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Aims and Scope

Southern African Peace and Security Studies (SAPSS) publishes rigorous theoretical and empirical research in all areas of peace and security studies concerning the region of southern Africa, with a particular focus on practical policy-oriented research. The journal will also address evolving developments within the discipline. Articles address critical themes or case analyses and are contextualized within the scholarly and policy literature and existing debates on peace and security in Africa. Each issue contains a mixture of peer-reviewed research articles, policy briefs and book reviews. SAPSS is an open access journal and all articles published are available online at www.saccps.org/journal.

The Dearth of Democracy in Southern Africa

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To the casual observer, the plethora of elections southern Africa has been going through bodes well for the democracy in the region. However, a closer examination of trends underline the fact that freedom is on the retreat whilst authoritarianism is on the rise across the region.

Windhoek, the Namibian capital, is synonymous with press freedom. It was the city which lent its name to the Windhoek Declaration which inaugurated World Press Freedom Day 24 years ago. The Windhoek Declaration emphasised the importance of press freedom for the health of all liberal democracies. The Declaration emerged from a country which had just achieved independence from apartheid South Africa and the country's leadership was at pains to emphasise its democratic credentials. The mood of Namibian journalists in recent years, however, is far more sombre. The country's journalists lament that government departments often ignore written requests from journalists for information thereby undermining transparency and accountability. Where journalists highlight weaknesses in service delivery or neglect of duty, the government responds with hostility towards the media. Yet Namibia is one of southern Africa's better performing countries when it comes to press freedom. In other countries of this blighted region, journalists have been intimidated, harassed, taken to court and in some instances killed.

Issues of press freedom however cannot be separated from other freedoms like the freedom of association or assembly and ultimately is related to the relative dearth of democracy in Southern Africa. Indeed, the region is a classic example of what Fareed Zakaria referred to as `illiberal democracies' where regimes have the trappings of democracy such as going through an election but the regimes are fundamentally illiberal in their hostility to a free press, civil society and the political opposition (Zakaria 1997). Indeed, these regimes are fundamentally authoritarian in nature. Zimbabwe is perhaps the quintessential example of such an illiberal democracy at work - despite the charade of hosting an election. According to Amnesty International's deputy regional director for Southern Africa, Noel Kutuwa, "Zimbabwe is a very sophisticated state and uses sophisticated methods of repression to punish those who stand against it, and the crisis has internalised within ZANU-PF while factions fight for power" (Nicolson 2015). The fact that Zimbabwe's President, Robert Mugabe, currently heads both the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) (Nicolson 2015) beggars belief and is a scant reminder that his African peers demonstrate total disregard for his actions which has brutalised his own people and has brought his country into penury.

Yet the situation in Zimbabwe is far from unique. The Amnesty International report on Southern Africa demonstrates systematic abuse on the part of governments against those who espouse the freedoms of expression, association and assembly. The brute force of the state, in other words, is used to crush legitimate dissent. The litany of such abuse captured in the report makes depressing reading. The report exposes how force was

…used on peaceful demonstrators and unlawful killings of those challenging President Eduardo do Santos in Angola. Swaziland experienced ongoing violence, arrests and prosecutions against those advocating for human rights and political reform. Sexual minorities have been targeted in Zambia, and thousands of people have been forcefully evicted from their homes in a number of countries (Nicolson 2015).

In Zambia, meanwhile, the ruling party has made use of the draconian Public Order Act as a means to intimidate and harass opposition political parties (Freedom House 2015).

In South Africa, the regional hegemon, democracy has suffered blow after blow with creeping politicization of the state security apparatus and the justice system. Further, according to Human Rights Watch we have over the past year witnessed increasing incidents of police violence in South Africa from Mohutling in Brits, North West province to Relela in Kgapane, Limpopo Province to Bekkersdal in Gauteng Province (Human Rights Watch 2015). Neither is this unique to South Africa. In Tanzania, there has been a growing trend of extra-judicial violence on the part of the security forces (Freedom House 2015).

Under the circumstances, it is imperative for academic and policy-makers to re-examine prospects for democratic consolidation in Southern Africa. It is in this spirit, that this issue of the journal is being offered to our readership. Given the centrality of leaders and how they shape their respective polities, Leon Hartwell provides a critical comparison between the leadership styles of Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe. Whilst both had a similar childhood, education and both played key roles in establishing military wings for their respective liberation movements, their style of governance differed enormously. Whilst the Mandela Presidency was characterised by reconciliation and openness, Mugabe's rule has been characterised by human rights abuses. Understanding the choices made by these two presidents is crucial if we wish to come to grips with the dearth of democracy in the region.

Maximilian Mainza, in his penetrating study of the Zambian polity, explores the relationship between political competition and political instability. Mainza critically explores the popular perception that political competition should improve government responsiveness in the same way that competitive economic markets yield benefits to consumers. From the perspective of various governance and fragility indicators Mainza demonstrates that political instability in Zambia has risen due to the increased political competition.

On a more positive note, Singh and Ngubane examine Mozambique's democratic consolidation since the signing of the Rome General Peace Accords in 1992. For more than two decades, the country has been making steady progress at democratic consolidation. Interestingly, progress in the political sphere has mirrored advances in the economic realm. Indeed, since the ending of its civil war, Mozambique has achieving sustained economic growth with attendant levels of poverty reduction. This, in turn, raises the intriguing question

of whether proponents of democracy should not also pay equal attention to economic growth and poverty reduction as a means towards political stability. After all democratic consolidation theory cogently argues that a liberal democracy is unattainable in the absence of a sizeable middle class – once more highlighting the interface between politics and economics.

In the final article, Virgil Hawkins explores media coverage – specifically that of the *New York* Times - of the Angolan peace process. One of his most important findings was that the conflict in Angola did not lead whether in the violent phase or the post-violence phase, and that coverage was quantitatively low and sporadic. This is all the more significant given the fact the United States was actively involved in the Angolan "civil war". From the perspective of democratic consolidation, this dearth of international media coverage is a problem since it does not bring to the attention of the world the excesses of the likes of Mswati III and Mugabe. Indeed, even in the context of coverage of Africa, southern Africa plays a distant second fiddle to Boko Haram and Al Shabaab. In the absence of an international media focusing a spotlight on their growing authoritarianism; Southern African 'leaders' continue to brutalise their hapless citizens.

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Democratic Consolidation in Search of Peace:
A Tempered Assessment of the Mozambican Post-War Experience

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Abstract

This article considers Mozambique's contemporary peace and security environment through a treatment of the country's developmental trajectory, in pursuit of democratic consolidation, since the signing of the Rome General Peace Accords in October 1992. Through an examination of the country's early negotiation processes and compromises, in order to secure peace, as well as the political and economic dispensation which followed as a result, it is argued that many current challenges concerning security and stability find meaning and content in the unique set of external and internal factors that informed its nascent democratic transition. In so doing, the paper considers, inter alia, the development of divergent political cultures between the country's two largest political parties, the nature of its civil society, and a number of external, international, factors which give shape to the pillars upon which peace currently rests in Mozambique. The rising potential for longer-term instability in the country is then illustrated, whilst dually underscoring what aspects of the country's post-war experience provide reason for optimism, with particular regard to the country's 2014 general elections.

Introduction

Since the signing of the Rome General Peace Accords on the 4th of October 1992, Mozambique has featured as one of the most prominent examples often cited by a host of international actors as a definitive 'success story' in terms of the country's transition out of a protracted period of civil strife[1] and toward a sustainable and robust peace. For just over two decades, the country has well rid itself of the spectre of its past by actively pursuing widespread democratic consolidation, whilst achieving sustained economic growth, considerable levels of poverty reduction and a growing international profile based on the country's renewed geo-strategic significance (particularly in terms of transnational energy interests). While there have been significant

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[1] Note that conflict in this context refers to both the civil war that ensued on the eve of the country's independence between as well as the armed struggle that directly preceded it.

challenges that the country has had to grapple with throughout its transition, the developments during the period immediately prior- and post- the 2014 general elections[2], do however, provide considerable reason to pause and reexamine some of the fundamental dimensions of the Mozambican post-war experience that has come to define the overarching political economy of peace throughout the country. This article thus seeks to re-examine and offer a critical appraisal of the foundations of peace in Mozambique in light of the aforementioned period. It also seeks to provide a set of recommendations that aim to allow for a more tempered understanding of the many dimensions upon which this peace has come to rest.

A democratic compromise: ending the war

One of the most critical junctures in Mozambique's recent history, and the basis for reexamination of the pillars of peace in the country, has been the annulment of the Rome General Peace Accords (hereafter referred to as the general peace accords - GPA) that ended the country's 16-year long civil strife between the ruling Mozambique Liberation Front (*Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* or *Frelimo*) and the Mozambican National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* or *Renamo*) in October 2013. The declaration, made by Renamo, that led to this followed a government crackdown on the Satunjira base camp of Renamo, in response to numerous military attacks against the government, primarily concentrated in the central regions of the Sofala province (Dzinesa 2014). Consequently, Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, removed himself from the public sphere and went into hiding for the greater part of an ensuing low-level insurgency. Nearly two years after the initial skirmishes that ultimately led to the annulment of the GPA, a new peace deal was reached between the government and Renamo on the 25th of August 2014 (BBC News 2014).

Whilst the initial skirmishes, and subsequent - relatively short-lived - insurgency, did not escalate to considerable levels of violence comparable to the country's pre-1992 situation, this recent phase of armed contestation belies a far more significant indication of the country's ability to manage and ensure security and stability, as well as a gauge of its relative level of democratic consolidation since 1992. Indeed, based on the development path of the country in the post-war period, democratic consolidation - in the broadest sense of the concept - is, arguably, one of the greatest variables upon which the sustainability of the country's peace is dependent.

With reference to former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's seminal Report "An Agenda for Democratization", the dominant theory and global discourse on democracy in the period surrounding Mozambique's transition was firmly based on a growing international acknowledgment that "a culture of democracy is fundamentally a culture of peace" (Boutros-Ghali 1996: 6). In recognition of the wave of democratisation that followed in the wake

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[2] At the time of writing the article, the opposition Renamo Party had pronounced its decision not to participate in the country's parliamentary processes due to its rejection of the outcomes of the elections which they allege were fraudulent. In spite of this threat, and despite Renamo having already boycotted the Provincial government level processes to swear-in new members, the ruling Frelimo party had indicated that government business would continue as planned.

of the Cold War, Boutros-Ghali confidently affirmed the view that democracy serves as an essential underpinning of the preservation of peace and security in the international system, as well as an arguable guarantor of basic human rights and justice, and should thus be considered as a necessary prerequisite for the realisation of any meaningful economic and social development (Ibid: 5). With particular regard to peace and security, democratic institutions and processes were further argued as inherently beneficial in the way in which they channeled competing interests into arenas of discourse and debate that allowed for compromise, such that outcomes could be regarded as legitimate and thus respected by all disputants. Moreover, the regular conduct of elections based on universal suffrage was underscored as a particularly effective means of ensuring accountability and transparency, insofar that this leads to an evolution of the social contract between the elected and the citizenry - upon which any robust peace could be built (Ibid: 5-6). What followed, in essence, was an outline of an emergent global consensus that placed considerable hope in the transformative dimensions of democracy as a panacea to the pent-up ills of the Cold War period, which had, *inter alia*, contributed to what were then perceived to be totalitarian states.

From peace and security to economic and social development, democracy - at the time - was packaged and sold as the antithesis to the full gamut of challenges that confronted transitionary and post-conflict states. Of particular interest, however, was the emerging consensus' initial rider that definitions of democracy remained, largely open to debate, and that, at a normative level, there was no one model of democratisation or democracy that is suitable to all societies (Ibid: 1). What had therefore emerged were the contours of a loaded conceptual roadmap to serve as the basis for all transitionary and post-conflict states, and with significant provisions made for this to be infused with case-specific peculiarities and considerations.

Mozambique's democratisation must therefore be understood within this context, and by further remaining cognisant that this process was not initiated through a long, purposeful struggle for the underlying core tenets of the concept, but rather as a necessary political compromise that sought to ensure a sustainable peace following a protracted armed conflict. Indeed, it is necessary - in any contemporary understanding of the country's political development - to remain critically aware that prior to the negotiations that led to the GPA, neither Frelimo nor Renamo were fighting for the establishment of a representative democracy. In essence, democratic consolidation only began - in earnest - upon the signing of the 1992 general peace accords, prior to which virtually no democratic or pluralist tradition had existed in the country at all (AfriMap 2009: 68). It must be underscored, however, that the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism was framed by Frelimo as a necessary struggle to advance certain universal principles, such as self-determination - which were inherently the basic ingredients of a strong and functioning democracy.

Mozambican democratic consolidation is therefore an overriding variable in the determination of the country's general peace and security climate, and is one which is intimately intertwined with the sustainability of its development since 1992. The annulment of the country's general peace accords in October 2013 is thus an important juncture in the country's recent

history in which to reexamine the foundations of peace in the country, by specifically considering the path of democratic consolidation since the early 1990s.

A cursory observation - based solely on the dynamics of the most recent instability - of the country's political and security environment could present a certain view that emphasises the increasing dominance of the ruling Frelimo party, and the detrimental effect that this has on strengthening democracy and a culture of pluralism. Based on this, it could be further argued that democratic consolidation in Mozambique has become synonymous with the consolidation of the ruling party in terms of its enhanced internal democratic practices and the consolidation of its power, more broadly, in parallel with that of the state. Moreover, it could be further argued that a lack of disassociation between party and state apparatuses has led to an increasingly apparent marginalisation of other political actors - most notably, Renamo - and that the country's recent return to armed political contestation is but one manifestation of such underlying concerns, surrounding the country's often overlooked democratic malaise. Proponents of such a line of reasoning would, however, be confronted with an alternative view that emphasises the transformative role played by the ruling party in remaining responsive to the country's most pressing needs, in terms of economic growth and development and the maintenance of peace and security; in contrast to the arguably belligerent practices of the leading opposition, in their failure to effectively 'step up to the plate' and play a constructive role in the country's democratisation[3].

In light of the country's 2014 general elections, the issues raised by both arguments become all the more critical in seeking to ensure that the considerable progress made since 1992 does not unravel, and that a robust peace can be maintained - and improved upon - by better understanding the key local conditions and peculiarities that have come to shape its democratisation process. To this effect, it is important to consider the particular nature of the post-1992 democratic project in Mozambique by remaining cognisant of the unique set of circumstances that initially informed the contours of this process and sent the country down relatively unknown territory. Through such an exercise, the pillars upon which peace has come to rest in the country may be better understood and examined in relation to recent events which sharply call into question many of the major assumptions and observations made over the years with regard to the country's general level of progress on a range of political, social and economic indicators and benchmarks.

Frelimo, Renamo and the international community: the early years

A necessary starting to point, in gauging the state of Mozambican democracy today, refers to the unique set of circumstances that ushered in the country's independence. Being one of the last

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[3] In this regard, it could also be argued that the key dividing line between these two main political formations in Mozambique is also the fact that Frelimo has, among other things, been able to transform itself into an effective political party operating in a democratic-post-war situation. This being symbolized, for instance, by the party having had different individuals elected to lead the party as compared to Renamo which is to date, still being led by one and the same leadership. This, on its own, may be understood as something which undermines the 'democratic credentials' of Renamo.

states on the continent to achieve independence, following staunch Portuguese resistance in the abandonment of its colonial policies, the country's leading liberation movement - Frelimo - was one of the only organisations able to survive and remain active after years of armed resistance. Following Portugal's own bout of domestic instability in the mid-1970s, Frelimo was able to effectively capitalise on the diminishing legitimacy of Portuguese rule as well as the subsequent uncertainty that followed amongst the ranks of its bureaucrats and military structures within Mozambique (Ibid: 23-25).

Toward the end of the liberation struggle, Frelimo was thus seen as the "natural representative of Mozambicans in the transition to an independent… [country, and was thus]… supported by an important swathe of the international community" (Ibid: 23). Ultimately, the negotiated independence of Mozambique - following a decade's long war of liberation - resulted in the establishment of a transitional government on the 20th of June 1975, with Frelimo solely at the helm of the country (Ibid: 24). Five days later, the country's first constitution was promulgated, and with it the effective basis for a single-party state.

On the other hand, the country's largest opposition group, Renamo, lacked the historical legitimacy and cohesion enjoyed by Frelimo. This was mainly the case because Renamo had been formed through the funding and scheming of the country's unsettled minority-ruled neighbours, namely the then Rhodesian government and subsequently the apartheid South African state (LeFanu 2012: 221). Renamo nonetheless managed to overtime develop a considerable following primarily amongst sections of the population of Mozambique who disagreed with the policy prescriptions of Frelimo as well as its ideological, Marxist-Leninist, underpinnings (AfriMap 2009: 24-25). Through tactics that often involved coercion and the distribution of benefits, Renamo gradually expanded its hold on power over the country's northern and central regions (LeFanu 2012: 221-222). Subsequently, the Mozambican state under the control of Frelimo weakened to the point that the prevailing political, economic and security environment could neither be sustained nor salvaged. Coupled with significant natural disasters, ineffectual economic policies and the constant interference of, and destructive military actions by the then apartheid South African government, Frelimo and Renamo were ultimately driven to the negotiating table to seek a new political outcome that both sides could agree to and lay down their arms.

What transpired, through considerable intervention by a plethora of intergovernmental and non-governmental actors, was the unveiling of a new constitution that welcomed the rules of a liberal multi-party democratic system of governance, a revised and restructured liberal economic system, charted-out under the aegis of the international financial institutions, and - ultimately - agreement on the various clauses and components of what is now referred to as the general peace accords.

The immediate post-war period, with its emphasis on national reconciliation, further received extensive support from the international community, with the UN playing a central role vis-à-vis the maintenance and building of peace across the country, specifically in terms of the disarmament and demobilisation of combatants, and supporting the first electoral process

through ample funding (AfriMap 2009: 17). Consequently, Renamo was able to consolidate itself into a legitimate political party that was able to contest the elections, and the country was able to enjoy a relatively peaceful outcome with the majority of former combatants now demobilised.

The present challenges of old

Based on this formative democratic experience, it is unsurprising that many of the country's present challenges can be understood in terms of the national fault lines, defining features and seeds of discontent which were sowed during the early 1990s. Firstly, the Mozambican citizenry had been fractured, for many years, along the lines of the two leading political formations, namely Frelimo and Renamo. Whereas the former had established itself during a long and hard-won liberation struggle, and had managed to achieve a significant degree of internal, structural, cohesion, the latter had to quickly make a structural transition from an armed group to a legitimate political party in a relatively short space of time. Whereas Frelimo had managed to consolidate itself as a political entity in the post-independence one-party state, Renamo maintained its military-based hierarchical internal structure and had to consolidate itself independently of the state.

In this regard, and in the context of the overall foci of the paper, an argument could be proffered that Renamo's failure to transform itself into a political party organisation and introduce a culture of internal party democracy is what has contributed to the party's diminishing influence in the country's political life post-1992. For example, unlike Frelimo, one and the same leadership remains at the helm of the organisation, and this could very well mean that a democratic culture within this formation is yet to take root. It must therefore be admitted that perhaps one of the post-1992 programmes that could have been initiated, in support of the nascent democracy in Mozambique would have been to work towards contributing to the transformation of the main political entities, such as Renamo into a political formation able to play its part in a post-war society. In the same vein, an argument could be made that were such programmes or efforts initiated, some of the pitfalls of the latter day democratic project in Mozambique - with reference to what appears to be a trend within Renamo - namely the threat of boycotting government processes due to dissatisfaction with electoral outcomes, could have been avoided. As a political entity in a post-war democratic state, its tactical approach could have been to remain engaged in parliamentary processes, especially considering that the party enjoyed increased electoral support in October 2014. The tendency, however, to adopt what could be seen as obstructionist politics, could very well be a reflection of a deficit in terms of building a broad democratic culture within some of the party's political formations.

Moreover, in the post-independence period, and prior to the general peace accords, Frelimo was able to consolidate its power in parallel with that of the state. *Internal* democratic practices thus became more greatly entrenched within the party, and a notable margin of inter-linkage with state institutions, mechanisms and organs were developed independently of any meaningful opposition. What opposition and dissidence did exist, however, was largely dismissed and swept under the structural umbrella of Renamo. Without the consolidation, let alone recognition of the

value, of multi-partyism - specifically in terms of consensus-building, Renamo naturally provided a necessary alternative forum for the expression of ideas and values that questioned and challenged the dominant socialist state doctrine of the time (Ibid: 100). Within such a context, devoid of any meaningful platform for open debate and criticism of policies and procedures, contestation and opposition naturally came to be associated with notions surrounding legitimacy and illegitimacy. In essence, the seeds of exclusion had begun to bear fruit, where disagreeable views were dismissed to the periphery of the one-party state, and where such views naturally tended to coalesce around any significant opposition structure.

Consequently, fragmentation of the country's citizenry formed squarely amongst these lines, which were largely identified in terms of region, as opposed to any other key distinguishing characteristic such as ethnicity, religion or even linguistic differences. The implications of the subsequent post-1992 polarisation primarily entailed accounting for the challenges that emanated from the need to enmesh the interests and aspirations of the country's citizenry, across party lines, through the depoliticisation of state institutions, promoting the independence of these institutions and creating the necessary platforms for legitimate contestations to take place. As noted, however, in a review by Afrimap in 2006, despite the country's political reforms throughout the 1990s, wherein Frelimo sought to adapt its organisational structure toward a greater distinction between its own structures and the state, "the party still benefits… from its close ties with state bodies, and the fact that it has never left power nationally" (Ibid: 100). Consequently, the rift between supporters of either side remains significantly informed by the lingering fragmentation of the state - between the effective camps of either political party.

Compounding this issue, is the fact that in recent years, Frelimo has managed to considerably expand upon its domination of the political space in the country, largely to the detriment of Renamo which has struggled to adapt its historical organisational culture and structure to the demands of the post-1992 political dispensation. Frelimo, has, however, also managed to better consolidate its power with specific regard to the fact that it is the only party that is able to draw upon substantial resources, through party contributions, from its members (Ibid: 111). Additionally, given the questionable degree of inter-linkage between party and state organs, it is the sole entity with significant access to private and international investors, dually through the power of the state in granting licences, subsidies and credit, and the fact that international actors remain cognisant of the ruling party's influence on the success or failure of their investments (Ibid: 111).

Other, smaller, political entities do exist and have previously contested in the country's national elections. These parties, however, barring the Movement for Democratic Change (MDM)[4] which has performed surprisingly well at the local level in recent years, are largely seen as opportunistic, unstable in their organisation and mobilisation, and have, at best, a marginal influence on the politics of the country. A key indictment of this argument is the considerable

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[4] It is important to note that the MDM formed as a factional offshoot of Renamo, and its breakaway has contributed, arguably, to the further weakening of the latter.

weakness of the country's parliament, and the ineffectual actions of individual parliamentarians - let alone extra-parliamentary entities and their leaders, vis-à-vis executive structures (Ibid: 10). Thus, the inherent weaknesses of the county's opposition coupled with arguably hegemonic and growing political character of the leading party has, in many ways, build upon the fault-lines of the state's initial fragmentation; whereby voices of dissent and opposition have generally found a lack of sufficient legitimate space for expression - and have thus strayed to the periphery.

The second key consideration, based upon the initial conditions of the country's democratisation process, is the significant degree of international interest that the country has garnered since the general peace accords. In light of the broad, macro-level, dynamics at play in the international system during the early 1990s, it is unsurprising - at a normative level, at least - to argue that Mozambique provided an early litmus test for the effectiveness, sustainability and practicability of the of dominant ideas surrounding liberal political and economic transformation. As the international financial institutions attended to the structural adjustment of the country's economy, a multi-party democracy was presented, by a host of international actors as the panacea to the country's ongoing civil conflict. Developments and progress in the country since then have thus enthusiastically been interpreted by those initial international stakeholders as a key success story that, with the aid of hindsight, dually validates and champions the liberal political-economic models then employed to bring about an end to the county's conflict, and usher in a new era of sustained peace, economic growth and development.

The centrepiece of such observations and assessments is the fact that all successive general and local elections conducted since have indeed been largely devoid of any significant violence and relapse into conflict along the lines of the country's civil war. Moreover, the recent 2014 electoral processes, despite certain criticisms and challenges to the legitimacy of the processes, have been concluded by a host of international observers to have largely been peaceful, free and fair (Mashabane 2014: 5-6). Secondly, the country has enjoyed tremendous economic growth (in terms of its gross domestic product) over the last decade, whilst achieving considerable levels of poverty reduction. While developmental challenges are still significant, the country has enjoyed a sustained positive economic, and - to a lesser degree - political outlook for a period of time that does indeed warrant praise. Deeper political and economic transformation, with regard to the expansion of civil liberties, the safeguarding of fundamental rights, and a growing civil society, while more difficult to qualitatively assess, have a more mixed record, but, overall can be said to have made positive strides in the post-GPA period.

While the government has undoubtedly played a central and critical role in this regard, the lingering, and arguably exaggerated, international presence in the country - which has dually played a key role in facilitating development in the post-GPA period - is concerning for a number of reasons. The most pressing of these refers to the considerable aid-dependency of the state, with foreign grants and loans constantly featuring as one the greatest sources of government revenue (AfriMap 2009: 17). Given the fact that the country's formative democratic experience, and nascent democratic structures, were fundamentally informed by a wide array of international actors, the country's political-economy has since developed along the lines of

extended foreign grants, credit and investment mechanisms which are, in many instances, tied to specific quid pro quo understandings. Worryingly, the considerable proportion of state revenues stemming from international and private actors, coupled with the substantial links between the state and ruling party, have served to undermine the development of a taxable middle class, and thus the necessary social contract of the state with regard to transparency and accountability.

Apart from the magnitude of foreign development aid - and investment - as a proportion of the general state budget, the emergent complexity surrounding the multiplicity of donors in the country is further cause for concern in terms of transparency, coordination and the duplication of efforts. As these processes have become more entrenched and standardised over time, the social contract between the government and the citizenry becomes increasingly strained due to the nodes of foreign power and channels of influence and accountability that service such international interests. As articulated in the 'Dead Aid' hypothesis, Dambisa Moyo, refers precisely to this effective hollowing-out of the necessary social contract between governments and the governed, by specifically highlighting the contentious relationship between development aid, rent-seeking and corruption - and the overall effects of this upon long-term economic development and - to a lesser extent - political stability (Moyo 2010). Importantly, Moyo speaks directly to the fact that in scenarios whereby foreign aid receipts generally supplant the position normally reserved for a sizeable local tax base, the interests of policy-makers and bureaucrats naturally tend, over time, to support and prioritise the former to the detriment of the latter (Moyo 2010: 66). This scenario, even if some could argue is unintended, lends itself in a situation where the very same democratic principles contained in the UN Report to which the article has referred, is subverted.

Consequently, the necessary checks and balances on the exercise of state power by the citizenry do not become sufficiently developed in terms of the independence and autonomy of state institutions and civil society organisations, which is - in fact - a defining feature of the post-GPA Mozambican state. Despite substantial efforts on the part of the government to define and support the role of civil society in the country, many such organisations focus primarily on issues surrounding service delivery and are themselves highly dependent on foreign assistance for funding their operations (AfriMap 2009: 66-67).

Apart from challenges concerning coordination, lack of human and financial resources, and the subsequently limited social impact of certain programmes, of key concern is the fact that very few civil society organizations serve as effective public pressure groups to specifically monitor the exercise of state power and apply measures to either condemn or encourage the policies and behaviour of state organs. As noted in their 2009 assessment, Afrimap underscored the fact that, in terms of the structure and governance of civil society, there is a "great permeability in terms of leading figures between the public/political sphere and the associations… [and that]… a significant part of the leadership of the associations came from (or still belongs to) the civil service and Frelimo" (Ibid: 67). Thus while civil society has grown, and is playing a more meaningful role in influencing government decisions, this is generally confined to a consultative status, with a focus on issues that do not directly challenge and call to account the more

pervasive aspects of government policy and behaviour.

The rising potential for long-term instability

The emergent character of peace in the country is therefore informed by the predominant issues that accompanied the country's formative democratic experience. Remaining cognisant of the laudable fact that, barring the most recent low-level insurgency, the country has never relapsed into a state of open civil war of the scale prior to the GPA, there is a considerable margin for concern that a long-term peace remains fragile. Whereas this argument considers the grievances and actions of Renamo that led to the most recent wave of instability, this is, however, not the most pressing factor upon which the long-term peace of the country rests. Surprisingly, the annulment of the GPA and subsequent signing of a new peace agreement actually provides considerable reason for optimism. Concomitant to such optimism, it must also be underscored that the process leading up to the signing of an understanding between the different political formations ahead of the 2014 elections was managed and facilitated internally, speak volumes about Mozambique's progress to date since 1992. Whereas in 1992 the parties to the conflict in the country needed to have international actors being the active drivers and facilitators of the agreement, twenty-two years later, it was possible for these processes to be managed internally, and with the involvement of local non-state and non-political party actors. This then, in the lexicon of peace and conflict studies confirms the existence of a national infrastructure for peace in Mozambique, something that could be tapped into as long-term stability efforts are still required.

As a result of the government's responsiveness to the issue, not only was the scale and scope of the fighting contained and a negotiated settlement arrived at, but Renamo was dually placated to the extent that the party leader was registered with the country's national electoral commission in time for it to legitimately contest the 15 October 2014 elections. Moreover, the electoral process was conducted in a generally free, fair and credible manner as noted by, for instance, observers from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Mashabane 2014: 5-6). Thus, what is evident is that the Frelimo-led government is certainly capable of accounting for, containing, and addressing factors which could lead to potential wide-spread conflict which are based on the dominant political fault lines, as previously highlighted in this article, across the state. Indeed, the government's responsiveness, internal processes and strengthening democratic culture, in many ways, provides for a sufficiently robust approach to such issues in safeguarding peace and stability across the country.

What is the most pressing concern, however, is related to the longer-term stability of Mozambique vis-à-vis the growing dominance of the ruling party in the context of weak political opposition, uncoordinated civic actors, and a political-economy still largely defined by the receipt of foreign aid. The long-term implications of this trend finds expression in the analysis of Phiri and Macheve, who argue that the country has effectively become a 'managed democracy', characterised by a strong executive, weak institutions, state control of the media, and control over elections with "visible short-term effectiveness and long-term efficiency" (Phiri and

Macheve 2014: 43). By alluding to the central thesis of Acemoglu and Robinson (2012), they contend that the post-GPA Mozambican experience is reflective of the development of extractive political and economic institutions that accompany the monopolisation of state power, and which ultimately (unintended or not) "debilitate the intrinsic values of freedom that work toward inclusive governance and democratic polities" (Phiri and Macheve 2014: 43-44).

Specifically, this has been argued to have contributed to the development of a political structure that favours the party in power, and has allowed the Frelimo-led government to act in a manner that is increasingly informed by internal party processes and decisions without the requisite consideration of the views and concerns stemming from opposition parties and civil actors. The primary grievances of Renamo, for example, that informed the annulment of the GPA, credits this view in terms of their claims that the Frelimo-led government has continuously violated the terms of the GPA, with particular regard to the electoral system and the composition of the country's armed forces - in which they claim to have been short-changed (ISS 2014). The ongoing concerns raised at the politicisation of the country's key electoral and military institutions and organs further provides some measure of how the country's political structure has come to be associated with the 'managed democracy' archetype provided by Phiri and Macheve.

It may thus be argued that the long-term peace of the country has become paradoxically burdened by the developments of the same political entity that has thus far provided a relatively secure and stable environment. Without the necessary space or platforms for the legitimate expression of dissent, grievances could well fester along the periphery of ruling-party and state control, and manifest in ways that could well undermine the sustainability of the country's peace. Thus, while the role of Renamo or any other up-and-coming opposition party may spark short-term flashes of instability and potential conflict if not appropriately addressed by the government, these - based on recent events - can be assumed to be effectively contained due to the responsiveness and internal cohesion of Frelimo. The real danger, however, lies in accounting for the growth of Frelimo in parallel with the state, and the subsequent potential for rising instability and conflict vis-à-vis the entrenchment of extractive economic and political institutions.

Toward long-term stability

The recent rejection of the 15 October election results by Renamo, despite their recently concluded peace agreement with the ruling party is a telling indicator of what could be done to enhance the long-term prospects for stability and peace in Mozambique. On the one hand, the fact that a deal - led by the government - was brokered, that not only contained the fighting and arrested Renamo's immediate grievances, but dually allowed the party to legitimately contest the elections, indicates the extent of the Frelimo-led government's responsiveness and political savvy in addressing emergent threats to the country's stability. On the other hand, however, the fact that Renamo annulled the GPA and subsequently conducted a low-level insurgency in the first place, is indicative of some of the structural and systemic ailments of the country's current

political-economic system.

Following the most recent elections, the government would thus do well in more greatly committing itself to an ongoing dialogue with the country's key opposition and extra-parliamentary political entities. Specific attention should also be paid in better resourcing and supporting the national parliament in order to reinforce the mandate of this critically important arm of government. This should be approached as part of a greater drive to reign in a growing sentiment of exclusion and apathy in state institutions - and hence legitimate opportunities for the expression of grievance and dissent - by also revisiting the central role of civil society in the country, with a view to enhance social impact and create nodes of public pressure that have a direct influence over government planning and policy.

With regard to increasing international energy interests surrounding the country's proven and potential reserves of oil and natural gas, there is also all the more need to specifically examine the impact of aid dependency and the receipt of foreign direct investment, as a considerable part of the state budget, vis-à-vis the health of the social contract between the government and the citizenry. The impact of this issue in terms of the lines of accountability, and how this may come to inform the propensity for conflict, also needs to be more greatly considered in light of existing structural deficiencies within state organs and institutions. Lastly, it would also be vital to ensure an ongoing focus on the de-politicisation of state institutions and organs with particular regard to the parallel development and consolidation of Frelimo and that of the state. Specifically, the contentious relationship between the two that has increasingly come to inform the country's political-economy, and the long-term prospects for a robust peace, should be approached with the requisite tact and understanding that accounts for the country's significant progress thus far and the unintended consequences of this progress over the longer-term.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to succinctly reflect on the path that Mozambique has traversed towards nurturing, and eventually consolidating, its democratic culture since the end of the 1992 civil war. In tracing this path, one of the clear observations is that despite certain positive developments - for which the country should be commended, there still does exist, however, the residue of a protracted social conflict - as reflected by a need for continued engagements between the main opposing parties. These engagements should, amongst other things - as already experienced immediately prior to the 2014 elections, seek to avert incidences of violent conflict, strengthen a political commitment to dialogue as the only viable option to address opposing views, and place the country on a more secure path towards socio-economic development. With time, the existing infrastructures for peace in the country should then be able to assist and effectively work with the main protagonists in order to ensure that future electoral outcomes are deemed to be legitimate by all concerned actors, and that this does not result in diminishing the role that state institutions should play towards a better future for the people of Mozambique.

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Biographical Note

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The Democrat and the Dictator:
Comparing Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe

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Abstract

This paper compares and contrasts Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe, two of Africa's most recognisable figures. These two leaders had a lot in common in terms of their childhood, education, contributions they made in creating military wings for their political organisations, and imprisonment. However, they differed widely in their personalities, communication skills, outlook on negotiations, receptiveness to criticism, and views on liberty and democracy. These differences arguably impacted the decision making on how the two individuals eventually dealt with the transitions in their countries and how they managed the 'post-liberation' periods. Under Mandela, South Africa thrived politically and economically, while the impact of Mugabe's leadership on Zimbabwe has been characterised by large-scale human rights abuses and a series of economic crises.

Introduction

Nelson Mandela (1918-2013) and Robert Mugabe (1924-present) are two of Africa's most recognisable leaders. Both were born under similar circumstances and each of these leaders had significant impacts on their people. Nonetheless, the political and economic outcomes of their decisions are very different.

Mandela, also affectionately referred to as 'Madiba', is celebrated as one of modern history's most significant figures. In fact, U.S. President Barack Obama called Mandela "the last great liberator of the 20th century," and likened him to Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Abraham Lincoln.

In contrast, Mugabe (also known as 'Uncle Bob'), who turned 91 years old on 21 February 2015, is considered to be a dictator by some (but not all). In 2003, after being compared to Adolf Hitler by the British press, Mugabe stated, "I am still the Hitler of the time. This Hitler has only one objective, justice for his own people, sovereignty for his people, recognition of the independence of his people, and their right to their resources. If that is Hitler, then let me be a Hitler tenfold. Ten times Hitler, that is what we stand for" (Hentoff 2012).

The primary objective of this article is to compare and contrast the lives of Mandela and Mugabe as well as the decisions that they have made in relation to the people whom they claimed to serve. This article is not a comprehensive overview of everything that the two leaders

have done or achieved as that is a task for historians. Rather, it attempts to identify a number of issues that can reasonably be compared with one another in order to understand these individuals, their views, and the policy decisions that they made.

Growing up

In 1918, Rolihlahla (meaning 'troublemaker') Mandela was born in a small village in the Transkei, South Africa. At the time, Apartheid as an official policy had not yet come into being, but the precursors to the racist regime were already present. Mandela's father was one of the chiefs of the Thembu people and his mother was his father's third wife. Growing up, Mandela spent most of his time with his mother and three of his sisters in his mother's kraal.

Although both of Mandela's parents were illiterate, they recognised the value of education and sent their son to a local Methodist school, where at the age of seven, his school teacher, unable to pronounce Rolihlahla, named him 'Nelson'.

Around the age of nine, Mandela's father died, but he found solace in his other family members. In his *Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela (1995: 3-70) describes his childhood as being simple and joyful, and he admitted that he was somewhat ignorant of the world outside of his local village. He also loved playing with other boys and often attended to cattle.

Six years after Mandela's birth, Mugabe was born at Kutama Mission, in Southern Rhodesia. Like Mandela, Mugabe was born during a time period when non-Whites were discriminated against. Mugabe was the third of six children, two of whom died at an early age. His father was a carpenter and his mother a schoolteacher. With regards to political awareness, Mugabe claimed that he knew at a young age that his forefathers were dispossessed from their lands by White colonialists (Tambo 2013).

Like Mandela, Mugabe no longer had a father in his life by the time he was about ten years old. The big difference is that while Mandela's father died, Mugabe's father abandoned the family in 1934 as he went in search for work. After that, Mugabe's mother was left to fend for the family (Holland 2008a: 224).

Compared to other Africans in the region, Mandela and Mugabe receive good secondary education. Mandela attended at a number of Western education institutions. Mugabe received his early education at mission schools and studied at the exclusive Kutama College under the supervision of an Irish priest, Father Jerome O'Hea (Meredith 2008: 21). As Mugabe was a smart child, he was "promoted to the next level as soon as he could hold his own ... [and as a result he] was always younger and physically smaller than his contemporaries" (Holland 2008a: 6).

Where Mandela and Mugabe differ most from one another during their youth is their social skills. While Mandela liked to play and interact with others, fellow classmates often made jokes at the expense of Mugabe, the bookworm. Recently, during Dali Tambo's (2013) interview with Mugabe on *People of the South*, the nonagenarian described himself during his boyhood as "reserved", but claims that he played "tennis ball with other boys" and "indulged in boxing". He also said that as a boy he would always have a book with him while cattle herding. Others characterise the young Mugabe as a bit more of a loner and solitary than what Mugabe would

admit. His own brother described him as "a person who was not interested in having many friends. His books were his only friends" (Holland 2008a: 5).

In later years Mandela and Mugabe carried some of the character traits that were already present during boyhood. Many South Africans tell stories about how they encountered Mandela in all sorts of unexpected places. Such stories all have one thing in common: Mandela remained a very approachable person. He often escaped from his bodyguards in order to enjoy the company of ordinary South Africans. He was also comfortable surrounding himself with people that were smarter than him and often heeding their advice (Russell 2009: 20).

Compared to South Africans and their anecdotes about Mandela, ordinary Zimbabweans have fewer stories about personal encounters with Mugabe. As was the case during his childhood, he remains somewhat isolated from others (if not cold). Mugabe goes everywhere with his over the top entourage. Once, during an interview with *Carte Blance*, Mandela boyishly chuckled when he mentioned Mugabe's excessive motorcade (Nehandaradio 2013). In fact, in Zimbabwe, Mugabe's motorcade, which consists of numerous policemen on motorcycles and in vehicles, as well as army personnel with automatic weapons, has a notorious reputation. Other than causing numerous accidents (*The Telegraph*, 2012), people have reportedly been assaulted for allegedly not stopping completely when the motorcade is close by. There are also allegations of murder against members of Mugabe's motorcade (Mushava 2012).

To be clear, neither Mandela nor Mugabe lacked charisma. Even Mugabe can charm his most ardent opponents and make them feel important. However, in terms of popularity, people lined up to see Madiba because they loved him. There were many people (including former enemies) that called him a "friend" (Murray 2013). In contrast, as was the case when he was a boy, Mugabe appears to have no friends. Even one of Mugabe's close associates once describes him as "disdainful" and "aloof" (Holland 2008a: 191). While Mugabe's first public appearance in Zimbabwe after years in exile drew large crowds, his popularity has decayed in later years. From the late 1990s onwards, it became common for people to be frog-marched to rallies or events where Mugabe deliver speeches, while others are bribed with food and clothing.[1] As was the case when he was boy, Mugabe remains an isolated individual.

Tertiary education

By 1939, Mandela started doing a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree at the University of Fort Hare, which at the time, was an elite Black institution in the Eastern Cape. At Fort Hare, Mandela remained socially active and met a number of other African intellectuals, including his lifelong friend and future president in exile of the African National Congress (ANC), Oliver Tambo. He also became more and more exposed to politics. Although he was not yet an ANC member, he partook in an election for the Students Representative Council (SRC). Mandela was elected to the SRC, but due to a political decision which he describes as "morally right" he resigned from his position, which eventually led to his temporary expulsion from the university in 1940

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[1] This author spoke to a number of victims in Zimbabwe (2010-2013) who have been forced to attend ZANU-PF rallies.

(Mandela 1995: 61).

Within ten years of Mandela's expulsion from Fort Hare, Mugabe attended the same institution from 1950-1951. As was the case with Mandela, Mugabe rubbed shoulders with many African intellectuals and future leaders. After Fort Hare, Mugabe went on to study in Salisbury (1953), Gwelo (1954), and Tanzania (1955-57). In later years, whilst in prison, Mugabe "acquired three more degrees by correspondence ... bringing his number of degrees to seven" (Norman 2004: 62).

Although both leaders initially attended the same tertiary institution, their experiences with education differ vastly. As will be argued shortly, this possibly had an impact on their leadership styles in later years.

Formative years: Mandela the lawyer, Mugabe the teacher

In 1941, Mandela left for Johannesburg in an attempt to run away from an arranged marriage. His choice also meant "the birth of a freedom fighter" (Mandela 1995: 107). In Johannesburg, Mandela worked as an articled clerk at a law firm owned by a liberal Jew. At the firm, Mandela became increasingly exposed to inter racial and ethnical interactions. In Johannesburg, Mandela met Walter Sisulu, who became his political mentor and friend. By 1944, Mandela was elected to the Executive Committee of the newly formed ANC Youth League and in 1947 he was elected to the Executive Committee of ANC's Transvaal region (Mandela 1995: 114, 124).

When in 1948 the National Party came to power in South Africa, they implemented the policy of Apartheid, which legalised and institutionalised political and social segregation amongst different races. Apartheid was designed to benefit and extend political and economic control of South Africa by the country's White minority. During the years that followed, the Apartheid system became increasingly oppressive, while Mandela became more and more active, both politically and legally, in fighting an unjust system (Mandela 1995: 128).

After a number of failed attempts to complete his LLB degree at the University of Witwatersrand, Mandela opted instead to pass a qualifying exam which would allow him to practice law. By 1952, Mandela opened his own law firm and he was later joined by Tambo. 'Mandela and Tambo' soon became a popular firm where Africans sought legal aid against the unjust Apartheid system (Mandela 1995: 171-173).

In 1951, Mandela played an active role in the Defiance Campaign which brought together approximately 8,500 people who voluntarily violated a host of unjust Apartheid laws (Mandela 1995: 151). Shortly thereafter, in 1955, Mandela secretly attended the Congress of the People to source views from South Africans, whether White or Black, about their ideals for the country. The result was the *Freedom Charter*, which, according to Mandela (1995: 203), influenced "the blueprint of the liberation struggle and the future of the nation."

During 1956, Mandela was arrested and unsuccessfully charged with treason. In 1961, after the Treason Trial, Mandela co-founded the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK), which means Spear of the Nation. Mandela was convinced that the ANC needed to take up an armed struggle, but he maintained that violence was to remain a last resort. His first preference

was negotiations with the government of the day, which were not forthcoming (Mandela 1995: 232-279).

After graduating from Fort Hare, Mugabe taught in Zambia (1955-58) and Ghana (1958-60). In Ghana, the first African country to gain independence, Mugabe met his first wife (Sally Heyfron) and he was exposed to Marxism and African nationalism. He was also influenced by Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first President and Prime Minister (Norman 2004: 48).

Upon his return to Southern Rhodesia in 1960, Mugabe became publicity secretary for the National Democratic Party (NDP), which was led by Joshua Nkomo. NDP was a nationalist party that opposed British colonial rule. Meanwhile, the British and the White-controlled United Federal Party (UFP) agreed on the so-called 1961 Constitution, which gave 50 seats to Whites and only 15 seats to Blacks in the Rhodesian Parliament. Mugabe, having recently returned from Ghana, was outraged and remarked; "Europeans must realise that unless the legitimate demands of African nationalism are recognised ... then racial conflict is inevitable" (Norman 2004: 54).

In 1962, the NDP was banned and consequently Nkomo formed the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Mugabe became the party's general secretary. In response to the UFP's proposals for greater Black integration, Ian Smith formed the right wing Rhodesian Front (RF), which won the elections. That same year, Apartheid South Africa declared itself a Republic and left the British Commonwealth (Norman 2004: 54).

In 1963, Mugabe lived in exile in Tanganyika. Whilst in Dar es Salaam, he broke ranks with Nkomo, and with a handful of former ZAPU members, formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) where he became the secretary general. The two political organisations also had their own military wings. In the 1960s, ZAPU formed the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) backed by the Soviet Union, and in 1965, ZANU formed its own military wing, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), which was backed by China (Norman 2004: 64). From this point onwards, the two organisations developed deep ideological and ethnic divisions. ZANU was largely supported by the Shona while ZAPU gained the bulk of its support from the Ndebele (Nkomo 1984: 161-162).

It should be noted that compared to Mugabe, it seems that Mandela had more multicultural and multiracial experiences with fellow countrymen. For example, together with Mandela (1995: 232), there were 105 Africans, 21 Indians, 23 Whites, and seven Coloureds arrested in the run up to the Treason Trail. The development of the Freedom Charter was also a product of a multicultural and multiracial (from all walks of life) effort. Many of Mandela's friends in later year also came from different racial, ethnic and social groups. Although Mugabe was exposed to many Africans from different ethnic and national groups, the internal politics within his own party, especially at the senior level, became an issue of ethnicity (and even tribal). These factors arguably influenced these future leaders in their nation building projects (or lack thereof). After South Africa's first democratic elections, Mandela became known for embracing diversity and for promoting Archbishop Desmond Tutu's idea of the 'Rainbow nation'. In contrast, Mugabe became a racist and a xenophobe, openly calling for the killing of "others".

Reflecting on Mandela and Mugabe's education and formative years

Separated by only a few years, the two future leaders ended up at Fort Hare University, where they brushed shoulders with many of the continent's future leaders and intellectuals. While at Fort Hare, both had not yet chosen a path in party politics. However, at Fort Hare, Mandela made a political decision that he knew would get him expelled because he believed that it was "morally right" (Mandela 1995: 61). Soon thereafter he went to Johannesburg where he wanted to challenge the authorities, mostly through law but also via political acts.

One thing that Mandela perhaps took from his experience as a lawyer was to argue about issues in order to come to some form of conclusion about what is right and just. Mugabe, the teacher and the great intellectual, was probably never challenged in such a way by his students. He was the master and his subjects had to consume everything that he told them, as remains the case today. In reference to Morgan Tsvangirai (who became the Mugabe's enemy number one at the turn of the century), Mugabe once declared, "death to the tea boy" (Meredith 2008: 225). His language suggest that he remained a patronising teacher. His authority stemmed from his intellect while his enemies cannot be trusted as they are dumb, unreasonable and wrong. At issue here is not Mugabe's intellect, which by several accounts, is very well developed (Meredith 2008: 19-57). Rather, one should question whether Mugabe was ever willing to compromise and to accept that sometimes others have better ideas than his own.

Mandela was openly self-critical, as is evident throughout *Long Walk to Freedom*, an attribute that few politicians share. In his autobiography, Mandela (1995) leaves one with the impression that he constantly re-evaluated his choices and subsequent actions. He took responsibility for his choices and admitted when he made bad ones. Mandela also recognised his own prejudices, whether that was against other ethnic groups, or people with different ideological positions.

On his weakness, Mandela said, "that was one of the things that worried me – to be raised to the position of a semi-god – because then you are no longer a human being. I wanted to be known as Mandela, a man with weaknesses, some of which are fundamental, and a man who is committed, but nevertheless, sometimes he fails to live up to expectations" (The Guardian, 2013). And sometimes Mandela failed indeed.

One of Mandela's greatest failures as President was that he did not do enough to promote HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness (Russell 2009: 4, 5). Ironically though, Mandela was his own worst critic. He admitted that he should have done a lot more as President to tackle HIV/ADIS and in retirement he went on to establish a massive campaign to promote HIV/AIDS awareness, drawing on celebrities to spread the message.

In stark contrast with Mandela, Mugabe seems to be uncritical about his life. The result is that he blames everyone except himself for his mistakes. The chief culprits are usually White Zimbabweans, Britain (and particularly Tony Blair), the US, Western sanctions, and the MDC-T (who are in Mugabe's words merely "puppets of the West").[2]

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[2] These propaganda messages were constantly rehearsed in the public media and at public forums by ZANU-PF when this authored lived in Zimbabwe from 2010-2013.

Holland (2008b), who describes Mugabe as "very developed intellectually, but not emotionally" might be correct. In this context, it is interesting to note that Google's head of people operations, Laszlo Bock, recently revealed that the multi-billion dollar company does not always look for straight-A students when they hire new people. The reason being that straight-A students rarely fail with the result being that they are not always able to embrace other people's ideas. According to Bock, "It's 'intellectual humility' [that we are looking for]. Without humility, you are unable to learn ... Successful bright people rarely experience failure, and so they don't learn how to learn from that failure" (Nisen 2014). Could it be that Mugabe, the unsocial, smart, intellectual bookworm, turned into a dictator lacking intellectual humility?

Imprisonment

In 1962, after an international tour to raise support for the ANC, Mandela and some of his comrades were arrested. What followed was the Rivonia Trial (1963-64). Following the Rivonia Trial, Mandela was convicted and spent 27 years in prison.

Prison life was hard for Mandela, where he continued to face discrimination. One of his goals was to fight the Apartheid system from within prison, which included advocating for the right to listen to the radio and read newspapers, and he had a number of incremental successes. Besides often presenting prisoners' issues to the warden, Mandela mentored many of his fellow inmates.

In his autobiography, Mandela describes how difficult it was for him to be separated from his family. He was not allowed to see his children and his then wife, Winnie Mandela, who was often obstructed (including jailed) by the Apartheid system which prevented her from seeing him. The first time Mandela was able to touch Winnie's hand was after he spent 21 years in jail (Mandela 1995: 616). The couple also found it difficult to correspond with one another. For example, the prison authorities would censor letters between the two to the point where it was almost impossible to understand it.

Moreover, whilst in jail, Mandela lost many friends and relatives whose funerals he was not allowed to attend. In 1969, his first and oldest son was killed in a car crash, which, he said, "left a hole in my heart that can never be filled" (Mandela 1995: 531).

Upon Mugabe's return to Rhodesia from Tanganyika at the end of 1963 (about one year after Mandela's arrest after his international tour), he was imprisoned for 11 years due to his political activities. In 1965, the Rhodesian government, ruled by the White minority, declared independence from Britain. The latter responded by imposing sanctions against the Rhodesian government (Norman 2004: 60).

Mugabe utilised his time in prison to do a lot of studying. Like Mandela, Mugabe also provided education to some of his fellow inmates. Furthermore, as was the case with Mandela, he also had major restrictions placed against him. The authorities refused a request by Mugabe to attend his only child's funeral. He saw his then wife, Sally, for the first time in 10 years, when he was briefly released from prison to attend negotiation processes in Zambia (Norman 2004: 65).

Holland (2008: 158) argues that there is evidence that Mugabe was tortured, both mentally and physically, whilst in prison, which could be "the reason for the terrifying anger he has shown

towards his own people in recent years." She further argues, "Being prevented from attending his only child's funeral ... may well have broken his heart, cracking him into pieces so that, like Humpty Dumpty, he could not be put together again" (Holland 2008: 158).

In a recent interview on *People of the South*, Mugabe was asked by Dali Tambo (2013), the son of Oliver Tambo, what he envisioned for Zimbabwe whilst in jail. Mugabe responded that he pondered a lot about the crimes committed by the White racist regime and thought, "these bastards, we are going to deal with them ...we said, some people are going to pay for this when we get out." Mugabe was bitter, and he wanted revenge.

Roads to 'freedom'

The roads to 'freedom' for Mandela and Mugabe were different, partly because of the political context in which they operated, and largely related to the fact that the two began to have different outlooks on life.

Mandela the negotiator

Whilst in jail, offers were made to Mandela by the Apartheid government to free him. However, his 'freedom' came with a host of conditions without a promise from the Apartheid government to abandon its policies. In 1985, then President P.W. Botha said he would release Mandela if he "unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument" (Mandela 1995: 620).

Mandela (1995: 622) responded, "I am not a violent man ... it was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, that we turned to armed struggle ... What freedom am I being offered while the organisation of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a past offence?"

In other words, Mandela refused the offer to be 'freed' until the Apartheid government made a firm commitment to change the entire system for the benefit of everyone's freedom. It demonstrates Mandela's uncompromising believe in freedom and democracy for all.

Throughout Mandela's imprisonment, the ANC and their allies, together with MK, continue to fight against the Apartheid regime. At home, the ANC began to make the country ungovernable and Apartheid became an expensive endeavour. Numerous African countries, and particularly the Frontline States, also offered refuge and military training for MK fighters. International condemnation of Apartheid finally reached its peak when, from the 1980s onwards, a significant group of Western countries began to impose economic sanctions against the Apartheid regime.

By 1985, Mandela started to cautiously conduct secret talks with a handful of high-level politicians and the security sector (Esterhuyse 2012; Sparks 1996: 26-110). At the time, he believed that the time for negotiating with the Apartheid regime was ripe. His efforts paid off and when he convinced leaders of the Apartheid regime that negotiations are preferable to violence. In 1990, President F.W. de Klerk announced the unbanning of the ANC and other parties, freeing of political prisoners, and the lifting of a number of restrictions imposed during the State of Emergency. Mandela was released a few days later and the formal negotiation

process began. A year later, Mandela was elected ANC President, replacing his good friend Oliver Tambo.

Several further important negotiation processes started shortly after Mandela's release from prison; including the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in 1991, and CODESA II (1992). The processes culminated into an interim Constitution, which led South Africa into the country's first democratic election in 1994 (Sparks 1996: 120-239). These negotiation processes were intense, often happening at the same time as South Africa experienced extreme violence, ethnic, and racial tension. Violence also raged heavily between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, often fuelled by racist elements within government, resulting in large casualties. According to Johnson (2004: 201), "of all the lives lost to political violence under National Party rule a good half were lost in the 1990-94 period after the abolition of Apartheid." Throughout this difficult period, Mandela demonstrated tremendous leadership (Russell 2009: 1, 2). He remained a reconciler and continued to engage his enemies. His ability and commitment to engage his enemies helped to move the parties from a position of mistrust to trust. By the time South Africans went to the polls for the country's first democratic elections, the event was relatively peaceful.

Mugabe the reluctant negotiator

As mentioned, Britain was unhappy about Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and insisted that the country should be controlled by the majority Black population. Consequently, Rhodesia was only recognised by a handful of countries, most prominently Apartheid South Africa and Portugal. Attempts to find a negotiated solution failed and the Rhodesian government continued to face pressure from ZANU and ZAPU and their military wings (Nkomo 1984: 147-153).

After his release from prison in 1975, Mugabe secretly crossed the Rhodesian border into Mozambique from where he led the bloody war against the racist Rhodesian regime (Meredith 2008: 4). In 1976, Mugabe emerged as ZANU's new leader.

At the end of 1975, ZANU and ZAPU formed a joint guerrilla army called the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). The third in command of ZIPA, Wilfred Mhanda, described Mugabe as "secretive, stubborn and uncompromising" (Holland 2008: 179). Another liberation fighter (and former Minister of Education), Fay Chung (2006: 147), says that ZANU (newly under the leadership of Mugabe) believed that Nkomo's ZAPU "intended to take over the political leadership of the newly combined forces. Tensions were high, and ended in violence." As early as 1976, Mugabe started to purge his ranks of anyone who seems to be a threat (Holland 2008: 179).

By the mid-1970s, South Africa and the U.S. increased pressure on Smith to transform Rhodesia into majority rule. In 1979, Smith reached a power sharing agreement with urban based African nationalist parties to hold an election, but the agreement also ensured that Whites would continue to hold about one-third of parliamentary seats and to dominate senior positions in the security sector, civil service, and judiciary. ZANU and ZAPU were invited to take part in the

elections, but refused to partake as they were unhappy about the agreement, in which they did not participate. The United African National Council (UANC) led by Abel Muzorewa won the majority of votes and Muzorewa become Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's first Black Prime Minister.

The Bush War continued until 1979, when Britain, led by Margaret Thatcher, invited all political parties to Lancaster House to participate in a negotiation process. Mugabe, under pressure from Mozambique's President Samora Machel, reluctantly participated in the negotiation process, which lasted three months. At the last moment, after agreements on ceasefire arrangements, Mugabe threatened to walk out of the conference as he thought continuing the Bush War would put ZANU in a better position. President Machel again intervened and told Mugabe that "if he did not sign the agreement, he would be welcomed back to Mozambique and given a beach house where he could write his memoirs, but Mozambique would make no further sacrifices for a cause that could be won at the conference table" (Meredith 2008: 8).

Politics as a compromise versus a zero-sum game

Clearly, there was a lot more time invested into the negotiation process in South Africa compared to Zimbabwe. Mandela himself, as was seen above, spent time talking to his enemies. It arguably allowed the different parties to move from being 'enemies' to mere 'opposition'. In fact, in 1988, a special committee was formed which included amongst others, the Minister of Justice, the head and deputy of the National Intelligence, and the director general of the Prison Department. They had frequent, long (sometimes up to seven hours), detailed talks with Mandela whose diary notes forty-seven meetings in all (Sparks 1996: 36). In contrast, Mugabe was apparently "hostile" to "any idea of negotiations" as "imprisonment had only hardened his resolve to pursue revolution in Rhodesia … he saw no reason to seek a compromise" (Meredith (2008: 2). Unlike Mandela, who saw the armed struggle as a last resort, "Mugabe regarded armed struggle as an essential part of the process of establishing a new society" (Meredith 2008: 2).

There was also no outside permanent interlocutor in the South African negotiation process, which meant that the parties themselves had to find solutions to the future of the new nation. Mandela and many of his party members made a point in meeting with radical elements in South Africa to talk about their concerns about the future. Mandela was also very careful to keep the ANC structures, including those in exile, well informed about the purpose of these behind the scenes talks. He knew that he could not make deals on behalf of the ANC without consent from fellow ANC members.

With regards to Zimbabwe's transition, there was active intervention by several countries – such as Britain, Mozambique, South Africa, the US, Tanzania, and Zambia - to facilitate the transition process (Nkomo, 1984). On numerous occasions, African presidents from other independent nations forced Mugabe to the negotiation table. In 1979, when Mugabe once again refused to negotiate with the other parties, President Machel from Mozambique told him that he would no longer offer ZANU space for its liberation war. Mugabe was furious (Meredith 2008:

7). While this had the advantage of forcing a peace process in Zimbabwe at an earlier stage (compared to South Africa), it is questionable whether the parties were able to iron out important issues about the country's future and to build trust.

Mandela approached politics as a matter of compromise involving many different stakeholders, while Mugabe viewed it as a zero sum game, which is also arguably why he has created a de facto one party state. Mugabe's lack of negotiations with his enemies (which included both Rhodesians and Nkomo's ZAPU), meant that distrust between the parties continued, thereby tainting the future. Shortly after the Lancaster House Agreement, suspicion was already widespread in the weeks running up to what ought to have been Zimbabwe's first free and fair democratic elections in 1980.

The post-'liberation' period in South Africa and Zimbabwe

Two critical factors influenced South African and Zimbabwe in their post-'liberation' periods[3]: the leaders' time in office and their outlooks on liberty. The post-'liberation' in South Africa (from 1994 onwards) and Zimbabwe (from 1980 onwards) is therefore dramatically different, as will be explained.

Time in office

Arguably, the key factor that had a major impact on how the world views the two leaders and which had an impact on how they ruled, is their time in power. "Political scientists claim, as is the case with milk, that political leaders run the risk of becoming 'sour'. The shelf-life of a president/prime minister is typically ten years (or even shorter)" (Hartwell, 2014). Consequently, the longer a leader stays in power, the more apt s/he will be to make mistakes, thereby becoming more unpopular. In a true democracy, it is unlikely that such a person will survive the ballot box. However, if a non-performing leader is adamant to stay in power, s/he will have to resort to greater nepotism/patronage, bribery, propaganda, intimidation, and even violence, thereby augmenting the souring process.

Mandela served as President of South Africa for only one term (which is five years) and meant that he left the office while he was still 'fresh'. In contrast, like sour milk, Mugabe has expired many years ago. He came into power in 1980 and he continues to rule the country. As Lord Acton famously wrote, "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men." Mugabe's long stay in office inevitably created a situation in which he is more and more indebted to those that help to keep him in power. As a result, Zimbabwe is experiencing a greater disintegration of constitutional accountability and the ruling regime resorts to violence as a means to defend its own interests.

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[3] While South Africa's post-liberation period started with the first democratic elections in 1994, Zimbabwe never truly had a 'liberation' given the vast scale human rights abuses committed by the Mugabe regime. Thus, when this author refers to the 'post-liberation' period in Zimbabwe, it is strictly speaking only referring to liberation from the White Rhodesian regime. In Zimbabwe, 'liberation' fighters or heroes are those people who fought against the Rhodesian regime, not necessary those who fought for freedom and liberty for all Zimbabweans.

On freedom: self-rule versus liberal democracy

Another key factor that arguably influenced how Mandela and Mugabe executed their duties as leaders of their respective countries is their ideas of freedom. While Mandela stood for liberal democracy and equality, Mugabe was much more preoccupied with "self-rule" and "sovereignty" (Hartwell, 2014):

> One of Mugabe's problems is that he confuses independence with freedom. He likes to refer to himself and his party members as 'liberators' of Zimbabwe. Let us be clear: independence is strictly speaking self-governance and sovereignty over a specific territory. Freedom is much more extensive; it involves the absence of subjection to foreign domination or despotic government.

> Mugabe's interpretation of liberation gives him the impression that it is somehow justifiable to oppress Zimbabweans as long as the oppressor is a native of the country (although Mugabe would exclude White natives from this category). However … true liberation and freedom is much broader than independence as it goes beyond self-rule. Freedom means that Zimbabweans should not be oppressed by anyone, irrespective of the origin of the rulers.

Mandela's idea of liberation went beyond a mere change of guard from a White ruling elite to a Black ruling elite. His clearest expression of his idea of liberty was perhaps best made during a three hour long speech which he gave during the Rivonia Trial. In 1964, Mandela (1995: 438) famously declared; "I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mugabe's interpretation of 'liberty' (strictly related to self-rule and sovereignty) is convenient as it is a way of silencing critics. Shortly before Mandela made his very clear expression on liberty, Mugabe, as mentioned, taught in Ghana (1958-60), the first African country to become independent. In Ghana, Mugabe was apparently heavily influenced by Nkrumah who led Ghana to independence. Interestingly, in 1964 Nkrumah amended Ghana's constitution to ban all other political parties and make himself "president for life" (Oxford Business Group 2012: 17). Nkrumah only became the *de jure* president for life given that his regime was overthrown in a military coup in 1966, while Mugabe became Zimbabwe's *de facto* president for life. Although Mugabe has given some space to opposition parties, he has more often than not used a combination of violence, intimidation, propaganda, and bribes to either destroy or co-opt them. Zimbabwe's first democratic election in 1980 was preceded by intimidation by all of the major political parties. However, ZANU was considered by some to be "the worst culprit by far" (Meredith 2008: 10). Thus, the birth of what ought to have been a new democracy was tainted with blood from the very beginning.

Throughout the post-independence period, in addition to rigging the elections as a way of

window dressing Mugabe's version of democracy, he utilized his security sector to intimidate, torture or kill those that were outspoken against him and to punish those who voted for opposition parties (Barclay 2010, Hartwell 2013). Following the country's first elections, Mugabe began to systematically destroy ZAPU along with many innocent Ndebele during the Gukurahundi massacres. Consequently, ZAPU had to face further annihilation or become integrated into ZANU-PF and play a junior role. In the end, ZAPU joined ZANU-PF in 1987.

Mugabe's assertion that he is Zimbabwe's 'liberator' is therefore very dubious. While he has played an instrumental role (together with many individuals from ZANU and ZAPU) in liberating Zimbabwe from a White racist regime, he has not been able to extend liberty to all echelons of society. Mandela's (1995: 751) idea of freedom is much deeper because "to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others."

In an attempt to promote liberty, Mandela placed a lot of emphasis on respect for the country's Constitution as well as promoting separation of powers. In 1994, South Africa had its first democratic elections. The ANC won the election with 62% of the vote and the National Assembly elected Mandela as the country's first Black president. Mandela (1995: 743) claims that he was in fact "relieved that the ANC did not win a two-thirds majority because that would have enabled them to "write a constitution unfettered by input from others." Mandela (1995: 743) did not want an "ANC Constitution" and he desired a "true government of national unity".

Mugabe is however unable to distinguish between himself and the position of head of state and government. When reading about the history of Zimbabwe's Constitution (Vollan, 2013), it seems though that it was amended to protect Mugabe (as an individual), rather than limiting the powers of the President of Zimbabwe and strengthening the rights of the people that should be protected by the highest law of the land. Even the latest Constitution, which came into effect in 2013, accommodated Mugabe (again, as an individual). The new Constitution (2013) limits presidential terms to two five year terms, but it is not retroactive, which means that the nonagenarian Mugabe could still legally be in office for a few more years.

Embedded in the idea of constitutionalism is the need for government to respect the separation of powers. During his time in office, Mandela himself even appeared in court, demonstrating that he is not above the Constitution. Furthermore, "Mandela respected the courts, even when rulings by White judges from the Apartheid era went in favour of old Afrikaner Nationalists leaders" (Russell 2009: 9). Mugabe's long history in office together with his undying belief in his self-righteousness meant that he crushed the independence of the courts. He did this (amongst others) by signing decrees under the Presidential Powers Act (that would undermine court rulings), by threatening and removing judges that have made rulings "against" his interests, and by stacking the judiciary with yes-men and women (Goredema 2004: 99-118, Meredith 2008: 184-203).

Another key aspect of liberty and constitutionalism is the promotion and respect for media freedom. In fact, Mandela claimed that "A critical, independent and investigative press is the lifeblood of any democracy. The press must be free from state interference ... It must have

sufficient independence from vested interests to be bold and inquiring without fear or favour. It must enjoy the protection of the constitution so that it can protect our rights as citizens" (Hartwell, 2014). Mandela therefore regularly exposed himself to the independent media for questioning during his time in office. In contrast, Mugabe has deliberately clamped down on the independent media, which has faced unlawful arrests, kidnapping of journalists, bombing and invasion of their property, and numerous threats. At the same time, Mugabe has effectively expanded state propaganda by beefing up ZANU-PF-controlled state media (Chuma 2004: 119-139).

Setting the tone: reconciliation versus continuation of violence

Politically, Mandela and Mugabe approached the immediate post-liberation periods in their respective countries differently, with important consequences.

For Mandela, violence against the Apartheid regime was a 'last resort'. When South Africa's conflict situation came to an end, violence was no longer viewed as a legitimate political tool. Moreover, given the brutality of the Apartheid period, there needed to be some form of healing process. The solution was found in promoting Archbishop Desmond Tutu's idea of the 'Rainbow Nation' as well as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

Mandela's promotion of the Rainbow Nation made South Africans from all walks of life feel included in the new nation building project. Many people from across the racial and ethnic divide were proud to call him 'our President'. Furthermore, although the TRC had certain limitations, it arguably developed a foundation for reconciliation. It brought together almost 22,000 victims and perpetrators who broke the silence of the country's violent past. No one could ever say that Apartheid did not happen (*see* Boraine 2008: 169-216, Krog, 2000).

At first, it seemed that Mugabe would promote national unity and reconciliation. In 1980 Mugabe stated (Raftopoulos 2004: x, xi):

> If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself … It could never be a correct justification that because the Whites oppressed us yesterday when they had power, the Blacks must oppress them today because they have power. An evil remains an evil whether practised by White against Black or Black against White. Our majority rule would easily turn into inhuman rule if we oppressed, persecuted or harassed those who do not look or think like the majority of us.

Unlike South Africa, Zimbabwe did not have a TRC. Instead, Mugabe's rule was characterised by a wave of (blanket) amnesty processes. Every time Mugabe's regime unleashed violence against its opponents, it would simply grant amnesty and clemency to the culprits. Furthermore, Mugabe's idea of reconciliation did not last very long. In the post-independence period, which was supposed to have been a period of normalisation, Mugabe continued to see violence as an important tool to rope in his enemies, both real and imagined (Godwin, 2010). Mugabe even bragged once that he has a "degree in violence" (Meredith 2008: 241).

As early as 1982, after Mugabe's regime was criticized for torturing a Member of Parliament, he made it clear that he dislike legal systems that are against the use of torture in obtaining information. Mugabe said, "The law of evidence and the criminal procedure we have inherited is a stupid ass. It's one of those principles born out of the stupidity of some of the procedures of colonial times" (Meredith 2008: 55).

The climax of Mugabe's violence was during the Gukurahundi massacres, as it was a systematic attempt to destroy in whole or in part the Ndebele. The *Fifth Brigade*, which was trained by North Korea and consisted largely of former ZANLA fighters (belonging to ZANU) directly under the command of Mugabe, massacred close to 20,000 people. Mugabe called Joshua Nkomo, ZAPU's leader, a snake, creating the impression that Nkomo is dangerous, while dehumanising him in the same way that the extremist Hutu regime in Rwanda would later do to the Tutsi by calling them 'cockroaches' in the run up to the 1994 genocide. Mugabe said, "the only way to deal effectively with a snake is to strike and destroy its head" (Nkomo 1984: 223).

Following the massacre, there were several periods of state-sponsored violence in Zimbabwe, which largely corresponds to periods before, during and after elections. In 2000, the Mugabe regime created a new Constitution which they put forward in a referendum. One of the issues in the Constitution made it legal to acquire land without compensation. Mugabe suffered his first major political defeat. As a result, Mugabe's henchmen went ahead and forcefully and violently acquired land, presenting the so-called 'land-grab' as an issue between wealthy Whites and poor, landless Black Zimbabweans (Raftopoulos 2009: 210, 211).

While there were huge inequalities between Zimbabwe's White and Black population, which had to be rectified, the reality is that the land grab was used as a political tool to punish opponents (both Black and White) and to reward loyalty. As early as 1992, Ndabaningi Sithole, the original leader of ZANU, and James Chikerema who stood against Mugabe during an election, both lost their lands. Both of these individuals were Black, not White. Ministers, judges, political party members, chiefs of the security sector, and so on, have all been duly awarded with farms for their support of Mugabe (Meredith 2008: 125-127). More importantly, when the land grab escalated from 1999 onwards, it included a large scale displacement of approximately 400,000 Black farm workers and their family members (Hodzi et al, 2012: 83). Many of these Black farm workers were punished and tortured as they were accused of collaborating with their White 'masters' in voting for the MDC-T (which has been dubbed 'puppets of the West').

As time passed, the Zimbabwean state became more militarised while the security sector increasingly politicised (see Raftopoulos 2000: 201-232). Black Zimbabweans that were outspoken against Mugabe have been constructed by ZANU-PF as "dissidents" (Nkomo 1984: 230), "Black White men wearing the master's cap" (Meredith 2008: 155), neo-colonialists and Western "puppets" (Secka, 2013). In other words, when Mugabe's regime uses violence against these supposed enemies, the violence is 'legitimate' because, who can argue against fighting evil colonialism?

Wealth: modesty versus self-enrichment

The way that the two leaders used their offices in relation to their own welfare also tells us a lot about their respect (or lack thereof) for good governance.

While it is possible that Mandela's name has been used by some people to enrich themselves, Mandela himself lived a fairly modest life. In fact, after he became president, Mandela cut his annual ZAR 700,000 (roughly $64,000) salary by approximately 20 percent because he thought it was "too high" (City Press, 2013). He also donated a third of his salary to the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund. After Mandela's death, it was decided that, in the public interest, his will should be made public. It was estimated that Mandela, arguably the most respected man on earth, had an estate valued at ZAR 46 million (approximately $416,000) (Smillie, 2014).

This is not to say that Mandela's administration was completely flawless. For example, he came under heavy criticism for trying to defend Allan Boesak (a prominent liberation hero) who had been accused of embezzlement (Daley, 1999). Mandela also had a very cosy relationship with the controversial South African businessman, Sol Kerzner, who paid for Mandela's daughter's wedding (Blair, 2007). Some analysts further criticise Mandela for his "tolerance of underachievers" during his time in office (Russell 2009: 8).

In stark contrast to Mandela, there is almost no transparency in Zimbabwe with regards to disclosure of Mugabe's wealth. However, all evidence points to the fact that he has built a kleptocracy. In 2001, the U.S. Embassy in Zimbabwe allegedly reported to Washington that "the full extent of Mugabe's assets are unknown, but are rumoured to exceed $1 billion in value, the majority of which are likely invested outside Zimbabwe" (Bhebhe, 2011). Thirteen years have passed since then, and while it is impossible to give a concrete figure of Mugabe's current wealth, it might be worth pointing out how his cronies have been benefitting under his watch. It was recently revealed that Mugabe's Permanent Secretary in the Information Ministry received 500,000 USD in monthly salaries, benefits and allowances (Kadungure, 2014). The above case is not an isolated case of corruption under Mugabe's watch. The Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa (2012) published a report that documented a host of corruption scandals, allegedly and largely committed by Mugabe's associates, relatives and friends. The report alleges that Mugabe's reaction to corruption has been indifferent, and often, he rewarded individuals who were suspected of corruption.

Coming back to what has been argued earlier: Mandela had been in office for a much shorter period compared to Mugabe, which meant he did not have to depend on extensive bribes and patronage to maintain long-term support. Arguably, Mandela has also been much more principled. As mentioned earlier, his aim was to focus on democratisation of South Africa and building constitutionalism. For Mugabe, staying in power has been an important objective, which meant that he needed to reward supporters (while punishing opponents).

Economy: incremental development versus severe crisis

It is challenging to compare the impact of Mugabe and Mandela economic policies with one another, because their terms in office differ widely, giving Mugabe a much longer period over

which to deliver. Also, development (or underdevelopment) should be measured over a long period. Thus, one leader's choices and actions could have consequences long after s/he has left office. Nonetheless, here are some highlights throughout Mandela's and Mugabe's time in office:

Both leaders had the tremendous task of transforming their governments and economies into systems that would serve the country as a whole, as opposed to a White elite. When Mandela came into office, he introduced the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). The plan was considered ambitious and aimed to extend housing, land, and social services. Mandela inherited a huge public debt with a budget deficit close to 9.5% of GDP, which meant RDP's funding became problematic (Johnson 2004: 214). By 1996, the RDP was abandoned and the ANC introduced the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme, which aimed to create economic distribution through economic growth.

Following Mandela's presidency the economy experienced the longest period of continuous economic expansion since the Second World War. By 2007, South Africa had a budget surplus. More importantly, by 2007, the ANC-led government had built 2.6 million houses; the number of households with electricity doubled; over 87% of South Africans had access to clean running water; and 14.1 million South Africans benefited from social welfare (Russell 2009: 81-93).

Overall, South Africa's economic performance has been much better than that of Zimbabwe's. This is true whether one compares the economies from the moment of 'liberation' (which is 1980 for Zimbabwe and 1994 for South Africa) to the first terms in office, or the long-term implications of their actions (see Table 1).

Table 1. GDP per capita (current US$) in South Africa versus Zimbabwe

	1980	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2000**	**2005**	**2010**	**2013**
South Africa	2,921	2,142	3,182	3,863	3,020	5,234	5,758	7,508
Zimbabwe	916	636	840	611	535	453	568	714

Source: World Bank 2014

In the immediate post-independence period Mugabe also focused on expanding education and healthcare for all Zimbabweans. Initially, the country had impressive results in increased literacy rates, reduced child mortality, and expansion of government services (see Mlambo, 1997). However, government spending was unsustainable and Zimbabwe's macroeconomic situation was threatened. According to the World Bank (2012), public expenditure made up approximately 45% of Zimbabwe's GDP during the 1980s. Consequently, Zimbabwe had to adopt the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), which meant huge cuts in public programmes, civil service reforms, privatization of public enterprises and so forth. ESAP, combined with droughts in the early 1990s, did not improve the situation for the average Zimbabwean as de-industrialisation and unemployment increased, and the economy as a whole performed poorly, shrining as much as 7.5% in 1992 (Saunders, 1996).

Later in the 1990s, Mugabe pushed ahead with his land reform programme, which had devastating consequences. Just before dollarisation of the economy in 2009, Zimbabwe was

suffering disturbing hyper-inflation: in December 2008, Zimbabwe's inflation rate was reported at "6.5 quindecillion novemdecillion percent ... [or alternatively expressed as] 65 followed by 107 zeros" (IRIN, 2011). In 2009, the International Red Cross (2009) stated, "Zimbabwe has one of the lowest life expectancy rates in the world, estimated by the United Nations at 34 years for women and 37 years for men."

Today, as can be seen from Table 1, the average Zimbabwean is poorer than what they were in 1980. The average South African is today almost twice as wealthy as they were in 1994. This does not mean that South Africa does not have serious social and economic challenges. Both Zimbabwe and South Africa experience high levels of poverty, huge unemployment and deep inequality, but it is much more severe in Zimbabwe.

Conclusion

Although Mandela and Mugabe grew up in similar circumstances, they turned into very different individuals. One of the key reasons, as argued, relates to the choices that they made. While Mandela became the change that he wanted to see in South Africa, Mugabe's long rule in office saw the old man becoming more and more bitter. Mandela is rightfully hailed as one of the world's greatest leaders while the nonagenarian Mugabe continues to rule a broken country.

At the time of the controversial 2008 presidential run-off election in Zimbabwe, Mandela celebrated his 90th birthday he was saddened by the "the tragic failure of leadership in our neighbouring Zimbabwe" (BBC 2008). Mugabe for his part (Tambo, 2013) claims that "Mandela has gone too far in doing good to the non-Black communities ... he has been too much of a saint."

Mugabe's statement fails to acknowledge how successful Mandela was in building an inclusive state against all odds. Perhaps Mugabe is simply resentful of Mandela because the latter accomplished what the former never attained. Moreover, Mugabe's battle has not been directed solely against rich White Zimbabweans, he has violently clamped down on any form of opposition to his dictatorship.

When Mandela came to power, he was clear that he wanted an ANC based on the future and not ride on past glories. With regards to the ANC's first election campaign, Mandela (1995: 736) said; "I felt that our campaign should be about the future, not the past." He admitted that "some in the ANC wanted to make the campaign simply a liberation election, and tell the people: Vote for us because we set you free ... [but] we wanted people to vote for the ANC not simply because we had fought apartheid for eighty years."

In contrast to the future-orientated Mandela, Mugabe chooses to focus on ZANU-PF's past glories as if the entire nation must forever be indebted to the party for 'liberating' them. When listening to Mugabe's speeches one cannot help but think that he sounds like a teacher presenting a history lessons, in which he rehearses and glorifies Zimbabwe's liberation war for his audience.[4] Mugabe's speeches also reveals that he is an old man occupied with the past because he knows he does not have much of a future to look forward to. More importantly, Mugabe talks

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[4] This author listened to many of Mugabe's live speeches in Zimbabwe from 2010-2013.

about the distant past because he is trying to reinterpret history over and over again. He does this because he has skeletons in his closet. In order to stay in power, Mugabe has to paint a picture of an alternative 'truth'; one in which he is the hero and those who oppose him are the villains.

Mandela's time in office (and in fact his life) proves that he was a great man. Mandela became the embodiment of the ideals that he preached for many years. He left behind strong democratic institutions (compared to Zimbabwe) that continue to be tested, which is one of his greatest legacies. Nevertheless, even though it could be argued that Mandela was a greater man compared to Mugabe, this does not necessarily mean that South Africa is a better country than Zimbabwe. South Africa still needs to learn a number of lessons that Zimbabweans have already forgotten. Currently, South Africa is experiencing a major crisis of leadership that threatens the relatively young democracy. Challenges to Chapter 9 institutions are worrying and if they persists could cause major setbacks for South Africa's political and economic stability. However, Mandela's extraordinary leadership means that South Africans have a very high benchmark to judge the actions of their leaders and institutions.

Mugabe used his time in office to develop a strong authoritarian regime. The Zimbabwean liberation hero's legacy has been tainted by centralisation of power, corruption and mass murder. As a result, expectations in Zimbabwe are low and institutions have been hollowed out to the point where the separation of powers and the rule of law are meaningless. Even opposition politicians emulate Mugabe in certain ways as they have not yet had a leader who has mapped out an alternative democratic state where power comes with responsibilities and freedom is shared by all.

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Biographical Note

Leon Hartwell is a South African independent political analyst. From 2010-2013, he lived in Zimbabwe, where he worked for the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as a Senior Policy Advisor on Development and Political Cooperation. Leon holds undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of Pretoria.

The Patriotic Front (PF) Government under a Competitive Political Environment: Implications for Political Instability in Zambia

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Abstract

Political competition should generally improve government responsiveness just as competitive economic markets yield benefits to their consumers. However, this is not always the case. The competition between political parties in Zambia has been on the rise since 2001. However, increase in political competition tends to be associated with an unstable political environment. This paper brings to attention the potential effects of the increased political competition on Zambia's political stability, by looking at the changes to the vital governance indicators and fragility indicators. Since its ascendance to power in 2011, the PF has recorded marginal improvements in voice and accountability security apparatus. However, they have recorded deteriorations in political stability and absence of violence, human rights and rule of law indicators, and the fight against corruption. The overall political instability in Zambia has risen probably because of the increased competition in the political arena.

Introduction

Democracy in its narrow sense is expected to enhance political competition that in turn should be welfare enhancing for its citizens just as competitive economic markets yield benefits to their consumers. Whether political competition is conceptualized as the closeness of elections, the conflict between social groups, or the diversity of ideological views, it should generally result in improvements in democratic accountability and responsiveness such as the fight against corruption, independence of the judicial system, improvements in income distribution, reduction in riots and demonstrations. However, unlike economic competition, political competition results into complex outcomes that may be welfare enhancing or cost enhancing to some or all citizens.

Although the literature postulates that political competition is the primary mechanism driving policy responsiveness that is mediated by political institutions and government popularity, most studies show heterogeneous effects of political competition on democratic accountability and governance responsiveness. Competition for political authority or political influence has been reported to bring about improvements in policy outcomes in some cases and be a source of various political and social conflicts in others (Alfano and Baraldi 2012, Besley and Burgess

2002, Bardhans and Tao-Yang 2004, Gulati 2004, Griffin 2007, Cleary 2007, Faisman 2012, and Falkowski and Olper 2014).

In Zambia, competition for political authority has been on the rise since the inception of multiparty democracy in 1991, especially in the period after 2001. Despite extensive work by scholars about the potential effects of political competition, little is known about the possible effect of the rise in political competition, particularly, to democratic accountability, governance responsiveness and political stability in Zambia. Therefore, this paper tries to investigate to what extent governance and fragility indicators have changed with the rise in political competition i.e. the closeness of elections results between the competing political parties. Specifically, this paper brings to attention the responsiveness of the Patriotic Front (PF) government (that ascended to power after tightly contested elections in which the defeated the ruling party) given the rise in political competition measured by the average election victory margins.

Overview of Zambia's economic and political status

Zambia a heterogeneous country with 72 ethnic groups (Bemba 21%, Tonga 13.6%, Chewa 7.4%, Lozi 5.7% Nsenga 5.3%, Tumbuka 4.4%, Ngoni 4%, Lala 3.1%, Kaonde 2.9%, Namwanga 2.8%, Lunda 2.6%, Mambwe 2.5%, Luvale 2.2%, Lamba 2.1%, the rest 20.4% of the population) is a lower middle-income country with a GDP per capita of 1,800 USD and a real GDP growth rate of more than 6% per year for the past 10 years. The economic and political transformation that resulted in the privatization of the government-owned copper mines in the 1990s proved to have increased copper mining output through efficient production techniques that have improved profitability and thus spur economic growth especially with improvements in fiscal management after 2001.

However, Zambia`s high dependence on copper as its major export that amounts to 80% of its foreign earnings makes it vulnerable to volatilities in commodity prices and government interventions in the sector but can benefit greatly from diversification and value addition in the primary products exported. Despite a steady economic growth, the distribution of income is highly uneven with a Gini coefficient of 57.5 (2010) coupled with high poverty levels at 60% of the population (Bank 2014). High demographic pressures such as the high birth rate, mortality rate, and relatively high HIV/AIDS burden have further frustrated the gains from economic growth. In addition, about 85% of the labor force is employed in the agricultural sector that is negatively affected by market distorting agricultural policies (CIA 2014, Mundi index, 2014, World Bank 2014, IMF 2014).

Zambia has had a long period of relative political stability, while experiencing seven successful presidential elections since the return to multiparty politics in 1991. The 1991 and 1996 Presidential and parliamentary elections were not tightly contested with the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) dominating in both elections. However, competition for political authority has been on the rise since 2001 with the country being sharply divided along ethnic lines during elections and national policy. The presidential and parliamentary elections since 2001 have been tightly contested, with the victor, receiving less

than 44% of the votes and winning with small margins, i.e. 1.93%, 13.61%, 1.96% and 6.61% in 2001, 2006, 2008, and 2011 respectively. In terms of parliamentary election results, the 2011 elections were the most contested, with the Patriotic Front (PF) winning 60 seats, while the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) won 55, the United Party for Nation Development (UPND) won 28 seats, the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) and the Alliance for Democracy and Development (ADD) each won a seat, while the remainder were won by independent candidates with 2 pending parliamentary elections (electoral commission of Zambia, 2014).

To consolidate power, as was the case with the previous MMD government, the PF embarked on recruiting opposition members of parliament (MPs) into ministerial positions to get them on their side (Daily Nation, 2014). As expected, the recruited MPs were either expelled or suspended by their parties, and most of them lost their parliamentary seats despite challenging their parties in court. A record 22 by-elections were held within 3 years of ascending to power compared to 17 by-elections between 2007 and 2011. Most of the 22 by-elections were as a result of expulsions of opposition MPs appointed to ministerial positions. From the 22 by-elections, PF won 13, MMD 4 and UPND 5, indicating that the PF strategy of recruiting opposition MPs who were expelled, paid off. The PF increased its number of MPs from 60 in 2011 to 73 as of October 2014, while the UPND increased from 28 to 32, and MMD, the net loser in the game, was reduced from 55 to 37 MPs (electoral commission of Zambia, 2014). The by-elections were mired with violence between political party supporters, especially PF and UPND supporters, thus rendering the election results less credible, given the clear strategy by the PF of appointing opposition MPs. The heterogeneous effect of increased competition for political authority has to be seriously considered for Zambia especially, if the political competition is a source of social-political conflicts or unrest as this can cause or increase political instability.

Political competition, government accountability and political instability

Several studies show that political competition has the potential to accelerate political instability, especially when the ruling political parties try to suppress the opposition by intimidating them through threats of arrests or violence and other forms of political oppression to consolidate their power (Powell 2013). Although different dimensions of political instability have different effects, there is strong evidence from the literature showing that political instability has the potential to frustrate investment and affect economic growth negatively (Jong-A-Pin, 2009, Aisen and Veiga 2011, Hussain 2014).

Literature that measures effects of political competition on democratic accountability such as Adams 2012, Hobolt and Klemmensen 2008, Jones 2013, shows that political competition enhances democratic accountability in heterogeneous societies but may permit the incumbent to escape electoral control if the society is homogeneous because of variations in competitive behavior in these different types of societies. Voters in heterogeneous societies are less likely to trust their fellow citizens and as a result more likely to perceive a need to protect the benefits their group receives at the expense of others while voters in homogenous uncompetitive societies

assume that those around them share their preferences and are more willing to share public goods with them. Studies show that political competition can increase citizens' interest in politics due to the more exciting public conflict it creates and can increase citizens' perceived need to engage in politics to protect their own interests. As a result, competitive societies would hold incumbents more accountable for their policy record than uncompetitive societies through elections that are regarded as a sanctioning device that induces elected officials to do what they want. Political parties therefore, would be motivated to present policies that appeal to voters, whose bias toward these policies is based in part on reasons that have nothing to do with policy.

Furthermore, the unequal distribution of resources by the government of a political society seems to be the basic cause of continuing competition for political authority. Most studies show that when most political parties form government, their primary motive is to redistribute resources in line with the votes received. However, this tends to increase political instability as the inequalities in resource distributions lead to dissatisfaction and eventually increase uncertainty about future voting patterns as opposing political players use this imbalance to champion their cause, thus further increasing the competition for political authority (Belletini 1997, Alesina and Perotti 1995, Giskemo 2012).

Methods and data

This study uses the closeness of election results to measure political competition and relates the level of political competition to the trends in government and fragility indicators produced by the World Bank and the Fund for Peace respectively, and analyses changes since 1991 with a particular focus on the 2011 elections and the performance of the PF government.

Political competition

Closeness of previous elections, the level of diversity of ideological views, or the demographic diversity of the social groups are measures of political competition widely used by researchers (Jones 2013, Gulati 2004, Cleary 2007, Collingwood and Jochim 2013, Kayser and Lindstadt 2013). Margin of victories in previous elections is the most used measure of political competition by researchers, thus this paper also uses this measure to link the effects of political competition to government responsiveness using governance and fragility indicators. This paper measures the difference between the victor as well as the share of parliamentary seats to derive the scale of competition. The scale of electoral competition, EC, is constructed as a simple average of the margin of victory of winners of previous presidential elections in Zambia since 1991 and their party share of parliamentary seats relative to the competing party's share. If presidential and parliamentary elections are held at the same time

$$EC_i = 100 - \frac{1}{2}(PE_i + PS_i)$$

In the case of presidential by-elections

$$EC_i = 100 - PE_i$$

where PE$_i$, is the absolute difference in the percentage of the vote between the winner and the runner up. PS$_i$ is the absolute difference in the percentage between the winning party`s parliamentary share in the elections and runner up party in parliament seats. The mean of these absolute differences is subtracted from 100 so that higher scores on the scale indicate greater electoral competition, and lower scores less competition.

Governance or institutional quality indicators
According to the World Bank (2013), Governance is the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. The World Bank breaks down this definition to include, (a) the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; (b) the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and (c) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them. Two measures of governance corresponding to each of these three areas, resulting in a total of six dimensions of governance (worldwide governance indicators, WGI). They are categorized as follows:

(a)

1. Voice and Accountability (VA) – capturing perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media.

2. Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism (PV) – capturing perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence and terrorism.

(b)

3. Government Effectiveness (GE) – capturing perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.

4. Regulatory Quality (RQ) – capturing perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development.

(c)

5. Rule of Law (RL) – capturing perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.

6. Control of Corruption (CC) – capturing perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests.

These aggregate indicators are based on several hundred individual underlying variables, taken from a wide variety of existing data sources. The data reflect the views on governance of survey respondents and public, private, and NGO sector experts worldwide. The estimates of governance ranges from approximately -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong) governance performances. This paper analyses the extent to which these indicators have changed after a rise in political competition especially since 2011. The study analyses changes in voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness and control of corruption while others are included in the fragility indicators analyzed. These selected indicators provide a guide to the responsiveness of the PF government in a competitive political environment.

Fragility indicators

The Fragile States Index (FSI) is produced by the Fund for Peace. Each country is assigned a score based on major social, economic and political indicators to highlight the normal pressures that states experience and identifying when those pressures are pushing a state towards failure. Indicators are grouped into three categories, i.e. social indicators (demographic pressures, group grievances, human flight and brain drain), political indicators (state legitimacy, human rights and rule of law, security apparatus, factionalized elites and external intervention), and economic indicators (uneven economic development and poverty and economic decline). The FSI is used as a political risk assessment and early warning of conflict by policy-makers, investors and the public. High scores of these indicators imply low stability (high instability) and the low scores indicate high stability (low instability) in political environment (Fund for Peace 2014).

Although there is no consensus about the best measure of fragility and because these indicators may not accurately estimate the country specific economic and political indicators, they still provide useful information about the capacity of countries to handle pressure of social, economic or political and military nature. This study focuses on selected social, economic and political indicators as highlighted in the literature to be affected by strategies by political parties to consolidate power in the presence of high political competition, and thus, analyses group grievances, human rights and rule of law, and uneven development and poverty and economic decline.

Zambia's electoral competition

Table 1 shows that the former ruling MMD was dominant in all the elections except for the 2011 elections in which they lost to the then opposition PF. MMD, which was also an opposition party before 1991, managed to consolidate power with a majority in parliament for the 1991 and 1996 elections without a close contestation by other parties that were too weak to challenge it. The dominance during this period was because most the electorate had a common enemy, regardless of ethnic group, due to the frustrations with the President Kaunda's then ruling United Independence Party (UNIP) which formed a one party state, and viewed the MMD as a political party that liberated them from UNIP oppression, coupled with the decline in economic growth.

However, since 2001, the dominance of the MMD declined due to a number of reasons, one being the emergence of ethnically aligned political parties that resulted in votes being split along ethnic lines, and thus the reduction in the share of votes by the then ruling MMD. 2011 marked another milestone in Zambia's presidential elections when the incumbent president Rupiah Banda of MMD lost to President Michael Sata of PF. The loss is attributed to ethnic identity politics as well as perceived poor governance by President Rupiah Banda. The trend in parliamentary elections has been similar to the presidential one in terms of the dominating parties.

It is clear from Table 1 that the presidential and parliamentary elections in 1991 and 1996 were not competitive while the proceeding elections were competitive. Figure 1 below shows the scale of electoral competition in Zambia since 1991. 1996 was the most uncompetitive followed by 1991 and this is due to the new constitution put in place that disqualified the main challenger, President Kaunda because his parents were not born in Zambia. All elections since 2001 have been competitive with the most competitive being the 2008, followed by the 2011 with a scale of 98% and 95%, respectively. This kind of competition puts pressure on the ruling party to perform or please the electorates, and in some cases work to weaken the opposition in order to consolidate power. However, the consequences of the strategies used by the ruling party in the presence of high competition have social, economic and political implications.

Table 1. Zambia presidential and parliamentary elections 1991 – 2011.

Election year	Presidential Candidate	Party	Votes Received	Votes %	Parliament Seats	Parliament Seats %
1991	**Chiluba Fredrick J.T**	**MMD**	**972605**	**76%**	**125**	**83**
	Kaunda Kenneth D	UNIP	311022	24%	25	17
1996	**Chiluba Fredrick J.T**	**MMD**	**913770**	**68.96%**	**131**	**87.3**
	Mung'omba Dean N	ZDC	160,439	12.11%	2	1.3
	Mulemba H	NP	83,875	6.33%	5	3.3
2001	**Mwanawasa Levy P**	**MMD**	**506,694**	**28.69%**	**69**	**46**
	Mazoka Anderson K.	UPND	472,697	26.76%	49	32.7
	Tembo Christon S (Lt.Gen.)	FDD	228,861	12.96%	13	8.7
2006	**Mwanawasa Levy P**	**MMD**	**1,177,846**	**42.98%**	**73**	**48.7**
	Michael MC Sata	PF	804,748	29.37%	43	28.7
	Hakainde Hichilema	UDA	693,772	25.32%	26	17.3
2008	**Banda Rupiah B**	**MMD**	**718,359**	**40.09%**		
	Sata Michael C	PF	683,150	38.13%		
	Hichilema Hakainde	UPND	353,018	19.70%		
2011	**Sata Michael C**	**PF**	**1,170,966**	**42.24%**	**60**	**40**
	Banda Rupiah B	MMD	987,866	35.63%	55	37
	Hichilema Hakainde	UPND	506,763	18.28%	28	19

Source: Electoral Commission of Zambia

Figure 1. Zambia's electoral competition.
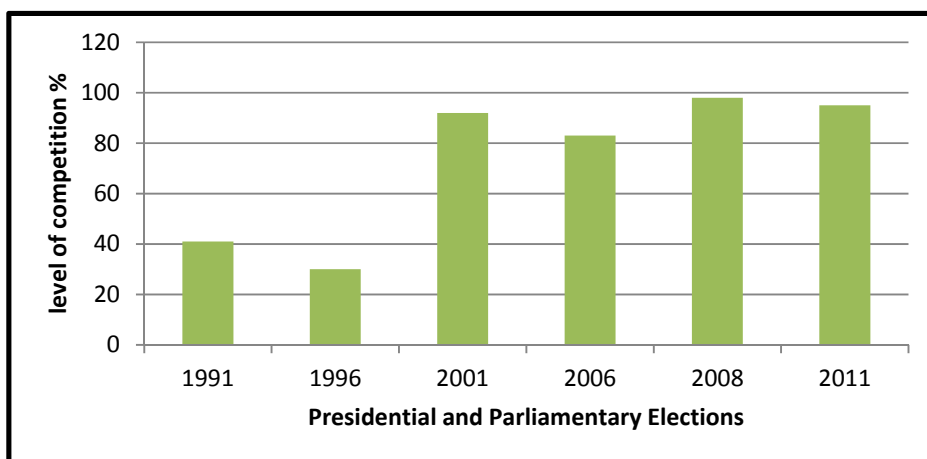
Source: Electoral commission of Zambia

Governance indicators

The PF government's responsiveness to various pressures is strongly influenced by the competitive political environment and the consequences can be observed in the changes to the governance indicators.

Figure 2 shows a weak government performance at below zero estimates for all the years since the indicators were introduced. Although still weak, there was a significant improvement after 2010 under the MMD government. However, the quality of public service, policy formulation and implementation and credibility of commitments to policies has not improved under the PF government. The performance of the PF government has remained the same as it was in 2011 when they took power from the MMD, whose performance only improved after 2010. MMD's improvements in government performance came only at a time when elections were a year away, implying that this improvement was meant to win votes in 2011. But due to the rise in political competition, MMD lost the elections as seen in Table 1, and this should be a lesson to the PF government whose performance is at par with the level that MMD left. While the non-improvement in performance may be due to the fact that they have been in power for three years, they only have two years to finish their term and this may not be enough to turn around how their government is perceived.

Figure 2. Government effectiveness indicators
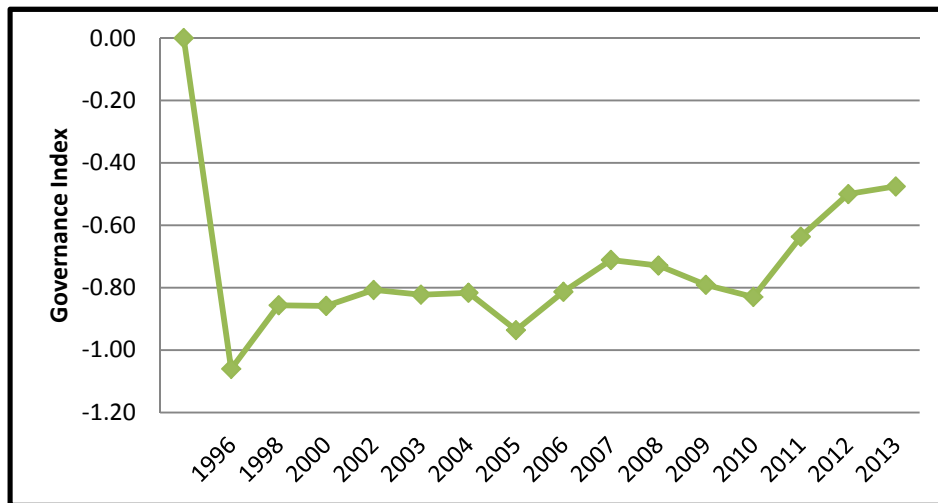
Source: World Bank (WGI)

The perceptions of the extent to which Zambians are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media has been improving over time despite being weak as shown in Figure 3 below. The voice and accountability reduced after 2008 which was an election year, but this can be explained to have been caused by political intimidation by the ruling MMD to weaken the opposition and not allow them to freely associate, and use the media freely by threatening media agencies. The improvements in 2010 onwards can be attributed to the upcoming 2011 elections, with MMD trying to impress the electorate. After 2011, voice and accountability continued to improve under the PF government compared to the MMD regime.

**Figure 3. Voice and accountability indicators**
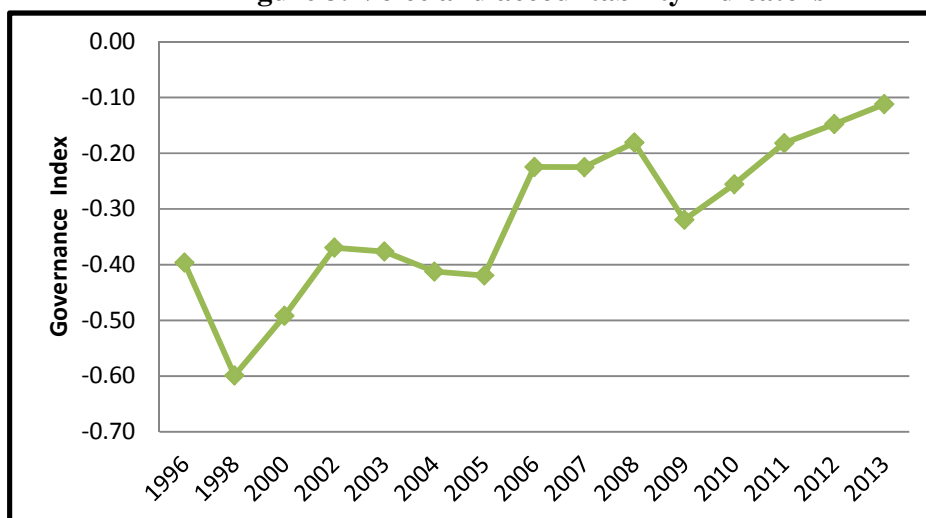
Source: World Bank (WGI)

Government control of corruption has been generally improving over time under the MMD regime even if remains weak at a below zero estimate as shown in figure 4 below. However, after 2012, there was a slight decline in the fight of corruption by the PF government. The PF campaigned to fight corruption once elected, but it seems they only did so in the first few months after assuming power and later directed their focus elsewhere, perhaps because they realized that they would still be competitive even without fighting corruption strongly.

Furthermore, the presence of a competitive environment seems to have triggered violence as the indicator shows a sharp decline in the political stability observed in figure 5. Although the indicator shows that there has been a stable political environment in Zambia with sharp reductions during election years such as 2001, 2006, and 2008, there has been a sharp decline in stability after 2012. This implies a presence of political violence, and can also be linked to the non-performing PF government who are trying to consolidate power through violence to silence their political opponents. If these are unchecked, the literature shows that there is a potential of an effect on economic growth and efforts aimed at reducing poverty.

**Figure 4. Control of corruption indicators**
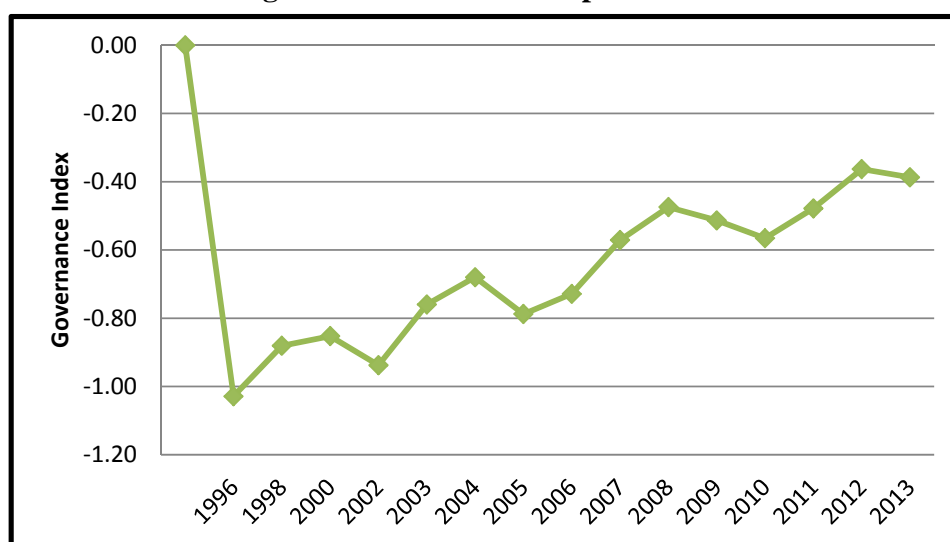
Source: World Bank (WGI)

Fragility indicators

Figure 6 below shows general rise in tension and violence between political groups since 2006. However, the period between 2011 and 2013 saw a sharp rise in political tension and this has remained high ever since. This coincided with the 2011 elections that were tightly contested, while the high tension after 2011 may be due to political consolidation strategies by the PF government, appointing opposition MPs to serve in its cabinet may have increased the tension with the opposition parties. It can be considered that the ruling PF has been using violence/tension to impose its power in a competitive political environment, and that it has also
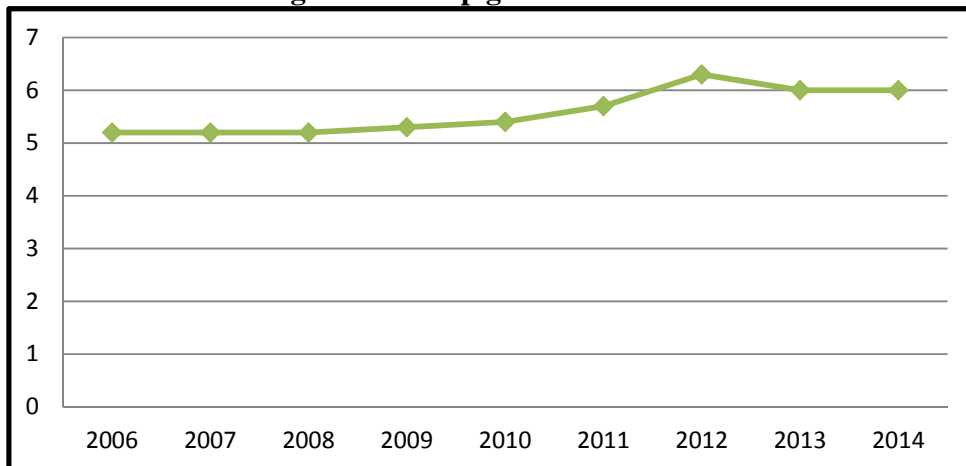
been contending with public grievances about the unfulfilled promises, resulting in demonstrations, strikes or the use of the media to channel their grievances.

Figure 5. Political stability and absence of violence/ terrorism
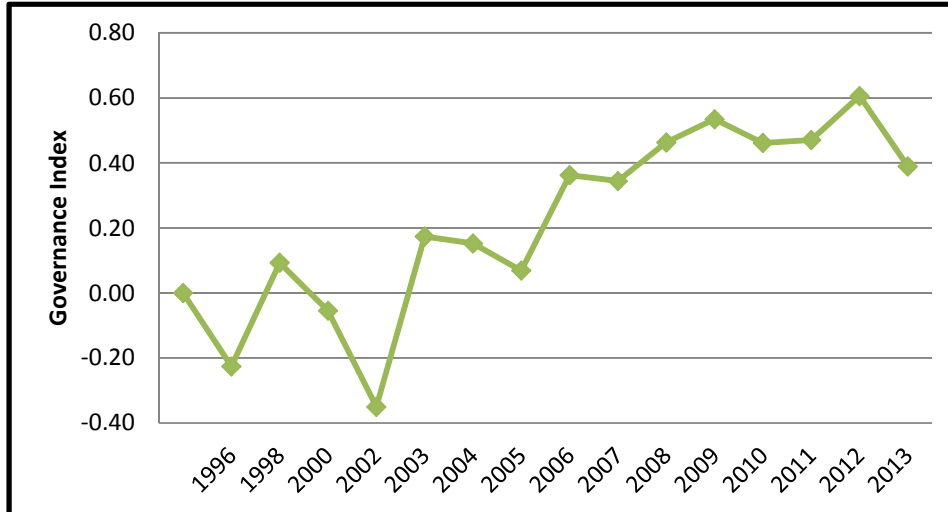
Source: World Bank (WGI)

Figure 6. Group grievance indicators

Source: Fund for Peace (FSI)

Moreover, figure 7 shows an increasing score in the PF government's violation of human rights. Although the score increased since 2010, there was a sharp increase in the score after 2011 and it is at its all-time highest. This implies that press freedom, civil liberties, and political freedom have been violated by the PF government. Political prisoners and persecutions of political opponents seem to be on the rise under the PF government. These violations are likely to have resulted from the rise in political competition, and hence, in order to strengthen their power, the PF government seems to have resorted to intimidating opponents given the

competition, thereby increasing the likelihood of more violence from possible reactions by the opposition and thus further weakening of the political stability of Zambia.

In addition, figure 8 shows that the uneven distribution of resources has been at an all-time high since 2011 when the PF got into office. This can be explained by the rise in political competition coupled with regional/ethnic voting patterns that has forced the PF government to allocate more resources to areas where they received more votes in order to retain the votes in the next election. The GINI coefficient of 57.5 for Zambia and more than 50% of the GDP is shared by 10% of the population (BTI 2014). Moreover, there are large gaps in service delivery between the rural and urban population for Zambia (ZIPAR 2014). Thus, not everyone from the regions where the PF got more votes benefits from their income redistribution strategies, and this may have effects on their performance in the next election.

Figure 7. Human rights and rule of law indicators
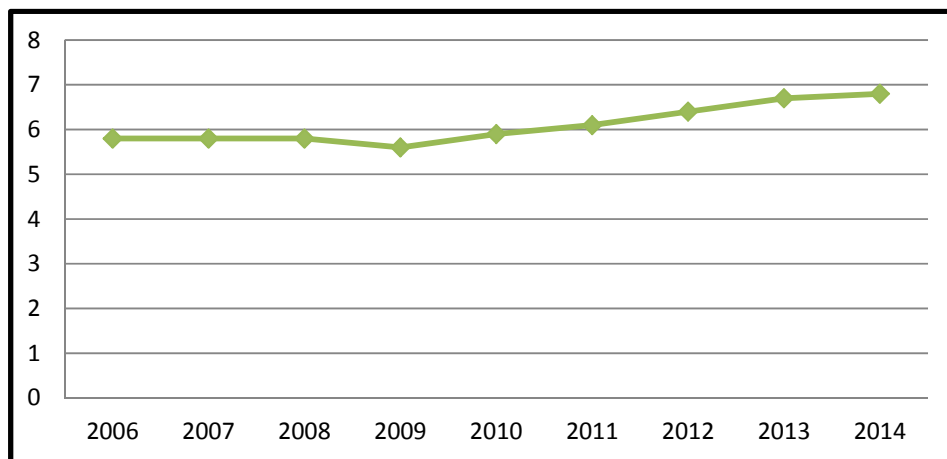
Source: Fund for Peace (FSI)

Figure 8. Uneven development indicators
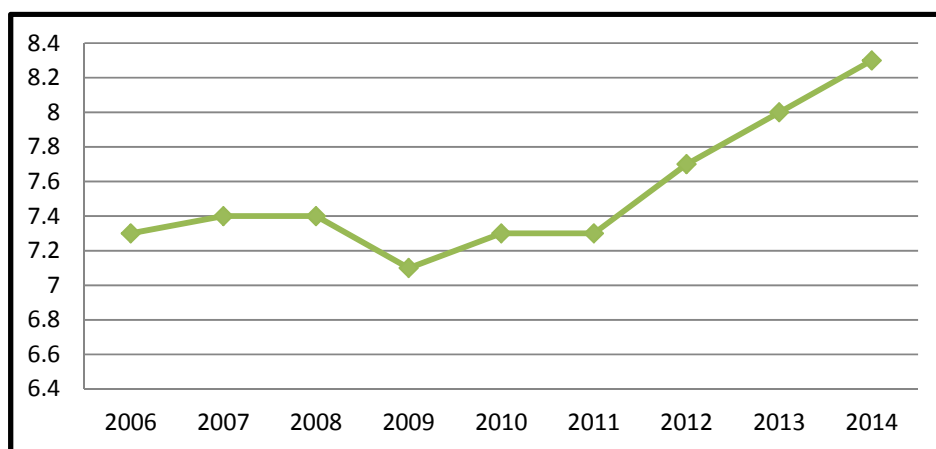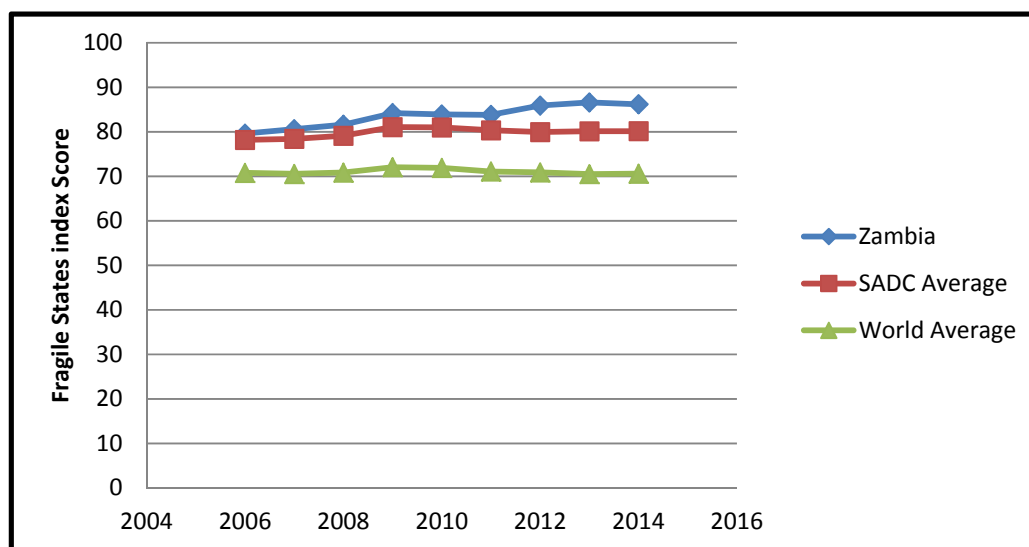

Source: Fund for Peace (FSI)

Poverty and economic decline have been relatively on the rise after the PF government came into power. Figure 9 shows a sharp increase in poverty and economic decline, and this can be explained by reductions in purchasing power due to the depreciation of the kwacha and a rise in both domestic and external debt to fund infrastructure and the current account deficit. The high number of unemployed youths can also be connected to this increase in poverty levels. This implies that the PF government struggled to provide for its citizens until after 2013 when they posted marginal improvements in reducing poverty and boosting the economy.

Furthermore, Zambia's rank of 49 out of 178 countries on the fragile state index shows a relatively high political risk that has negative implications for peace, investment and eventually, economic development. In addition, figure 10 shows that Zambia's fragility on average has increased at a greater rate than the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) regional average since 2011, which is higher than the world average. This indicates that the PF government is a government with a greater political risk than the previous MMD government. The rise in political competition may have been the reason for the rise in fragility as the PF government tries to weaken its political opponents to consolidate power. Just as literature shows that political competition has a potential to increase political instability, it has been observed that the increase in political competition may have a strong effect on the way the PF government has performed in terms of governance responsiveness and accountability, and curbing political violence.

Figure 9. Poverty and economic decline indicators
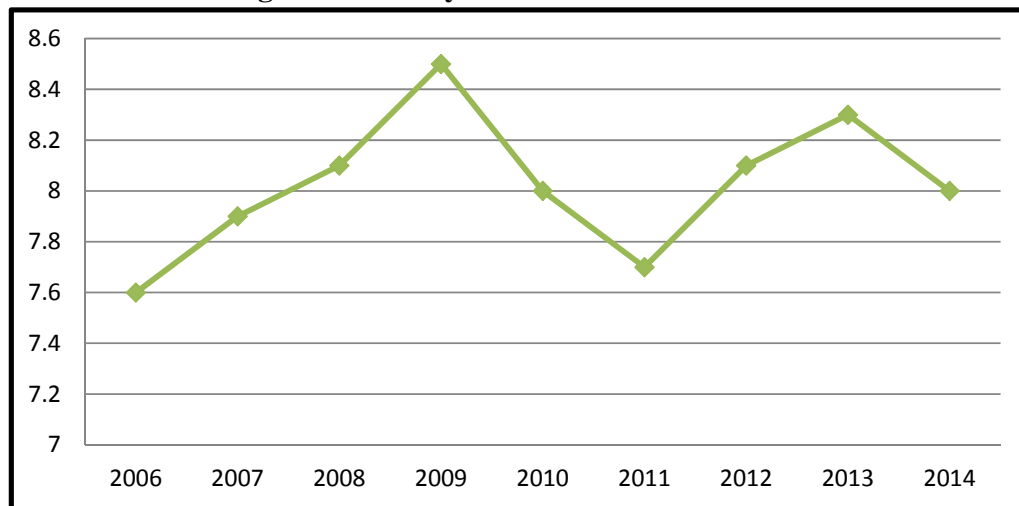
Source: Fund for Peace (FSI)

Figure 10   Zambia's overall fragility trend comparisons, 2006-2014

Source: Fund for Peace (FSI)

Conclusion

Governance indicators clearly show that the PF government has performed poorly in terms of its fight against corruption, its public service delivery and credibility of its policies while posting improvements in accountability that can be linked to the ability of the citizens to choose their leaders. Overall, the performance of the PF government has not improved beyond that of the MMD government. Furthermore, the fragility indicators show how the PF struggle to meet the pressures of political competition as most indicators show deterioration of the political environment. Political violence/tension, violation of human rights and the rule of law and uneven distribution of resources are at all-time highs in the period covered. This clearly shows that the PF government strategy to compete politically is not through improvements in policies/providing for its citizens, but through intimidating political opponents and hence, the rise in political instability.

The PF government should continue with its attempts to improve the freedoms of expression and media freedom if political risk is to be reduced, because it has serious effects on economic development and further frustrates the fight for poverty reduction, which is the major disease of Zambia. The current levels of press freedom are not significantly different from those of the previous MMD government, and as such a platform is available for the opposition parties to campaign for further improvements in press freedoms and possibly gain more votes in the next elections.

The PF government's strategy to intimidate political opponents through arrests, persecutions and politically-motivated violence should be revisited if the PF government wants to reduce Zambia's fragility and win the next elections. The electorates would possibly align themselves with a party perceived to be less violent, rendering the PF strategy to consolidate power impotent.

Furthermore, the rate of by-elections won by the PF since 2011 of 59% (13 out of 22) is not good enough to justify their strategy of appointing opposition MPs to ministerial positions expecting them to be expelled from their parties, thereby causing expensive by-elections. The cheaper strategy would be to negotiate with certain opposition party leaders to be included in its government. This would improve political stability although democracy would be undermined, but ultimately it may assist in consolidating power and increasing the likelihood of winning the next general election.

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If it Bleeds, it Leads?
Distant Media Coverage of the Peace Process in Angola

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Abstract

It is generally assumed that when covering armed conflict, the news media have a tendency to focus on the violent phase (and acts of violence) and neglect the post-violence phase (and events surrounding conflict resolution), but few attempts to quantitatively test this assumption have been undertaken. This study examines this assumption, using the *New York Times*' coverage of the conflict in Angola preceding and following its final peace deal as a case study. It found that the conflict in Angola did not lead, whether in the violence phase or the post-violence phase, and that coverage was quantitatively low and sporadic. It did, however, find that neither the post-violence phase nor issues of conflict resolution in general were neglected when compared to the violence phase or acts of violence. It discusses the factors behind the quantitative findings.

Introduction: Media coverage of conflict and peace

'If it bleeds, it leads'. This is an oft-used axiom used to describe what is broadly seen as a tendency by the news media to attempt to attract and maintain an audience by focusing disproportionately on sensational news of violence, at the expense of less dramatic but equally important news. Evidence of the news media leading with coverage of such violence has been explored at a local level, most notably on issues of domestic crime (see, for example, Lowry et al. 2003, Dowler 2004). Similar accusations have been leveled at the news media based in countries and territories experiencing armed conflict. Studies have looked critically, for example, at how the tendency of the local news media to look for crisis and conflict, and exaggerate it, can have a disruptive influence on efforts to bring domestic conflicts to an end (Wolfsfeld 2004; Spencer 2005).

This tendency has also been identified in coverage of distant (foreign) conflict-related violence in the literature (Jakobsen 2000; Moeller 1999: 17-19). Gadi Wolfsfeld's classification of the editorial process of the news media, highlighting violence, crisis and conflict as being "news", and calm, cooperation and moderation as "not news", applies to news on both domestic and foreign issues (2004: 16). Journalists themselves write of a "coups and earthquakes" approach to the coverage of the world (Rosenblum 1979). The perceived tendency of the media to focus on the violent aspects of conflict (both in terms of domestic and foreign affairs), has led

to the development of the concept of "peace journalism", which is seen as representing a shift away from "war journalism" (see, for example, Lynch and Galtung 2010; and Hanitzsch 2007). Others see the push for peace-oriented journalism as a step too far, and argue that there is a need for a more nuanced and comprehensive coverage of the complexities of conflict – conflict-sensitive journalism (see Howard 2015).

The perception that the 'if it bleeds, it leads' formula generally holds true in situations of conflict and peace is strong, and as such, it is widely assumed that media coverage of the peace is insignificant when compared to the coverage of the violence. It is seen almost as a given, for example, that "when peace appears to be taking hold in a particular area, it is time for journalists to leave" (Wolfsfeld 2004:15). But the fact is that little research has been conducted to date on whether this is indeed the case. Peter Viggo Jakobsen rightly notes that "the media ignores most conflicts most of the time", and goes on to call coverage of the post-violence phases of conflicts "negligible at best" (2000: 131), but does not offer any quantitative evidence on just how negligible it may be. Beaudoin and Thorson (2002) using the *Los Angeles Times* as a case study, do attempt to quantitatively test the assumption that in conflict coverage, news of the violent conflict far outweighs coverage of conflict resolution, and found that this was not the case – "conflict resolution was only slightly less common than conflict coverage" (54). In another study by the author in which coverage of the violence and post-violence phases of three conflicts (Liberia, Israel-Lebanon and Sri Lanka) was examined, coverage in the post-violence phase dropped to one-third of that of the violence phase – a clear drop, certainly, but post-violence coverage was by no means negligible (Hawkins 2015: 54-56).

A slightly different angle also demands our attention. In a study of the coverage of crime in Canada, Kenneth Dowler finds that while the 'if it bleeds, it leads' formula generally has some truth to it, it is not entirely accurate, because of bias regarding the coverage of racial minorities – that it, "it really depends on who is bleeding" (2004: 94. See also Gilchrist 2010; and Entman and Rojecki 2001). This is an important caveat that also certainly applies to the coverage of distant armed conflict. Herman and Chomsky (1988), for example, compared the differences in US media coverage of "worthy" and "unworthy" victims in Latin America in the context of the Cold War. The notion that the news media adjust their coverage of violence depending on "who is bleeding" has particular weight when observing the coverage of conflicts in Africa. Africa remains a part of the world that is routinely marginalized by the mass media outside the continent, attracting relatively low levels of coverage, in terms of news of conflict, and of other events occurring on the continent in general (Hagos 2000; Franks 2005; Golan 2008). Relative to its counterparts elsewhere in the world, coverage of the violent phase of conflict in Africa is chronically neglected, particularly when the conflict scale (measured in terms of the death toll) is considered (Hawkins 2011). Furthermore, coverage of peace processes in Africa is proportionately smaller than that for conflicts elsewhere. Beaudoin and Thorson's study (2002) revealed, for example, that articles covering conflict in the Middle East were far more likely than those covering conflict in Africa to contain references to conflict resolution. One study conducted in the early (Cold War) years of African independence (when interest in African

politics was arguably higher than current levels) of *New York Times* coverage of equatorial and lower Africa is also worthy of mention. It found that while violent political events were, to a degree, given greater coverage than non-violent ones on the front page of the newspaper (roughly 37 percent of the total), the reverse was true for overall coverage, with violent political events making up 13 percent of the total (Charles, Shore and Todd 1979).

This study aims to add to this literature, quantitatively exploring the 'if it bleeds, it leads' claim, with regards to the coverage of distant conflict, focusing on the coverage in the *New York Times* of Angola in the one-year period before and after the signing of a final peace deal in April 2002. The violent and abrupt end to the conflict in Angola enables a clear distinction to be made between the violence and post-violence phases of the conflict, providing the suitable conditions for some clear-cut observations to be made in terms of the differences in the coverage of conflict-related violence and non-violent events in this case.

The case of Angola

Armed conflict plagued Angola in various forms for more than 40 years. Its war against Portuguese colonial rule ended with the attainment of independence in 1975 following Portugal's 1974 revolution. The Angolan forces that had waged that war – *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA, or People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), and *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (FNLA, National Front for the Liberation of Angola) – would then begin their battle against each other for control of the government. Both the movement for independence and the post-independence battle for power took place in the context of the Cold War, with both the future of Angola and neighbouring Namibia (then under apartheid South African rule) at stake. Military assistance poured in from the superpowers and their allies, with the USSR and Cuba supporting the MPLA, and the USA, apartheid South Africa, the Peoples Republic of China, Zaire and Israel being among the supporters of UNITA and the FNLA. The FNLA was defeated military early in the post-independence conflict, but the battle between the MNLA and UNITA would continue for decades. The MPLA formed a government in Luanda, with José Eduardo dos Santos serving as president since 1979, and UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, become the country's largest rebel group. An additional rebel group, *Frente para a Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda* (FLEC, Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda) remains active to this day, although to a limited extent.

The end of the Cold War saw a rapid decline in interest by the USA and USSR in continuing to support the conflict, and led to a number of solid moves towards peace. In exchange for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, South Africa agreed to the independence of Namibia – the 1988 New York Accords. The Bicesse Accords in 1991 paved the way for UN supervised elections held in 1992. The elections and their aftermath were plagued by violence, and the conflict resumed before the second round of elections could be held (for a description of this period, see, for example, Brittain 1998; and Pereira 1994). Without its traditional patrons,

high-value natural resources increasingly became the prime means of sustaining the fight – oil for the MPLA, and diamonds for UNITA. A new peace deal signed in 1994, the Lusaka Protocol, also failed to hold, and full-scale conflict resumed in 1998. With its external support base diminished, and stricter measures being put in place against the trade in conflict diamonds, however, UNITA rapidly weakened and lost the bulk of its territory, shifting primarily to guerrilla tactics. On 22 February 2002, Jonas Savimbi was killed in battle in Moxico province by government forces, which quickly brought the conflict to its final conclusion. On 4 April in Luena, the remainder of UNITA's military command signed an addendum to the Lusaka Protocol in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding.

One year after the conflict finally came to an end, the International Crisis Group rightly lamented that "few countries in the world have experienced as sustained and violent a conflict as Angola" (ICG 2003: 2). The final years of the war (particularly from 2001), resulted in the displacement of millions of people – more than 4.7 million people (40 percent of the population) would be counted as being displaced when the war ended (Guha-Sapir and Gomez 2006: 8). UNITA had fought brutally against the government, and targeted large numbers of civilians, both directly and indirectly. The Angolan government, for its part, displaced a huge number of people in an attempt to deny support and sustenance to UNITA, and at the same time prevented access by humanitarian organizations to areas outside its control, which included three million people in areas under UNITA control, and many more in what effectively became no man's land (Messiant 2003). Humanitarian conditions at the end of the conflict were horrendous (Guha-Sapir and Gomez 2006), and Angola to this day remains "riddled with landmines" (Iob 2012).

Both in the past and present, Angola has generally not been considered a newsworthy country by the English-language media, certainly when compared to the world beyond Africa, and even within (southern) Africa. Its independence struggle garnered it little coverage in the *New York Times*, for example, and even in the turbulent times of its realization of independence in 1975, it was receiving less coverage than South Africa or Rhodesia (Charles, Shore and Todd 1979: 151). Historical, linguistic and cultural ties have, after all, been identified in the literature as a determinant of media coverage of foreign countries (Tai 2000). When Angola was covered by the US press, it was often in the context of the Cold War, with a bias in favour of UNITA and against the MPLA government (Windrich 1992). The end of the Cold War appeared to remove much of what little attention the conflict had been able to attract (both for foreign governments and foreign media). The conflict was soon being described as an "orphan of the Cold War" (Anstee 1996), and a "forgotten" (Pycroft 1994) and "neglected" (Pereira 1994) tragedy. This tendency, needless to say, extended into the post-conflict period. Lara Pawson, who reported from Angola for the BBC, contrasted the coverage of two somewhat similar events that occurred within two weeks of one another in southern Africa in 2007. The beating by the authorities in Zimbabwe of the opposition leader, Moran Tsviangirai, was heavily covered by the BBC, but the broadcaster failed to report on an alleged attempt on the life of the head of UNITA (by that time the largest opposition party) in Angola. When she attempted to push the issue with the editors at the BBC, one replied that the issue would need to be covered only if the situation became "substantially

worse" (Pawson 2007). The overall lack of coverage (violent or non-violent) can therefore expected to be one of the limitations of this study.

Methodology

In order to examine and compare media coverage of the violence and post-violence phases of the Angolan conflict, as well as violent and non-violent incidents and issues, this study quantitatively analyzed all coverage of Angola in the *New York Times* one year preceding, and one year following, the formal end to hostilities in the form of a ceasefire agreement signed by the Angolan government and the UNITA rebels on 4 April 2002. The *New York Times* was selected as a media source that can be considered somewhat representative of the English-language press. It is the US newspaper of record and it exerts an unparalleled level of influence on other media sources throughout the world (McCombs 2004: 113-4). A search for articles containing the word "Angola" in the headline or first paragraph in the world news section of that newspaper was conducted using the Lexis-Nexis database. The articles were manually filtered to eliminate articles that did not primarily cover issues associated with Angola, and articles contained in the business/financial or cultural section of the newspaper. A total of 44 relevant articles (with a total of 21,113 words) were found for the period between 4 April 2001 and 4 April 2003.

The study divided the articles into the violence (pre-ceasefire period) and non-violence (post-ceasefire) phases, conducted a word count, and graphed the coverage (by word count) over time on a monthly basis. Word count was considered a better reflection of the overall quantity of coverage than article count. This was particularly considered important given the large gap between full-length articles (several of which exceeded 1,000 words), and news briefs of less than 100 words, which accounted for 19 or the 44 articles (43 percent) counted. It then classified each of the articles according to their primary content into six categories: violence, humanitarian, peacemaking, peacebuilding, history and non-conflict. Articles primarily covering violent incidents associated with the conflict were classified as belonging to the 'violence' category. The 'humanitarian' category contained articles that focused on humanitarian suffering associated with the conflict and/or humanitarian assistance efforts. The 'peacemaking' category was made up of articles focusing on efforts to attain a peace agreement, including peace talks (or the possibility thereof) and the work of intermediaries. Reporting on short- and long-term infrastructural, social and economic rebuilding associated with bolstering the peace process, meanwhile, was included in the 'peacebuilding' category. Historical reflection and analysis on past events and background associated with the conflict (including the obituary of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbia) was assigned to the 'history' category. Finally, the 'non-conflict' category was used for coverage of events in Angola that were not associated with the conflict, including political wrangling, corruption and foreign relations. These categories were also quantitatively assessed based on the total word count.

A comparison of violence and post-violence phases

It is important to begin this analysis by noting that the total amount of coverage over the two-year period examined is rather small, paling in comparison to high-profile conflicts in the Middle East or Europe. As seen in the aforementioned 2006 Israel-Hezbollah example, for example, two weeks of coverage in the *New York Times* in the post-violence phase is easily sufficient to surpass the two years of coverage of Angola (both violence and post-violence phases). If we exclude the short news briefs, we are left with just 25 substantive articles in total. Within the limited data (including the news briefs), this section attempts to reveal and discuss some possible trends in violence and post-violence phases of the conflict.

Figure 1. Coverage of violence and post-violence phases of the Angolan conflict in the *New York Times*, April 2001-April 2003 (word count)
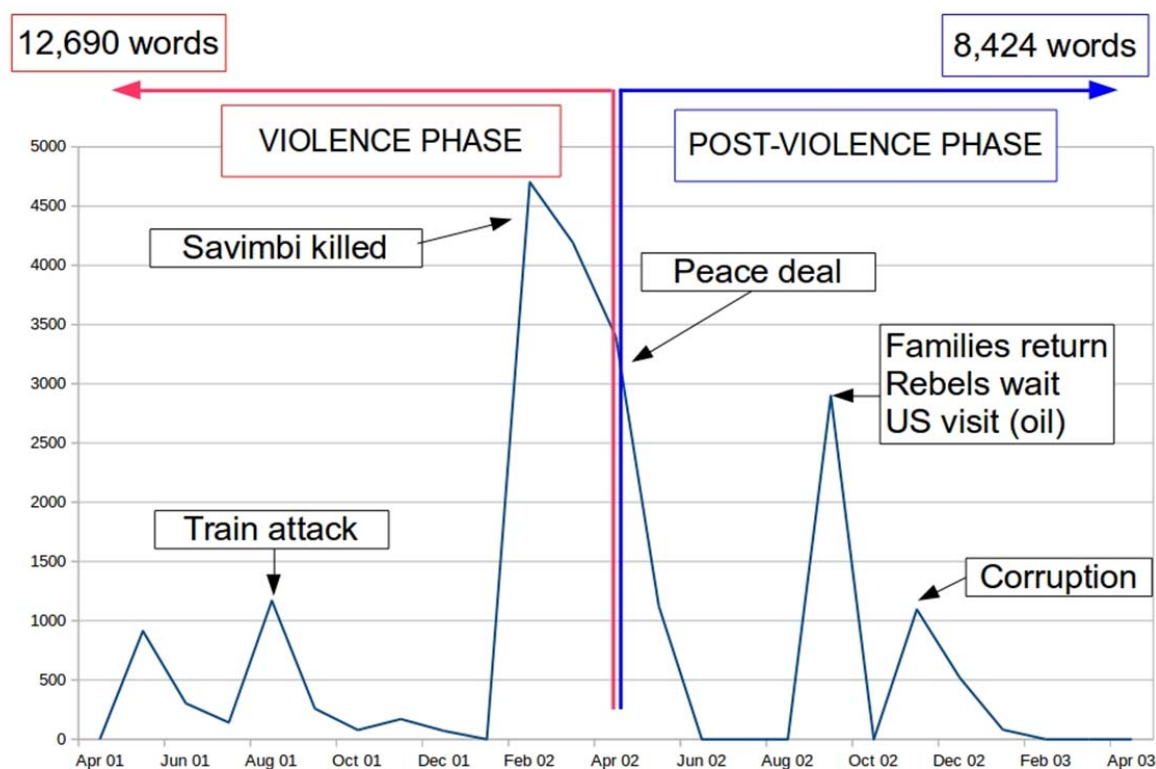

Figure 1 shows the quantity of coverage (in words) of articles over the period studied. The most prominent spike appears (predictably) between late February and early April 2002, during which time Jonas Savimbi was killed and the final peace deal was signed. These one-and-a-half months account for more than half the total coverage of Angola during the two years studied. It is interesting to note that while other spikes in coverage are apparent, they do not represent any meaningful cluster of events. The second largest spike, for example, of just under 3,000 words (three articles), seen in September 2002, is what can be considered largely coincidental, with one

article covering the visit of the then US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, to Angola (Dao 2002), followed by another on displaced families returning to their homes (Cauvin 2002b), and a third on rebel demobilization and reintegration (Cauvin 2002c). The articles are more than ten days apart. Similarly, the smaller spike of just over 1,000 words in August 2001 is a combination of two substantive articles – one on UNITA's attack on a train resulting in more than 250 deaths (Cauvin 2001b), and the second reporting on Eduardo dos Santos' announcement that he would not run in presidential elections (Cauvin 2001c). The spike in November 2002, is essentially one substantive article, on corruption in Angola (Cauvin 2002d).

A simple comparison of the quantity of coverage of the violence phase (12,690 words) and post-violence phase (8,424 words), with the cut-off point being the date the peace deal was signed, reveals a decrease, but only by one-third. While we must be careful making comparisons, particularly given the small sample size that the Angolan case offers, this is a considerably smaller drop in coverage than the Liberia (2003), Israel-Hezbollah (2006) and Sri Lanka (2009) cases mentioned above. But perhaps the particular circumstances of the Angolan case necessitate a rethink in terms of how we should view the data. The killing in battle of Jonas Savimbi certainly belongs to the violence phase, but the widely held (albeit cautious) expectations immediately following this event were that it represented the effective end of the armed conflict, and that peace would follow. The IRIN news agency, for example, stated that Savimbi's death "added new impetus" to the peace process (Anon. 2002a). The *Guardian* newspaper reported that Savimbi's death meant the end of UNITA, and that the Angolan government "would prepare for an end" to the conflict (Siona and Brittain 2002). This is indeed what transpired. UNITA quickly moved to the negotiating table and within 40 days of Savimbi's death, a peace deal had been reached.

In this sense, it may be best to consider this 40-day period as a transition phase, separate from the violence and post-violence phases. The reconsidered phases of the conflict and the levels of coverage are represented in figure 2. Roughly half of the coverage is now occupied by the transition phase, and of the coverage that remains, the post-violence phase (7,804 words) is much greater than that of the violence phase (3,105 words) – more than double in fact. The data from this perspective goes completely against the 'if it bleeds, it leads' expectations.

A comparison of violent and non-violent incidents and issues

As already noted, peace efforts and other non-violent events occur during the violence phase of a conflict, and violence does not necessarily limit itself entirely to the violence phase of a conflict. Thus, with a view to obtaining a better understanding of the issue of media interest in violence in the context of a conflict, in addition to comparing the violence and non-violence phases of the conflict, it is necessary to ascertain how much of the coverage during the period in question (as a whole) focused on the violence.

Having classified each of the articles according to their primary content into one of six categories (violence, humanitarian, peace-making, peacebuilding, history and non-conflict) and measuring the total word count, it became clear that the violence category was one of the least

Figure 2. Coverage of violence, transition and post-violence phases, of the Angolan conflict in the *New York Times*, April 2001-April 2003 (word count)
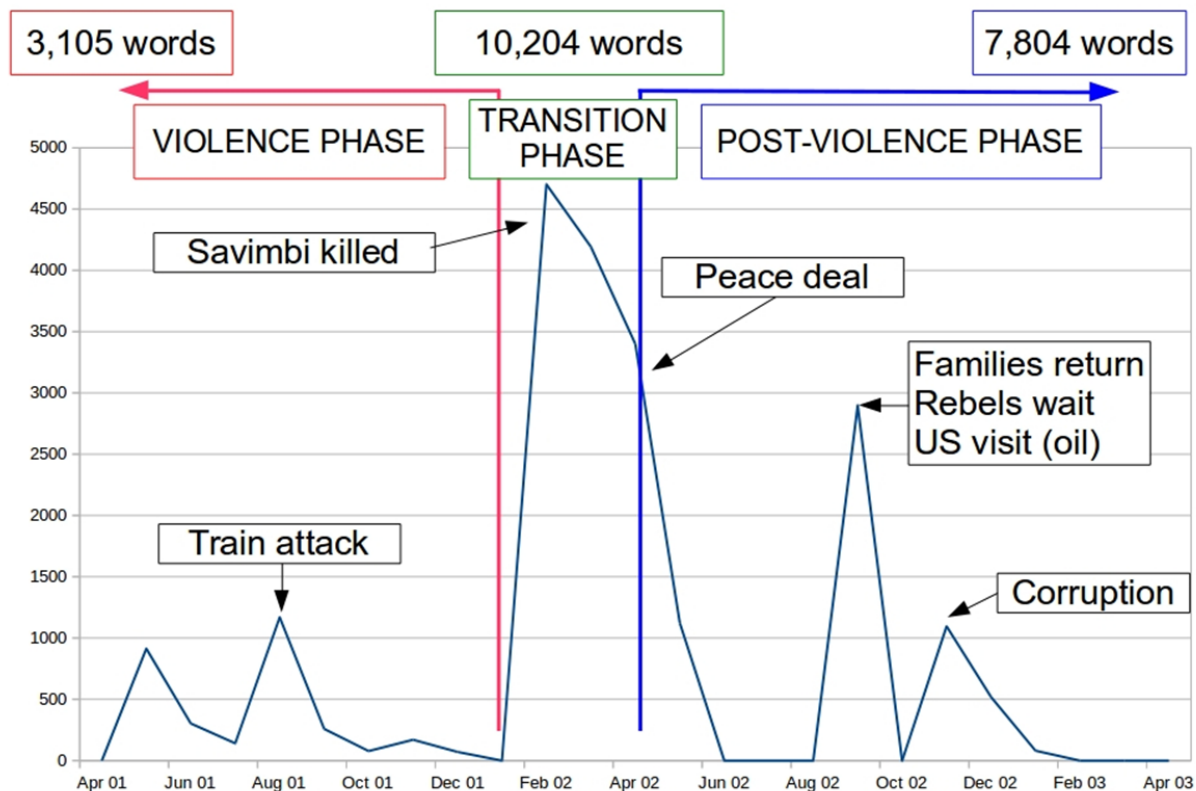
covered categories, accounting for twelve percent of the total. This was a total of just over 2,600 words from nine articles, five of which were news briefs of less than 100 words. Articles covering the killing of Jonas Savimbi accounted for more than 60 percent of this coverage, with other articles in the category focusing on a UN plane being fired on by rebels, and the rebel attack on a train. All of the coverage of violence was contained within the violence phase, with the exception of one news brief covering Angola's conflict in the Cabinda exclave (a conflict that has continued beyond the peace deal with UNITA). This does not necessarily mean, of course, that violence only accounted for twelve percent of the coverage, given that this study used the newspaper article as its unit of analysis, and categorized these articles based only on the prime focus of each one. Needless to say, articles on peace-making and those offering historical reflection of the conflict included sections discussing the violent events of the conflict, just as sections of articles focusing on the violence included some sections on the progress of the peace process. But it would seem nonetheless that overall, at least during the period in question, non-violent aspects of the conflict accounted for the majority of the coverage. It may also be appropriate to remove the non-conflict articles from the equation, to focus solely on issues associated with the conflict. Having recalculated the categories in the absence of non-conflict

issues, however, articles focusing on the violence still account for just fifteen percent of the total remaining coverage.

Figure 3. *New York Times* **articles on Angola by primary topic (April 2001-April 2003)**
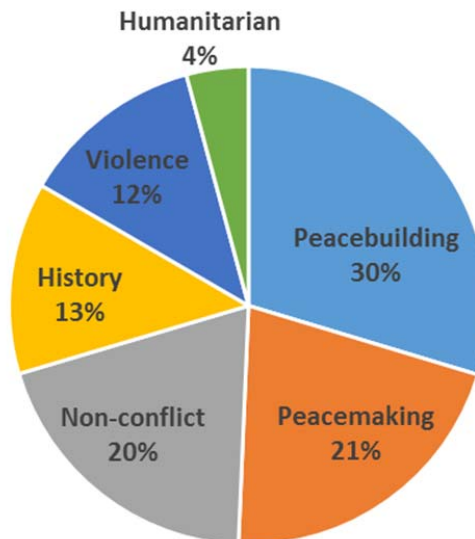
Articles focusing primarily on the peace process and subsequent efforts aimed at stabilizing and consolidating the peace, on the other hand, accounted for 51 percent of the total coverage of Angola, with coverage of peace-making making up 21 percent, and peacebuilding, 30 percent. In terms of peace-making, only five percent of the coverage occurred before the killing of Savimbia (three news briefs on mediation issues) – coverage on this issue was concentrated almost exclusively during the transition phase between the killing of Savimbi and the peace deal. Similarly, very little coverage of peacebuilding could be found before the killing of Savimbi (fourteen percent). It is worth noting that 59 percent of peacebuilding coverage was found after the transition period. This consisted of 3,703 words in three substantive articles (and four news briefs), two of which were published roughly six months after the peace deal was signed. One of these was a front-page story (Cauvin 2002b). With very few exceptions, the peacebuilding coverage was of the short-term variety, focusing on refugee returns and rebel demobilization. Only twelve percent of the peacebuilding coverage dealt with more long-term issues, most notably an editorial on the potential role of oil and diamond wealth in the reconstruction of the country (Anon. 2002b), plus a few news briefs covering issues of investment, lifting of sanctions, and landmines.

The category for historical reflection made up thirteen percent of the coverage, all of which (three substantive articles) was concentrated during the transition phase, including Savimbi's obituary, and a look back at the role of the US in the Angolan conflict. Humanitarian suffering and/or relief efforts were the prime focus for just one article (Cauvin 2002a), which focused on the suffering rather than on the relief in the immediate aftermath of the death of Savimbi. There

is, of course, considerable mention of the humanitarian suffering and relief efforts in subsequent articles focusing on the peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts, but given the massive levels of humanitarian suffering caused by the conflict at the time (perhaps rivalled only by that associated with the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo), the total lack of coverage of the issue of conflict-related humanitarian suffering in the eleven months prior to the death of Savimbi certainly requires needs to be questioned. Coverage of political and other issues not related to the conflict accounted for 20 percent of the total coverage. Some 58 percent of this was made up of articles discussing the issue of corruption in Angola, and a further 20 percent dealt with domestic political issues. The remainder of articles discussed foreign relations issues and government repression.

Discussion of the factors behind the coverage

The question of whether the 'bleeding' story was a 'leading' one in the strict sense (if we consider a leading story to be a front-page one) is somewhat a moot point, given that Angola only made the front page twice in the two-year period analysed: first with the report of the death of Savimbi (Swarns and Cauvin 2002), and second with a story on families trying to return (Cauvin 2002b) – one each for violent and non-violent issues. That is, whether violent or not, news of the conflict in Angola almost invariably did not lead. Overall, the coverage devoted by the *New York Times* to the conflict and peace process in Angola was small in quantity and sporadic in nature. This can largely be seen as part of the chronic lack of newsworthiness attributed to Africa in general, and Angola specifically (outlined in brief above). But it can also be seen as being related to the practicalities and routines of newsgathering (Shoemaker and Vos 2009). Henri E. Cauvin, the *New York Times* journalist covering Angola at the time was charged with reporting on southern Africa and at times, central Africa, and during the period covered in this study was reporting far and wide throughout the region. In the lead-up to Angola's April 2002 ceasefire agreement, for example, he was reporting on presidential elections in Zimbabwe, and not long after the agreement, was in Madagascar as the political crisis worsened there. In the absence of what the *New York Times* would consider an event of major significance warranting a lengthy stay for a correspondent, sporadic coverage is largely inevitable.

There are, however, specific and lengthy periods during which coverage of Angola essentially disappeared. There is a period of almost six months, for example, between early September 2001 and the killing of Savimbi the following year, for example, during which not a single substantive article was published about Angola. One might suspect that the further drop in newsworthiness of Angola at this time occurs as a result of a shift of attention away from Africa following the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the US on 11 September 2001, and the subsequent war waged by that country in Afghanistan. But while there was a lull in substantive articles from the region immediately following the attacks, it did not last long. In fact, if we compare the number of substantive articles published in the newspaper that were written by Henri E. Cauvin in the six months before and after 11 September, news about the region increased from 26 articles before to 35 after (one-third of which covered events in Zimbabwe). It

would appear that other events and issues in the region were seen as having greater newsworthiness than Angola. The events in the last days of the conflict in Angola were competing for coverage not with the aftermath of 911, but with presidential elections in Zimbabwe held in March 2002.

There were other periods after the peace deal in which there were gaps of more than three months each without substantive coverage. The first began in mid-May 2002, with the silence broken by an article about a visit to Angola by US Secretary of State, Colin Powell (Dao 2002). The second, began in mid-December 2002, continuing until the end of the period studied. Both can perhaps be explained by the drop-off in peace-related events after the peace deal was signed. Stories of rebel demobilization and returnees reaching their homes and trying to put their lives back together can only carry newsworthiness for so long. External factors aside (other domestic and international priorities), the fading of interest in the aftermath of the peace process can be considered perhaps not necessarily in terms not bleeding and therefore not leading, but simply in terms of a lack of prominent events (peaceful or violent) that would be considered to warrant coverage. But, the general lack of coverage of Africa notwithstanding, this still doesn't help to explain the small quantity of coverage of violent events in Angola. That is, why was there more coverage of issues of peace-making and peacebuilding after the transition phase than there was of the violence before it? A more nuanced discussion is required.

There was no shortage of potential war stories in Angola in 2001. UNITA had admittedly lost much of its territory (including access to diamond mines and airfields) and had been forced to adopt guerrilla tactics, but it was hardly insignificant as a fighting force, or unable to mount attacks of any significance. As of 2001, UNITA had an estimated strength of 8,000 fighters, and observers at the time thought it "unlikely" that the government would be able to defeat the rebels militarily (Seybolt 2001: 25). Numerous military events took place in 2001, including the infamous train attack, attacks by UNITA on many other towns (some quite near the capital), the abduction of 60 children from an orphanage by UNITA, and deadly clashes between Zambian and Angola troops (the latter had crossed into Zambia in hot pursuit of rebels). The train attack in particular was noteworthy as it was (and remains today) the world's deadliest rail-related terrorist attack, with over 250 people killed. Yet the incident was covered by the *New York Times* with only one substantive article of 445 words and one follow-up news brief (Cauvin 2001b). It was also known in 2001 that military operations in pursuit of Savimbi were ongoing in Moxico Province, where he would indeed be found and killed the following year (Seybolt 2001: 26). Military secrecy was clearly not a barrier to a certain degree of newsgathering. While not necessarily easily marked by specific events, the horrendous humanitarian suffering should also have been newsworthy. As noted above, millions of people were displaced, and millions more were facing hunger and sickness.

Much of both the violence and the humanitarian suffering was, however, hidden from sight. Practical access to the affected areas was a major issue for journalists. For Justin Pearce, the BBC correspondent in Angola at the time, logistics was the greatest barrier to reporting on the conflict, and difficulties in communication meant that breaking news could not be filed from

outside the capital (correspondence with the author, May 2015). The fact that the conflict was being waged in rural areas, away from the capital city or other major urban centres, and had become a guerrilla war with no clear front lines was also a factor in this regard. At the same time, as part of its strategy to deny sustenance to the rebels, the Angolan government had essentially cut off access by UN agencies and other humanitarian relief organizations to large portions of the population (Messiant 2003). This in itself removed a key mode of transportation for journalists, who often relied on such aid agencies to move to gather stories (interview with Lara Pawson, correspondence with Justin Pearce, May 2015). But there were also government controls on the media. The state media was tightly controlled, the private media was repressed, and the activities of foreign correspondents were also restricted to a degree (Anon. 2002c). It was certainly known that the levels of violence were high, and that humanitarian conditions in those areas were dire, but much of this was not directly witnessed. The fact that so much of the country was to all intents and purposes inaccessible, may well have served to remove restraints by the parties in their use of violence. As Christine Messiant (2003: 118) points out, "without witnesses, the war could unfold at leisure with all the violence 'required' or authorised by the two sides".

For the *New York Times*, such issues undoubtedly had an impact on decisions on whether to even visit the country to cover stories. The article on the train attack, for example, was written from Johannesburg, with quoted sources including Angola's state news agency, Angolan Roman Catholic radio network, and a BBC interview from Lisbon with a representative of UNITA (Cauvin 2001b). The signing of the peace deal allowed for much greater access to the country, not just for aid agencies, but also for journalists. Access thus played a considerable role in the lack of coverage during the violence phase, and the resumption of some degree of coverage in the post-violence phase. Although this did not necessarily make up for the paucity in terms of the willingness to report, it certainly made a difference in terms of the ability to report on the events on a country beginning to recover and rebuild.

Coverage of Angola as it moved towards peace can also be seen from the perspective of what this meant for the US, from which the *New York Times* was reporting. With Cold War-related interest long gone, its interest in the developments in Angola can be viewed in terms of business opportunities. A number of articles focused, for example, on the post-conflict issues and opportunities associated with the extraction of oil (Dao 2002), and diamonds (Anon. 2002b). Interestingly, the longest article about Angola over the two-year period studied covered the resumption of business in Angola by Coca-Cola bottling (Cauvin 2001a). Although the article was excluded from the study because it was in the business/financial section of the newspaper, at 3,198 words, it was almost triple the length of the longest articles counted in the study, and thus gives us a clear indication of the priorities of the newspaper with regard to the situation in Angola.

Finally, it is worth considering decisions regarding the newsworthiness of events in Angola in terms of notions of change. The dramatic events that were the death of Savimbi and the final signing of the peace deal aside, it is perhaps understandable that the events after the peace deal were considered by editors as being more newsworthy than those before. After some 40 years of

armed conflict, and as an old relic of the Cold War unable to draw substantive political interest in the US, Angola, from the perspective of media gatekeepers, was likely synonymous with endless humanitarian suffering. Events happening in the violence phase – a fresh attack by UNITA on a town, or the arrival of thousands more malnourished civilians in a provincial city – were repetitive, and were unlikely to signify a major change in the status quo. The return of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people to their homes, and the attempt to rebuild their shattered lives, in the aftermath of the peace deal, on the other hand, was certainly something new, something emblematic of change. At the end of the conflict, Justin Pearce of the BBC, for example, found himself "confronting a narrative (from London) of 'the war is over, so let's have some stories about the benefits of peace'," although this was "not consistent with what I was seeing", given the "massive problems around human rights in Angola" that remained (correspondence with the author, May 2015). Thus it can perhaps be said that the realization of 'peace' became, if only for a short moment, a novelty considered worthy of reporting.

Conclusion

Almost without exception, Angola did not 'lead' in the *New York time*s, whether in the violence phase or in the post-violence phase of the conflict. It is important to note, and indeed lamentable, that such a historically significant conflict, and one that caused some of the worst conflict-related death and suffering in recent history, could garner so little attention from the media as it ended. Such low levels of coverage could arguably be considered to detract from the usefulness of this study. But if we consider the overall volume of coverage as a proxy for leading, we can still observe whether or not the coverage by the *New York Times* rapidly ground to a halt when a peace deal was reached, and more generally, whether the newspaper showed a preference for news of violence over that of conflict resolution. The results showed that this was not the case on either count. Coverage after the peace deal did not drop to negligible levels compared to that before – if we exclude the transition period between the death of Jonas Savimbi and the peace deal, coverage of the post-violence phase was in fact far greater than that of the violence phase. Furthermore, there was far more coverage in articles focusing on peace-making and peacebuilding than there was in articles focusing on the violence.

By way of explanation, we must acknowledge that reality is far messier than simplistic (and largely untested) assumptions about news values. We can perhaps also acknowledge that the *New York Times* is, to a degree, able to approach issues of conflict and peace with some degree of balance between the two, although balance in terms of whose conflict and whose peace is covered is clearly lacking. At the same time, we can also identify a number of factors that contributed to the levels of coverage in this particular case. Such factors included competition with events in other countries in the region; access to the affected areas (which improved as the conflict ended); business interests in the US; and the 'novelty' of peace after decades of conflict.

It may well be that the 'if it bleeds, it leads' notion does apply to real-time (prime-time) coverage of high profile conflicts. TV news (particularly national broadcasters that allocate a very limited amount of broadcast time to foreign affairs issues) usually seems able to handle the

coverage of only one or two armed conflicts at a time, and thus a 'moving on' to the next conflict may well be observed. But even if such a tendency is confirmed in such cases, it should not necessarily be seen as being representative of the news media in general. In the case of *New York Times* coverage of Angola before and after its final peace deal, such a tendency was simply not found.

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