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Looking in the Mirror: Intra-Party Democracy and Party Politics in Southern Africa

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LOOKING IN THE MIRROR:

INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY AND PARTY POLITICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

by

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Abstract

Political parties serve as a link between the state and society. Being so, they have a

fundamental role in the consolidation of democratic values. It then becomes important to

understand their internal functions and character. The purpose of this thesis is to measure

the levels of intra-party democracy within three opposition political parties in Southern

Africa. Also, this thesis seeks to show whether authoritarian political culture has an affect

on a democratic party's behavior. This thesis will strive to show that as party levels of

intra-party democracy decrease, fracturing in the party increases. A qualitative case study

was conducted on UNITA in Angola, the ANC in South Africa, and the MDC in Zimbabwe. A

content analysis was performed on the parties' respective constitutions and official party

documents, as well as other scholarly writings. This was paired with an historical analysis

of the case states and parties. The parties were assessed along a determined framework for

intra-party democracy: political environment, legal framework of the state and party, the

inclusiveness of the party, and party economics. Inclusiveness of the party gauges

membership participation, leadership competition, gender parity, and oversight. The ANC

exhibited the highest levels of intra-party democracy, and has shown the most stability.

The MDC was found to have the lowest levels, and has split multiple times in recent years.

All the parties demonstrated a need to open leadership participation and create better

oversight mechanisms. Political parties proved to be a critical element in a state's potential

democratic development, and though there exists deficiencies, the political parties of this

study seem committed in many of their functions to this goal.

Dedication

For John F. Ryan,
practitioner of American Bushido,
for teaching me that one can be master of their fate,
and to strive for more than the world offers

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation to all who have helped guide me along this mystifying process. I would like to thank first Dr. Young, whose dedicated knowledge, infinite patience, and insight tended the evolution of both this thesis and a young mind. Had it not been for Dr. Young, this may have been a path not taken. I would like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Walker and Dr. Schafer. Without their attention, encouragement, and sacrifice of time, the development of this thesis would not have been possible.

I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to my wife, Denise Ryan, who endured the long nights and whose steady presence helped remove self-doubt. Finally, I would like to thank Thomas Egan for the coffee and the company all-night research demands. Without the efforts of these people, neither my work nor I would have had the ability to mature to this point.

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
COPE	The Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
FAA	Armed Forces of Angola
FALA	Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
FPTP	First Past the Post
GEAR	Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity
GPA	Global Political Agreement
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IEC	Independent Election Commission
JUICE	Jobs, Upliftment, Investment Capital & the Environment
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC-N	Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangarai
MFA	Armed Forces Movement
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MP	Member of Parliament
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDP	National Development Plan
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

NIMD	Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NP	National Party
NSC	National Standing Committee
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
PR	Proportional Representation
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
RF	Rhodesian Front
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF	South African Defense Force
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRC	Truth & Reconciliation Commission
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNITA-R	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola-Renovation
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZESN	Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

Introduction

Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African state to achieve independence in 1957, a period that marked the beginning of the end of colonization on the Continent.[1] Since then, Africa has experienced a varied and complex relationship with democracy. Nowhere are these complexities more embodied than in the political parties that act as the conduit for the people and the government. Yet, scholarship on the subject of political parties has only recently become an academic pursuit, especially in emerging democracies in the developing world. In fact, "so fundamental are political parties to the operation of modern politics that their role and significance are often taken for granted."[2]

When discussing the nature of politics it becomes easy to get embroiled in details like the impact of a political system or the cultural idiosyncrasies of the population, while political parties themselves are more of an afterthought, if considered at all. Thus, while we take into account whether or not a state is authoritarian and its inherent impact on that society, the essence of a political party and its impact on a society is often overlooked. The objective of this thesis is to go beyond the face value of a political party and try to gain a deeper understanding of the internal functions of these organizations. This thesis seeks to accomplish the following:

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[1] When referring to Africa, it has now become customary to capitalize "Continent" as it has become a commonly substituted synonym in the text.
[2] Andrew Heywood. 2002. *Politics*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan. P. 73.

- Determine the levels of internal democratic practices within the selected political parties.

- Provide a regional analysis of party politics in Southern Africa.

- Determine attributes that a party can be measured on.

- Better understand the current democratization process in Southern Africa.

- And, to show whether or not authoritarian political culture can have an impact on the behavior of democratic political parties.

Specifically, an analysis of the internal democratic practices of a political party in the Southern African region will be conducted in order to gauge the extent to which political parties espouse democratic ideals and to what extent they execute those ideals. As Augustine Magolowondo has stated, "if political parties are building blocks of democracy, they cannot afford to not be democratic themselves for to do so is a contradiction both in terms and in values."[3]

While scholarship on the subject of political parties in sub-Saharan Africa is beginning to trickle in, much of the discussion has been focused on the process of democratization as a whole. Earl Conteh-Morgan describes democratization as "a process of establishing a form of governance in which mechanisms are created to ensure participation at all levels of politics, responsible leadership, and civil liberties"[4], while

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[3] Augustine Magolowondo. 2007. *Understanding Intra-party Democracy in Africa: Issues and Questions.* NIMD. Pg. 1.

[4] Earl Conteh-Morgan. 1997. *Democratization in Africa: The Theory and Dynamics of Political Transitions.* Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. P. 7.

Kidane Mengisteab and Cyril K. Daddieh, in their book *State Building and Democratization in Africa*, present a series of essays on the basic theory of democratization while giving examples from daily African reality of what outcomes democratization has produced. These texts, like many others, do a superb job of expressing the nuances of the democratization process, yet, the focus remains broad and rarely does the literature provide sufficient scrutiny of political party processes.

As mentioned above, research has been steadily increasing on the subject of political parties in Africa, and not just on the decisions they engage in but also on their nature. This thesis could not be produced without the foundation laid by previous researchers and their scrupulous efforts. Much of the relevant research on the internal functioning of political parties, at least in the Southern African region, has been conducted within the last twenty years as the focus has shifted to the parties themselves.

Research shows that the nature and development of a state has a profound impact on political parties. Through an analysis of the political parties and how they govern, Wole Olaleye deduces that the one-party state, a state in which only one party controls the political, economic, and social trajectory of the state, has produced for many African countries a chaotic political system; intrinsically weak and open to abuses.[5] Khabele Matlosa's work in identifying challenges that political parties in Africa face with regards to

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[5] This is especially the case in Zimbabwe, where many of the parties are characterized "by ethnicity, clientelism, patronage, and highly centralized political power structures." Wole Olaleye. 2003. Political Parties and Multi-party Elections in Southern Africa. SADC Insight IV.

internal democratic practices helps highlight some of the critical areas that parties must be aware of and can also be used as a barometer for a party's development.[6]

This research will also explore the institutions that monitor and study political parties, both inside the Continent and without. The Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) is a regionally based entity that has conducted extensive fieldwork and scholarship on the various forces of democratization at work in Africa. According to their mission statement, "EISA strives for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, citizen participation, and the strengthening of political institutions for sustainable democracy in Africa."[7] Behind this general statement of goals is a plethora of research and perspectives that have helped to crystallize the political realities in places and states that have traditionally been hard to access. The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) is another such organization that helps to identify key challenges both parties and states face when attempting to consolidate democratic practices and institutions.

The research also contributes to our understanding of how the democratization process has evolved over the course of the twenty plus years since the end of the Cold War. With the end of the Cold War Africa has seen a vociferous wave of democratization, especially in the southern region, and many African voices are contributing extensively to

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[6] Among these critical areas are: leadership, primary elections, party funding, gender equality, and management of the internal affairs of the party. These are general guidelines and are not exhaustive of the critical areas that can present themselves.
[7] The website for EISA. "About."

the academic dialogue in politics on the Continent. [8] Though, while the literature effectively

identifies the key challenges political parties face today, as well as the democratic

institutions they serve, there is a lack of research on the extent to which political parties

espouse and practice what is termed intra-party democracy, otherwise know as internal

democratic practices. This thesis explores the democratic practices of Southern African

political parties, specifically opposition political parties, to determine how effectively intra-

party democracy is performed, if at all.

Design & Methods

This thesis asks whether authoritarian political culture helps cultivate authoritarian

attitudes in self-described democratic groups, and if so, what is the impact and how does it

affect that organization's behavior? The hypothesis is that as the level of adherence to

internal democratic values and practices goes down within an opposition political party,

the level of disaffection within that party grows, causing a splintering effect for the party.

This in turn decreases the level of organized opposition faced by the ruling party,

ultimately helping to keep the authoritarian regime entrenched. A qualitative case study

presents the best opportunity to achieve the goals of this thesis.

A predetermined political party was chosen from three different Southern African

states. The parties and states include The National Union for the Total Independence of

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[8] The one-party era in the Southern African region, now the SADC, came after the fall of the initial
wave of multiparty democracy in the independence era. It lasted until the early 1990s, and the fall
of the Soviet Union. The end of Apartheid formally ended decades of regional instability and
helped facilitate the rise of the current multiparty era in the SADC.

Angola, known in Portuguese as União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), in Angola, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe. The reason for the selection of these particular states is two-fold. First, all the states reside in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) regional organization and second, each state has a distinctive colonial history with particular colonial powers.[9] This provides for both a regional analysis of political parties, as well as an analysis of the behavior of parties that are the product of different colonial experiences. Parties will be compared with each other over certain values, including: their inclusiveness, their legal framework, economic distribution, and the nature of their electoral systems.

There are a few qualities about the nature of the subject being studied that make qualitative research optimal. Firstly, the organizations and the systems they operate in are complex, and necessarily make their processes complex as well. Qualitative research provides a chance to better understand these complexities. Secondly, this research seeks to use an exploratory approach to understand informal and unstructured linkages and processes in the previously mentioned organizations. And lastly, for practical reasons like location and resources, this research cannot be done experimentally.

A content analysis of the official constitutions of the political parties, the constitutions of their respective states, along with reports and observations from the previously

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[9] Angola was colonized by Portugal, while South Africa was colonized by first the Dutch, then the British. Zimbabwe was conquered and colonized by the British, led by diamond magnet Cecil Rhodes, who formally named the colony Rhodesia.

mentioned electoral institutes will serve as the primary source of data. From these data, one can develop an understanding of the values the party wants to project, the standards they set, and how they view themselves. Currently, each political party to be focused on operates under a functioning constitution. Other official documents can be culled from the SADC, and other organizations like the African Union (AU), Africa's continental political body, or the United Nations (UN). Also, documents generated by the State itself or any other official documents put forth by the opposition party will be used. Data will also be gathered by performing a document analysis of the literature mentioned earlier in the introduction. Many of these texts are published works found in the UCF library, while other writings are from scholarly journals culled from the JSTOR database, as well as compilations of essays published by different universities or policy-oriented organizations. The document analysis will be coupled with a historical analysis of the states and the organizations in question, which is integral to understanding any political process occurring in Africa.

How this data will be managed is closely related to the analytical strategy being employed. Two key strategies for analysis, editing style and immersion/crystallization style, will be employed. This means that categories will not be predetermined, but will be coded as the research presents areas of meaning. As this thesis develops, themes and categories will emerge to help code the data.

Delimitations

The model constructed herein required definite parameters to met in the selection of the case states of Angola, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Certain delimitations have helped facilitate the selection process for these states. One condition discussed already is their membership in the SADC. The states chosen from there must fit the model of an authoritarian state, in which the ruling party exercises considerable control over the political and economic spheres. Also, the states must be relatively free from major civil strife. Major civil strife in this case constitutes a complete societal breakdown into anarchy, or an all-encompassing civil war, in which political parties would have no reason to operate.[10] The deciding factor here is that there must be just enough tolerance by the state to open adequate political space for opposition parties to maneuver in, while not being completely stifled. An analysis of the literature shows the states chosen do indeed fit this model.

A special note must be made, however, on South Africa. South Africa is not currently an authoritarian state, nor is the African National Congress (ANC) an opposition political party, but from the ANC's inception, they have fit this description for the model. The ANC was formed in 1912 as a response to the gross mistreatment of Africans on the part of Dutch and British settlers. They presented the most vigorous challenge to the apartheid regime, the National Party (NP), which was highly authoritarian. Though the ANC has

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[10] Since the end of the Angolan Civil War in 2002, the slow process of democratic consolidation has taken root, though in starts-and-fits, and there is adequate space and tolerance to allow a somewhat peaceful political process.

reached the highest pinnacle a political party can achieve in their society, they started as a democratic alternative to the racism and overt authoritarianism of the NP, which was the party in power in South Africa from 1948 until Nelson Mandela's election in 1994. South Africa presents us with an opportunity to compare an opposition party that has triumphed to those still struggling.

The type of political party this thesis is concerned with is that of opposition political parties. Opposition political parties can be classified in a few ways. First, they enjoy only a minority of the electorate's votes, thus having a smaller presence in parliament and other governmental posts. Second, not all opposition parties in Africa are democratic. It is those opposition parties that classify themselves as democratic and present themselves to their respective electorates as democratic alternatives to the current authoritarian regimes that will be chosen. These are opposition parties that have formed and institutionalized democratic ideals within the party structure. And third, many African opposition parties lack the structure and resources to effectively contest power. Therefore, those opposition parties that present the most robust challenge to the authoritarian regime within their respective state are what this thesis will be concerned with.

At this point, a scholar of Southern Africa may be wondering why the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), formally Zaire, wasn't chosen. The DRC has experienced extreme social upheaval; a tremendous amount of political instability, and in the 2000s was the scene of a brutal war that involved the armies of nine African countries, and over 5 million

deaths.[11] This was set off by both the collapsing kleptocracy, a political system in which corruption has been institutionalized, of Mobutu Sese Seko, then president of Zaire, and the Rwandan genocide that evolved into the Rwandan Civil War, which spilled over into Zaire.

The stain that decades of Mobutu's rule had on the political landscape, along with its sordid experience with Belgium colonialism, has endowed the DRC with one of the most volatile political arenas to try to gain access to. This political disharmony was further perpetuated by the fractious rule of Laurent-Désiré Kabila, whose army ousted Mobutu and was comprised of several different factions.[12] Kabila also had been known to have "surrounded himself with child soldiers, much to the chagrin of visiting diplomats and dignitaries."[13] For these reasons, among many others, the DRC was not chosen. The hostile conditions make access to data extremely difficult. It also makes data sometimes unreliable. In addition, one of the requirements for this study was adequate political space for parties to maneuver in, which doesn't truly exist in the DRC as it is only really a democracy in name and bears only the basic operational trappings of democracy with none of the intended spirit.

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[11] Jason K. Stearns's *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa* gives a stunning account of the complexities and relationships that contributed to the Second Congo War being one of the most devastating conflicts since the end of World War II.

[12] According to Stearns's research, Kabila's army was comprised of Angolan, Chadian, Namibian, and Zimbabwean troops, with Sudan maintaining a tertiary role. This force was augmented by a myriad of militias from various parts of the Continent, many with ulterior motives, grudges, and rivalries that helped fuel the conflict.

[13] Ibid, P. 279.

Certain limitations were placed on this research, the most paramount being distance. Almost 8,000 miles lies in between and this proves a deciding challenge. For this reason, research cannot be conducted on the ground in the given state, but must be conducted through an analysis of official documents along with relevant research.

Chapter Outline

Moving forward, it is the intent of this introduction to not only lay the foundation for the concepts and processes to be discussed throughout, but to also convey that democracy is beginning to consolidate in various degrees, even in the face of repression. The chapters to follow will help illustrate who some of these opposition parties are and how well they follow democratic ideals, as they are theoretically governments in waiting. When facing authoritarian state mechanisms, opposition parties can't afford the luxury of infighting and fracturing. This thesis will try to determine that if the level of adherence to internal democratic values and practices (intra-party democracy) goes down within an organization, the level of disaffection that party grows, causing a splintering effect for the party.

The following chapter will be the conceptual framework that underpins this thesis. The places, units, and critical concepts that will be dealt with will be discussed in greater detail there. The third chapter of this study will be a brief historical section of the case states involved. This is not intended to be a comprehensive examination of the colonial experience of Southern Africa, but a concise historical analysis of Angola, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. It will focus on the late-colonial-pre-independence, liberation, and post-

colonial-independence period of the case states, and their history in the SADC. The fourth chapter will discuss the relevant history of the opposition political parties previously mentioned: UNITA, the ANC, and the MDC.

The fifth chapter will discuss the first two critical components of intra-party democracy, the political environment the parties inhabit, and the legal framework of the state and the party. The environment a party inhabits can have a profound effect on its behavior. The nature of the party system, coupled with the nature of the electoral system, can either encourage democratic consolidation, or severely hinder it. An important component of the environment in authoritarian states is the overall effectiveness of the parliament, and whether the opposition party can make use of its structural resources.

The legal framework of both the states and the parties also serves as a significant area for analysis. Most political parties in the modern era operate constitutionally. Meaning that they have a documented structure for the party that enumerates, in writing, their goals, functions, duties, and restrictions. They may also have by-laws, regulations, and manifestos that detail their behavior. Crucial though are the case state's laws regarding political parties and their activities.

The sixth chapter will assess the other elements of intra-party democracy, party inclusiveness and party economics. The overall inclusiveness of a party will try to measure a party's engagement with grassroots elements. One of the most critical factors of inclusiveness is the level of centralization within the party, and whether there is party oversight of the leadership, as well as competitive elections for leadership positions. Given

the SADC's push for gender equality, women's representation in the party and in positions of power becomes a critical question.

Party economics is important to understanding how effective a party is at challenging state power nationally, and also whether the money is guarded and distributed by an oligarchic elite that may be loath to spread the economic fortunes of the party more equitably. When discussing the politics of Southern Africa however, ethnic rivalries and tensions can enter the equation. Therefore, it's important to look at the distribution of economic resources across ethnic lines, since a truly democratic party would not encourage ethnic cleavages.

The seventh and final chapter will be a conclusion that will summarize the knowledge gained throughout to see if, in fact, authoritarian political culture does have an impact on political parties in the case states. It will also discuss policy recommendations that parties may be in need of considering the data. The conclusion may find many challenges ahead for political parties and states alike, but it may also hope to show that the stereotypes of Africa must be penetrated to see that the continent, or at least many parts of it, is moving towards a more peaceful, democratic existence.

Chapter Two
Conceptual Framework

Before moving on, it is important to first establish and clarify some of the key concepts and

institutions this thesis is concerned with. We first turn to the geographic region in which

this study will focus on, the Southern African region that encapsulates the Southern African

Development Community (SADC). The SADC is a fifteen member inter-governmental

organization that stretches as far north as the Democratic Republic of Congo to the Cape of

South Africa, while pinned between the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean, and also includes

Madagascar. The aim of the Southern African Development Community is to "achieve

development, peace and security, and economic growth, to alleviate poverty, enhance the

standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa, and support the socially

disadvantaged through regional integration, built on democratic principles and equitable

and sustainable development."[1] In 1992, the forerunner to the SADC, The Southern African

Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC), consolidated the loose economic

affiliation of states and began the process of becoming an institution for political and social

development, in addition to the economic mandate, and bound the states by law through a

treaty, thus creating the current SADC.[2]

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[1] The website of the SADC. "About-SADC." *Overview*.

[2] Much of the relevant history and evolution of the SADC can be found in great detail at their official
website, www.SADC.int.

The concept of intra-party democracy is fundamental to answering the questions posed. The literature on democracy has illustrated in great detail the functions of democracy. Khabele Matlosa offers the following elements of a liberal democracy:

- Meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and organized groups for all positions of government power, at regular intervals, and excluding the use of force.
- A highly inclusive level of participation in the selection of leaders and policies, through fair and regular elections, excluding no social group.
- Civil and political liberties including; freedom of expression, freedom of press, and freedom to form and join organizations, among others.[3]

What does this mean for intra-party democracy? Many of the conditions that are required to make democracy effective, like those listed above, can be extrapolated to form a basis for what may constitute intra-party democracy. As of right now, there exists no consensus on a structured definition of intra-party democracy among scholars, but as Jereon Mimpen points out, "many scholars agree on some basic principles of electivity, accountability, transparency, inclusivity, participation, and representation."[4] One could also add the level of tolerance a political party exhibits to that list, and also how accommodating of divergent viewpoints they are. Even though a consensus does not exist, the guidelines generated help to conceptualize how to think of intra-party democracy. Found in Magolowondo's study,

[3] Khabele Matlosa. 2007. *Political Parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization*. Stockholm. International IDEA. P. 33.
[4] Jereon Miapen. 2007. *Intra-party Democracy and its Discontents: Democratization in a Volatile Landscape*. NIMD. P. 2.

the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) provides four indicators to gauge the level of intra-party democracy within a political party:

- Is the party functioning according to the established rules and procedures?
- Is decision making democratic and based on party statutes and current laws?
- Is there meaningful decentralization of the party's economic resources?
- Can the rank-and-file (ordinary members at the lowest level of the party hierarchy) exercise oversight over the party leadership?[5]

This provides a starting point for measuring intra-party democracy, but it is only generalized. When assessing intra-party democracy, other specific areas must be explored. These areas include, but certainly are not limited to; the environment the political parties inhabit; the legal framework of the party and the state in which that party resides in, including informal rules; the overall inclusiveness of the party, with regards to women and minorities; and the economic distribution of the party.

It is import to discuss the units to be observed, political parties, and distinguish them from interests groups and other social movements. Although interests groups, like political parties, do form to represent a certain group and aggregate that group's interest, they do not share critical idiosyncrasies that political parties possess. Heywood outlines four characteristics that distinguish a political party from an interest group:

- Aim to exercise government power by winning political office;
- Are organized bodies with a formal "card-carrying" membership;

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[5] Magolowondo. *Understanding Intra-party Democracy in Africa: Issues and Questions*. P. 4.

- Typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy;
- Are united to various degrees by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.[6]

While Mohamed Salih identifies four major functions that political parties engage in:

- They endow regimes with legitimacy by providing ideologies, leadership, or opportunities for political participation, or a combination of all three;
- They act as a medium for political recruitment, thus creating opportunities for upward social mobility;
- Interest aggregation;
- Provide for political stability in societies that are able to absorb increasing levels of political participation.[7]

Many political parties in Africa can be further distinguished by their origins as national liberation movements that developed for different reasons others than traditional political parties, which will be explained in the historical analysis. National liberation movements had the primary goal of replacing white minority rule with African majority rule in their state through armed struggle.[8] After independence, liberation movements would have to make a difficult transition to political party to maintain relevance. In the *Political Parties Programme Handbook*, it is argued "political parties play a crucial role in

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[6] Heywood. *Politics*. P. 248.
[7] Salih M. Mohamed. 2001. *African Democracies and African Politics*. P. 34.
[8] Martin Meredith. 2005. *The Fate of Africa*. New York. Public Affairs. P. 320-322. This is exemplified in the Zimbabwean Liberation War.

democracy-building."[9] Keeping that in mind, in developing democracies, democratic consolidation and democratization is still taking place, and it is important for political parties to help foster that process by striving to achieve the goals and functions of a democratic political party, and not inhibit it through short-term advantages and goals. For as Alycia Kellman, quoted from Matlosa's study, points out, "if political parties fail in this role, true democracy has little chance of surviving."[10]

The type of political party system a state employs also has a significant impression on the nature and behavior of parties. There exist a few varieties of systems states can utilize, including: a one-party system, a multiparty system, and a dominant party system. Swaziland is the only SADC country that operates a no-party system. A one party system can be classified as a system in which only one party is tolerated, if not legally mandated as the exclusive party of the state. The use of intimidation and violence against those seen to oppose the ruling party typically characterizes these types of states. In fact, so pervasive is the oppression of any dissenting views in some states that ruling parties often become synonymous with the state itself. A multiparty system is one in which all the political parties of a given state are given an equal chance at competing and assuming power. Somewhere in the middle lies the dominant party system. A dominant party system can be characterized by "long, uninterrupted periods of electoral dominance by a single party, as

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[9] Matlosa and Victor Shale. 2006. *Political Parties Programme Handbook*. Johannesburg. EISA. P. 3.
[10] This information is found in Alycia Kellman's 2004 *Democracy Assistance in Practice: The Designing of a Political Party Training Program in the Republic of Kenya*. Quoted in Matlosa's 2007 *Political Parties in Southern Africa*. P. 10.

well as being dominant in forming governments and determining the public agenda."[11] The

key difference between a one-party system and that of a dominant party system is that

opposition parties and dissenting perspectives are, with a few exceptions, tolerated and

encouraged as an integral part of democratization in the latter.[12]

Another important factor contributing to political party behavior and structure is

the electoral system utilized for the choosing of leaders and members of parliament (MP),

at the state and party level. There is a plethora of research on electoral systems, whose

functions include:

- Providing a routine mechanism for recruiting and selecting individuals who will

  occupy seats in representative institutions;

- Provide for orderly succession of governments;

- Provide for periodic review of government's record;

- Provides government with a popular mandate, or legitimacy.[13]

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[11] Matlosa. *Political Parties in Southern Africa: The State of Parties and their Role in Democratization*.
P. 34.

[12] In *Party Systems in the SADC Region: In Defense of the Dominant Party System*, Shumbana Karume
highlights some of the features that distinguishes a dominant party system from other political
systems, while making the argument that dominant parties can provide stability in an otherwise
volatile political landscape to allow democratic consolidation to take place.

[13] This information is found in Jackson and Jackson's 1997 *A Comparative Introduction to Political
Science*, quoted in Matlosa's 2003 *Electoral System Reform, Democracy, and Stability in the SADC
Region: A Comparative Analysis*. P. 14-15.

Many of these features can be applied to party elections. For the purpose of this study, the two electoral systems of concern are the First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) and the Proportional Representation (PR) systems.

The FPTP system is typically known to provide a political system with stability. In this system, multiple candidates compete for the single representative position of that constituency. Yet, candidates can win with a plurality, the most votes as opposed to the majority vote (51%), producing the phenomenon of the wasted vote.[14] Other features of the FPTP system include:

- Relatively equal constituencies, for which there is only one representative;

- Candidates run as individuals, not political parties;

- Advantages dominant parties;

- Marginalizes smaller parties.[15]

The FPTP system can certainly dampen minority and specific policy voices, while PR on the other hand can provide a more equitable platform for various groups to influence policy. Alternatively, the PR system elects a parliament or national assembly based on the percentage of votes a party earns. Some of the main features of the PR system are:

- Entire country one single constituency;

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[14] Matlosa. *Electoral System Reform, Democracy, and Stability in the SADC Region: A Comparative Analysis*. P. 21. The wasted vote, as defined here, is the occurrence of a large part of the electorate's vote not factoring into the outcome. Issues concerning legitimacy can arise from this occurrence.

[15] Ibid. P. 20-26.

- Candidates do not contest elections as individuals, but party candidates on a predetermined list;

- After elections, MPs are accountable to party rather than voters;

- PR more inclusive and fairly representative.[16]

The second feature on this list highlights a version of PR that will be relevant to this study; party-list PR. This variant of PR has voters elect an entire list of candidates, compiled and presented by a party, that will then go on to represent the party in parliament based on that party's share of the vote.[17] No system is perfect, however, and the fact that MPs are accountable mainly to the party presents challenges for accountability. For the duration of this thesis, any discussion of PR will be in reference to party-list PR.

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[16] Ibid. P. 27-30.

[17] Ibid. P. 27. Matlosa describes PR as an opinion-based electoral system, in which "voter choice is not restricted and determined by geographically confined electoral zones, but rather is driven by their opinions/inclinations regarding the ideologies and manifestos of contesting parties." Ibid.

Chapter Three

Historical Analysis

It is virtually inconceivable to discuss any processes taking place in Africa without first exploring and understanding its history and the precarious conditions that were a result of a European colonial legacy. European colonial engagement with the Continent began in the mid-15th century, and would eventually increase to feed the North Atlantic Slave Trade. However, systematic colonial subjugation of the natives throughout the Continent did not begin to take shape until after the Berlin Conference, which concluded in 1885.[1] Known as the "Scramble for Africa", the overall outcome of this conference was the partitioning of Africa for easier consumption by those countries in attendance.

The colonial history of Africa has been covered extensively in other literature. Therefore, for the needs of this thesis, we are concerned with only the histories of the case states of Angola, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. This historical analysis will strive to show why liberation movements, and not political parties, initially developed in the case states, with the exception of the quite young Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The emergence of independence was a very uneven process on the Continent, with different regions achieving it at various times throughout the late 20th century, and with varying methods. In West Africa, political parties developed as a natural progression of their

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[1] Held in two sessions in 1884 and 1885, the Berlin/Congo Conference, organized by Germany's first chancellor Otto von Bismarck, was called to avert war between the ever-encroaching colonial powers. It was here that the European powers of the day established the rules for successfully claiming a colony on the Continent.

political experience with the colonial power. For example, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) was created in 1923, the first political party in Nigeria as a result of the Clifford Constitution.[2] The consultative political space this afforded, regardless of its limits, provided political organizations in Nigeria a stepping-stone that would eventually lead to independence in 1960. This was not to be the case for many Southern African states. Armed liberation movements, as the next two chapters will argue, formed primarily because of the perception and reality that negotiating with the colonial power was producing only more repression. In other words, liberation movements had reached a point of last resort those parties like the NNDP did not identify with due to their ability to petition their colonizers. Along with this, the purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how state history informs and influences political parties' current self-identification, structure, and juxtaposition within their respective societies.

Angola

Located on the southwest coast of the Continent, north of Namibia and just south of the DRC, Angola has one of the most extensive colonial histories largely due to its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean and Europeans seeking a direct route to India. Portuguese expatriates began settling Angola in 1482, and would eventually become one of the thriving centers of the North Atlantic Slave Trade. So active was the slave trade in Angola that by 1836 when

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[2] Richard L. Sklar. 1963. *Nigerian Political Parties: Power In an Emergent African Nation*. Princeton. Princeton University Press. P. 46. The Clifford Constitution "conferred the right of franchise on a restricted Lagos electorate (about 3,000 male taxpayers with an income of £100) to return three members to the Legislative Council every five years." Ibid.

the Portuguese outlawed slavery, an estimated three to four million Africans had been sold into slavery.[3]

Much of the relevant history needed to understand Angola today, and by extension UNITA, occurred in the latter half of the 20th Century. The end of World War II left many, if not all, of the major European powers in shambles. This meant that they were hardly in a place to maintain the integrity of their colonies through military supremacy. Couple this with the vociferous wave of nationalism that spread throughout Africa during the 1950s, and it becomes clear that the end of colonialism, at least politically, was inevitable.[4]

It was during this period of African nationalism that the first resistance groups in Angola begin to appear. The first was the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), founded by Dr. Agostinho Neto in 1956, followed by the União das Populações de Angola (UPA), which eventually changed its name to the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). Holden Roberto founded this latter organization in 1957. The final insurgency group to appear, and one integral to this study, was that of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA). UNITA was founded in 1966 by Jonas

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[3] W. James makes note of this in his *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. He also points out that though the Portuguese outlawed slavery in 1836, the trade did not actually end until 1865 when the British Royal Navy enforced its abolition, making the true number of Angolan slaves sold impossible to know.

[4] In *Key Concepts in Politics*, Heywood defines nationalism as the belief that people are split into distinct nations, and that the nation-state is the preeminent way to organize society politically. This ideal envisions nation-states as equal and entitled to govern internally without interference, and provided African leaders with a strong ideology to mobilize the people.

Savimbi, who himself was a former minister in Holden Roberto's government-in-exile, but left to form UNITA due to Roberto's cronyism and unwillingness to share power.[5]

Though many African colonies achieved independence in the 1960s, Portugal settled into a protracted conflict with the various nationalist groups. Portugal was a relatively poor country compared to the other European colonial powers, and was loathe to relinquish its grasp on a lucrative holding, and refused to negotiate with the insurgents. In 1974, however, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) of Portugal staged a coup and deposed the government there. It subsequently announced that Portugal would be ending its colonial adventure in Africa, and would in the near future grant independence to its colonies, among them Angola. The date for Angolan independence had been set for 11 November 1975, but there remained high levels of animosity between the three liberation groups. For Savimbi's part, he believed that "the MPLA was too non-African and mestiço/assimilado dominated, while the FNLA was too northern-oriented."[6] Representatives of the three movements met in the capital Luanda, located on the northwest coast, to prepare for independence. But the divisions proved insurmountable, and soon fighting broke out that caused Roberto and Savimbi to leave the capital and rendezvous with their respective armies. This convergence of dynamics would assure a seamless transition from a colonial war to a civil war.

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[5] W. Martin James. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. Oxford. Scarecrow Press. P. xlvi.

[6] Ibid. P. xlvi. Mestiço is a Portuguese reference to those of mixed African and Portuguese origins, while assimilados refers to those Africans that are perceived to have rejected their African culture in exchange for paths to upward social mobility, i.e.: education, positions in the colonial government, etc.

With its headquarters and its largest support base located in the capital, the MPLA was perfectly placed to assume power upon independence. And so, on 10th November, a day before the Portuguese High Commissioner would transfer power, a full-scale assault was launched on Luanda. Roberto's FNLA would storm from the north through the Quifangondo plain backed by Zairian troops supplied by Mobutu, while Savimbi's UNITA assaulted from the south, themselves backed by South African Defense Forces (SADF).[7]

These forces were repelled by the MPLA due to the help of the impeccably timed Cubans, who sent "a special forces battalion [that] was flown into Luanda, arriving just in time to take up positions with MPLA forces."[8] The support from the Cubans had a profound impact on the nature of the conflict, as will be discussed shortly. This battle would effectively reduce the FNLA to a state of shambles from which they would never recover, but UNITA would endure through guerrilla tactics and mobilization of the peasantry. For the better part of the next thirty years Angola would be in a perpetual state of war.

The Angolan civil war developed significant international dimensions in addition to Cuban and South African involvement. The MPLA had received "12,000 Cubans and over $200 million worth of Soviet weaponry" in support.[9] UNITA too received support from the United States in the form of "$15 million in military aid, including ground-to-air missiles",

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[7] Martin Meredith. 2005. *The Fate of Africa*. New York. Public Affairs. P. 318.
[8] Ibid. P. 318.
[9] James. *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. P. xlviii.

while noting that aid doubled in three years.[10] Angola would soon become a dangerous

proxy battleground for the major Cold War powers. The war would continue episodically

throughout different parts of the country, interrupted by a ceasefire in 1991 that lasted for

18 months, and a peace accord in 1994 that lasted for four years. War broke out again in

1998, but with the end of the Cold War and a lack of interest in sustaining any more

conflict, most were ready for an end.[11]

The formal end to the conflict came in 2002 when government forces ambushed

Savimbi's unit near the Zambian boarder, killing Savimbi in the strike. With the death of the

only leader it had ever known in almost 40 years, UNITA was in disarray and "within days,

[they] sued for peace."[12] Since then, Angola has been on the path to healing itself after

years of strife, using the capital generated from lucrative oil deposits and extensive

diamond fields to encourage development. But all have not enjoyed the fruits of

development and political power. The long military conflict resulted in weak political

institutions with one-party tendencies, and low efficiency. But democratic consolidation

has taken place, though shaky at times, and political space has opened up for parties like

UNITA and others to contest power in a fairly peaceful manner.

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[10] Arthur S Banks, Thomas C. Muller, and William R. Overstreet, eds. 2007. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. Washington. CQ Press. P. 63.

[11] According to James, even though a government of national unity (GNU) established in 1997 included UNITA ministers, Savimbi was reluctant to concede any of the territory or power he had acquired, thus making him a major obstacle to the peace process.

[12] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 613.

South Africa

Much like the Angolans to the north, the ethnic groups of Southern Africa experienced early exposure to European explorers.[13] As a result of the Napoleonic Wars in the early 19th Century, the Cape Colony came into British possession. South Africa, like many other colonies on the Continent, would be found to have great deposits of mineral wealth; chief of which were gold and diamonds. This made the interior independent Boer republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State very attractive to the British.

The Anglo-Boer War lasted from 1899-1902, ending with the British in near complete possession of Southern Africa. Along with the Cape and Natal, these regions came together to form the Union of South Africa.[14] The British would grant South Africa full independence in 1931, but relations were strained between the two due to "widespread anti-British sentiment and racial preoccupations."[15] The modern shape of South Africa would begin to emerge in the 1940s with the nomination of the conservative National Party (NP), whose platform was institutional separation of the races.[16]

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[13] The *Political Handbook of Africa* states that Dutch settlers, known as Boers, appeared in the region in the 17th Century. The descendents of these Dutch and French Huguenots are known today as Afrikaners.

[14] Natal was annexed in 1843 by the British. The Union of South Africa was subsequently established in 1910.

[15] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 803.

[16] Ibid. P. 803.

The NP would over the next several decades introduce and implement a series of legislative acts aimed at segregating the African population from the white population, the most overt of which was their "Bantustan" policy that envisioned uprooting millions of Africans and resettling them on rural "homelands". The policy known as Apartheid systematically proliferated the legal landscape, leaving Africans "barred by law from skilled work, from forming registered unions, and from taking strike action.[17]

The NP government tolerated no dissension among the African population. When Nelson Mandela and other top officials in the ANC were convicted of crimes against the state and sentenced to life imprisonment, it left the ANC scrambling and in near ruin.[18] As Apartheid was established throughout society, the oppressive and indomitable apparatus of the state suppressed any challenge to the current status. The years following the ANC's retreat into exile left a new generation of Africans to be "reduced to an obliging shell, [the African] looks at awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the 'inevitable position'."[19]

By the 1970s, the South African government had considerable power, but the Black Consciousness Movements in the early part of the decade helped to reinvigorate African descent against Apartheid. Change in Angola and Mozambique brought nationalist

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[17] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 416.

[18] Ibid. P. 124-127.

[19] Ibid. P. 418. These were the words of Steve Biko, leader and martyr of the Black Consciousness Movements of the 1970s. He would die from injures sustained by the South African police forces at the age of 30.

governments to power there, to be followed by Zimbabwe in 1980, under Robert Mugabe

and his Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF).[20] This led to South

Africa being buffeted on all sides by states fully unsympathetic to the NP's racist regime,

especially considering how the SADF was given to meddling in their domestic affairs.[21]

South Africa received international condemnation not only for the blight of Apartheid, but

also their unwillingness to release control of South West Africa, subsequently known as

Namibia.

These conditions, combined with the flight of foreign capital and a quasi-reform

minded white community, sounded the death knell for Apartheid. The 1980s saw a

relaxation of Apartheid laws, including a repeal of the universally loathed pass laws, which

required Africans to possess the necessary documentation to travel in white districts, as

well as repealing "bans on multiracial political parties and interracial sex and marriage."[22]

Yet, at the same time the government applied more pressure than ever to dissidents, while

fighting a dirty guerrilla war with the ANC.[23]

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[20] Ibid. P. 425.

[21] Historically, the SADF was known to have assisted UNITA troops in Angola in exchange for the ability to assault South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) bases located there. The SADF also assisted Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) guerrillas in Mozambique, and harried nationalist movements in Rhodesia.

[22] Leonard Thompson. 2000. *A History of South Africa*. New Haven, CT. Yale University Press. P. 226-227.

[23] According to Meredith, a war of assassinations, bombings, and military assaults persisted throughout the 80s, in which both sides committed atrocities.

By the end of the 1980s, South Africa was starting to feel the negative impact of

being a pariah state. With the election of a new administration to the NP government under

Prime Minister Frederick de Klerk, whom Meredith describes as pragmatic above all else,

negotiations were initiated with Mandela and other members of the ANC's leadership cadre

that would eventually lead to the reinstatement of political parties like the ANC, the

creation of a new constitution, and the release of Mandela and other political prisoners.[24]

The new constitution called for "one-person, one-vote" across the nation, and in the run up

to the 1994 elections many of the laws that formulated Apartheid were repealed. The

election saw Mandela chosen for President, and South Africa embark on a new era.

Since the tumultuous times of the Apartheid era, South Africa has managed to

rebuild itself into a regional power with a resurgent economy. South Africa is a member of

the BRICS, which is a group of the top developing economies in the world. The Truth and

Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was created "to investigate human rights abuses

and political crimes of the Apartheid era with the aim of consigning their legacy to history",

helped many South Africans come to grips with the horrors of that time.[25] Current

concerns for South Africa include land distribution, a common issue among African states,

and the human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome

(HIV/AIDS) epidemic, of which some 11% of South Africans are infected.[26] These issues

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[24] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 434-440.
[25] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 810.
[26] Ibid. P. 817.

aside, South Africa has become a ringing example of what an African nation can achieve, even after so much unrest, with perseverance and tolerance.

Zimbabwe

Encompassed by South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, and Mozambique, Zimbabwe lies near the heart of Southern Africa. Like many of its neighbors, Zimbabwe, formerly known as Rhodesia, has a rich history of nationalist movements resistant to an authoritarian white minority. It too contains mineral wealth in the form of diamonds and gold, but not quite to the extent of that of other countries. Traditionally, Zimbabwe's economic strength lay in agriculture, with around 70% of the arable land used for cash-crop production at one point.[27] Zimbabwe's history can be partitioned into three distinct periods: the colonial period, the liberation war period, and the post-independence period dominated by the 33 year rule of Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party.

The British South Africa Company established the colony of Rhodesia in the late 19th Century under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes, for which the colony was named. Rhodesia subsequently became a colony of the British in 1923, but reserved the right to self-government. The white minority government, like South Africa, was intent on precluding majority rule, and would establish 'homelands' over the next three decades with "more than half a million Africans [being] uprooted from their homes on land designated to be in

[27] Ibid. P. 950.

'white' areas."[28] This would help institute a dominant edifice of white superiority that

would only begin to be challenged in the 1950s by the wave of nationalism engulfing the

Continent.

The initial liberation movements in Rhodesia had a very moderate stance, but the

state did not discriminate from moderate or radical, any dissension was dealt with harshly.

The tepid position of these early movements led to the formation of the more radical

Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) in 1961, which sought many basic rights, chief

among them was majority rule. Lack of leadership on the part of Joshua Nkomo left ZAPU in

disarray, and in 1963 the party would split, with Mugabe and other ZAPU leaders forming

ZANU. The split would form into a feud that would cascade into intermittent domestic

warfare.[29] The rift in the party also exposed an ethnic cleavage between the two parties,

with Nkomo's ZAPU consisting primarily of Ndebele located in the south of the country,

while Mugabe's ZANU was compiled of mostly Shona from the north.[30] Regardless of their

differences, both groups agreed that an armed liberation struggle was necessary to free

Zimbabwe.

Fearing Britain would grant majority rule as it did with its West African colonies like

Nigeria, the highly conservative Rhodesian Front (RF) government under Ian Smith signed

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[28] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 128.

[29] Ibid. P. 131.

[30] This ethnic divide was also evident in both party's military wings: Mugabe's Zimbabwe Africa
National Liberation Army (ZANLA), and Nkomo's Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army
(ZIPRA).

the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, formally cutting ties with the British and concomitantly isolating Rhodesia. The intransigent position of the RF in regards to the nationalists would ensure a brutal guerrilla campaign that would last for over a decade and claim almost 20,000 lives.[31] With international pressure being applied to each belligerent, negotiations were again entered into in London, and the Lancaster House Agreement was decided upon. The agreement would guarantee majority rule and stipulated elections to be held, which Mugabe and what was now known as ZANU-PF would handily win. The Republic of Zimbabwe was declared on 18 April 1980.

Mugabe surprised many of his critics with his reconciliatory attitude after independence, considering many Rhodesians had been taught to fear and loathe him. Mugabe reassured the white community that he understood their concerns and ensured that Zimbabwe was fair to all its citizens.[32] The attitude of cooperation and compromise the white community received from Mugabe though was unfortunately not enjoyed by his rivals, Nkomo and ZAPU. In 1982, Mugabe began implementing his plan to achieve his vision of Zimbabwe as a one-party state. Accusing Nkomo and ZAPU of plotting to overthrow the government, Mugabe deployed the 5 Brigade, an elite military unit trained by North Korean specialists, to ZAPU's support base located in Matabeleland in the south. For the population of Matabeleland, the *Gukurahundi*, chiShona for the rain that blows

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[31] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 325.

[32] Meredith notes that after independence Mugabe retained many Rhodesian military personnel, courted the white business community to allay their fears, and even hosted friendly meetings with Ian Smith, his former enemy.

away the chaff before the spring rains, was to be a campaign of terror in which 5 Brigade

employed tactics such as "beatings, arson, and mass murder."[33] History would show the

threat of insurgency to be merely a pretense to unleash politically motivated violence

against ZAPU and destroy their power base, essentially eliminating them as a viable

political party. In order to put an end to the violence, Nkomo signed the 1987 Unity Accord,

which merged ZAPU and ZANU-PF, effectively making Zimbabwe a *de facto* one-party state.

Mugabe's rule would ensure no significant opposition to ZANU-PF and its

government for over a decade. ZANU-PF's corruption throughout the 1990s contributed to

the growing discontent among citizens. Instead of being parceled out to poor farmers, land,

always a crux in Zimbabwean conflict, was "redistributed to high-ranking government

officials, army officers, and judges with ties to ZANU-PF."[34] By the end of the 1990s the

land issue, along with high levels of government corruption, had produced a maladroit

economy. Mass discontent led to the formation in 1999 of Zimbabwe's first robust

opposition party in over a decade, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Mugabe

called for a draft constitution to assuage the populace, but as Meredith's analysis points

out, the draft left in place "the vast powers and patronage that Mugabe has acquired as

president over twenty years."[35] Ultimately, this led to the draft being rejected. Furious,

Mugabe blamed white business interests, believing it was the driving force behind the MDC.

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[33] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 622.
[34] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 959.
[35] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 636.

In retaliation, Mugabe authorized a "fast-track" land program that targeted thousands of commercial farms. A final wave of land seizures in 2002 assured the collapse of commercial agriculture in Zimbabwe.[36]

Zimbabwe has experienced pitched political battles between the MDC and ZANU-PF since then, with the latter relying on violence and intimidation to maintain power. The crisis in Zimbabwe has important implications for the stability of the SADC. In 2009 the SADC, with considerable effort on behalf of South Africa, brokered the Global Political Agreement (GPA) that would eventually implement a government of national unity (GNU) led by Mugabe and the heads of the two MDC factions, Morgan Tsvangarai and Arthur Mutambara. This political marriage has been rocky, with the threat of violence ready to spark at a moments notice. But this has also led to a dialogue developing between the main factions, with the hope for many Zimbabweans that it will bring about a sustained peace.

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[36] Ibid. P. 645.

Chapter Four

Case Party History

Like the countries that produce them, many political parties in Africa too possess a complex

and renowned narrative. Mentioned in the last chapter was the fact that a significant

number of political parties operating on the Continent today are former liberation

movements that championed the nationalist cause against European colonizers. The

dichotomy between parties with liberation credentials and those parties without continues

to influence the course of electoral politics, as will be illustrated later. As the cases of

Angola and South Africa show, many parties today have a history that harmonizes with

their respective state's history, making the telling of one without the other impossible. It is

the purpose of this chapter to discuss in further detail the relevant case history of the

parties. This will provide a picture of the parties' evolution, explain why they may behave a

certain way or advocate certain policies, and gives a sense of trajectory of the organizations

in question.

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)

Jonas Savimbi, as noted earlier, formed the National Union for the Total Independence of

Angola (UNITA) in 1966 from mainly Ovimbundu, Angola's largest ethnic group, in the

Central Highlands districts of Huambo and Bié.[1] Savimbi had tired of Roberto's

domineering leadership while a minister in his government, and believing that the MPLA

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[1] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 57, 65.

and the FNLA had failed, he decided to create his own organization.[2] UNITA had a close

proximity to the rural peasantry of Angola, while Savimbi had received political training in

various socialist states. This meant that Maoism, an ideology whose central argument is

that the source of a successful revolution is a peasantry educated in their political realities,

would be the guiding principle for UNITA, at least in its early history.[3] Like many African

liberation movements, UNITA had a dual structure within the organization: UNITA proper

composing the political wing, supplemented by the Forças Armadas de Libertação de

Angola (FALA) (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola), UNITA's military wing.

Operating in 17 of 18 Angolan provinces at its prime, Savimbi's FALA was a world-

renowned guerrilla force, considered highly "disciplined, dedicated, and well

commanded."[4]

UNITA was a relatively marginal organization at the beginning of the civil conflict

that ensued after the exit of the Portuguese at the advent of Angolan independence in 1975.

Being unprepared for a protracted civil war, UNITA instead "retreated to the bush to fight

what it saw as Soviet/Cuban imperialism."[5] With the assistance of the United States and

South Africa, however, UNITA would be transformed into a formidable fighting force.

Professing an anti-communist line throughout the Cold War in response to the

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[2] James. *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. P. 148.
[3] Ibid. P. 164. James notes that UNITA commanders "were ordered to respect tribal customs and leaders", while Savimbi himself was regarded a local hero by many for his insistence on leading from the field. Ibid.
[4] Ibid. P. 56.
[5] Ibid. P. 164.

Soviet/Cuban backing of the MPLA, Savimbi made UNITA attractive to the West as a potential ally in a strategic region against Soviet expansion. The support received from the West and South Africa helped UNITA secure a large amount territory, including the diamond fields of the Lunda region.[6] The help of an overtly racist regime in South Africa, along with their close relations with Washington, did not endear UNITA to many Africans. This would even cause tension within UNITA, but Savimbi was known to deal with dissention ruthlessly.[7]

The Angolan civil war raged until a peace was met with the Bicesse Accord 1991, but that peace soon fell through, and war resumed. Peace was brokered again with the signing of the Lusaka Protocol in 1994, which ushered in an uneasy peace for the next four years. As the new century approached, UNITA members had been selected to several governmental positions.[8] In spite of this, Savimbi began moving troops into battle positions in 1998, setting the stage for a return to war. Savimbi's perceived grab for power, and his consequent disrupting of the peace process caused a rift in UNITA that proved too much for even his charismatic personality to overcome, and led to the formation of UNITA-Renovada (UNITA-R) (UNITA-Renovation). From the beginning, UNITA-R never received much support from UNITA stalwarts who perceived it as merely a puppet for the MPLA

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[6] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 608-609. Meredith's analysis has UNITA's diamond earnings estimated at $300-500 million annually. Much of it was reinvested back into the FALA via arms and equipment.

[7] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 65.

[8] According to the *Political Handbook of Africa*, UNITA representatives were named to seven deputy ministerial positions, and four senior cabinet posts.

government.[9] The split did reflect a real division in UNITA among moderates and hardliners, and even though there was a lack of support for UNITA-R, there was a growing concern that Savimbi was becoming a liability.

This liability was removed from the political landscape in 2002 when soldiers of the Armed Forces of Angola (FAA), Angola's national army, ambushed Savimbi's unit and killed him. This singular act had done much to bring an end to almost thirty years of conflict. UNITA and the MPLA government sued a rapid peace, and "in October, UNITA declared itself disarmed and became a democratic political party."[10] The Renovation faction would be incorporated back into UNITA, becoming again one entity, and dissolved FALA; completing their transformation into a democratic political party.[11] UNITA enjoys being Angola's largest opposition party, but that opposition is dwarfed by the MPLA. The road is arduous for UNITA as the Angolan state still bears many trappings of a one-party state. UNITA is currently attempting to establish a larger constituency outside of its traditional strongholds in southern Angola. The transition from liberation movement to political party for UNITA has not been without setbacks, and it remains to be seen how the political evolution of both UNITA and Angola will proceed.

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[9] James. *Historical Dictionary of Angola*. P. 165.

[10] Bereni Oruitemeka, and Alex Vines. 2009. "Beyond Bullets and Ballots: the Reintegration of UNITA in Angola." In *Reintegrating Armed Groups After Conflict: Politics, Violence and Transition.* Mats Berdal and David H. Ucko. New York. Routledge. P. 205.

[11] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 67. Here the figures indicate 5,000 UNITA soldiers were integrated into the FAA, with another 80,000 resuming their roles as citizens.

The African National Congress (ANC)

The African National Congress (ANC) in many ways has been the standard-bearer of African nationalism, and its history is almost synonymous with modern South Africa's political development. Despite one of the most turbulent political eras seen on the Continent, the ANC emerged in a position that many liberation movements-turned-political parties could only dream of. The forerunner to the ANC, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), was established in 1912, making it not just the oldest political organization in Africa but one of the oldest in the world. Officially reconstituting itself as the ANC in 1923, it was initially composed of African elites from the middle class such as business leaders, doctors, lawyers, and ministers.[12] This early ANC projected a very moderate stance in its approach to the growing racial division in South Africa. Lacking the radical zeal that it would later be known for, the ANC constantly sought a judicious solution to the racial question from an increasingly oppressive state, stopping short of requesting anything as radical as majority rule. For this, the ANC's reputation suffered heavily, and by the end of the 1930s the ANC's "country-wide membership was not much in excess of 1,000."[13]

The radicalization of the ANC over the 1940s correlates with the rise of Apartheid policies put forth by the National Party (NP). The industrial output during and after World

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[12] Saul Dubow. 2000. *The African National Congress.* UK. Sutton Publishing. P. 3. Dubow's analysis reveals the influence of Booker T. Washington's notion of coexistence on early ANC leaders, as well as being influenced by W.E.B. Du Bois.
[13] Ibid. P. 18.

War II meant that thousands of Africans were moving to the cities in search of better opportunities; a process known as urbanization. This greatly increased the ANC's support, as it historically had an urban disposition, but also encouraged the government to be more proactive in its racial legislation. In its most radical publication to that date, the ANC's 1943 *African Claims* asserted the party's nationalist commitment by calling for self-government, among other rights. *African Claims* is significant because it marks a departure from the ANC's early conciliatory attitude and, "what had hitherto been polite requests now became demands."[14] The state would respond with systematic oppression, at which it was becoming increasingly adept.

The ascendency of the ANC Youth League, whose leadership cadre included a young Mandela, would culminate with the 1949 Programme of Action, and the ANC's transformation into a truly radical Africanist liberation movement. The Programme of Action called for a level of rebelliousness not yet attempted, including "civil disobedience, boycotts and 'stay-at-home' strikes on a mass scale."[15] This would be followed by the 1952 Defiance Campaign, which advised Africans to elicit arrests by not observing Apartheid laws in an effort to bury the system under so much bureaucratic fodder it would break. Break it did not, but over the course of the next five months more than 8,000 people were arrested, which helped catapult the ANC to the level of a mass movement.[16]

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[14] Ibid. P. 23.
[15] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa*. P. 119.
[16] Ibid. P. 119.

In 1955, the NP government was confronted with the Freedom Charter, a bill of rights adopted by the Congress of the People, of which the ANC was a primary member.[17] The state issued its typical response. The pressures of social upheaval finally gave way in Sharpeville in 1960 when an anti-pass law protest ended with the police killings of 69 people. With the threat of anarchy looming, the government banned the ANC and a number of other parties. The failure of mass strikes in 1961 would convince many in the ANC that the tactics of non-violence had bore all the fruit it could. Recognizing people's disenfranchisement with civil disobedience that only produced more draconian measures from the state, Mandela formed the independent military organization Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), or Spear of the Nation, which was essentially an operation between the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP).[18]

From the MK's inception to the Rivonia trial that found Mandela and other ANC leaders guilty of treason, its campaign of sabotage had in reality accomplished little, and with the imprisonment of its impassioned leaders, the ANC ebbed, reducing it to a state of inconsequentiality.[19] The ANC survived in exiled outpost in Africa and Europe for the next two decades. After securing bases in frontline states sympathetic to the its cause, the ANC began a guerrilla campaign that was more sophisticated and much more bold than the MK's

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[17] Dubow. *The African National Congress.* P. 52. The Congress of the People was composed of virtually every oppressed group in South Africa, including the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organization, and the Congress of Democrats.
[18] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa.* P. 124.
[19] Dubow. *The African National Congress.* P. 66, 70.

early attempts.[20] The Black Consciousness Movement's revival of popular opposition in the

1970s-80s provided the ANC with the opportunity to reassert itself as the preeminent

liberation group of South Africa. The ANC's guerrilla campaign during this period led to a

renewed interest in the organization, allowing it "to absorb a substantial proportion of the

Black Consciousness Movement."[21]

The 1990s brought with it vindication and triumph for the ANC, whom the

electorate chose to govern the new Republic of South Africa.[22] The ANC has shown its

commitment to democracy through two peaceful transfers of power: Mandela being

succeeded as party president by Thabo Mbeki in 1999, followed by Mbeki being succeeded

by Jacob Zuma in 2009. The ANC is a member of the Tripartite Alliance with longtime

political allies the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the SACP, which

field their candidates on the ANC ticket. The history of the ANC working with disparate

elements of society has greatly contributed to its legitimacy as South Africa's most

representative force. The ANC has had to be adaptive and receptive to new influences and

ideas in order to survive. This has helped it cultivate a tolerant, compromising nature,

enabling the ANC the ability to work with those it may fundamentally disagree with.

Criticism has been leveled at the ANC, however, for complacency owing to the lack of any

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[20] According to Meredith, the ANC destroyed fuel deposits, attacked a nuclear power station, and used a car-bomb on a Pretoria military complex, killing sixteen.
[21] Dubow. *The African National Congress.* P. 84.
[22] See Chapter Three, sec. South Africa, for more details relating to South Africa's history in the early 1990s.

challenging opposition in the state. Even so, many South Africans "believe that only the ANC has the interests of blacks at heart and are therefore prepared to overlook its deficiencies."[23]

The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)

While the ANC represents the oldest political party in Africa, Zimbabwe's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) can be said to be one of Africa's youngest, and the only party in this study that was not formerly a liberation movement. The rule of President Robert Mugabe since independence had brought Zimbabwe to the brink of political and economic disaster. Under the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), the economy was driven into disarray, with inflation reaching over a record-breaking 200 million percent.[24] Violence and intimidation permeated the political landscape. The courts, the military, and the security sector were all politicized in order to give ZANU-PF vast control over an increasingly authoritarian state apparatus. The signing of the Unity Accord by Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) ended national-scale opposition, while ensuing opposition movements were crushed ruthlessly.

It was in this tempestuous atmosphere in 1999 that the MDC was born. In response to an unpopular military adventure in the DRC and sweeping constitutional reforms put forth by ZANU-PF, the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), comprised of various

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[23] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007*. P. 820.
[24] The Economist. 2013. "Zimbabwe after Hyperinflation: In Dollars they Trust." *The Economist*. April.

elements of civil society, was formed to express the people's disagreement and campaign

for reforms.[25] In order to bolster its voice in the debate, the NCA aligned with the

influential Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), then led by current Prime Minister

Morgan Tsvangarai. Members of this alliance would eventually coalesce into a serious

opposition party. As a result of people's disillusionment with ZANU-PF, the MDC came to be

represented by a wide swath of society, including "workers, students, middle-class

intellectuals, civil rights activists, and white corporate executives."[26] The MDC rode a wave

of support through the 2000 parliamentary elections, nearly unseating ZANU-PF with 47%

of the vote, translating into 57 seats including those of the largest metropolitan areas,

Bulawayo and the capital, Harare.[27]

The close call that was the 2000 elections would put ZANU-PF into a war footing.

Mugabe himself barely fended off a challenge to the presidency from Tsvangarai in 2002,

losing due to tactics of "intimidation, great delays at the polls, and almost-certain

rigging."[28] ZANU-PF endeavored to remove Tsvangarai from the political scene with not

one, but two trials for treason, only to be tossed out due to a lack of evidence. The MDC had

a meteoric rise in Zimbabwean politics, yet there existed many fissures in the party, some

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[25] Stephen Chan. *Citizen of Zimbabwe: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangarai.* Harare, Zimbabwe. Sable Press. P. 14-15. The main goal of ZANU-PF's reforms was to provide legitimacy to its highly controversial land redistribution program, but would have also installed Mugabe as Zimbabwean President for life, while further empowering him to dissolve parliament at will.

[26] Banks, Muller, and Overstreet, eds. *Political Handbook of Africa 2007.* P. 962.

[27] Meredith. *The Fate of Africa.* New York. Public Affairs. P. 639.

[28] Chan. *Citizen of Zimbabwe: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangarai.* P. 18.

which will be discussed later. The challenges would prove too insurmountable for the MDC. Although the decision of whether or not to contest the senatorial elections in 2005 was cited as the reason for the MDC split, in reality, the growing discontent of many party officials over Tsvangarai's perceived lack of decisiveness appeared to be the primary cause.[29] The split in the MDC included a class distinction, with Tsvangarai's MDC-T (MCD-Tsvangarai) associated with labor, and Mutambara's MDC-N (MDC-Ncube) representing an intellectual base.[30] ZANU-PF, however, provided the glue that would keep the two factions in close alliance.

The 2008 harmonized elections, meaning coinciding parliamentary and presidential elections, proved to be another decisive battleground. The initial presidential vote had Tsvangarai over Mugabe by a narrow margin, though Chan's estimate puts it closer 57%. In the wake of failed South African mediation, a run-off election was held that saw new heights in the intensity of violence, with Tsvangarai eventually sitting out in protest.[31] Fearing the violence could destabilize the region; the SADC facilitated the creation of the GNU, mentioned previously.

In 2013, both factions of the MDC are vigorous partners in the GNU. The relationship with ZANU-PF is contentious at best, and potentially explosive at the worst. All parties have agreed and adopted a new constitution that replaces the Lancaster Constitution. This has,

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[29] Ibid. P. 99.
[30] MDC-N is the current name of the breakaway faction, named for its founder and current president Welshman Ncube, former MDC secretary general.
[31] Chan. *Citizen of Zimbabwe: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangarai*. P. 102.

predictably, caused an inordinate amount of divisiveness and feuding, with the two MDC factions competing for dominance against one another, and ZANU-PF not truly committed to any democratic reforms that encroach on its power. Despite all this, the MDC has shown resiliency in its ability to survive in a dissonant political environment. Whatever the future may entail, it is hard to imagine a Zimbabwe were the MDC will not play a vital role.

Chapter Five
Political Environment & Legal Framework

The historical analysis has hopefully shown that political parties are at the center of state development and truly one of the cornerstones of democratization. Political parties provide an indispensible forum for individuals to come together in order aggregate and articulate diverse positions. It provides the system with legitimacy, with popular support for parties being integral to good governance. Opposition parties occupy a special place in the political landscape given their juxtaposition to the party in power. Opposition parties, ideally, provide the electorate with alternative policy platforms, distinctive strategies, but most importantly, a robust opposition party will keep a government fearing removal at elections accountable. All this and more opposition parties cannot accomplish with low, or decreasing levels of intra-party democracy. The prevailing opinion in Southern Africa is that opposition parties have "weak organization, low levels of institutionalization, and inadequate links to society."[1] Opposition parties need strong foundations to perform their required role, and implementation of intra-party democracy is essential to achieving this goal.

This chapter will investigate the political system and its correlating legal framework. Both the national laws concerning political parties, and the regulations enshrined in the parties' constitutions that establish the parties' structures and ideals will

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[1] Wole Olaleye. 2003. *Political Parties and Multi-party Elections in Southern Africa*. SADC Insight IV. South Africa.

be the focus of the legal framework. The political environment will consist of the party system in question, as well as the electoral system utilized.

UNITA

The constitution of Angola establishes it as a multiparty democracy using party-list PR to elect the National Assembly representing 18 provinces. The individual that occupies the top spot on the winning party-list automatically becomes president of the state. In practice, however, the MPLA has been the dominant political force since independence.[2] In function, Angola is effectively a one-party state. This has led to the National Assembly becoming subservient to the executive, thus rendering it an ineffective tool for UNITA MPs. Laws regulating political parties include Electoral Law 7/04, Electoral Registration Law 3/05, and Electoral Observation Law 4/05. Political Parties Law 2/05 has the most impact on the structure and functions of a party though. In it, there contains a provision for intra-party democracy that commits parties to:

- Non-discriminatory access, namely, in function of race, sex, origin or religious preferences;

- Approval of the party charter and programme by all members or by a representative assembly;

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[2] For 34 years, José Eduardo dos Santos has been president of both Angola and the ruling MPLA. In an interview with Chatham House, Isaias Samakuva, president of UNITA, informed them that dos Santos "controls the legislative, the executive and the judicial branches of the government, as well as the media and the electoral commission." Isaias Samakuva. Interview by Alex Vines. April 29, 2013. Change in Angola: The Role of UNITA. Transcript. Chatham House. London.

- Periodic election of the holders of the central and local party offices by all members or by a representative assembly.[3]

Resolution no. 10/05 further establishes a code of conduct for elections and a party's rights and responsibilities during them. The National Election Committee is an allegedly independent electoral body whose responsibilities include organizing elections, voter education, and determining polling stations, just to name a few.[4]

UNITA conforms to Angolan law by rooting its organizational foundation in a constitution, which states the "Any Angolan citizen over 18 who accepts the Programme and its By-laws and be in full enjoyment of their civil and political rights can be a member of UNITA."[5] Article 7 of UNITA's Internal Regulations guarantees equal treatment regardless of social factors like race, sex, age, religion, etc. Members' rights include:

- Participation in the political life of the party;
- Elect and be elected to party organs;
- Enjoy the protection of the party;
- Express your view, and vote on matters;
- Acquire a party card.[6]

While members' duties include:

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[3] Republic of Angola. 2005. Political Parties Law 2/05. Art. 8.

[4] Republic of Angola. 2004. Electoral Law 7/04. Art. 155. Though the National Electoral Commission is established as an independent body in Art. 154, dos Santos and the MPLA hold considerable influence over it.

[5] UNITA. *Estatutos*. Art. 1.

[6] Ibid. Art. 8.

- Participating in an organ in your place of residence;

- Pay party dues punctually and regularly;

- Be loyal and respect the statutes, regulations, program, ideals, heritage and party organs;

- Uncompromisingly defend the unity and internal cohesion of the party;

- Contribute to the expansion of the party.[7]

UNITA further projects its intentions through its policy positions:

- Adhering seriously to the rule of law; committing without reservation to direct democratic elections for the president, the parliament and local governments;

- Governing with all citizens who are qualified and competent regardless of their political affiliation;

- Reversing the unemployment trend, addressing the pressing housing needs, healthcare, education and social security;

- Fighting hunger and poverty;

- Using current oil revenues to seriously diversify the economy; and

- Guaranteeing equal opportunities for all.[8]

UNITA's organizational structure is established in Article 17 of the UNITA Constitution, which consists of the major party bodies, the National Executive body, and the National Advisory bodies. The major party bodies responsible for guiding the party are the

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[7] Ibid. Art. 9.

[8] Domingos Jardo Muekalia. Interview by Alex Vines. July 30th, 2012. Angola's 2012 Elections: The View from the Opposition. Transcript. Chatham House. London.

Congress, the Political Commission, and the Standing Committee. The Congress stands at

the top as the supreme deliberative body, meeting every four years. At provincial

conferences, delegates are chosen to attend the Congress. The Congress will elect the party

president, as well as the Political Commission. An extensive list concerning elections for

UNITA leadership positions is located in Article 11, some of which will be discussed later.

UNITA employs two types of electoral systems for internal elections: PR for the election of

its governing bodies, and a single-member majority system for the executive bodies. A

single-member majority system means an executive candidate must achieve at least 51% of

the vote in order to be elected. Either candidates themselves, or party organs can initiate

nominations. Congress is also responsible for approving "statutes, guidelines, strategies,

and programs; reports issued by various party organs; and the party symbols."[9] In order to

be elected to the Political Commission and other leadership positions, members must have

"15 years of membership, good behavior, no criminal record, paid their membership fees

and carry a valid UNITA membership card."[10] The Political Commission is responsible for

carrying out the will of the Congress and implementing its approved programs. It is the

duty of the Standing Committee to provide UNITA with direction, and it "meets at least

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[9] Augusto Santana. 2006. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. Johannesburg. EISA. P. 16.

[10] Inge Amundsen and Markus Weimer. *Opposition Parties and the Upcoming 2008 Parliamentary Elections in Angola*. Chr. Michelsen Institute. Bergen, Norway. P. 29.

every three months, but more often if necessary."[11] Budget and finances are also under the

purview of the Standing Committee.

The National Executive is composed of the president, the vice-president, the

secretary general, and an executive committee of national secretaries for each province,

chosen by the president. Besides the obvious importance of the presidency, the secretary

general too assumes an essential role, since "this is where policies are developed,

formulated, defined, and promulgated."[12] The National Advisory bodies (the Politburo, the

National Assembly, and the Annual Conference), as the name implies, occupy an advisory

role and provides a vital feedback mechanism. The levels of regional organization begin at

the provincial branch, descending through the municipal, the communal, the zone, and the

local branches.[13]

Given UNITA's renowned history of being a disciplined liberation movement, it's no

surprise to find a party with moderately developed institutional structures. The lack of

access to most of the country implies that the more localized levels of the party are left

unattended, but there is little to no data to substantiate this. The constitution points to

quite a bit of centralization in the party, with the executive seeming to represent the

ultimate authority in decision-making. One should expect a high level of centrality

considering Savimbi's legacy in the party. Constitutionally, UNITA has made the transition

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[11] Ibid. The party president is also leader of this committee.
[12] Ibid.
[13] UNITA. *Estatutos*. Art. 19.

from guerrilla army to political party, but the path is uphill for them to further realize this metamorphosis. The hazardous state of Angolan politics make all questions open-ended.

ANC

The protracted conflict against Apartheid came to a symbolic end with the election of Nelson Mandela and the ascendency of the ANC to power in 1994. This historic watershed was accompanied by a new constitution in 1996 that deviated markedly from the one that guided the country for so long. This new constitution finally guaranteed "universal adult suffrage, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government."[14] The constitution makes room for party pluralism, but with the ANC averaging between 65-70% of the electorate's vote over the last three national elections, South Africa exhibits the dominant-party variation of multiparty democracy.[15] To elect their officials to the National Assembly, South Africa uses party-list PR, with the top spot becoming president of the republic.

South Africa has a well-developed legal framework concerning political parties. Citizens' rights in forming political parties are found in the constitution's Bill of Rights.[16] Electoral Commission Act 51 provides for the establishment and mandate of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which maintains its independence despite ANC

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[14] Republic of South Africa. 1996, amended in 2009. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Pretoria, South Africa. Ch. 1, Sec. 1.

[15] Independent Electoral Commission. South Africa. The ANC won 65.9% of the vote in the 1999 elections, 69.7% in the 2004 elections, and 66.4% in 2009.

[16] Republic of South Africa. 1996, a. 2009. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Ch. 2, Sec. 19.

dominance of the political arena. Within this law is a code of conduct which all political parties in South Africa must be signatory to. The code encourages parties to "facilitate equal participation of women, free electioneering, and to cooperate fully with the IEC," while prohibiting them from "intimidating voters or their opponents, encouraging violence, offering inducements, or discriminating."[17] The Public Funding of Representative Political Parties Act 103 allocates funding to parties based on their representation in national and provincial governments. Electoral Act 73 gives further structure to elections, delineating requirements for voter registration and the voters' roll.

The ANC has long operated under a democratic rubric that culminates in their current constitution. Rule 3 of the constitution describes the ANC's character as:

- Non-racial, non-sexist, and a democratic liberation movement;
- Its policies are determined by the membership and its leadership is accountable to the membership;
- Shall, in its composition and functioning, be non-racial, anti-racist and non-sexist and against any form of tribalistic exclusivism or ethnic chauvinism;
- The principles of freedom of speech and free circulation of ideas and information shall operate within the ANC.[18]

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[17] Tom Lodge, and Ursula Scheidegger. 2006. *Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA. P. 7.

[18] African National Congress (ANC). 2012. African National Congress Constitution. Mangaung, South Africa. Rule 3.

Any South African over the age of 18 can become a member of the ANC. The rights of an

ANC member range from discussing and developing policy; being informed on policy;

offering constructive criticism; and elect and be elected to party offices.[19] An ANC

member's duties include taking part in party activities; know and execute party objectives;

articulate those aims to the people; maintain discipline; and most importantly, combat

racism, sexism, and all forms of political intolerance.[20]

ANC Policy positions are promulgated through routine conference resolutions,

strategy and tactics papers, manifestos, and specific platforms. The newly adopted National

Development Plan (NDP), which plots South African society's trajectory through 2030,

seeks to further transform it into one "that is non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, united, and

prosperous."[21] The macroeconomic policy, like many aspects of ANC policy, echoes this

egalitarian disposition by "confronting the triple challenge of unemployment, poverty, and

inequality."[22] The ANC's longevity means there is a temporal element to the policies of the

party. Many ANC policies, including these, are highly reflective of the 1955 Freedom

Charter, the party's foundational document. The roots of current ANC policies can be seen

in Charter passages like: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white; the

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[19] Ibid. Rule 5, Sec. 1.
[20] Ibid. Rule 5, Sec. 2.
[21] ANC. 2012. "53rd National Conference Resolutions." Mangaung, South Africa. P. 11.
[22] Ibid. P. 25.

rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, color or sex; and the national wealth of the country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people."[23]

The bureaucratic organizational structure of the ANC is highly developed, and consists of the National Conference; the Provincial Conference; the Regional Conference; and the Branch Annual General Meeting.[24] The National Conference is the supreme governing body of the ANC, meeting every five years. Rule 9, section 2 stipulates that 90% of the delegates attending the National Conference will be elected from the branches, with the other 10% chosen by leadership. Powers and duties of the National Conference include:

- Decide and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC;

- Receive and discuss the reports of the National Executive Committee (NEC);

- Have the right and power to review, ratify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any of the constituent bodies, units or officials of the ANC;

- Have the power to elect or appoint any commission or committee and assign specific tasks and duties to such commission or committee.[25]

The most important duty of the National Conference besides policy formation is to elect the NEC. The NEC is responsible for directing the party between national conferences. The functions of the NEC consists of "oversight of the [Women and Youth] leagues' activities, management of the ANC's property, the issue of policy directives and the appointment

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[23] ANC. 1955. Freedom Charter. Johannesburg.
[24] ANC. ANC Constitution. Rule 7, Sec. 1.
[25] Ibid. Rule 11.

every year of a list committee to select (and 'redeploy') parliamentary candidates."[26] The

National Conference will elect 60 members to the NEC, including the main executive

positions, from a list compiled from branch nominations or nominated from the floor. The

NEC will then elect the 30-member National Working Committee (NWC) from among its

ranks. The NWC is responsible for enacting the will of the NEC, and reports back to it. At the

53rd National Conference this past year, the minimum eligibility for the NEC was changed

from five years paid membership to ten years.

The Provincial Conferences and the Regional Conferences both have executive

committees, which are elected by the delegates at those conferences.[27] There is a seven-

year membership minimum eligibility to be elected to the 20-member Provincial Executive

Committee (PEC), and a five-year minimum for the Regional Executive Committee.[28] This

is up from the previous three and two-year minimum, respectively. The PEC also has an

operating Provincial Working Committee, with functions much attuned to its national

counterpart.[29] The Provincial Conferences convene every three years, while the Regional

meet every two. According to Rule 23.1, the branch "shall be the basic structure of the

organisation."[30] The branch is conceptualized in the ANC constitution as the structure

where the consensus-style democracy the party favors is employed in order for the

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[26] Lodge, and Scheidegger. *Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa.* P. 7.
[27] ANC. ANC Constitution. Rule 19; 21, Sec. 10.
[28] Ibid. Rule 19, Sec. 3; 21, Sec. 5(3).
[29] Ibid. Rule 20.
[30] Ibid. Rule 23, Sec. 1.

community to debate and develop policy, and to "exercise their basic democratic rights."[31]

Whether or not this is the reality remains to be seen. A minimum of 100 members is necessary to establish a branch, implying robust gatherings at a basic level.[32] The Electoral Commission, mandated with organizing party elections, and the Finance Committee, who handles the party accounts, augments these offices, offering more participation for decision-making bodies.

The ANC's heritage as one of the oldest political parties has certainly had an effect on the sophisticated levels of bureaucratic development within the party structures and the organization. Steeping ANC policy and rhetoric in the foundational Freedom Charter has served the party thus well through tumultuous political transition. The high levels of bureaucracy allow for the possibility of quite a bit of participation. Again, closer observations may show other results. The eligibility requirements for many leadership positions, compared to other parties in the region, UNITA included, are fair and in a responsible timeframe to gain party experience. The ANC sees the local community, the branch, as its chief engine of policy development. While age does not always impart maturity, this appears to be the case with the ANC as far as constitutional progress is concerned.

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[31] Ibid. Rule 23, Sec. 2(3).
[32] Ibid. Rule 23, Sec. 2(1).

MDC

Never a state to be considered politically idle, Zimbabwe's strenuous development has seen

it operate under multiple electoral systems, while the nature of the legal framework is

constantly adapting to coalesce around new political realities. The precarious condition of

Zimbabwe's politics has certainly affected many parties, often to their detriment. This

capricious nature makes it difficult for opposition parties, chief among them the MDC, to

know what is expected of them, while attempting to conform to the current legalities. To

accentuate this point, while this research was in progress Zimbabwe's Parliament passed

through a new constitution in March 2013; final product after years of deliberation by the

GPA, formed from ZANU-PF, the two factions of the MDC, and civil society.[33]

The new Constitution of Zimbabwe reinstitutes the state as a sovereign, and

democratic republic, and commits Zimbabwe to constitutional supremacy.[34] Parliament is

composed of the National Assembly and the Senate.[35] Interestingly, the term multiparty

democracy enters into the lexicon of the document only once, and that in reference to party

funding.[36] However, the spirit of multipartyism is still accounted for within, and

guarantees Zimbabwean citizens over 18 the right "to form, to join and to participate in the

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[33] Elias Mambo. 2013. "Zimbabwe: New Constitution won't Change Political Culture." *Zimbabwe Independent*. 31 May.
[34] Republic of Zimbabwe. 2013. Constitution of Zimbabwe: Final Draft. Harare, Zimbabwe. Ch. 1, Sec. 12. Constitutional supremacy is the concept that all state laws and officials are subject to the constitution, which represents the supreme law of the land, and as such, cannot be contradicted.
[35] Ibid. Ch. 6, Part 2, Sec. 118.
[36] Ibid. Ch. 4, Part 2, Sec. 67(4).

activities of a political party or organisation of their choice; to campaign freely and

peacefully for a political party or cause; and to participate, individually or collectively, in

gatherings or groups or any manner, in peaceful activities to influence, challenge or

support the policies of the Government or any political or whatever cuase."[37] Nevertheless,

these basic democratic ideals have been hard to achieve in the face of ZANU-PF's

intimidation and violence. While the constitution enables the possibility for multiparty

democracy, like Angola, Zimbabwe has historically been a classic one-party state. The rise

of the MDC though has caused a shift in the hegemony of ZANU-PF. The results of the last

parliamentarian elections in 2008 show that the MDC achieved a majority in the National

Assembly with 47.8% (99 seats) of the vote, compared to ZANU-PF's 46.9% (97 seats).[38]

The sizeable presence of the MDC has allowed it a limited capacity to influence the course

of parliament, but the authority of the executive has undermined parliament, and

encouraged the development of a dominant party system, with ZANU-PF setting the pace.

Unlike South Africa's dominant system, high levels of intolerance and brutality characterize

Zimbabwe's.

The character of the electoral systems reflects the complexities of Zimbabwean

political life. Initially, Zimbabwe operated under the PR system according to the Lancaster

House Constitution. This was later changed to the FPTP system. The shortcomings of this

system were detailed earlier, and contributed to Zimbabwe's turmoil noting, "nearly 40

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[37] Ibid. Ch. 4, Part 2, Sec. 67(2)(a-d).
[38] Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network. 2008. Parliamentary Election Results. Zimbabwe.

constituency results were challenged in courts following the 2000 parliamentary

election."[39] The new constitution now calls for a mixed electoral system, with components

of both FPTP and PR. The Senate is elected through party-list PR, composed of 60 members

from Zimbabwe's ten provinces, 16 chiefs elected by the provincial assembly of Chiefs, the

President and Vice-President of the National Council of Chiefs, and two members elected to

represent persons with disabilities.[40] The National Assembly employs FPTP to elect its 210

members, with an additional 60 women members elected through PR "based on the votes

cast for candidates representing political parties in a general election."[41]

Given the heightened state of politics in Zimbabwe, it comes as no surprise to find

many laws regarding political parties besides the constitution. The Political Parties

(Finance) Act enumerates how political parties can qualify and receive funding, but its true

purpose is to cut off foreign funding to parties, which is seen by ZANU-PF as a tool for the

MDC.[42] The Electoral Act lays out the procedures for voter registration and qualifications,

constituency delimitation, planning and commencing elections, and electoral disputes.[43]

Section 238 of the constitution mandates the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) to

execute these goals. The independence of this institution is highly questionable considering

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[39] Lloyd M. Sachikonye. 2005. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe.* Johannesburg: EISA. P. 19. For details on the FPTP system, see Chapter. 2.
[40] Republic of Zimbabwe. Constitution of Zimbabwe. Ch. 6, Part 3, Sec. 120(1)(a-d).
[41] Ibid. Ch. 6, Part 3, Sec. 124(1)(a-b).
[42] Republic of Zimbabwe. 2001; amended 2002. Political Parties (Finance) Act. Harare, Zimbabwe. Part 3, Sec. 6(1).
[43] Republic of Zimbabwe. 2005; amended 2008. Electoral Act.

that the president appoints the chairperson, as well as the eight other members from a list

presented by the Committee of Standing Rules and Orders, and has the ability to reappoint

members for one additional term.[44] Consistent with other electoral commissions in the

region, the ZEC upholds a code of conduct for political parties, committing them "to

promote conditions that are conducive to free and fair elections and a climate of tolerance

in which electioneering activity may take place without fear or coercion, intimidation or

reprisals."[45] The Public Order & Security Bill 2001 (SOPA), a highly draconian law, seems

to contradict this, enabling government forces to undermine the principles found in the

code of conduct. This bill has been cited as the basis for constant interference in party

functions, making it "difficult for civic organisations and parties to hold meetings and civic

education classes."[46]

The Constitution of the MDC illuminates how the party self-identifies. Article Four

describes its character and culture:

- A pro-poor, people-centered social democratic, non-racial and non-sexist

  movement;

- In its composition and functioning shall be inclusive, tolerant and is against any

  forms of discrimination including racial, sexual and tribal discrimination;

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[44] Republic of Zimbabwe. Constitution of Zimbabwe. Ch. 12, Part 2, Sec. 238(1)(5).
[45] Republic of Zimbabwe. Electoral Act. Fourth Schedule, Sec. 160A.
[46] Sachikonye. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe.* P. 31.

- Considers democracy as a core value, to that extent, its policies are to be determined by its membership, and further, its leadership shall be accountable to the people;

- Firmly believes in freedom of speech, freedom of expression and further, the free circulation of ideas and information within the movement;

- Is against all forms of factionalism, fronticism, rumor-mongering, slander and character assassination.[47]

It is worth noting that many of these articles were inserted into the constitution only two years ago at the Bulawayo Congress. The constitution does not make any provision for membership age, but given that the age of competency in Zimbabwe is 18, it stands to reason that the party conforms to this standard. Members are expected to "accept and conform to the constitution, pay regular subscriptions, promote and defend principles of the party, and take an active part in the life of his or her branch."[48] Members also retain the right to "vote in any party election, stand for and hold any office in the party, and to participate in all meetings and programmes of the party."[49]

The MDC has managed to put forth distinctive policies from that of ZANU-PF, including its Conditions for a Sustainable Election in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ). This policy platform has been the backbone of the MDC since signing the Global Political Agreement (GPA) with the MDC-N (MDC-Ncube) and ZANU-PF. It details what reforms must be

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[47] MDC (Movement for Democratic Change). 2000; amended 2011. Constitution of the Movement for Democratic Change. Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Art. 4.
[48] Ibid. Art. 5.4.
[49] Ibid. Art. 5.5.

implemented to achieve the goals of the GPA, including making Zimbabwe free and fair, and producing credible elections.[50] The Jobs, Upliftment, Investment Capital & the Environment (JUICE) program is the party's major economic manifesto. JUICE lays out the MDC's economic development goals for Zimbabwe, which include "One million new jobs to be created between 2013-2018; projected average growth rate of 8% per annum between 2013-2018; Macro economic stability anchored by single digit inflation; and running a green economy."[51] To further strengthen and articulate their position, the MDC presented in May 2013 its Agenda for Real Transformation (ART) platform. This platform includes multiple policies that intend to "transform the economy and the political culture through the application of the tenets of transformational leadership, in order to adequately respond to the people's basic needs."[52] These policies represent more than the basic call for change that MDC policies in the past have been criticized over. They signify a better political understanding of the situation, and perhaps a matured leadership.

The organizational structure of the MDC is almost Gordian in nature, with many overlapping offices. Adhering to the committee system, the main body of the party is the Congress, which convenes every five years, and whose functions are to:

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[50] MDC. 2012a. *Conditions for a Sustainable Elections in Zimbabwe (CoSEZ)*. Harare, Zimbabwe. P. 27. These reforms include legislative reforms, better oversight mechanisms, and removal of special presidential powers, among others. The new Zimbabwean constitution addresses some of these concerns.

[51] MDC. 2012b. *Jobs, Upliftment, Investment Capital & the Environment (JUICE)*. Harare, Zimbabwe. P. 10.

[52] Shakespeare Hamauswa. 2013. "An Anatomy of MDC-T's Policies When in Power." *The Standard*. 23 June.

- Formulate the policies and principles of the party;

- Supervise the implementation of policies, principles and programmes of the party;

- Elect members of the National Council;

- Repeal or amend the Constitution; and

- Review, ratify, modify, alter or rescind any decision taken by any organ or official of the party.[53]

The Congress is composed primarily of the National Council, along with various other elements of the party. The National Council, though it is the "main policy implementing organ and shall have the authority to lead the organization," is a composition of assorted committees, including the National Standing Committee (NSC) and the National Executive Committee (NEC).[54] To be eligible for the National Council, and by extension its attendant committees, five years membership is required.[55]

The NSC is the main executive body housing the top executive positions, including the president, vice-president, and secretary general, whose members "shall be elected directly by Congress from nominations made by the Provinces."[56] Its task is the day-to-day administration of party affairs. The NSC, along with 12 provincial representatives, 12 members directly elected by Congress, ten co-opted from the general membership, and the

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[53] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 6, Sec. 2.3.
[54] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 4.1.
[55] Ibid. Art. 5, Sec. 5.2(b).
[56] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 4.3.1.

respective secretaries of the women and youth assemblies, comprises the NEC.[57] The

NEC's raison d'être is to "exercise all the functions of the National Council in between

meetings."[58] Some of the powers of the NEC are to:

- Implement the decisions and resolutions of the National Council;

- Recommend party policies and programmes to the National Council;

- Formulate and implement the current programs of the party; and

- Ensure that the provincial, district, ward and branch structures of the party function

  democratically and effectively.[59]

A National Conference is held annually to address issues concerning the party. Again, the

National Council takes primary position. Also in attendance at these conferences are the

members of the women and youth executives, provincial executive committee (PEC)

members, and public officials of the party.[60]

      The MDC divides the state into 12 provinces, and organizations the party

hierarchically starting with the provincial level, down through the district, the ward, and

lastly the branch. Each level is equipped with its own executive committee. The PEC's core

objective is to "build the Party in the province," while also accountable for organizing

district elections, and carrying out oversight functions related to the wards and

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[57] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 4.4.2.
[58] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 4.4.1.
[59] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 4.4.4.1.
[60] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 3.2.

branches.[61] As Sachikonye's analysis points out, "the provincial, district, ward, and branch structures tend to replicate (at lower levels) the post and functions of the top structures."[62] Each level of the organization will hold its own assembly every five years, and it is there that the executive committees are elected. Like the National Council, a member must have five years party experience to hold office at a provincial level, and a two-year minimum to hold a position at the district level or be elected as a councilor.[63] Wards may not incorporate more than five branches without the approval of the NEC, and each branch must have at least 50 members to be established.[64]

After being in existence for only a little over 13 years, the MDC has progressed a long way from its initial labor roots. It has found a more distinct voice from that of ZANU-PF, and can seem to offer more than just a change in government ministers. What it does have in common with ZANU-PF, however, is its highly centralized structure. Much of the power contained in the MDC Constitution is vested in the executive organs. This is consistent with the analysis of the previous two parties. The constitution appears to provide executives and provincial level members the best access to congresses and conferences. Unlike the ANC, these main deliberative bodies of the MDC seem to offer very little capacity for the lower level members to participate. Again, we will have to see if practice conforms to this interpretation of their constitution.

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[61] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 6.1.4.
[62] Sachikonye. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe.* P. 24.
[63] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 5, Sec. 5.2.
[64] Ibid. Art. 6, Sec. 9.2.

Chapter Six

Party Inclusiveness

Now that there is an understanding of the political milieu the parties exist in, this thesis can

address the most significant areas of intra-party democracy. This chapter will assess levels

of intra-party democracy by analyzing a party's inclusiveness over several determined

factors. It will measure membership participation, including its composition, grassroots

outreach, and its influence over policy. It will also review leadership elements, including

measuring elections for leadership positions, oversight, tolerance, and levels of

centralization. Other issues of leadership may arise that are idiosyncratic of a particular

party, which will be duly addressed. These components, along with the following two, will

be the main thrust of the argument.

The other important components of this chapter are women's participation, and

party economics. It's important to conceptualize opposition parties as governments in

waiting, and being so, they should take seriously those resolutions adopted by both

national governments and regional bodies, like the SADC's Protocol on Gender and

Development. Article 12 of this document calls for all Southern African states to implement

equality in representation at 50% for women in decision-making positions. All SADC states

have signed this protocol, and it provides another factor to measure intra-party democracy.

Party economics will also be evaluated in this chapter. While it is hard to make definitive

statements on intra-party democracy looking at party finances, it does help illuminate a

party's character. By probing how parties approach their economic issues, centralization

within leadership may be inferred, which can help bolster the analysis of party

inclusiveness

UNITA

UNITA claims its membership is estimated between 800,000 and one million, with UNITA

President Isaias Samakuva asserting that UNITA represents 80% of the territory. UNITA's

history means it enjoys a good deal of support in the rural areas, which is extensive. This

number, however, is about as realistic to verify as that of the population of Angola, which

hasn't conducted a census since 1970.[1] While it's informative to have an idea of

membership size, the extent to which the party engages this membership, its grassroots

outreach, is much more telling. UNITA, along with the MPLA, are the only parties with

enough resources to conduct research to develop policy. UNITA conducts opinion polls in

its constituencies, and employs the Institute for Democracy and Development to promote

"the participation of citizens in public life and supports other democratic values."[2]

Organizationally the outreach mechanisms are there, yet there is little evidence of wide-

ranging party activities outside of the Congress and provincial conferences. The reason for

this could be due to the fact that UNITA claims that there is not free access to many parts of

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[1] Augusto Santana. 2006. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola.* Johannesburg: EISA. P. 30.

[2] Santana. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. P. 30.

the country.[3] UNITA, however, does have an extensive media department that is used to inform and educate its members on its ideals and policies.[4]

Another significant issue concerning membership and intra-party democracy is the administering of an oath of allegiance for new members.[5] This oath calls on new members to be loyal to UNITA, and take up its causes and ideals. The language found here does not appear to be very accommodating of dissenting viewpoints. Abel Chivukuvuku, a former UNITA leader for 38 years and current president of the Broad Convergence of Salvation of Angola – Electoral Coalition (CASA-CE) party, points to this in an article, stating that people "live [in] anguish of having to submit to party loyalties, even when they do not agree."[6] When party members do incur the wrath of leadership, discipline can be dictatorial and lacking in internal dialogue.[7] This practice can severely hinder intra-party democracy when members are encouraged to abandon the party due to censure or not join it altogether, thus weakening it. Or, as is the case with Chivukuvuku, members start their own party, causing proliferation. Conversely though, opposition can fracture when members are punished, unfairly as they perceive it, for not respecting democratic decisions made by the party.

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[3] Isaias Samakuva. Interview by Alex Vines. April 29, 2013. Change in Angola: The Role of UNITA. Transcript. Chatham House. London. P. 11.
[4] UNITA publishes a magazine *Terra Angolana*, broadcasts *Rádio Despertar*. Added to this are UNITA's TV programs and website.
[5] UNITA. Estatutos. Luanda, Angola. Art. 2, Sec. 5.
[6] Diário de Notícias. 2012. "Chivukuvuku launches "third way" to Angola." *DN Globo*. 14 March.
[7] Santana. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. P. 39.

Party leadership provides perhaps the best focal point for evaluating practices of intra-party democracy. Competition for leadership then becomes an important factor. Typical requirements for leadership positions one would expect to find include upholding party ideals, knowing the party line, be creative and inspirational, etc. While there does exist degrees of competition for less prestigious positions in the party, the position of party president is much less competitive. Santana notes that "although party statutes indicate that it is possible for various members to submit there candidature to the post of party leader, this is not yet practiced."[8] A common problem in African political parties is that leadership elections tend to be an assortment of the usual suspects of candidates. Since Jonas Savimbi's death and UNITA's consolidation into a political party in 2002 there have been three elections for party president, each with more than one candidate. Yet, these have all been party stalwarts, and UNITA's Samakuva, going into his 13th year as president, has not faced a serious threat to the post.[9] This could be due to the fact that one of the requirements a member has to meet to run for the top office is a minimum 15 year military record that can be verified by members in good standing. Currently, UNITA has no regulations concerning term limits for officials.

Initial observations could point to another commonality in African party politics, the dominant personality complex. This phenomenon is characterized as a "personality cult wherein a party was equated with the leader and the strong leader was perceived as the

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[8] Ibid. P. 25.
[9] Inge Amundsen, and Markus Weimer. 2008. *Opposition Parties and the Upcoming 2008 Parliamentary Elections in Angola*. Chr. Michelsen Institute. Bergen, Norway. P. 29.

embodiment of the party."[10] While one could argue that this was the case during Jonas

Savimbi's long tenure as UNITA leader, this tendency does not appear to be very prevalent

today. It oversimplifies and marginalizes the role played by the other branches of the party.

The death of Dr. Savimbi compelled UNITA to reassess and adapt the party, structure and

identity. This is not to imply that the executive lacks power, quite the opposite. Oversight of

party leadership is limited. Party elections are really the only time rank-and-file members

can perform any oversight function over the leadership. Indeed, oversight is one of the

main functions of the parliamentary caucus in the National Assembly, which is part of the

National Advisory Body. In reality, the parliamentary caucus "must at all times and in all

political questions follow the direction decided by the leadership organs of the party and

the directives emanating from the Standing Committee."[11] The impression may be given of

an authoritarian party, but leadership does not operate in a bubble, and a developed

organizational structure helps buffer some of these authoritarian tendencies. Leadership

appears to recognize this, noting that Samakuva earlier this year "swore in new officials

appointed under the party's ongoing reshuffle in order to boost the organization."[12]

Another important litmus test, arguably as superlative in evaluating intra-party

democracy as leadership, is the status of women in the organization. To be democratic,

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[10] Khabele Matlosa. 2004. *Interrogating Challenges for Intra-Party Democracy in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA. P. 6.
[11] Santana. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. P. 28.
[12] Angola Press. 2013. "UNITA Leader Swears in Party Officials." *Angola Press Agency*. 15 February. Luanda, Angola

there must be serious consultation with social groups, and with women comprising half the

population it stands to reason that this presence should be reflected in truly representative

parties. The SADC recognizes this with its 50% quota for political parties by 2015. UNITA

somewhat conform to the SADC protocol by including a policy in which women should

occupy 30% of all leadership positions.[13] The party seems committed though, fielding 31%

of its party-list with women candidates in the 2012 elections.[14] That number is up

significantly from an earlier study that puts UNITA's female operational staff strength at a

dismal 16%.[15] UNITA also maintains a women's organization, the Angolan Women's

League (LIMA).

While it's not nearly as critical in gauging intra-party democracy as the two previous

components, party economics does offer another dimension with which to perhaps gain a

deeper understanding of internal functioning. According to UNITA officials, the party

received about $700,000 in public funding from the state in 2012, with rates of funding tied

to a party's representation in parliament.[16] UNITA supplements this with membership

fees, of which leadership is responsible to pay additional dues at a rate commensurate with

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[13] Amundsen, and Weimer. *Opposition Parties and the Upcoming 2008 Parliamentary Elections in Angola*. P. 29.
[14] National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. 2012. *Angola Elections Update*. Luanda, Angola.
[15] Santana. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. P. 45.
[16] Domingos Jardo Muekalia. Interview by Alex Vines. July 30th, 2012. Angola's 2012 Elections: The View from the Opposition. Transcript. Chatham House. London. P.9. UNITA contends that this number is insufficient to effectively challenge the state, but given the MPLA's disposition, that may be their strategy.

their position. Unfortunately, it is impossible to gauge the extent of economic

decentralization in UNITA with the present data, but a report confirms that provincial

branches of the party do retain most of their membership fees.[17] The lack of data also

makes distribution of resources across ethnic lines indeterminable. It is quite possible that

this distribution is equitable though, because unlike other African states, ethnicity is not a

strong motivator in Angola.[18] Therefore, ethnic tensions may be more muted, or

nonexistent in some regions.

ANC

While enjoying the distinction of being the oldest party of this study, it is also the only party

that is genuinely national in scope and influence, having a significant presence in all nine

provinces of South Africa. Membership statistics tend to fluctuate between national

conferences and elections, swelling during active periods. Between 2007 and the end of

2012, ANC membership has oscillated between 600,000 and 1.2 million, the current

number cited before the 53rd National Conference.[19] These large numbers correspond to

the notion that the ANC represents a wide swath of society including the poor, rural and

urban, educated, minorities, unemployed, etc. The decidedly inclusive nature of the ANC

"brings together histories and practices associated with exile, military organization,

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[17] Amundsen, and Weimer. *Opposition Parties and the Upcoming 2008 Parliamentary Elections in Angola*. P. 30.

[18] Ibid. P. 33.

[19] Niren Tolsi. 2012. "Audits Reveal ANC Membership Numbers Soar." *Mail Guardian*. 17 December.

domestic struggle, trade unionism, communism, and imprisonment, which together

explains its complex nature."[20]

Its history in the struggle against Apartheid helped the ANC develop into a truly

mass-based organization, which regards and expects its members to be militant, tolerant,

and politically conscious.[21] In order to combat the ill pillars of Apartheid, the ANC could

not afford to be exclusionary, and this has encouraged its democratic disposition. The MK

Manifesto, issued in 1961, states that MK "includes in its ranks South African of all races."[22]

The MK Manifesto, like the Freedom Charter, illustrates the historical foundation for the

mass-based, activist membership it has cultivated. Race is still a prevalent issue in South

African politics, and ANC rhetoric addresses this. In practice, however, "the ANC, as a party,

theoretically supports the ideal of non-racialism, [yet] it was clear, almost across the board

that members feel there are significant problems with race relations within the ANC, at all

levels."[23] Branch members also view party leadership as being restricted from non-African

members, particularly at the national level.[24]

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[20] Anthony Butler. 2002. "South Africa's Political Futures: The Positive and Negative Implications of One-party Dominance." Presented at the Seminar Series at the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa, Cape Town. P. 8-9.
[21] ANC. 2008. *Report on the State of the Organization*. A report prepared by the ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe following the 2007 National Conference. Johannasburg.
[22] MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe). 1961. Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Leaflet issued by the Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. 16 December. Johannesburg
[23] Fiona Anciano-White. 2013. *The ANC: Still a Home for ALL? Non-Racialismand the African National Congress*: *Views from Branch Members*. Lenasia, South Africa. Ahmed Kathrada Foundation. P. 13.
[24] Ibid. P.13-14.

It has been established though that grassroots outreach and rank-and-file participation is a better indicator of internal democracy. The data suggests that levels of grassroots outreach within the organization are high. Many programs have been instituted to encourage the participation of ordinary members, such as the *Letsame* (Working Together) campaign, initiated during the 'Year of the Volunteer', which had a different participatory theme each month.[25] Besides conferences and meetings, policy positions, party developments, and other ongoing debates are communicated to the organization through a number of publications. These include *ANC Today*, the organizational newspaper, daily news briefings, NEC bulletins, and its academic journal, *Umrabulo*.

Membership participation in party policies can be qualified in a few ways, given the distinction between the origin of policies, and the development of them. Developing consensus within the community on issues is ultimately the flavor of democracy employed by the ANC, rather than a competition of policies. Party rhetoric and the ANC Constitution reflect this consensus-model with the orientation of the branch as the symbolic heart of the organization. Typically, branches hold monthly meetings that usually exceed 50 members, while having on average the required 100-250 paid members.[26] It is these branch meetings that will also elect and send delegates to provincial and national conferences. Members too are responsible for generating a 200-member candidate list for the National

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[25] Tom Lodge. 2004. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 42, no. 2: 189-219. P. 194. This program saw ANC members involved in activities like tree-planting, school cleanings, and the distribution of information about HIV/AIDS, according to Lodge.

[26] Lodge, and Ursula Scheidegger. 2006. *Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa*. Johannesburg: EISA. P. 26.

Assembly, which "delegates [at provincial and national conferences] vote from nominations from nine provincial 'list conferences' and from branch submissions."[27]

The party continually conducts research among the people to assess critical needs. Before the National Conference, a policy conference is held to debate and develop draft resolutions. According to the ANC, "the resolutions of the policy conference go back to the branches and to provincial congresses for further refining. The advantage of the system is that by the time we get to the national conference people will have discussed thoroughly and engaged with all the issues."[28] Despite the participatory atmosphere implied here, Malusi Gigaba, President of the ANC Youth League, argues that the conference resolutions "largely reflect the thinking of the national executive."[29] This is not to say that members do not participate, quite the opposite. Members' main contribution to ANC policy is in its development through consensus. Development is where members exercise the most influence by adding their concerns and criticisms to the debate, thus potentially affecting policy by the time the conferences arrive. Yet, which issues take priority and are introduced for development is strictly the purview of the national executive. A study of the activity in wards, a community level body of the branch intended to offer "greater access to decision-making," seems to confirm the active role of rank-and-file members in policy development,

[27] Ibid. P. 30.
[28] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 208-209.
[29] Malusi Gigaba. Interview with President of the ANC Youth League by Tom Lodge. July 2, 2003. Lutili House. Johannesburg

while highlighting their impotence in determining it.[30] This marginalization of ordinary voices appears to have eroded the quality of the membership somewhat, leading to incidents of corruption. The ANC recognized this at the 53rd National Conference by declaring the next decade, 'Decade of the Cadre', which will "focus on the ideological, political, academic, and moral training of a critical mass of ANC members."[31] This stated commitment of the ANC to enhance its cadres, and thus its bodies, is evident in its raising of the minimum years of party membership needed to hold positions in executive committees throughout the structure.

Traditionally, party leadership at the national level has been fairly exclusive, with 'democratic centralism' still imprinted in the party's DNA from its days as a liberation movement.[32] The broad, national character of the ANC structure offers many members the chance to participate in leadership positions at various levels of the organization. The NEC, however, has only recently begun to open its competitive base. In 2002, the top offices of the party received nominations from incumbents only, but this could be due to a focus on continuity rather than competition in early post-Apartheid South Africa.[33] The centralized nature of the NEC has consistently found it trying to control the entire nomination process,

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[30] Roger Deacon, and Laurence Piper. 2008. "Party Politics, Elite Accountability and Public Participation: Ward Committee Politics in the Msunduzi Municipality." *Transformation* 66/67. 61-82. P. 62.

[31] ANC. 2012. "53rd National Conference Resolutions." Mangaung, South Africa.

[32] A term used by Anthony Butler, "democratic centralism" is part of the heritage of many liberation movements, as guerrilla forces relied on the effectiveness of a strong, central leadership, binding lower structures to its decisions.

[33] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 210.

while influencing who gets nominated for office. According to Lodge, "clearly the ANC leadership would prefer a process through which a chosen successor is appointed and groomed for office rather than an open contest," and has used the NWC to discourage individual candidates from running for office.[34] The promotion of an activist constituency has continually led to leadership being challenged on this front, with branches choosing the candidates they favor, signaling "the continuing political independence of branch delegations at provincial meetings.[35]

Throughout the research conducted, the most controversial aspect of leadership and member participation was the institution of deployment committees. Deployment committees are utilized as an extension of the NEC for the purpose of replacing incompetent cadres with effective ones, both in the party and in government.[36] These committees are employed throughout the ANC structure, and are characterized by the sometime practice of placing party loyalists in leadership positions.[37] Booysen argues that the "integrity of cadreship, and ANC appointments, had emerged as a major issue of concern" relating to deployment.[38] In an article on ANC democracy, William Gumede went

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[34] Ibid. P. 211.
[35] Ibid.
[36] ANC. *Report on the State of the Organization*. Sec. 7.2-7.5.
[37] Butler notes that provincial premiers and local mayors, among others, have been forced on unwilling constituencies.
[38] Susan Booysen. 2011. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press. P. 375. Those not attuned to the democratic ideals of the party have used deployment committees to further their own self-interest.

as far to accuse rank-and-file participation as a "charade", and that their marginalization

was so pronounced that it was causing serious fissures between a more insulated, and

unresponsive leadership, and its members.[39] Gumede indeed argues that the gap caused

by deployment committees was the root of the Lonmin mine massacre in Marikana, South

Africa in 2012.[40] The ANC responded to this allegation in a letter by accusing Gumede of

using anecdotal analysis to dismiss ANC processes.[41]

The data seems to support the ANC's claim. It's true that the nature of these

committees makes them easily politicized; they too can be viewed as the gatekeeper to

jobs. While the deployment committee structure definitely leaves itself open for "rampant

self-interest, corruption and other anti-people activities to thrive," it is not evidence for the

systematic lack of intra-party democracy.[42] While there does exist a gap, Gumede's

analysis perhaps too easily dismisses the role of an overtly militant membership base and

its oversight functions. In fact, leadership has taken steps recently to increase participation,

including a constitutional amendment instituting PR at the branch and provisional level,

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[39] William Gumede. 2012. "ANC Lacks Internal Democracy." *Pambazuka News*. 21 November.
[40] Ibid. At the Lonmin mine, 44 miners were killed during a dispute between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), a close ANC ally, and the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), who Gumede argues could not identify with an NUM leadership that did not represent its interest.
[41] Jackson Mthembu. 2012. *Gumede is Fictional About ANC's Internal Democracy*. A letter written by ANC member Mthembu in response to William Gumede's article *ANC Lacks Internal Democracy*. Johannasburg.
[42] Booysen. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. P. 376. In fact, in 2009 the National Deployment Committee called on state positions to be filled by non-ANC members, in addition to ANC members.

and the abolishment of members being allowed to occupy a position in more than one

constitutional structure.[43] It is also worth mentioning that 39 of the 86 directly elected

members of the NEC at the Polokwane Conference had been first-timers.[44] Because

deployment committees fill positions for party and state concurrently, however, it will

become important for these committees to become independent of leadership, or even be

subsumed as an organ of the state altogether to insure its effectiveness in its duties.

The high level of 'democratic centralism' within the ANC therefore makes oversight

of the party leadership critical in maintaining a healthy organization. The National

Conference is regarded in the constitution as the most authoritative body in the party, but

in their own capacity they exercise very little oversight of leaders' decisions other than

elections and voting on resolutions. It was established earlier in this chapter that

resolutions are generally reflective of leadership positions, so how do members exercise

oversight in the ANC? The data will show that the type of oversight that has developed

largely conforms to the consensus-activist model for membership illustrated earlier. The

radical nature of the ANC itself provides the mechanism needed for oversight. There are a

few examples that underscore this practice.

The 1996 'Growth, Employment, and Redistribution' (GEAR) government policy,

adopted by the NEC, had until recently been "the most authoritative statement on the

official approach to macro-economic issues, committing the state to restraint in public

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[43] ANC. "53rd National Conference Resolutions." P. 7.
[44] ANC. *Report on the State of the Organization*. Sec. 4.5.

expenditure, speedy deficit reduction, further liberalization of trade, and privitisation of

parastatal corporations."[45] Given the ANC's historically extensive leftist credentials, this

policy caused a great deal of discord, especially among its allies, the SACP and COSATU. The

leftist members of the ANC felt that leadership was abandoning, or at the very least

circumscribing, their commitment to the social revolution. Leadership responded with a

characteristically punitive stance, earning it a reputation for intolerance, which will be

discussed subsequently. It even went as far to question the relevance of the alliance with its

liberation compatriots.[46] The SACP and COSATU mobilized a critical amount of members

against the leadership's position, using mass strikes and protests to communicate their

dissatisfaction. In the end, many members blamed party leaders for the divisions that had

arisen, and some leaders lost their positions over supporting GEAR.[47]

The current macroeconomic program, the NDP, has engendered much the same

debate. The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), part of COSATU, has

argued that the plan "does not alter the colonial character of the South African economy

and the dominance and control of White Monopoly Capital and Trans National

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[45] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 199.

[46] Thabo Mbeki, ANC President at the time, believed that a left-wing conspiracy was actively at work trying to remove him. Lodge notes there is little evidence to support this.

[47] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 202-204. Many members still valued the alliance and felt it was a vital component of the organization. The SACP eventually voted to remain part of the ANC.

Corporations."[48] Aubrey Matshiqi, a South African political analyst, points to this as "a resuscitation of the unhappiness with the leadership and policies which emerged even before Mangaung [Conference]."[49] Coupled with COSATU's reservations over the ANC leadership's policy direction, NUMSA is prepared to take its protest to the streets, "and push for policies contained in the Freedom Charter, such as nationalisation of mines and banks."[50] The right-wing shift in the ANC's economic policy seemed less about abandoning socialism though, but instead conforming and integrating the South African economy into the developing globalized economy. Either way, mobilization of the rank-and-file has a profound effect on the behavior of the leadership.

Another instance in which mass mobilization has impacted leadership was the highly public dispute over leadership's attitude towards HIV/AIDS treatment. The controversy arose after the government decided to cancel prescriptions for AZT, an anti-retroviral drug, to "HIV/AIDS patients on grounds of both its expense and supposed 'toxicity'."[51] In fact, government and ANC President Thabo Mbeki supported radical medical views that asserted poverty caused HIV/AIDS, "and was simply accentuated by the

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[48] Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). 2013. "Numsa's Initial Response on the SACP's Discussion Document – 'Let's Not Monumentalise the National Development Plan'." *Affiliates Press Statements*. 15 May. Johannesburg.

[49] Natasha Marrian. 2013. "ANC ally says development plan 'copied' DA policy." *BD Live*. 8 March. Matshiqi acknowledges, however, that the NDP is still embryonic and has not coalesced into definitive policy yet.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 206.

prescription of anti-retroviral medication."[52] While Mbeki was supported by many health ministers, he found robust opposition from ordinary members, many dependent on anti-retroviral medication, and also from within the ranks of the ANC leadership. ANC members formed a lobby, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), to pressure Mbeki to reverse his position, challenging the drug ban in court through a series of suits. Mbeki and other ANC leaders would rely on the customary tactics of attempting to discredit their opponents.[53]

The opposition though was generated from many disparate elements of the ANC and society, with Mandela even publically backing the TAC. These convergent forces, among them "resignation threats by the director general of the Department of Health, the Constitutional Court's finding in favour of the TAC, and lobbying by two key figures in Mbeki's entourage," had succeeded in reversing the president's stance, finally acceding to the distribution of the medications.[54]

These examples show the ANC membership's amazing ability to form internal lobbying mechanisms to debate with and influence leadership. Unlike developed states, South Africa's political lobbying community is relatively embryonic, thus leaving this role to activists of both party and state. While leadership may opine the need to keep criticism within party structures, the internalizing of lobbies by rank-and-file members provides an

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Mbeki argued, "orthodox medical explanations of the illness were rationalisations encouraged by international drug companies." He further made unfound allegations that these interests supported the TAC. Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 206.

[54] Ibid. P. 207.

effective mechanism for ensuring the vitality of democratic institutions. Because National Conferences have limited oversight, the militant nature of the membership that ANC history and rhetoric reinforces, and its ability to mobilize, becomes the dominant force in oversight procedures. The same cannot be said of the oversight responsibilities of the parliamentary caucus, however.

The ANC Code of Conduct stresses the need for MPs to remain accountable to the party, even before the state. Much like UNITA's structure, MPs are effectively subject to the authority of the NEC. According to MPs, "caucus meetings feature plenty of debate and represent the key sites of backbencher oversight of the executive," admittedly in a less free environment, while parliamentary challenges to government ministers "tend to arise from 'safe' issues that do not raise important questions of principle."[55] MPs have tried to secure special constitutional status for themselves, only to be voted down by the Mafikeng National Conference in 1997.[56] As of yet, no special status is garnered on MPs. The reluctance on behalf of MPs to challenge leadership's positions can be mostly explained by the previously mentioned intolerance of the leadership.

Tolerance of divergent views is an indispensible pillar of democracy, making it a necessary component for democratic organizations. The examples of leadership's tolerance that have emerged from the analysis thus far do not portray it in the best light. ANC leadership appears to be highly reactionary to criticism, and has developed a habit out of

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[55] Ibid. P. 209.
[56] Ibid.

attempting to discredit and silence opponents. When Jeremy Cronin, SACP leader and ANC Cabinet Minister, criticized leadership over the GEAR program he was labeled by the ANC presidential spokesman as a "frustrated individual, unfaithful and guilty of spreading deliberate lies."[57] When Julius Malema, former President of the ANC Youth League, in 2012 criticized President Jacob Zuma for running the party in a dictatorial manner and not delivering on political promises, he was suspended for five years, pending appeal.[58] Membership's fear of retaliation and rebuke by leadership can have the effect of severely stifling debate within the party.

Where the ANC excels in intra-party democracy is in its representation of women in leadership structures and in government ministries. It is the only party in this study to actually realize the SADC's Protocol on Gender and Development. Indeed, South Africa has one of the highest averages of women in parliament at 42.3%.[59] The ANC Constitution was amended in 2007 to ensure 50-50 parity "in all elected structures of the ANC to enable such effective participation."[60] This includes the executive, parliament, and local government; all levels of the organization. It also claims the ANC Women's League. The use of PR throughout the state and party apparatus has certainly contributed to this development. As

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[57] Ibid. P. 201.

[58] CNN Wire Staff. 2012. "ANC Bans Youth Leader Malema Over Criticism." *CNN*. 4 April. Johannesburg. Malema enjoys widespread support and is seen as a potential candidate for president in the future, while he claims dictatorial tendencies within the executive. Echoing this, various other parts of the ANC have raised cries against Zuma's perceived purges.

[59] Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2013. *Women in National Parliaments*. Updated 1 May. This number is even more remarkable when compared with the United States' 17.8% in Congress.

[60] ANC. 2012. African National Congress Constitution. Mangaung, South Africa. Rule 6.1.

time goes on, it appears this practice is becoming significantly entrenched.[61] This makes

sense given the role of women in the liberation struggle. The ANC's well-chronicled

position of a completely democratic society regardless of sex has been a central policy of

the organization, helping inform the party consciousness since the 1955 Freedom Charter.

Lastly, there is evidence that the party purse strings are becoming slightly more

relaxed. Like many African states, public funding in South Africa is based on a party's

representation in the legislature, with the ANC spending over half of this on allowances for

constituency offices.[62] At the 52nd National Conference in Polokwane, it was voted that all

membership fees should be allocated to the branches, but the 53rd National Conference

recognized that this had yet to be instituted and called for its immediate implementation.[63]

The ANC notably receives the majority of corporate funding in South Africa.[64] It is difficult

to get exact numbers pertaining to party economics, however, due to economic disclosure

being voluntary, and the lack of any funding limit in South Africa. The ANC leadership has

been accused on multiple occasions of misappropriating these funds, most recently stirring

up controversy over funds being used for an ANC councilor meeting in the Eastern Cape.[65]

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[61] According to EISA's comparative data, South African parties, with the exception of the ANC and COPE, lack quotas in their constitutions for gender parity, yet many are following suit by increasing women's participation to varying degrees.

[62] Lodge, and Scheidegger. *Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa*. P. 34.

[63] ANC. "53rd National Conference Resolutions." P. 81.

[64] Lodge, and Scheidegger. *Political Parties and Democratic Governance in South Africa*. P. 35.

[65] JBay News. 2013. "ANC Wastes Public Funds for Political Meeting." *JBayNews.com*. 11 May. Jeffrey's Bay, South Africa.

The picture that emerges is that of a leadership with a tight grasp on party finances, but not one that is overtly corrupt, with the exception of a few bad apples. The lack of transparency leaves party finances open to abuses though. This absence of pellucidity may prove too tempting for weaker willed members to ignore as democratic practices become more normalized, and members' revolutionary passions cool.

MDC

Following the consolidation of ZAPU into ZANU-PF, opposition parties in Zimbabwe had many false starts during the 1990s, none of which came close to challenging Mugabe. The MDC has changed that over the last decade. They have become the first opposition party in Zimbabwe to ascertain a genuine presence throughout the country. Their strongest support comes from mainly the urban centers of Harare and Bulawayo, as well as the Ndebele-populated southern region.[66] They have even established a footing, although diminutively, in traditional ZANU-PF provincial strongholds like Mashonaland Central and East.[67] They tend be weakest in rural areas, with ZANU-PF's violence driving many "party activists into the cities."[68] The autocratic rule of Mugabe stimulated the convergent forces that now make up the MDC, which include "trade unions, disgruntled intelligentsia, students, and the

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[66] ZESN (Zimbabwe Electoral Support Network). 2008. "Total Numbers of Local Authority Seats per Province." Zimbabwe. As was mentioned in Chapter Three, Sec. Zimbabwe, the reaseon for this robust southern support stems from the still-raw memories of the Gukuruhundi perpetrated there, resulting in ZAPU's demise.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Brian Raftopoulos. 2006. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the Movement for Democratic Change." in *Reflections on Democratic Politics in Zimbabwe*. 6-29. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. P. 6.

civil society movement."[69] The membership numbers of the MDC, like many African

political parties, are virtually impossible to know. Particularly because of the land

invasions, the MDC composition also includes white commercial farmers. ZANU-PF has

used this association to attack the MDC as front for white interest, invoking the still-

resonant liberation "ethos", the "view that only liberation parties could represent the 'will

of the people'," to paint the MDC as "collaborators."[70] The data does not support Mugabe's

claim, but it does show a willingness on the part of the MDC to abide by the non-racial

character of the constitution, even if some within the party seem reluctant to admit white

farmers.

The grassroots outreach corresponds to that of other African opposition parties

facing state repression. Based on the previous statements, outreach for rank-and-file MDC

members is most efficient in their urban redoubts. The lack of access to rural areas has

naturally curtailed much of the outreach efforts there. To enhance its cadres, the party uses

education programs, orientations, and workshops, like the one held by the party's Elections

Directorate in Harare on May 2013 that addressed over 900 hopeful parliamentary

candidates on the "MDC's values and principles, [and to] shun from any form of violence,

corruption and other vices."[71] Sachikonye notes, however, there does not exist an

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[69] Olaleye. *Negotiating the Impasse: Challenges and Prospects for Democratisation in Zimbabwe*. P. 54.

[70] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 2.

[71] MDC. 2013. "MDC Holds Candidate Orientation Before Primaries." Official Press Release. 24 May. Harare, Zimbabwe.

entrenched practice of public opinion polling, and that NGOs have historically filled this need.[72] Policy is communicated to the electorate through the MDC's publication *The Real Change Times*, compounded by statements, press releases and other communiqués. It is during campaign phases though when the MDC articulates its "policy positions in the form of manifestos."[73] This is evident in their timing of the release of the ART manifesto, coming just before elections due to be held in July or August 2013.[74]

The participation of rank-and-file members in developing these policies appears limited. While the data tends to agree there is a certain level of discussion on policy in the MDC, it is nowhere near the institutionalized levels reached by the ANC to influence the direction of policy. The Policy Council is ultimately responsible for research, determining policy direction, and developing those positions into distinct manifestos.[75] Also in contrast to the ANC is the lack of branch-level members at National Congresses and conferences. In fact, the only representatives branch members have at these events appear to be elected MPs, mayors, and chairpersons.[76] Most representation comes from the provincial level, as branches tend to be weak. LeBas's analysis describes the establishment of a branch as

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[72] Sachikonye. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe*. P. 26, 31.
[73] Ibid. P. 26.
[74] For more information on the ART platform, see the political environment section of this chapter, subsec. MDC.
[75] MDC (Movement for Democratic Change). 2000; amended 2011. Constitution of the Movement for Democratic Change. Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. Art. 10, Sec. 15. The president and secretary-general, as well as other upper-level executives, staff the Policy Council.
[76] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 6, Sec. 2.1(a-h), 6.3.

follows: "[An] individual would be provided with party flyers, instructed in how to organize a branch structure, and sent off to the constituency."[77] When in 2002 a mass protest was scheduled by leadership, rank-and-file members "expressed some degree of anger that the grass-roots structures had not been previously consulted."[78] Add to this the fact that the very structure of the MDC constitution allows for little-to-any participation of basic members, and it becomes evident that rank-and-file voices can be lost.

The competition for leadership, elections for both the internal party leadership and those running for state office, is where the rank-and-file can have the most impact. The MDC's multiplicative hierarchical structure offers the chance of leadership participation at various levels, consistent with the other parties of this study. Yet, it is the nature of MDC elections themselves that opens it up to more competitive contests for leadership, and provides ordinary members with virtually the only way in which to exercise oversight of party leaders. The MDC is the only party of this study to use a primary system, which is a system of internal elections to narrow the party's candidate list down to those who will challenge for office. This system tends to ensure the most accountability "because it removes power from political leaders and transfers it to the people."[79] It offers many candidates for the membership to select from, noting that many staunch party leaders have

[77] Adrienne LeBas. 2006. "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe". *Comparative Politics* July. 419-438. P. 433.
[78] Ibid. P. 434.
[79] Election Resource Centre. 2013. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy*. 11 January. Zimbabwe. P. 2.

been overturned in the current primaries, which began in May 2013.[80] There are inherent

flaws though, which will be discussed shortly.

MDC primaries happen in two phases: confirmation, and elections. Sachikonye

describes this complex process as:

> A procedure whereby candidates get nominated to contest in national and local
> elections. Aspiring candidates submit their résumés to a provincial committee,
> which puts their names on a panel list. The panel list of each constituency is then
> forwarded to the national council through the secretary general. The panel list of
> parliamentary candidates seeking nomination in each province is sent to district
> and ward committees that then choose nominees. For nomination, a candidate
> requires a simple majority. For re-nomination to a parliamentary seat, a candidate
> needs at least a two-thirds majority.[81]

Essentially, district and ward lists are whittled down to 2/3 of eligible candidates in a

preliminary election (confirmation), who will then go on to contest the position for which

they applied. The problem with this process in terms of intra-party democracy is that the

National Council ultimately approves all lists, making them the gatekeepers, while also

confining selection to leadership's predetermined preferences. The constitution grants the

National Council the power to "disqualify or reject any selected candidate where it is

satisfied that it is not in the interest of the party," and further allows it to choose its own

candidate in the event of such a disqualification.[82] The imposition of candidates has

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[80] Zimbabwe Standard. 2013. "MDC-T Bigwigs Fall in Primaries." *Zimbabwe Standard.* 26 May.
[81] Sachikonye. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe.* P. 29.
[82] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 16, Sec. 4, 5.

contributed to the "culture of clientelism that has perverted internal party politics," and

further alienates rank-and-file members.[83]

There is evidence of the National Council's manipulation in the current primaries.

Many members complain of being "subtly blocked from contesting against party

heavyweights through the controversial confirmation process."[84] This is exemplified in the

capital Harare, "where most of the standing committee members are unopposed after

aspiring candidates were disqualified."[85] The provinces have also pointed to a lack of

transparency and definitive criteria regarding elections.[86] The Elections Directorate cooks-

up the procedures for each recurring election, rather than having a definitive legal

framework to inform each election objectively. This does nothing to ensure "the selection

of competent candidates who would have been endorsed by their constituencies."[87]

Exacerbating this is the fact that the Elections Directorate is answerable to the National

Council.

Obviously, the portrait of a highly centralized party begins to emerge. The degree to

which leadership is centralized is illustrated in the party's fierce debate of whether or not

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[83] Election Resource Centre. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy*. P. 3.

[84] Brian Chitemba, and Paidamoyo Muzulu. 2013. "Political Deal Cutting as MDC Primaries Begin." *Zimbabwe Independent*. 24 May.

[85] Ibid. Many established party stalwarts were the beneficiaries of the National Council's intervention.

[86] Wongai Zhangazha. 2012. "MDC-T to Expel Errant Members." *Zimbabwe Independent*. 20 April.

[87] Election Resource Centre. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy*. P. 4.

to contest the 2005 senatorial elections. The National Council was split on the issue, with President Tsvangirai and his supporters opposed to standing in the elections, while secretary-general Ncube and his faction held that the party should contest them.[88] The National Council voted 33-31 to contest the elections, yet President Tsvangirai unilaterally declared that the MDC would not take part, stating, "I am President of this party. I am therefore going out of this and [will] announce to the world that the MDC will not participate in this election."[89] Tsvangirai believed he was following through with what the people wanted, and felt there was a disconnect between a "pro-senate" faction concerned with lofty intellectual ideals and that of the people's basic needs. Even though Tsvangirai's "views [resonated] with those of many Zimbabweans who feel the Senate [was] a waste of money," it does not dispel the fact that Tsvangirai overrode a democratic decision made by the party.[90] Other evidence for centralized decision–making is found in Tsvangarai's sometime use of unofficial "kitchen" cabinets, which "undermined the decisions of the elected leadership."[91]

The senatorial debate highlights another critical area concerning the MDC's internal democracy: factionalism, which is seen as the outcome of a lack of tolerance. The language

[88] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 13. For both their parts, Tsvangirai believed the party should not legitimize the Senate, which Mugabe had just instituted, by running for it; Ncube, however, believed that any political space, regardless of how limited, should be occupied.

[89] Ibid.

[90] BBC News. 2005. "Split over Strategy Weakens MDC." *BBC News*. 27 October.

[91] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 9.

of the MDC constitution is very inclusive, but the actions of leadership can contradict this.

The fault lines over the Senate issue were initially seen to be along ethnicity, with

Tsvangirai belonging to the Shona ethnic group, and his critics comprised of mainly

Ndebele.[92] The MDC, however, "largely transcended the regional and ethnic identities that

had previously structured party politics in Zimbabwe," and it soon became clear these

tensions were between the intellectual/labor roots of the MDC.[93] Through mutual

mistrust, the divide grew to the breaking point, and along with reasons that will be

explained momentarily, the MDC fractured.[94] This division seems less pronounced

following the formal split, but much of the data suggests that the presence of factionalism is

manifest in the current primary elections.[95]

The MDC has weak oversight mechanisms and lacks organizational checks and

balances, which is apparent in the previous examples. The most glaring case of the MDC's

lack of oversight on leadership is in its exploiting of parallel power structures, known as

action committees, which most scholars and analyst on Zimbabwean politics agree was

actually at the heart of the MDC split after the Senate election. The failure of the mass

protest in 2002 led to the formation of these parallel structures, created "to facilitate top-

down organizing and speedy response to orders from the national leadership, [and] were

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[92] Ibid. P. 10.
[93] LeBas. "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe" P. 423.
[94] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 15.
[95] Factionalism tends to revolve around local personalities and the contesting of positions within
   the party and government.

seen to be superior to official party structures precisely because they were less democratic, required less explanation of party motivations or strategy, and were composed of more militant party followers."[96] While they were intended to act as a stabilizing mechanism in the face of ZANU-PF's political assaults, the action committees are prone to violence, and have been known to "coerce popular participation in mass actions or use other tactics that run counter to the MDC's liberal democratic principles."[97] This was the case leading up to the Senate elections.

When the Management Committee was tasked with finding out who was responsible for the violence, it was instantly in a precarious position since there were some members of this committee who were making use of the parallel structures, and as Brian Raftopoulos points out, "they were in fact judges in their own case."[98] Ultimately, no consequences were brought to bear on party leaders, only that of a few party youths were expelled.[99] The use of these parallel structures has opened the MDC to criticisms of violence being endemic within the party. Alleged members of a rival faction attacked Trudy Stevenson, an MDC-N MP, in 2006, some of whom she identified as members of the MDC-T's parallel structures.[100] In the run-up to the 2011 National Congress, the Zimbabwe Election Support

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[96] LeBas. "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe" P. 434.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 9.
[99] Ncube makes a point of this in his disciplinary letter expelling Tsvangirai. In it he also mentions that these expelled members were reinstated on the orders of the president.
[100] Trudy Stevenson. 2006. "Trudy Stevenson Exclusive." *Newzimbabwe.com*.

Network (ZESN) reported the use of violence by party candidates in the proceeding campaigning phase.[101] Since the highly public break of the MDC and the signing of the GPA, the national leadership has relied less on this dubious institution, but an MDC commission established in 2012 to investigate violence found evidence of certain executives and candidates employing parallel structures at a provincial level.[102]

So far, the MDC's commitment to intra-party democracy seems tepid. The party's figures in relation to gender equality helps bolster this antithetical view. Zimbabwe too is signatory to the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, making the MDC's compliance obligatory. The constitution has no definitive language declaring 50-50 parity within the party. The closest it comes to enshrining it in the foundational document is by stating that the party will strive for gender parity "as much as possible."[103] It neither guarantees parity, nor provides any mechanism to enforce this measure other than the will of the National Council. In the 2008 harmonized elections, only 11.96% of the MDC candidates for the House of Assembly were women, while it managed 30% for the Senate.[104] Currently, the NSC is about 15% women, while the larger NEC has an estimated 36%.[105] It will be

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[101] ZESN. 2011. "Ballot Update." No. 1. April-May. Harare, Zimbabwe. P. 4.
[102] Zhangazha. "MDC-T to Expel Errant Members." *Zimbabwe Independent.*
[103] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 6, Sec. 4.3.6.
[104] EISA (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa). 2008. *Women Candidates in the 2008 Elections.* April. Johannesburg. While 30% falls short of the 50% goal, this conformed to the MDC's then-current gender quota. Parity was not adopted as a policy until the 2011 Bulawayo Congress.
[105] This calculation was made using current rosters for both committees.

interesting to see how these percentages may change in the next national elections, due sometime at the end of summer 2013.

Lastly, party economics of the MDC remains surreptitious. The Political Parties (Finance) Act states that any party that receives more than 5% of the vote is entitled to state funding based on their representation. Party accounting is done internally, and "is not meant for public consumption."[106] This makes the MDC's finances, and its distribution, impossible to deduce. What is known is that the MDC "relies on business donors, membership dues as well as rental revenue from leasing properties in Harare" to furnish the party's coffers.[107] The National Council retains firm control over party funds, deciding the "manner in which money may be withdrawn for Party use, including a prescription of which officers shall be signatories to Party accounts.[108] Given the degree of centralization that has been alluded to throughout this section, one could reasonably draw the conclusion that national leaders tightly guard their control over party finances.

Final Observations

Party inclusiveness, and its integrants, has certainly shown to be the most critical aspect of the framework constructed throughout this thesis. Any research on intra-party democracy going forward would benefit from expanding this component. The Angolan opposition party UNITA appears to have above-average levels of intra-party democracy. UNITA has

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[106] Sachikonye. *Political Parties and the Democratisation Process in Zimbabwe.* P. 33.
[107] Ibid.
[108] MDC. Constitution of the MDC. Art. 11, Sec. 3.

made significant strides in its development as a democratic political party. Its high levels of organization during its years as a liberation guerrilla army have certainly contributed to UNITA's well-maintained apparatus today. It has successfully managed to transcribe its ideals constitutionally, and develop new, concise, and democratic policies; anathema to many post-liberation political parties. Having said this, UNITA still faces substantial challenges to consolidating democratic values in the party. The structure of the party is highly centralized, with authority oriented hierarchically. Much of the constitutional power is vested in the executive branch, with policy priorities and development determined there. UNITA will need to disseminate some of this authority to other organs, as well as relax some presidential qualifications if it wants to make way for legitimate competition. Stability rather than competition in the presidency may be the desired effect however, given the MPLA's hostility towards opposition parties, UNITA in particular. Participation for other leadership positions has certainly increased, especially among women, who now constitute a little over 30% of the leadership. The use of PR in elections encourages this positive trend. Rank-and-file participation is limited, but growing as more access is achieved throughout the country. All evidence points to a political party that is growing more accustomed to democratic procedures, and aware of their own vital role in continuing consolidation efforts.

The ANC displays high levels intra-party democracy, with a few caveats. It is easily the highest scoring party in this study. The long held beliefs of the ANC have helped it achieve a prestigious place within South African politics. For over a century it has led the

struggle from opposition party to dominant party. Overall, the elements of intra-party democracy seem to have established firm roots in the organization. The percentage of women represented in the party structures and in government is one of the highest in the world, and grassroots outreach is extensive and genuine. Though intra-party democracy levels are high in the ANC, there remains room for considerable improvement. The data shows white members have a difficult time achieving positions of importance within the party, while basic-level branch members believe there does exist barriers to non-Africans' advancement. While leaders tend to set the agenda for policy, members have a role in its advancement. The lack of input in crafting resolutions has tended to erode cadre quality. Another potential explanation for this could be that after almost 20 years, the normalizing of democratic values, with its associated devolution of quality, may have set in.

It is no surprise the ANC has embraced 'democratic centralism' when one takes into account its origin as a liberation movement. The organization allows for active participation, but only recently has the upper echelons of the party been opened. This has led to leadership becoming insulated and unresponsive at times. The isolation has caused conflict, even violent outbursts. There is a need for leadership to actively engage members, but this gap can also be seen "as the inevitable outcome of the tensions between the militant activism that that was so indispensible in mobilising the ANC's 'struggle' constituency, and a leadership increasingly attuned to the compromises of parliamentary politics."[109] Deployment committees, on the other hand, occupy a dubious place in the ANC

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[109] Lodge. "The ANC and the Development of Party Politics in Modern South Africa." P. 204.

hierarchy. Its unelected nature and open structure makes it vulnerable to politicizing, and Booysen notes that "questions were raised by NEC members about the integrity of the national deployment committee," and "after its brief and controversial formal existence, the deployment committee was suspended in 2001."[110] The national deployment committee received a renewed mandate in 2007.[111] These need desperate restructuring and more independence. It may perhaps be better to be a function of the state altogether. Either way, further analysis of deployment committees will show a need to reorganize local elections.

Member oversight of leadership relies on protest, and the creation of lobbies within the party. The party exhibits a centralized leadership, highly buffeted by a fundamental membership, imbued with "the spirit and culture of activism."[112] Where leadership lacks intra-party democracy is in its fostering of conflict through its intolerance. The reactionary nature of leadership has kept some members from challenging the structures of power. In spite of all this, the ANC has continually committed itself to leading the cause of democratization in South Africa. Whether or not it will continue to occupy that role will remain to be seen. One could argue that these deficiencies in internal democracy led to the creation of the ANC-offshoot opposition party the Congress of the People (COPE) that occurred "in the heat of Mbeki's Polokwane [Conference] defeat and a period of

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[110] Booysen. *The African National Congress and the Regeneration of Political Power*. P. 374. The NEC and NWC effectively took over deployment duties for the next six years.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid. P. 118.

antagonistic populist mobilisation."[113] One could also point out that the broad nature of the ANC would potentially produce a viable opposition, especially given the intensely debated 'crisis' leadership is going through.[114]

Democratic foundations and an active membership have curtailed potentially undemocratic behavior. The party strides the line between stability and freedom that can be so elusive in African politics, and has managed to keep itself relevant in a consistently changing society. The ANC should not take its challenges to intra-party democracy lightly, as this can have dire long-term effects. Their vow of carrying out their ideals of non-racialism appears languid in practice. Yet, the ANC's commitment to democratic ideals over such a long period, and its seeming ability to rejuvenate itself, encourages the hope of the ANC's positive role in South Africa's continued democratic consolidation.

Unlike the other parties of this study, the MDC displays low levels of intra-party democracy. Yet, the MDC strives to meet democratic ideals. There are elements within the party structure that can enhance intra-party democracy, but also many that hinder it. Complex is only the beginning when attempting to articulate Zimbabwean politics. The MDC is a natural product of this convolution, with its own corresponding inherent intrepidness and imbroglios. While the MDC possesses serious shortcomings, many ardent Zimbabweans dedicated to the peaceful, democratic transformation of the state make up its

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[113] Ibid. P. 325.
[114] The dust is just now settling from the Mbeki-Zuma power transition, and much of the data is conflicted as to whether there is a crisis in leadership, and if so, what is the extent and impact?

composition. Much of the this support is drawn from the urban centers of Zimbabwe, but as violence decreases, the party is developing more and more links with the countryside, having long been the domain of ZANU-PF. The language of the MDC constitution is rooted in non-racial, non-sexist liberal democracy, and opens its structures to all. In practice, the MDC has been mostly successful in achieving this. Perhaps even more acutely than South Africa, race plays a pivotal role in the discourse of Zimbabwean politics, and at times some MDC members have expressed displeasure with the admittance of whites, specifically white farmers. Not bowing to this pressure has illustrated the MDC's commitment to non-racial democracy, though it has been known to curtail white involvement in "an attempt to deal with the labeling of the MDC as a 'white controlled' party.[115]

Because of the robust presence of the MDC in cities and communal areas, outreach has historically been more active there. The political space created by the SADC-facilitated GPA has allowed for increased conducting of political education drives, policy workshops, and other party activities. There is a critical need, however, to engage the membership more sincerely and more routinely over the development and adoption of party policies. An analysis of the MDC shows that rank-and-file participation is insufficient, both at national gatherings and in determining policy. The problem stems directly from the composition of the MDC constitution, which has little-to-no institutional constructs to ensure adequate participation of grassroots members.

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[115] Raftopoulos. "Reflections on Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe: The Politics of the MDC." P. 12. Past examples in this analysis illustrate that censuring occurred during periods of pitched political violence, making the MDC sensitive to ZANU-PF's accusations.

The primary system used in MDC elections offers its members greater opportunity of choice in selecting its representatives, and encourages more accountability of solicitors to their constituencies. Primary elections are a good start to ensuring intra-party democracy, but a report by the Elections Resource Centre found that "internal party systems and regulations for candidate selection are not precise enough to allow the democratic selection of candidates."[116] There are two caveats to the MDC's practice. First, the National Council must initially approve the lists of candidates to be provided to members, thus subjecting members' preferences to the governing body's proclivities. Second, primaries create competition over scarce positions within the party, which has shown to lead to factionalism, and episodes of violence. The National Council has played arbiter in candidate selection, most recently resulting in some party heavyweights going unchallenged in elections. While this may be to protect senior members, it could also be viewed as a move by the MDC to maintain continuity and stability heading into what will be historic national elections. The logical need for this confirmation process is apparent when considering the specters of corruption and violence that party leaders must always be vigilant for.

Much of the power is vested in the national executive. The MDC shares the highly centralized nature that characterizes the structures of parties like ZANU-PF and the ANC. Yet, both of them evolved out of Marxist-inspired national liberation movements, while the MDC coalesced from the NCA/labor interactions of the late 1990s. Whether or not the

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[116] Election Resource Centre. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy.* P. 1.

committee system has served the MDC well remains for further debate. Tolerance has been an issue for the MDC, but appears to be along more nascent social lines (intellectual/labor), rather than ethnicity. Intolerance seems to manifest itself more in squabbles between the two MDC parties.

There exists almost no systematic oversight of party leadership. The reliance on parallel power structures, or action committees, has become a challenge to intra-party democracy. For a party that has had to shift into survival mode, which was the case between 2005-2008, it is understandable to rely on these structures in order to endure, and provide much needed stability. But the overreliance on them can have the effect of eroding and undermining democratic principles. Chan notes that Tsvangirai would use "the parallel structure even when there was no immediate emergency."[117] The tendency to employ parallel structures, however, has declined after the formation of the GNU in 2009.

There is engagement with women, but there is a lack of genuine consultation that seems to be a reflection of patriarchy in Zimbabwean society. In an article by Grace Kwinjeh, she writes, "that unless the MDC is prepared to 'dismantle the exhausted patriarchal model of liberation' the new Zimbabwe will simply be a continuation of the old albeit with different faces."[118] Only the NEC manages to obtain over 30% female representation. A reanalysis will have to be conducted after the next elections to determine

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[117] Stephen Chan. 2010. *Citizen of Zimbabwe: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangarai*, 2nd ed. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press. P. 99.
[118] Grace Kwinjeh. 2007. "Dismantling Patriarchy in the MDC." *Pambazuka News*. 31 October.

if the MDC makes any improvements in realizing the SADC gender protocol. Finally, the

only knowledge MDC economics imparts in regards to intra-party democracy is a

confirmation of the centralization of leadership, and a need to develop more transparent

standards for party finances.

It is easy to forget in the maelstrom of Zimbabwean politics that the MDC is still

young, and has catapulted to national prominence very quickly. They have a majority in

parliament, and seem posed to capture the presidency in the upcoming elections. They

have the principles sufficient for a democratic party, but reforms will be needed, and

clearly a democratic culture is still being conditioned.

The evidence from the research confirms that political parties are fundamental

constituents of a democracy. Further, the data suggests that efficient, democratic parties

are essential for the continued consolidation of democratic values and practices within a

society. Conversely, parties that only speak to democratic values but lack the practices can

decidedly hinder consolidation efforts. The hypothesis of this study, that decreasing

adherence to internal democratic procedures within a party leads to party fracturing,

seems to be confirmed in the analysis. The MDC, which exhibits the lowest levels of intra-

party democracy in this study, has split into four separate parties since 2005, making it

difficult to challenge ZANU-PF's dominance.[119] The ANC, on the other hand, was shown to

have the highest levels of intra-party democracy. As a result, the ANC has managed to

[119] Election Resource Centre. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy.* P. 4. These factions include the MDC-T, MDC-N, MDC, and MDC-99. It is easy to imagine the confusion this can create when discussing Zimbabwean politics.

maintain a solid membership-base. The only exception to this was the spawning of COPE, but for a party as old as the ANC, its not uncommon to have a splinter group. UNITA has also fairly maintained stability within the party.

The beginning of this thesis addressed the possible affect of authoritarian culture on these parties. Ali Mazrui, a renowned Kenyan scholar, argues that culture has a profound impact on politics today that cannot be disregarded.[120] The Election Resource Centre in Zimbabwe feels "internal party democracy has a wider impact on national governance, [as] it enhances a necessary democracy culture within political parties that will naturally transcend to the society at large."[121] The culture correlation is evident in the findings of this study. Centralization of power is the hallmark of an authoritarian regime, and can, at various times, be applied to the nature of ruling parties in Angola, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The findings show that high levels of centralization exist in all the parties included. Of course, UNITA and the ANC's history as liberation movements have led to the natural development of party centralization, or "democratic centralism", due to its initial hierarchical military structure. The ANC has certainly done the best in modernizing into a political party, but this comes as no surprise considering the intellectual foundations of the party dating back over 100 years. Where the culture of authoritarianism is most apparent is in the centralized structure of the MDC. Many within the MDC have grown up knowing only one power in Zimbabwe: ZANU-PF. Yet, the MDC did not start as a liberation

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[120]Chan. *Citizen of Zimbabwe: Conversations with Morgan Tsvangarai*, 2nd ed. P. 31.
[121] Election Resource Centre. *The Impact of Zimbabwe's Political Party Candidate Selection Procedures on Democracy*. P. 1.

movement, but formed before the millennium as a political party based on constitutionalism. The research has shown that the structure and functions of the MDC are almost identical to those of ZANU-PF. Their committee system structure, along with its root in the labor movement of Zimbabwe, contributes to the authoritarian culture now found in the MDC.

Conclusion

Over the course of this thesis political parties have been scrutinized to determine the use and degree of intra-party democracy in their organizations. The analysis included three different opposition, or former opposition, political parties: the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in Angola, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe. The study provided not only an examination of parties in the SADC, but parties that evolved in states with different colonial experiences. To penetrate the veneer of these parties a historical analysis was conducted of the case states. This revealed the historic dynamics that led to the development of the armed struggle in these states as opposed to other African regions, which would greatly inform the parties in the future. Indeed, the states found here were some of the last to attain independence in Africa. To further appreciate the mentality of the parties currently, it was important to understand their past. To this aim, an historical analysis of the parties themselves was conducted. Party history provided the needed context to understand not just the structure and disposition parties currently hold, but also the critical findings of this study. In order to obtain these findings, the parties were measured by criteria made evident from immersion in the data. These benchmarks include: the political environment, a state and party's legal framework concerning political parties, a party's inclusiveness, and gender concerns and economics.

Concluding Points

The purpose of this study is manifold. Besides determining levels of intra-party democracy and providing a regional analysis, one of the main objectives of this study was to develop a framework in order to measure parties. At the risk of redundancy, the introduction points out that scholarship on the internal functioning of political parties is relatively fresh, especially in Africa, and there exists no definitive framework for analysis of intra-party democracy. In fact, scholars have yet to agree on an unequivocal definition for this phenomenon. While this thesis does not claim to have created a framework or concrete definition, its aim was to help further this desire, and gain a better understanding of democratization in the region. This thesis could not have accomplished this without the insightful and informative literature of those who helped developed this debate. Lastly, another goal of this study included showing whether or not authoritarian culture in the case states impacted party structure and behavior.

According to the findings, parties were found to be lacking in areas of leadership competition, tolerance, and oversight. Across the board, competition for top leadership positions within parties remains very limited to all members, with the MDC perhaps most restrictive with its predetermined candidate lists. However, lower and mid-level leadership positions tend to be more open to competition, which can lead to more robust contests for higher offices in the future. Tolerance can and is an issue in every society, and with the many social cleavages that can appear in African societies it is reasonable to find lower levels of tolerance within parties. UNITA's more militaristic background does not make it

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more accommodating of divergent positions. The ANC is arguably the most tolerant party of this study, yet they can be given to incendiary rhetoric, and overreaction on the part of leadership. The MDC's intolerance is the most prone to give rise to violence. Violence in the MDC is not quite systematic, but there is an affinity that reflects the daily political violence that has come to characterize Zimbabwe. Lack of oversight seems to be the most deficient component of intra-party democracy. UNITA and MDC members have virtually no oversight over leadership other than party elections, while the ANC membership has developed into a quasi-lobby that can act as a bulwark to its leaders. Few oversight mechanisms are included in the structure of party constitutions, if any at all.

These conditions have affected another critical area of intra-party democracy, the membership. The leadership of the parties takes point when it comes to determining and developing policy, marginalizing ordinary members. The findings show that the UNITA and the MDC's grassroots outreach efforts are moderate at best. This tepid consultation stems partly from the centralization of leadership, but is probably more indicative of the fact that political violence and intimidation makes certain areas of the state hard to access for those parties. These parties are also far less resourceful than the ANC, which has high levels of rank-and-file member participation and can obviously access all the provinces of the state. Like their constitutions imply, parties are open to all adult citizens to join, and there is no systematic evidence that they do not follow this rule.

The parties score well in regard to striving for gender parity in its structures, especially when compared with other regions outside Africa. The ANC's 50-50 gender

parity in all party structures is an example to political parties not just in Africa, but the world over. The MDC seems the least committed to the SADC's 2015 gender parity goal, and shows that it still has a need to overcome the culture of patriarchy prevalent in Zimbabwean society. UNITA on the other hand is making strides towards parity, but even with a 1/3-gender quota, this still falls short of the parity target. No definitive statements can made on party economics concerning intra-party democracy except that it points to a severe lack of transparency, and can have implications for accountability.

These findings enhance our understanding of how deep democratic concepts have taken root within the societies of this study. The findings have hopefully illuminated not just the practices and legal structure of the parties, but also the extent to which democratic values have been assimilated into traditional values and how parties conceptualize themselves in that context. In addition to the course of the parties, the findings also strengthen our perception of the SADC's democratic trajectory, at least in part. The study was limited in a few significant ways, however. The most conspicuous restraint was being limited to desk research, as opposed to conducting interviews and observations from the field. In practical terms, a journey to the Continent for this study was not feasible. Another constraint was the lack of data on the UNITA. Certainly decades of civil war has contributed to this, but Santana in his analysis points to high levels of mistrust among political players and the lack of a "research culture" in Angola.[1] In addition, most data are in Angola's

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[1] Augusto Santana. 2006. *Political Parties and Political Evolution in Angola*. Johannesburg: EISA. P. 53.

adoptive national language, Portuguese. And of course, the inherent limitations of the researcher are included.

This study is meant to be a starting point for analyzing levels of intra-party democracy, and there is a need for further, more extensive research. The model herein comprises a broad framework for the analysis of intra-party democracy, but the criteria for this determination can be expanded, or focused on more intensely. There is a greater need for a more systematic model for evaluation. Parties included in the thesis tend to sacrifice democratic practices in order to maintain stability, and the correlation this implies needs to be explored more thoroughly. Overall, the scholarship on the internal functions of political parties in Africa is burgeoning, but there remains much to be discovered. Also, this humble model can be applied, with variation, to other parties in different regions of the world.

Policy Recommendations

If this study can offer any recommendations to the case parties, it would be to create institutional structures within the party to guarantee oversight of the leadership; structures independent of leadership that would have the power to enforce its decisions. The parties of this study have informal or weak oversight mechanisms, and need something more systematic. Many of the problems of intra-party democracy stems from the lack of membership participation in determining policy, and parties will need to create mechanisms that ensure more active participation. This is especially true in the ANC, where there is a lack of genuine participation in leadership among white members. A mechanism will be needed by the ANC to ensure their non-racial stance. National leadership tends to

influence what gets put on the policy agenda, with rank-and-file members in a more policy-advisory-role. At least in the case of the ANC, the time may have come for internal primary elections to open up leadership and encourage accountability.

It is worth noting that none of the party constitutions have a regulation stipulating term limits for leadership. The absence of term limits could be due to the maintenance of stability in the party, which makes sense for the MDC and UNITA, but the more developed ANC shows signs that the time has come for limits to be placed. The state electoral commissions, with the exception of South Africa's IEC, need major reforms to ensure accountability of party leadership. In Angola and Zimbabwe, the electoral commissions, which are intended to be independent bodies, are highly susceptible to the ruling party's influence. Their independence is crucial for democratic consolidation.

It may also be time to begin the decentralization of power throughout party structures. The data has shown that national leadership of the case parties tends to rely on this centralized composition. Lastly, while the analysis of party economics could not confirm much about internal democracy, it did exhibit a need for more transparency in party accounting, which also speaks to the necessity for decentralization at the national level. The lack of transparency in finances illustrates how this can create issues of trust for the community and party members alike.

Hopefully this thesis has helped debunk the popular Western opinion that the Continent is permeated by violence, and has helped to show that democracy is a living, thriving, and dynamic force there. While there is violence, Africa is vast, and one cannot simply apply a

blanket analysis to describe an entire continent peopled by thousands of nations. It could

be argued that the democratic awareness and discussion active in the Southern region and

around the Continent is more vociferous than in the West, particularly the United States.

Political parties in Southern Africa, and in all democratic states, must begin conceptualizing

themselves as more than just actors aggressively seeking state power, but as learning

centers who have a sacred function to encourage and pass on democratic values to an ever-

developing society.

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