth industrial revolution should be created. This would assist in testing the capacity of the candidate before assuming a particular position. The system must always be improved to ensure the it is fit for purpose and that it improves quality check. This would ensure that whatever political parties do always meet the demands of the time. There must be quarterly monitoring and evaluation of the system that is fully implemented to always check the mandate if it is followed by those deployed. There must be strict rules in place to ensure that the output of the actual work delivered by public representatives is of high quality and that it can be assessed. The political leadership must always be trained in their respective positions to ensure that they know what is expected of them and how they should do it. A compulsory political education system must be put in place in order to capacitate those who are deployed as well as the general party members. It has become clear lately that revolutionary theory is very important for the survival of any organization. Therefore, there must be strong theoretical grounding among comrades of the movement so that they could be more effective in their different portfolios.

Electoral Commissions must be fully independent and not associated with any political party (including the governing party). Zimbabwe must have its own currency for its economy to be resuscitated. Governing political parties must address corruption so that they could be able to attract investors. Both countries South Africa and Zimbabwe] must create conducive economic conditions to reduce unemployment and ensure that young people are able to deal with the challenges faced by their communities.

Lastly, liberation movements must be able to hold each other accountable as sister organisations. In this regard, leaders must always reflect honesty certain leaders. Particularly, heads of states must reflect openly and honestly about challenges faced by liberation movements. Straight talk breaks no friendship. This should be the motto of sister liberation movements. Governing political parties must prioritise the democratic rights of the people over anything. They must ensure that at all times people are able to exercise their rights free from fear of intimidation. While the onus is on the political leadership to do self-introspection and have the interest of electorate at heart, there is also a need for an active citizenry that would be able to keep their leaders accountable. Failure to do so would make a mockery of democracy.

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