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Toward Understanding the Nature of Leadership in Alleviating State Fragility

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Alleviating State Fragility

By
Ajay Tejasvi Narasimhan

Claremont Graduate University
2012

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APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Ajay Tejasvi Narasimhan as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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ABSTRACT

Toward Understanding the Role of Leadership in Alleviating State Fragility

By

Ajay Tejasvi Narasimhan

Claremont Graduate University: 2012

Approximately sixty countries have been designated 'Fragile States' by international development agencies. Home to two billion of the world's poorest people, these fragile states are characterized by violence, weak institutions and shattered economies. Not only do they pose a challenge to regional security, they often become the breeding grounds for terrorism.

Donor agencies pour billions of dollars annually into these countries – through policy advice and conditional loans – to alleviate fragility and promote development. Development, however it is defined, involves economic, social and political transformation. Such a transformation is shaped by ideas, engages multiple interests, and proceeds within rules and norms set by political institutions. Since the structure of political institutions is influenced by human agency, leadership becomes important to study. Leadership is crucial particularly in fragile states, where institutions are weak or have been destroyed by conflict; however, a systematic effort to examine the role of leaders and coalitions in fragile states is lacking.

This dissertation seeks to create a methodology to improve understanding of the role of different leadership strategies in bringing about transitions in and out of fragility. To make the scope manageable, the study focuses on: (i) leadership at the national level; and (ii) fragile states in Africa. It does so by examining: (i) evidence from country level panel data on leadership (regime) change and fragility; and (ii) in-depth analytical case studies of transitions in and out of fragility in four countries: Zimbabwe, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa.

The analysis looks at the relationship between the change agent's leadership strategy (the independent variable: political participation and inclusion, economic growth and inclusion, and security and justice) and fragility outcomes (dependent variable: conflict and security indicators, economic indicators, and the approach to political inclusion).

The results of the regression analysis exhibit a robust association between leadership change and fragility. Furthermore, the country cases show how different types of leadership strategies lead to varying trajectories of fragile states' post-transition. The case studies reveal different approaches to sequencing of political inclusion and the role of leadership exit in transitions from fragility.

DEDICATION

To my *Gurudev*, my Grandparents, and my Parents.

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List of Acronyms

ADF	-	Allied Democratic Forces
ANC	-	African National Congress
CA	-	Constituent Assembly
CDR	-	<i>Coalition pour la Défense de la République</i>
CHOGM	-	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIFP	-	Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
CP	-	Conservative Party
CPIA	-	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
DFID	-	Department for International Development
DP	-	Democratic Party
ERP	-	Economic Recovery Program
ESAP	-	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FDC	-	Forum for Democratic Change
FRONASA	-	Front for National Salvation
FUNA	-	Former Uganda National Army
GNU	-	Government of National Unity
GPA	-	Global Political Agreement
HIPC	-	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICRG	-	International Country Risk Guide
IFP	-	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
JOC	-	Joint Operations Command
LICUS	-	Low Income Countries Under Stress
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
NCC	-	National Consultative Council
NRA	-	National Resistance Army
NRM	-	National Resistance Movement
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAC	-	Pan Africanist Congress
PF	-	Patriotic Front
PRA	-	People's Resistance Army
RANU	-	Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RF	-	Rhodesian Front
RPF	-	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RRWF	-	Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation
UANC	-	United African National Council
UDF	-	United Democratic Front
UFF	-	Uganda Freedom Fighters
UNLA	-	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNLF	-	Uganda National Liberation Front
UNRF	-	Uganda National Rescue Front

UPC	-	Uganda People's Congress
WB	-	World Bank
WDR	-	World Development Report
ZANLA	-	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU	-	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	-	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCTU	-	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIPA	-	Zimbabwean People's Army
ZIPRA	-	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

1. The Challenge of Fragile States

Why the Global Focus on Fragile States

Approximately two billion people live in countries affected by fragility and conflict.¹ Poverty rates in fragile states average 54 percent compared with 22 percent for low-income countries as a whole.² These “fragile states” represent a major challenge for global poverty reduction, achievement of the Millennium Development Goals, for peace and stability and for global issues such as the war on terror.³ The African continent contains the majority of fragile states with most Africans living on less than two dollars a day. The average lifespan in these countries is under 50. Drought and famine persist.⁴

Fragile states are characterized by violence, a legacy of conflict, weak governance and limited administrative capacity. Underlying fragility is a history of divided identity, political fragmentation, and weak institutions. Transitioning out of fragility is a complex and arduous task. The effort requires a multipronged

¹ Ashraf Ghani & Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failing States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6-9.

² The World Bank, *Global Monitoring Report 2007: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality*, (Washington DC: The World Bank Group, 2007), 10-12.

³ The Millennium Development Goals are eight international development goals that all 192 United Nations member states and at least 23 international organizations have agreed to achieve by the year 2015. They include eradicating extreme poverty, reducing child mortality rates, fighting disease epidemics, such as AIDS, and developing a global partnership for development.

⁴ See “Africa Rising” in *The Economist*, (December 3, 2011).

approach to secure peace, rebuild institutions, and accelerate growth and poverty reduction.⁵

The focus of the international community has been on providing financial and technical assistance and on external intervention, especially since problems of fragility can, in some instances, be transnational. Nonetheless insufficient emphasis has been placed on understanding the role that domestic leadership processes play in lifting countries out of fragility or causing or keeping countries in fragility.

The Purpose and Focus of this Dissertation

This dissertation examines the role of leadership in transitions in and out of fragility. To make the scope manageable, the thesis focuses on: (i) leadership at the national level; (ii) fragile states in Africa; and (iii) the aspects of fragility related to political participation and inclusion, economic growth and inclusion, and security and justice. It does so by examining: (i) evidence from global cross-country time-series data on leadership (regime) change and fragility; and (ii) in-depth insights from four analytical case studies of successful, unsuccessful, and ongoing transitions out of fragility.

Whither the Winds of Change?

Though the proliferation of technology and improved communication have enabled citizens to demand better services from their governments, these

⁵ The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2011), 145.

advancements are only just beginning to reach the people who live in fragile and post-conflict states. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) remains a distant hope for many of these fragile states.⁶

Figure 1-1 below shows the total global MDG deficit (excluding Brazil, Russia, India, and China). Figures in red and yellow show the proportion of the MDG deficit related to people living in countries affected by or recovering from violence.

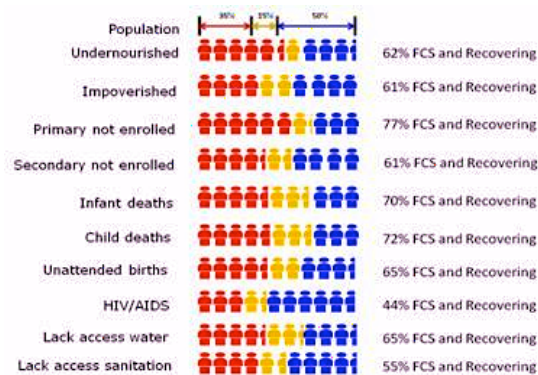


Figure 1-1: Conflict, Fragility and MDG Achievement⁷

The 2011 *World Development Report (WDR): Conflict, Security and Development* notes that progress in MDG achievement has been slowest in fragile and conflict-affected states. Besieged by conflict and violence, and hampered by weak institutional capacity, these states face particular challenges in meeting the MDGs. Some startling statistics include:

⁶ The World Bank, *Global Monitoring Report 2007: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality*, (Washington DC: The World Bank Group, 2007).

⁷ This table was developed using World Development Indicators Data and analysis by World Bank staff and World Development Report 2011 collaborating authors. For more details, please see The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2011).

- Fragile states account for close to a fifth of the population of low-income countries, but more than a third of their poor.
- No fragile or conflict-affected country has achieved a single Millennium Development Goal as of December 2011.
- These countries account for the majority of the MDG deficit (see Figure 1-1), and generally lag 40 to 60 percent behind other low and middle-income countries in MDG achievement.
- Fragile states are home to 33 percent of the population that survive on less than \$1.25 per day, 50 percent of the world's children who die before the age of five, and where 33 percent of all maternal deaths occur.⁸

Not only are these fragile states falling behind, but also the gap with other developing countries has been widening since the 1970s. In 2006, per capita GDP grew only at two percent in fragile states, whereas it reached six percent in other low-income countries. The World Bank projects that fragile states will constitute an even larger share of low-income countries in the future, given that many better performing low-income countries will graduate to middle-income status.

The increasing proportion of fragile states will, without a renewed approach for dealing with them, make international engagement and development assistance less effective.⁹ Accelerating progress in these fragile and post-conflict countries

⁸ The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2011), 59-60.

⁹ The World Bank, *The Growth Report: Strategies for Sustained Growth and Inclusive Development*, (Washington DC: The World Bank Group, 2009), 7.

toward achieving the MDGs will require a fundamental and systemic shift in orientation, both by their governments and the international financial institutions working to assist them.

The Global Impact of Fragile States

While most fragile states were treated as a backwater of international politics up until the 1990s, they have increasingly attracted attention since the end of the Cold War. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington, D.C. prompted a decisive shift in the world community's attitude towards fragile states.

Previously neglected, fragile states are now seen as a core development issue and a serious threat to global security. The promotion of the concept of good governance in these states is aimed at arresting the downward slide and ameliorating the threat. The typical crisis of the fragile state constitutes a threat to the international system because of the social conditions and conflicts that it generates.

Over the past few years, the development challenges faced by fragile states have moved to the top of the international development agenda. The emphasis on weak and failing states as a threat to peace and security has become conventional wisdom. Research shows that the relationship between state fragility and spillover exists, but it varies.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Stewart Patrick, "Weak States and Global Threats: Assessing Evidence of Spillovers," Working Paper no. 73, (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2006).

Fragile states have often provided transnational terrorist organizations with benefits such as training camps and access through their borders. Fragile and post-conflict states play a critical role in proliferation of small arms as well as weapons of mass destruction. The easy availability of weapons tends to weaken State capacity further, fuelling wars and fostering crime and violence. Transnational organized criminal networks are drawn to environments where the rule of law is absent, such as those provided by fragile states. Money laundering, financial fraud and cyber crime also find a home in fragile states.

Violent conflict and complex emergencies often spill over porous borders with potentially destabilizing effects. The economic cost of State failure is borne by neighboring countries. Weak and failing states may serve as important breeding grounds for new pandemics. Although there are no conclusive data on the relationship between state capacity and epidemics, the global infectious disease burden falls on low and middle-income countries.

Fragile states not only face issues of abject poverty, but also contend with cycles of repeated violence with a mix of political and criminal motives. As the *2011 World Development Report: Conflict, Security, and Development* notes, the violence can be spurred by a range of domestic and international stresses, such as trafficking networks, youth unemployment, and tensions among social groups.¹¹ The probability of violence is much higher when one combines these internal and

¹¹ The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2011), 1-3.

external stresses with weak and incapable institutions. The report also notes that the threat of violence increases when countries do not provide their citizens with security, access to justice, and open markets that generate employment. Violent groups are able take advantage of such circumstances and make the situation worse. Studies show that the conflicts in fragile states are not one-off events, but are ongoing and repeated. Data show that 90 percent of the last decade's civil wars occurred in countries that already had had a civil war in the last 30 years.¹²

It is obvious that these cycles of violence and conflict threaten development, as can be seen in the lack of progress towards the millennium development goals. Another troubling feature is that different forms of violence – political, criminal, religious – link to one another. Criminal gangs can support political violence during electoral periods, as in Haiti, Jamaica, and Kenya. Ideological extremist movements like Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Taiba, influence violence in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan.

Violence and conflict often spill over into regional and sometimes global arenas. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq clearly have global repercussions. The violence in Tanzania's neighbors causes the country to lose an estimated 0.7 percent of GDP growth per neighbor in conflict.¹³

¹² See Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Gurr, *Peace and Conflict 2010*, (College Park, MD: Center for International Development and Conflict Management, 2010), 1-2.

¹³ See the effects of conflict on trade by Reuven Glick and Alan Taylor, "Collateral Damage: Trade Disruption and the Economic Impact of War" CEPR Discussion Paper No. 5209, 2005. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=822767>

Refugees and internally displaced persons have increased threefold in the last three decades. The *World Development Report* also notes that nearly 75 percent of the world's refugees are hosted by neighboring countries. Thus, fragility clearly has consequences that reach beyond a country's borders.

In addition, violence and conflict exact a heavy toll on society. Many families experience the death of a child before their time. It is unsafe for women and children to walk on the streets. Even everyday events like going to school or the grocery store, become a challenge.

Violence impacts economic activity and reduces investments in the country. In Guatemala for instance, violence in the country cost it more than seven percent of GDP in 2005.¹⁴ The *World Development Report* notes that the direct impact of violence primarily falls on young males, who form the majority of the fighting force. Male children who witness violent abuses have higher tendencies to perpetuate violence later in life, as well.

The next section examines the meaning of fragility and its structural causes.

Definitions of “Fragile States”

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the word “fragile” as meaning “liable to break or be broken; easily snapped or shattered; in a looser sense, weak, perishable, easily destroyed.” In the context of independent political states or countries, the term “fragile” implies the existence of states whose very existence is

¹⁴ The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington, DC: The World Bank Group, 2011), 56-58.

under threat. In the extreme case, where states do cease to exist or function to any normal degree, they can even be termed “failed states”.

A number of definitions and measurements of fragile states are currently in use. Many of these have been developed by international development agencies and reflect the concern that these countries may be too weak to use aid effectively. One of the better-known definitions is that of the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), which defines a fragile state as one where “*the Government cannot or will not deliver core functions to the majority of its people, including the poor.*”¹⁵ Core functions refer to the provision of basic services such as education, health, infrastructure, and security, which are often the focus of donor aid programs.

The World Bank and the OECD classify states as fragile based on their score in the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) ratings.¹⁶ A low-income country with a CPIA score of 3.0 or less is seen as fragile. These countries were termed “low-income countries under stress” (LICUS) and have been described as “difficult partnership countries.” This denotes the fact that the underlying concern of the World Bank and the OECD is that countries may be too fragile to use aid effectively. The term, “fragile states” generally describes countries facing

¹⁵ See UK Department for International Development, *Aid Effectiveness in Fragile States*, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.dfid.gov.uk/mdg/aid-effectiveness/fragile-states.asp> (accessed December 25, 2011).

¹⁶ The Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) rates countries against a set of 16 criteria grouped in four clusters: (a) economic management; (b) structural policies; (c) policies for social inclusion and equity; and (d) public sector management and institutions. See <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/ENVIRONMENT/EXTDATA/0,,contentMDK:21115900~menuPK:2935553~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:2875751,00.html> (accessed April 18, 2011).

particularly severe development challenges, such as weak governance, limited administrative capacity, violence, or the legacy of conflict.

Other terms used to describe fragile states include: collapsed states, failed states, failing states, fragile states, low-income countries under stress, and weak states.

Despite methodological variations, however, development partners have been converging around a definition developed at the OECD, which recognizes some common characteristics. These include weak governance and vulnerability to conflict, together with differentiated constraints and opportunities in fragile situations of (1) prolonged crisis or impasse, (2) post-conflict or political transition, (3) gradual improvement, and (4) deteriorating governance.¹⁷

In the literature, there is no uniform agreement over the way in which countries are classified as fragile. Many researchers and practitioners take issue with the choice of a rigid CPIA score of 3.0 as the cut-off point for deciding whether or not a country is too “fragile” to use aid effectively.

Another operational definition of fragile states comes from the Canadian International Development Agency’s “Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP)” project. David Carment, Yiagadeesen Samy, and Stewart Prest provided a critical review of the CIFP Fragility Index for a United Nations research project. These researchers found that the fundamental causes of state fragility are broader

¹⁷ See The World Bank, *Global Monitoring Report 2007: Confronting the Challenges of Gender Equality*, (Washington DC: The World Bank Group, 2007).

than just violent conflict.¹⁸ In the index, state fragility is measured across three factors: threats to the authority (A), legitimacy (L) and capacity (C) of the state. Performance is measured for these three factors across different dimensions, which include economic, governance, security and crime, human development, demographic and environmental. According to the CIFP Index, 70 percent of the 40 most fragile states are in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁹

What Causes State Fragility?

Understanding the Causes of State Fragility

In the literature on Africa, considerable attention has been devoted to the role of colonial history. Africa represents an appropriate setting for analyzing the impact of colonial rule. Historically, nowhere else was colonization as far-reaching as it was in the African experience at the end of the 19th century. There is a shared perception that state fragility – as well as other dysfunctions, such as corruption and ethnic conflict – might find its roots in the legacy of colonization and the way these states were formed.

The leading theories on state formation include those by political scientists such as Charles Tilly, Hendrick Spruyt and Jeffrey Herbst, who contend that state formation is a non-linear process. They trace the formation of nation states to their medieval European roots as feudal states, city-states, or city leagues.

¹⁸ See Yiagadeesan Samy, David Carment, and Steward Prest, "Security, Development, and the Fragile State: Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Policy", (London, UK: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁹ See the 2007 Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Country Ranking Table.
http://www.carleton.ca/cifp/app/ffs_ranking.php (accessed April 18, 2011)

Tilly asserts that any account of state formation must deal with the nature of institutional variation that existed in medieval Europe and the subsequent consolidation of the state.²⁰

Hendrick Spruyt argues that where Tilly explains the variation between types of organizations by differential responses to the functional demand of waging war, his account is based upon the impact of economic change and subsequent politics of coalition bargaining. Spruyt sees the economic transformation of medieval Europe as the primary independent variable that made new political coalitions possible.²¹

Jeffrey Herbst looks at problems of state consolidation and development of state institutions in Africa as compared to the European state consolidation, where 'war' had a significant impact. Herbst suggests that these can be illustrated in terms of the state's administrative capacity and the degree of national identity.²² *The State's Administrative Capacity*: The state's ability to extract resources through taxes is a classic example of how weak state capacity causes the government to institute desperate and self-defeating economic policies.

Sub-Saharan African states are desperately short of revenue even to fund minimal state services that their populations have long been promised. These countries need more extensive and more efficient tax systems. It is important to remember that the process of development requires large expenditures on

²⁰ See Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and the European States*, (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1990).

²¹ Hendrick Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

²² Jeffrey Herbst, "War and the State in Africa," *International Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Spring 1990), 117-139.

infrastructure to promote economic activity and to sustain the large expenses typically incurred by urbanizing countries.

Many African governments rely largely on taxation of foreign trade and, as a consequence, there is damage to the national economy because leaders are compelled to erect ever-greater administrative controls on imports to extract finances for the government to work. Some side-effects of these high tariffs include corruption, smuggling and most importantly, over-valued exchange rates due to the government's reliance on administrative controls, rather than the market, to regulate imports.

Over-valued exchange rates lead to widespread damage within those countries, as exporters are put at a disadvantage in the global economy. The population is encouraged to depend upon imported food, and black markets quickly develop to take advantage of distorted prices. This phenomenon can be observed in Zimbabwe over the past 15 years.

The Degree of National Identity: Herbst and other scholars have observed that the degree of nationalism in fragile countries, and to a large extent in countries South of the Sahara, is largely absent.²³ This aggravates the State's clumsy efforts to extract resources and is also exacerbated by insecure and often authoritarian leadership.

Herbst notes that the central difficulty of 'nation-building' in much of Africa and Asia – and indeed in most Fragile States – is the lack of any shared

²³ See Jeffrey Herbst, "War and the State in Africa," *International Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Spring 1990), 117-139.

historical mythology and memory on which state elites can set about 'building' the nation.²⁴ The lack of nationalism may reflect the fact that many fragile countries are artificial groupings of disparate people and, therefore, are not really nation-states. This has left these countries not only unable to continue their evolution into more mature entities like other nation states, but has also left them without a strong, inclusive institutional framework necessary to govern newly-established countries.

The Impact of Path Dependence

In the process of colonization, colonial powers discarded local institutions, norms, and systems of governance in favor of a more westernized concept of the state. This Western concept of the state was superimposed on a variety of preexisting forms of government and social organization that had evolved over centuries and through adaptation to local conditions. In some cases, the state was even superimposed where order had traditionally been maintained without any central institutions, such as in Somalia. The results have been devastating for the vast majority of these colonial states.

The new pattern established when the colonial powers first arrived and built their administrations on top of and disconnected from local societies was essentially perpetuated in most countries at the time of their independence. As a consequence, these governments are still largely divorced from and autonomous of the societies they are supposed to serve. The State in most fragile states is

²⁴ Jeffrey Herbst, "War and the State in Africa," *International Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4, (Spring 1990), 117-139.

essentially an artificial one, 'suspended above' a society that would never have produced it naturally and did not demand it.²⁵

This mismatch between state and society is the essence of the problem faced by fragile states. Typically in such situations, there is an enormous power and wealth gap between a small elite group that manipulates or controls the state, and therefore favors its perpetuation, and the general public, who are generally ambivalent at best toward their own government. Thus, the State has become the estate of the new nobility in Fragile States.

The post-colonial order, whereby European powers have sought to help their former subjects by providing aid and other forms of assistance, has in many ways only prolonged the agony. It has done so by preventing any reorganization of the state so as to make it better suited to local conditions and more connected to its surrounding society. Western policy toward fragile states may, in fact, be regarded as a form of neocolonialism, as it tends to extend those states' dependence on their former colonial masters.

The weakness of the policies of international financial institutions is particularly acute in countries where the State has failed to strike deep roots post-independence. The political disconnect between State and society was exacerbated by the economic disconnect that arose from the growing availability of external financial support. As the State became dependent on foreign resources for its survival, it also grew increasingly autonomous vis-à-vis its own society and local

²⁵ See Seth Kaplan, *Fixing Fragile States: A New Paradigm for Development*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 35-37.

resources, and lost interest in that resource base as anything other than an object of plunder.²⁶

Abundant natural resources such as oil, when controlled by a narrow ruling elite can yield a similar result or exacerbate dysfunction in a society, a situation commonly referred to as the “resource curse.” To further complicate things, most fragile states were kept on artificial life-support, by the West or the Soviet Union, during the Cold War. These countries were shaped by the classical questions of international relations – those of power, order and security – before they became part of the international system. Since the end of the Cold War, the powerful states were much less willing and able to support these weaker states, making them more prone to violence and conflict.

Political Fragmentation and Weak Institutions

Thus, from the literature, it becomes clear that two structurally important issues plague fragile states: political identity fragmentation and weak national institutions. These factors, when combined, preclude the formation of any robust system of governance. This deadly combination severely undermines the legitimacy of the state and leads to regimes that are highly unstable and difficult to reform.

State legitimacy lies at the base of any political order and is an essential ingredient influencing any country’s capacity to foster economic, political, or

²⁶ See Seth Kaplan, *Fixing Fragile States: A New Paradigm for Development*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 37-40.

social progress. Legitimacy is a powerful predictor of economic growth and the quality of governance. David Easton notes that the most secure political order will

*“derive from the conviction on the part of citizens that it is right and proper for him to accept and obey the authorities and to abide by the requirements of the regime. It reflects the fact that in some way, the individual sees the state and its institutions as conforming to one’s own moral principles.”*²⁷

The American political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset noted that legitimacy also *“involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate and proper ones for the society.”*²⁸

This legitimacy can be derived from the citizens seeing the State as a result of a socially and culturally appropriate historical evolution that has yielded a just order as in the case of nation states. Legitimacy can also stem from citizens accepting the State because it has been established by or is governed by a leader seen as legitimate – such as in the case of Lee Kuan Yew, in Singapore and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in Turkey.

Even non-democratic regimes need to achieve a certain degree of legitimacy to survive over a period of time. The Suharto Regime, in Indonesia (1967 to 1998) was able to achieve legitimacy during its early years, despite its military background and authoritarian character. It was able to do so through the delivery of basic public services like education and health, and attention to infrastructure

²⁷ David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, (New York, NY: Wiley, 1965), 278.

²⁸ Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (2nd ed.), (London, UK: Heinemann, 1983), 64.

and rural development. When President Suharto's advisors and family members started to pay more attention to personal enrichment, instead of national development, the Suharto regime began to lose legitimacy in the eyes of the people. The regime was subsequently ousted from power. A system of governance that has become deeply rooted in and widely accepted by society is by far the strongest and longest-lasting form of legitimacy. This is a solid foundation upon which to promote development.²⁹

The role of identity is very important to the creation of legitimacy, because a legitimate political order is generally built around a cohesive social group and relies on institutions that reflect that group's historical evolution. As Michael Hudson explained in his classic study of the "legitimacy shortage" in Arab politics,

"a legitimate political order... has to be based on some consensus about national identity, some agreement about the boundaries of the political community, and some collective understanding of national priorities. If the population within given political boundaries is so deeply divided within itself or ethnic or class lines, or if the demands of a larger supranational community are compelling to some portion of it, then it is extremely difficult to develop a legitimate order."³⁰

Without political structures endowed with legitimacy and sufficient administrative capacity, civic life tends to be violent and unpredictable. Political fragmentation and weak governance systems feed upon each other further undermining state legitimacy. As William Easterly explains,

²⁹ See Seth Kaplan, *Fixing Fragile States: A New Paradigm for Development*, (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), 37-40.

³⁰ Michael C. Hudson, *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 389-390.

“Ethnic diversity has a more adverse effect on economic policy and growth when institutions are poor. To put it another way, poor institutions have an even more adverse effect on growth and policy when ethnic diversity is high. Conversely, in countries with sufficiently good institutions, ethnic diversity does not lower growth or worsen economic policies.”³¹

Formal institutions substitute for the “social glue” (informal institutions) that is in shorter supply when there are ethno-linguistic divisions and other social cleavages. When State legitimacy is undermined, society experiences low levels of trust among the citizens, as well as between the citizens and the government. The low levels of trust result in higher transaction costs in political, economic, and social interactions.³²

In an environment where there are low levels of trust, social capital is hard to come by. Stephen Knack and Phillip Keefer have shown that “social capital” is important for improved economic performance.³³ They use indicators of trust and civic norms from the World Values Surveys for a sample of 29 market economies. They find that trust and civic norms are stronger in nations with higher and more equal incomes, with institutions that restrain predatory actions of chief executives, and with better-educated populations.

³¹ William Easterly, Jozef Ritzan, and Michael Woolcock, “Social Cohesion, Institutions, and Growth,” Working Paper No. 94, (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2006), 14.

³² There is consensus among practitioners and researchers about importance of social capital in promoting economic development. Trust, as a major component of social capital is often believed to be a catalyst for transaction. Many literatures hold that trust can reduce the transaction costs including information searching, negotiating, monitoring and enforcing a transaction or agreement.

³³ See Stephen Knack and Philip Keefer, “Does Social Capital Have an Economic Payoff? A Cross-Country Investigation,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, (1997).

According to Robert Putnam, social capital is “*the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other.*”³⁴ Putnam contends that social capital is a key component to building and maintaining democracy. As social capital declines in a country, it can be seen in lower levels of trust in Government and lower levels of civic participation. Putnam believes that social capital can be measured by the amount of trust and reciprocity in a community or between individuals.

In “Social Capital and Development: The Coming Agenda,” Francis Fukuyama notes that though there isn't an agreed definition of social capital, it can be understood as “*shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships.*”³⁵ He argues that social capital is a necessary precondition for successful development, but a strong rule of law and basic political institutions are necessary to build social capital. Fukuyama also believes that strong social capital is necessary for a strong democracy and strong economic growth.

Fukuyama believes that bridging social capital is essential for strong social capital because a broader radius of trust will enable connections across borders of all sorts and serve as a basis for institutions. On the other hand, political fragmentation directly impacts the ability of countries to foster the positive institutional environment necessary to encourage the development of social

³⁴ Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

³⁵ Francis Fukuyama, “Social Capital and Development: The Coming Agenda”, *SAIS Review* vol. XXII No. 1, School of Advanced International Studies, (Washington DC: Johns Hopkins University, 2002), 27.

capital – and as a result, societal cleavages get exacerbated. This results in further violence and conflict. Fragile states, thus, are stuck in a vicious cycle of violence and deteriorating institutions.

How to Assist Fragile States?

The issue of how to promote governance of weak states, improve their democratic legitimacy, and strengthen self-sustaining institutions has become central to today's development challenge. Francis Fukuyama notes that international financial institutions arrive at such a conclusion either as a result of a desire to rebuild war-torn nations, or out of a desire to eliminate spawning grounds for terrorism, or out of a hope that poor countries will have a chance to develop and prosper. Any solution to state building should serve all of these goals simultaneously. Fukuyama also points out that if we really want to increase the institutional capacity of a developing country, we need to change the metaphor that describes what we hope to do.

“We are not arriving in the country with girders, bricks, cranes, and construction blueprints, ready to hire natives to help build the factory that we have designed. Instead, we should be arriving with resources to motivate the natives to design their own factory and to help them figure out how to build and operate it themselves. Every bit of technical assistance that displaces a comparable capability on the part of the local society should be regarded as a two-edged sword and treated with great caution. Above all, the outsiders need to avoid the temptation to speed up the process by running the factory themselves.”³⁶

³⁶ See chapter on Weak States and the Black Hole of Public Administration, in Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, (Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

The traditional approach to assist fragile and post-conflict states has been international intervention to help countries establish state institutions and infrastructure for development using an image of Europe in the 1950s. International financial institutions, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been involved in trying to strengthen state institutions through structural adjustment and conditional lending. In such an approach, there is strong emphasis on the role of state institutions and international intervention.³⁷

The 2011 *World Development Report* points out that the problem with this approach is that it is too reliant on the “supply-side” actions in countries with weak institutions. The report also notes that outsiders cannot restore confidence and transform institutions for countries—these processes have to be nationally led.

International actors, however, can provide effective *external support* in the form of finance, technical advice, and supplementary capacity. The report also emphasizes that international actors can also diminish external stresses on fragile states, by containing the adverse impact of illegal trafficking, resource competition, international corruption and money laundering, and by protecting them from economic shocks. The report notes, however, that the current international architecture for assistance is not well adapted to provide fast and

³⁷ Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007).

flexible assistance to restore confidence, or patient enough to help transform institutions.

As noted in the sections above, most international interventions meet with limited success because donors try to impose a Western-style blueprint that is not suitable for local conditions. Most often, these reform efforts are not in sync with the local historical, political, economic, and cultural realities – and, hence, meet with failure. The international community is increasingly recognizing that development is fundamentally a political process, and that economic growth, governance, and politics are interdependent.³⁸

The *2011 World Development Report's* analysis suggests that good governance and strong institutions are necessary for establishing peace, security, and development.³⁹ The report also notes that it is important to restore confidence at the local level through inclusion, and early, visible results before undertaking wider institutional reforms in fragile states. It is clear, however, that attempts to establish institutional models from European states have not taken hold in a majority of fragile states. Interestingly, even 'country-led' Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs) have not shown the desired results.⁴⁰

³⁸ See Adrian Leftwich and Steve Hogg, "The Politics of Institutional Indigenization." (West Perth: The Developmental Leadership Program, 2008).

³⁹ See World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*, (Washington DC: The World Bank Group, 2011).

⁴⁰ Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) were introduced in 1999 by the World Bank and the IMF as a new framework to enhance domestic accountability for poverty reduction reform efforts. A PRSP defines a country's macroeconomic, structural, and social policies and programs to promote growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs. See <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/facts/prsp.htm> (Accessed January 2012).

This could be due to the fact that the donor processes to establish country ownership and leadership in the poverty reduction strategy are often shallow and do not take historical socio-political realities into consideration. Such experiences suggest that State building is not merely a matter of technical design and establishment of state infrastructure and institutions. It is a complex cultural and socio-economic-political process involving individual change agents and their coalitions at various levels of society.

The interaction of these change agents within society leads to the development of institutions – that could either be legitimate or illegitimate, effective or ineffective. These institutions then define the rules of engagement, which influence stability, security, and economic growth. In the literature and in the approach to development assistance, however, little attention has been paid to the role of these change agents or the role of domestic leadership in the process of development. This dissertation undertakes a systematic analysis of the role of agency in influencing development outcomes, along with other structural and historical factors.

2. Understanding Leadership

Does Leadership Really Matter?

As touched upon in Chapter 1, the ‘structure-agency’ debate is an old one in social science.⁴¹ Indeed, the very debate is probably the most significant marker of the difference between the natural and social (or human) sciences. In brief, the structure-agency problem concerns the key issue about how socio-economic and political behavior are explained.

Within this debate, the literature ranges from absolutist stances to more moderate, inclusive ones. On one end, Leo Tolstoy’s historical theory is perhaps the most dismissive of the impact of leaders, seeing so-called heroic and historical leaders as mere ex-post justifications for events wholly beyond any individual’s influence.⁴²

Karl Marx allows some scope for agency but argues that leaders must choose from a historically determined set of choices, meaning that they have much less freedom to act than they think they do.⁴³ In general, Marx’s theory continues to inspire many thinkers who see the contest of social or economic forces trumping the roles of individuals. These traditions often see leaders as merely symbolic: “labels” to describe particular expressions of underlying social phenomena.

⁴¹ Anthony Giddens, “Central Problems in Social Theory” in ed. Colin Hay, *Political Analysis, A Critical introduction*, (London, UK: Macmillan, 1979).

⁴² See Isaiah Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, (London, UK: Hogart Press, 1978).

⁴³ See Karl Marx, “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon”, *Die Revolution*, (New York, 1852).

To Tolstoy, Marx, and others, leaders generally claim immodest powers, although they are in fact of little consequence. Meanwhile, the population at large – and historians in later analysis – may accept this pretense as part of a long tradition, ingrained through religious faith, of believing in a higher power.⁴⁴

A modern view of leadership in the psychology literature considers the very idea of powerful leaders a social myth, embraced to satisfy individuals' psychological needs.⁴⁵ Some more recent theoretical developments in organizational research argue that the realm in which single individuals can impact organizational performance is so limited that there is essentially no reason to worry about whether there are any behaviors or attributes that are unique to leadership.

Pfeffer and Salancik argue that most organizational action can be understood not as an exercise of individual agency but as an organizational response to the demands of external actors upon which organizations depend for resources and support.⁴⁶ Some organizational theorists also argue that the concept of leadership, itself, is too loosely defined and is ultimately an amalgam of behaviors and attributes that can be more tractably defined and linked to performance when they are analytically decoupled.

In contrast, there is the other extreme viewpoint in which individuals are seen as the decisive influences in history: the so-called "Great Man" view. From

44 See Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, (Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1869).

45 Gary Gemmill and Judith Oakley, "Leadership: An Alienating Social Myth?", *Human Relations*, XLV, (1992). 113-129.

46 See Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik, *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

this viewpoint, the evolution of history is largely determined by the idiosyncratic, causative influences of certain individuals. Thomas Carlyle articulated this type of historical theory clearly in his study of the French Revolution and later works.⁴⁷ This view persists today especially among military historians, who tend to see the individual leader as the key to military outcomes. For instance, the British historian, John Keegan, noted that the political history of the twentieth century can be found in the biographies of six men: Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Roosevelt, and Churchill.⁴⁸

These opposing viewpoints tend to obfuscate a possible broader middle ground. In the debate over historical determinism, Isaiah Berlin distinguishes between the singular approach of the “hedgehogs” and the flexibility of the “foxes”.⁴⁹ In Berlin’s perspective, Marx and Carlyle are hedgehogs. Weber, whose sociological theories act as a counterpoint to Marx on many dimensions, is a fox. Weber sees a role for “charismatic” leadership in certain circumstances.⁵⁰ He allows for possibly substantial individual roles, but only in those cases where the national bureaucracy, or possibly traditional social norms, do not stand in the way of the individual. For Weber, individuals, historical forces, and institutions are all important, and they interact in an important way. Other scholars, like Drucker,

47 See Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837) and Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero Worship and the Heroic in History*, (New York: Wiley and Halsted, 1859).

48 See John Keegan, "Winston Churchill," *Time*. Available at <http://www.time.com/time/time100/leaders/profile/churchill.html> (accessed May 04, 2011)

49 See Isaiah Berlin, *Russian Thinkers*, (London, UK: Hogart Press, 1978).

50 See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: Free Press, 1947), 358.

Bennis, and Kotter have emphasized that leadership is a vital force in institutional life.⁵¹

In political science, there has been little systematic exploration of the role that leadership plays in development outcomes. Nonetheless, a positive development is that recent research on growth and development outcomes has built on Douglass North's *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. The research has moved beyond conceptions of convergence based on purely economic factors to consider the role of institutions and social context in shaping economic outcomes.⁵² Among other results, the research has found relationships between some measures of political institutions and macroeconomic outcomes.⁵³ Convincingly identifying the causal effects of institutions, however, is a difficult proposition as Glaeser argued.⁵⁴

Yet, if institutions have explanatory power, it is then perhaps a natural next step to ask whether national leaders, who may partly control or substitute for formal institutions in fragile and post conflict countries, exert personal influences on development outcomes. The work of Adrian Leftwich emphasizes the centrality of politics to development outcomes. They argue that economic growth and its

⁵¹ See Peter Drucker, "Managing Oneself," in *Harvard Business Review*, (1999).

<http://academy.clevelandclinic.org/Portals/40/managingoneself.pdf> (accessed December 25, 2011), Warren Bennis, "The Leadership Advantage," *Leader to Leader*, No. 12, (Spring 1999) http://www.hr-newcorp.com/articles/bennis_Leaders.pdf (accessed December 25, 2011), and John P. Kotter, *The Leadership Factor*, (New York: Free Press, January 11, 1988)

⁵² See Douglass North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁵³ Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review*, XCI (2001), 1369-1401.

⁵⁴ Glaeser, Edward L., Rafael La Porta, Florencio Lopez-De-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. "Do Institutions Cause Growth?" *Journal of Economic Growth*, IX (2004), 271-303.

benefits are not simply technical matters that can be achieved by the mere design of institutions and policies.

Development is driven or held back by political processes in society. The challenges involve making decisions on using the resources in various ways. The decisions are determined by different interests with different forms and degrees of power, fuelled by distinctive ideas and ideologies.⁵⁵ In these contexts, human agency, in the form of leaders and their coalitions, plays a central role in determining development outcomes. This work recognizes that agency is important, but that it is a combination of leaders and coalitions that constitute drivers of change.

Then, what is the balance between structure and agency in explaining outcomes in any given situation? This question is central to understanding the politics of development and, in particular, how domestic leadership influences the manner in which locally legitimate and appropriate institutions develop, change, or decay. This is also important in enhancing the understanding of the formation of stable institutional rules of the game, as well as the establishment of the political and economic institutions, and their leadership strategies to see the explicit effect these have on development outcomes in fragile and post-conflict countries. In order to proceed on this path, it becomes necessary to understand what are the different approaches to understanding what leadership means in the

⁵⁵ See Adrian Leftwich, "Bringing Agency Back In: Politics and Human Agency in Building Institutions and States," (2009). <http://www.dlprog.org/ftp/download/Public%20Folder/1%20Research%20Papers/Bringing%20Agency%20Back%20In.pdf> (accessed December 25, 2011).

literature. I seek to better understand leadership through a literature survey of the different concepts of leadership.

What is the Meaning of Leadership?

In *The Bass Handbook of Leadership*, Bernard Bass acknowledges that a tension exists between theory and problem orientation in the leadership literature.⁵⁶ Theorists seek to identify different types of leadership and relate them with the functional demands in society. They also try to account for the emergence of leadership by studying the qualities of the leader or elements of the situation and the interactions between the individual and situational variables. From 1945 to 1960, the leadership literature was focused on empirical research and as a consequence, ignored many aspects of theory, which previously had been considered as important. But the research on leadership became theory driven again from the 1970s, with empirical research testing theoretically-derived hypotheses.

The literature notes that leadership is a universal phenomenon in human societies and can also be observed in animals, like gorillas, chimpanzees, and elephants. Social scientists and anthropologists have argued that all animals living in groups exhibit social organization and leadership. For instance, experimentation and observation in of primates in their natural settings suggest that these groups develop strongly differentiated status hierarchies, which their members adhere to and leaders obtain privileges that furthers their dominance.

Figure 2-1: The Universality of Leadership⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 15-23.

⁵⁷ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 14.

Bernard Bass notes that the many dimensions into which leadership was cast and the overlapping meanings have added to the confusion. In the early 20th century, leadership was seen as impressing the will of a single individual on followers, and inducing obedience, loyalty, respect, and cooperation. In the 1930s, leadership was considered as a process by which the leader organized followers to move in a particular direction. In the 1940s, leadership was understood as the ability to persuade and direct beyond the confines of authority and power.

In the 1950s, leadership was associated with what leaders did in groups and the authority that the group accorded them. In the 1960s, leadership meant influence to move others in a shared direction. In the 1970s, the leader's influence was considered discretionary and as varying from one person to another. In the 1980s, leadership was seen as inspiring others towards achieving purposeful actions. In the 90s, leadership was seen as the influence both of a leader and the followers who sought to bring about change that reflected their common vision. In the 21st century, the leader is seen as the person who is most responsible and accountable for the actions of his or her institution.⁵⁸

Defining Leadership

“A definition is a sack of flour compressed into a thimble.”

- Remy De Gourmont (1858 – 1915)

⁵⁸ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 15.

In today's context, the term 'leadership' signifies a very complex concept. Consequently, the literature on leadership is spread across multiple disciplines, with different definitions, concepts and purposes.

Definitional Evolution and Classification

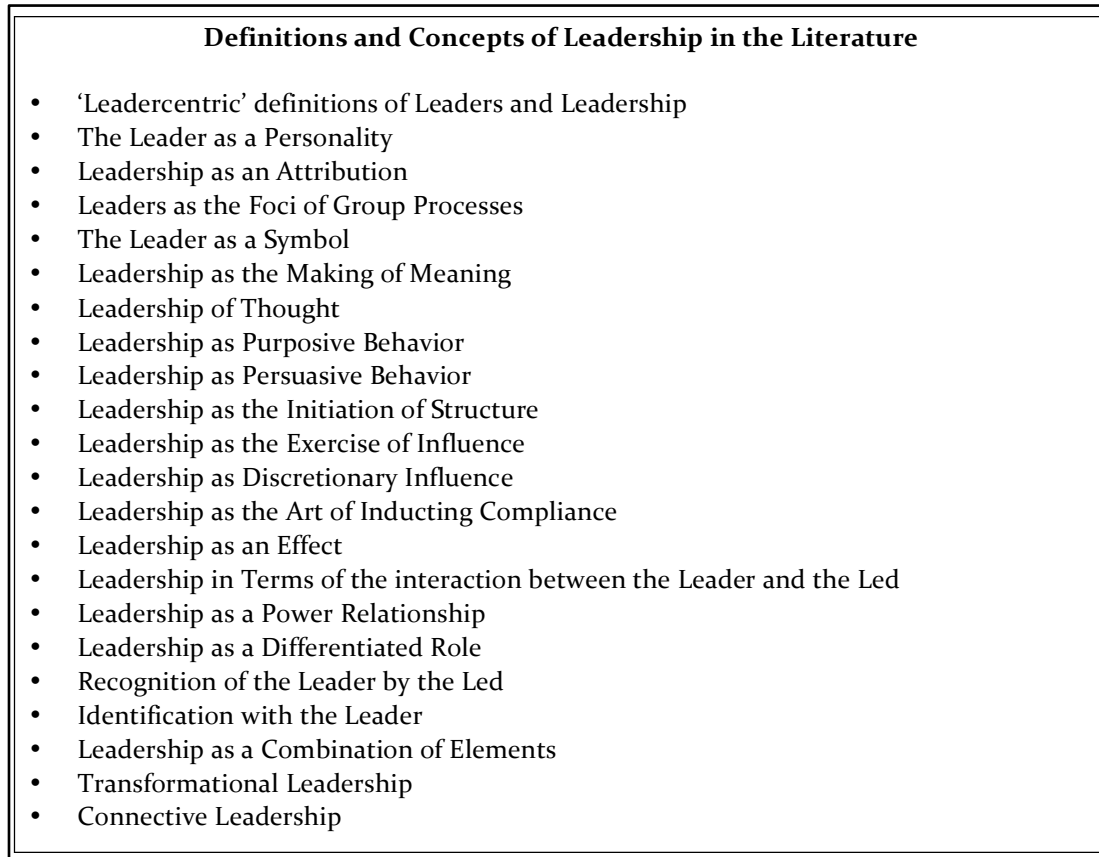


Figure 2-2: Summary of Major Leadership Concepts in the Literature ⁵⁹

The concept of leadership has been explored by many scholars, who have all attempted to define it in ways that are relevant to a given content or purpose. There is no grand theory or definition of leadership, however. One of the defining

⁵⁹ Adapted from Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008).

themes in the literature is a lack of clarity and agreement on the definition of leadership. Bass acknowledges this reality in his compendium on leadership and identifies twenty-one types of definitions from different disciplines and viewpoints into a rough scheme of classification shown in Figure 2-2. The following section explains each of the above classifications from the *Bass Handbook of Leadership* in added detail.

- *Leader-centric definitions of Leaders and Leadership*: These are about one-way effects due to the leader as a person. The leader has the combination of traits necessary to induce others to accomplish a task.
- *The Leader as a Personality*: The concept of personality appealed to several early theorists, who sought to explain why some persons are better able than others to exercise leadership. This approach equates the strength of personality and the character of the leader, and sees leadership as a one-way effect of the leader upon the followers. The popularity of this school of thought has led to a focus on the characteristics and traits of leaders and leadership. This approach is not without weaknesses. Bass notes that scholars like A. O. Bowden stated, “*The amount of personality attributed to an individual may not be unfairly estimated by the degree of influence he can exert upon others.*”⁶⁰
- *Leadership as an Attribution*: Leadership may be conceived solely as a romantic figment of one’s imagination used to explain why a group, organization, or nation has been successful. Or leadership can be conceived solely as the

⁶⁰ See A.O. Bowden, “A study of the personality of student leaders in the United States,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 21, (1926), 149-160.

observable reason for outcomes that have occurred. Bass notes that the truth lies somewhere in between.

- *Leaders as the Foci of Group Processes:* Early theorists viewed leaders as the focus of group change, activity, and process. Cooley noted that the leadership is always the nucleus of a tendency, and if one were to examine a social movement, s/he would find such a nucleus.⁶¹ Mumford noted, “*Leadership is the preeminence of one or a few individuals in a group in the process of control of societal phenomena.*”⁶²
- *The Leader as a Symbol:* Leaders serve a symbolic function and serve as representatives of their group to outsiders. Katz and Kahn argue that leaders provide a way to simplify and find meaning in the group’s external environment.⁶³
- *Leadership as the Making of Meaning:* Leaders provide understanding and meaning for situations that followers find confusing, ambiguous, unclear, vague, indistinct, or uncertain. Gronn argues that leaders are able to define reality for followers and are able to make sense of the situation for them. Leaders talk about values that are acceptable to the followers and that can guide their subsequent action.⁶⁴

⁶¹ See Charles Cooley, *Human Nature and the social order*, (New York, NY: Scribners Publishing, 1902).

⁶² See Eben Mumford, “Origins of Leadership,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 12, (1906), 216-240.

⁶³ See Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, *The social psychology of organizations*, (New York: Wiley, 1978).

⁶⁴ Peter Gronn, *From transactions to transformation: A new world order in the study of leadership?* Lecture, Educational and Administration Society, Balliol College, Oxford University, Oxford, UK, (1995)

- *Leadership of Thought*: This leadership is exerted through lectures, writing, or discovery by prominent thinkers like Plato, Chanakya, Galileo, Shakespeare and other luminaries. Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences is also related to this school of thought. This theory emerged from cognitive research and "documents the extent to which students possess different kinds of minds and therefore learn, remember, perform, and understand in different ways," according to Gardner.

According to this theory, individuals are able to know the world through language, logical-mathematical analysis, spatial representation, musical thinking, the use of the body to solve problems or to make things, an understanding of other individuals, and an understanding of ourselves. Where individuals differ is in the strength of these different intelligences - the so-called profile of intelligences -and in the ways in which such intelligences are invoked and combined to carry out different tasks, solve diverse problems, and progress in various domains.⁶⁵

- *Leadership as Purposive Behavior*: This school of thought preferred to define leadership in terms of activities or behaviors. These are the particular activities that the leader engages in the course of directing and coordinating the work of group members. They may include actions to structure work relations, praising or criticizing group members, and showing consideration for feelings and welfare of individuals. Heifetz looks at leadership as adaptive work, the activity

⁶⁵ Howard Gardner, *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

of mobilizing a social system to face challenges, clarify aspirations, and adapt to challenges faced.⁶⁶

- *Leadership as Persuasive Behavior*: This school of thought assumes a normative approach and sees leadership as a ‘good,’ achievable only by persuasion. In the 1920s, Schenk defined leadership as “the management of men by persuasion and inspiration, rather than by the direct or implied threat of coercion.”⁶⁷ It was the preferred definition of leadership for students of history and politics in opposition to the definition of leadership as the art of inducing compliance, which was seen as legitimizing authoritarianism.

Burns sees leadership as a benevolent and paternal act through which the leader directs the behavior of followers in order to satisfy common requirements. Burns made a distinction between leadership and power. Power seeks to alter the behavior of others to satisfy the requirements of the leader, and not necessarily that of the followers. There need not be any common ground in this case.⁶⁸

The normative conception of leadership as persuasive and inspirational, as opposed to coercive, is highly limiting and reduces its relevance for studies of political leadership. Bass notes that it might be more useful to see “persuasion” as one form of leadership, but that it does not really serve our purpose well as a definition.

66 Ronald A. Heifetz, *Leadership without easy answers*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

67 See Caiper Schenk, “Leadership,” *Infantry Journal*, 33, (1928), 111-122.

68 James M. Burns, *Leadership*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1978), 13.

- *Leadership as the Initiation of Structure:* This approach looks at leadership as more than the role and position, and focuses on the process of creating and maintaining a structure of roles for leaders and followers, and the interconnected relationships. Hemphill and Stogdill defined leadership in terms of the variables that give rise to the differentiation and maintenance of role structures in groups. The focus was more on the processes involved in the emergence of leaders and leadership. Bass notes that this conception of leadership makes a distinction with reference to the persons, resources, and tasks within differentiated roles within the group.⁶⁹
- *Leadership as the Exercise of Influence:* This school of thought presents a more abstract, less authoritarian picture of the leader's impact on the actions of the followers. This approach looks at the actual achievement of change in behavior of others, and allows for much more goal-ownership on the part of followers. There is scope for more interaction between leaders and followers through a process of bargaining. Thus, leadership is seen as the effort to change the behavior of others, and success is achieved when behavioral change is observed.

This approach reflects an acceptance that individuals can affect the group in different ways. Hence, it allows for the importance of group dynamics and the fluidity of leadership elite. There is no single leader who influences all in the group equally – and leaders are subject to feedback from followers.

⁶⁹ J.K. Hemphill, *A proposed theory of leadership in small groups*, (Columbus: Ohio State Leadership Studies, 1954) and R.M. Stogdill, *Individual behavior and group achievement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

Hollander and Julian suggested that leadership in the broadest sense implies the presence of a particular influence relationship between two or more persons.⁷⁰

- *Leadership as a Discretionary Influence:* Many theorists, like Katz, Kahn, and Miller, have wanted to limit leadership to influence that is not mandated by the individual's role.⁷¹ Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch suggested that discretionary leadership is influence over and above what is typically required of a position. Thus individuals are leaders only when they take the opportunity to exert influence over activities beyond what has been prescribed as a requirement of their role.⁷²
- *Leadership as the Art of Inducing Compliance:* This approach looks at leadership as a one-way effect, but adds that it is the art of persuasion and the ability to induce loyalty, rather than purely a matter of possessing the right personality qualities. This approach can be seen as legitimizing authoritarianism. For example, B. V. Moore stated that leadership might be defined as the "*ability to impress the will of the leader on those led and induce obedience, respect, loyalty, and cooperation.*"⁷³
- *Leadership as an Effect:* This school of thought approaches leadership as an effect of group interaction. Leadership is seen as something that can only be

⁷⁰ E.P. Hollander and J.W. Julian, "Contemporary trends in the analysis of leadership processes," *Psychological Bulletin*, 71, (1969), 387-397.

⁷¹ J.A. Miller, *Structuring/destructuring: Leadership in open systems*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, Management Research Center, 1973), and Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, *The social psychology of organizations*, (New York: Wiley, 1978).

⁷² R.N. Osborn, J.G. Hunt, and L.R. Jauch, *Organization theory: An integrated approach*, (New York: Wiley, 1980).

⁷³ B.V. Moore, The May conference on leadership, *Personnel Journal*, 6, (1927), 47-63.

conferred by members of the group onto individuals. Hence, leaders can only emerge passively, by acknowledgement of the role that has been assigned to them by the group. This approach accords more weight to the idea that, rather than traits and qualities, what makes a leader is specific and contingent upon the group and its requirements. Borgardus stated that, “*as a social process, leadership is that social inter-stimulation which causes a number of people to set out toward an old goal with a new zest or a new goal with hopeful courage – with different persons keeping different places.*”⁷⁴

- *Leadership in Terms of the interaction between the Leader and the Led:* The definition of leadership as a process is becoming increasingly popular in the field today. This approach concerns the cognitions, interpersonal behaviors, and attributions of both the leaders and the following as they impact each other’s pursuit of their mutual goals. Leadership is not a one-way process, but rather, an interactive two-way process between the leader and the follower. Peter Northouse sees leadership as a process through which an individual influences a group of individuals to attain a common goal.⁷⁵
- *Leadership as a Power Relationship:* This school approaches leadership from the lens of political realism and hence, is most commonly used by the political theorists. This approach is Machiavellian in the way it explores the importance

⁷⁴ E.S. Bogardus, Leadership and attitudes, *Sociology and Social Research*, 13, (1929), 377-387.

⁷⁵ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, (London: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009).

of power in leadership and Weberian in the way it looks at the relationship between leadership and authority.⁷⁶

An examination of Weber's approach reveals the basis of his distinction between power and authority – two concepts important to understand leadership. Power is the ability to impose one's will on another, regardless of the other's wishes, and despite any resistance s/he may offer. Power is, therefore, relational; it requires one person to dominate, and the other to submit. This assumes that one person will acquiesce, co-operate with, or consent to domination by the other, and this cannot be true of all relationships. The act of issuing a command does not presuppose obedience.

Weber argues that an individual can exercise power in three ways: through direct physical power, by reward and punishment and by the influence of opinion. The exercise of power is more likely to be indirect and coercive: a combination of rewarding and punishing through the use of argument, debate, and rhetoric.⁷⁷

Authority, by comparison, is a quality that enhances power, rather than being itself a form of power. The word "authority" comes from the verb "to authorize." Therefore, an individual's power must be authorized by the group in order for it to be legitimate. An individual is considered an authority because

⁷⁶ See Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), and See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, (New York: Free Press, 1947), 358-360.

⁷⁷ P. M. Blau, "Critical remarks on Weber's theory of authority," *The American Political Science Review*, 57 (2), (1963), 305-316.

of his/her technical expertise, combined with his/her ability to communicate effectively with the group. The individual in authority is the one who is primary in the group, controlling certain aspects of what the other group members do and say, and perhaps even what and how they think. This school of thought views leadership through the perspective of how one's power and authority are granted. The power relation, in this sense, can be overt, covert, or unrecognized, but it is always there.

Bass argues that most political theorists see power as the basis of political leadership.⁷⁸ When power is combined with the personal tendencies of leaders, it may lead to the transformation of a leadership opportunity into an overt power relation. This has often had a negative impact on society. This perspective has proved a powerful argument against authoritarianism and for the need of restraint upon leadership. There is, however, a real dearth of research on this approach from the perspective of political science, which has mostly been occupied with the exploration of power. This lack of research has proven to be a detriment to the analysis of the role of leadership for development.

- *Leadership as a Differentiated Role:* This school of thought is based on 'role theory,' which looks at how different members of a group occupy different positions, both within the group, as well as in the larger institutional context

⁷⁸ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 21.

that they inhabit.⁷⁹ In this approach the roles of leaders and followers are well defined. Scholars refer to traditionally hierarchical societies like those of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, where the societal structure dictated whether leadership was a differentiated role or not.⁸⁰ Marshall Sahlins refers to the dichotomy between ‘ascribed’ and ‘achieved’ leadership.⁸¹ ⁸² In Polynesia, leadership is ascribed by the system of rank, chiefdom, and hierarchy. In Melanesia, the leader is usually a ‘Big-Man,’ who has achieved that status through the acquisition of wealth and power. Thus leadership might be an inherited differentiated role in some cultures, societies, and contexts, but it can also be very fluid and dependent upon results and achievements in others.⁸³

- *Recognition of the Leader by the Led:* This leadership perspective requires matching of the leadership prototype of traits and behaviors with the face-to-face contact required for a more controlled cognitive process. In this case, followers must recognize the ‘greatness’ of leaders and choose to follow them. Lord and Maher contend that this process of matching is based on socially communicated processes.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ See Neal Gross, W.E. Martin, and A.W. McEachem, *Explorations in role analysis*, (New York: Wiley, 1958).

⁸⁰ G.D. Paige, *The scientific study of political leadership*, (New York: Free Press, 1977), 6.

⁸¹ Marshall D. Sahlins, “Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 5, No. 3, (April 1963), 285-303.

⁸² The distinction between ascribed and achieved leadership was first made by Talcott Parsons. See Talcott Parsons, *The structure of social action*, (New York: Free Press, 1937).

⁸³ See W.S. Douglas, “An evaluation of experimental procedures for the systematic training of group leaders,” *Dissertation Abstracts International*, (1979), 36.

⁸⁴ R.G. Lord and K.J. Maher, “Alternative information processing models and their implications for theory, research, and practice,” *Academy of Management Review*, 15, (1990), 9-28.

- *Identification with the Leader:* In this perspective, there is an emotional connection between the leader and the led, based on a sense of similarity. The leader provides an example to be imitated by the followers. Shamir notes that the aspirations of the leader become the followers' own aspiration.⁸⁵
- *Leadership as a Combination of Elements:* Bass notes that some scholars have combined several definitions of leadership to cover a larger set of meanings.⁸⁶ Bogardus defined leadership in terms of personality in action under group conditions. He also noted that it was not only about personality or a group phenomenon, but that it was also a social process involving a group.⁸⁷ According to Jago, leadership was the exercise of non-coercive influence to coordinate the members of an organized group in accomplishing the group's objectives.⁸⁸
- *Transformational Leadership:* Transformational leadership gives more attention to the charismatic and affective elements of leadership. Downton first coined the term "transformational leadership" in 1973.⁸⁹ Bass and Riggio suggested that its popularity might be due to its emphasis on intrinsic motivation and follower development. The emergence of transformational leadership as an important approach to leadership began with a classic work by political sociologist James

85 Boas Shamir, "The charismatic relationship: Alternative explanations and predictions," *The Leadership Quarterly* 2, (1991), 81-104.

86 See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 22-23.

87 E.S. Bogardus, *Leaders and leadership*, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1934).

88 A.G. Jago, "Leadership: Perspectives in theory and research," *Management Science*, 28, (1982), 315-336.

89 See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008).

MacGregor Burns, entitled *Leadership* in 1978.⁹⁰ Burns attempted to link the roles of leadership and followership. He wrote of leaders as people who tap the motives of followers in order to reach more effectively, the goals of leaders and followers. For Burns, leadership is quite different from power because it is inseparable from followers' needs.

Burns distinguished two types of leadership – transactional and transformational. Transactional leadership refers to the bulk of leadership models, which focus on the exchanges that occur between leaders and their followers.

Transformational leadership is the process whereby a leader engages with others and creates a connection that raises the levels of motivation and morality in both the leader and the follower. This type of leader is attentive to the needs and motives of followers and tries to help followers reach their fullest potential.

Burns also made the distinction between pseudo and authentic transformational leadership. Pseudo-transformational leadership describes leaders like Stalin and Hitler, who were self-consumed, exploitive, and power-oriented, with warped moral values, but, were nonetheless, able to lead nations.⁹¹ Authentic-transformational leadership is socially responsible

⁹⁰ James M. Burns, *Leadership*, (San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row, 1978).

⁹¹ See Bernard Bass and Ronald Riggio, *Transformational Leadership, Second Edition*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006).

leadership, which is concerned with the collective good. These leaders transcend their own interests for the sake of others.⁹²

Bass argues that transformational leadership motivates followers to do more than expected by raising followers' levels of consciousness about the importance and value of specified and idealized goals. This approach prompts followers to transcend their own self-interest for the sake of the team or organization and moves followers to address highest level needs.

- Connective leadership, as explained by Jean Lipman-Blumen, is an approach to leadership that is politically savvy and instrumental, yet ethical, authentic, accountable, and ennobling. This approach stands in stark contrast to other traditional approaches to leadership, which are either power driven or manipulative. Connective leaders use political strategies and skills, as well as the interconnections among people, institutions, and processes, in an ethical manner. Some characteristics of connective leaders⁹³ include:
 - Connecting their vision with the dreams of others – combining and bringing together, rather than dividing and conquering
 - Striving to overcome mutual differences and problems, instead of merely uniting followers against a common enemy
 - Creating a sense of community between diverse groups of stakeholders

⁹² See Jane Howell and Bruce Avolio, "Transformational leadership, transactional leadership, locus of control, and support for innovation: key predictors of consolidated-business-unit performance", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, (1993), 891-902.

⁹³ For a detailed discussion of the characteristics of connective leaders, please see Jean Lipman-Blumen, *Connective leadership: Managing in a changing world*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 2000), 16-20.

- Bringing together committed leaders and stakeholders for common purposes and inspiring active constituents to assume ownership and responsibility, rather than manipulating passive followers
- Joining with other leaders, even former adversaries, not as competitors, but as colleagues
- Renewing and building broad-based democratic institutions, instead of creating authoritarian regimes
- Nurturing potential leaders, including possible successors
- Demonstrating integrity and commitment to the cause and holding themselves to the high standards that they expect from their peers and followers

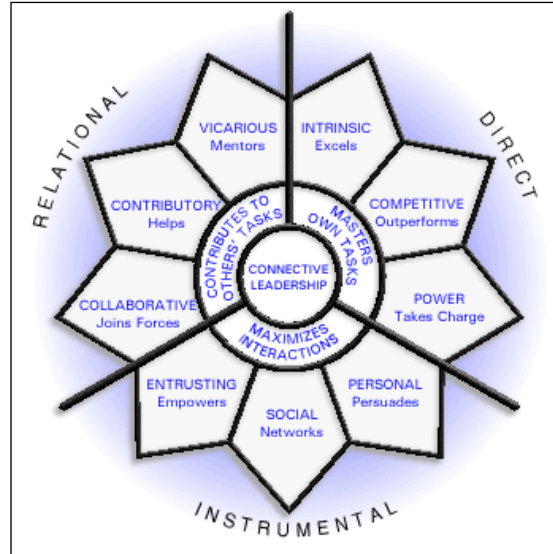


Figure 2-3: The Connective Leadership Model⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See Connective Leadership and Achieving Styles http://achievingstyles.com/asi/connective_leadership.asp (Accessed February 24, 2012)

The Connective Leadership Model (See Figure 2-3) describes three general categories or sets of behaviors used by individuals for achieving their objectives. The model consists of three major sets of behavioral styles: direct, relational, and instrumental.

Leaders who prefer the direct set prefer to handle their own tasks individually and directly – emphasizing mastery, competition, and power. People who prefer to work on group tasks or help others to attain their goals emphasize the relational set. The relational set addresses the issues inherent in the many forms of interdependence – collaboration, contribution, and vicariousness (supporting or facilitating others' accomplishments). People who emphasize the instrumental set tend to use themselves and others as instruments towards community goals. The instrumental set involves three styles – personal, social, and entrusting. People who use the instrumental achieving style treat everything – themselves, their relationships, situations, and resources as instruments towards their goals.

Leaders have traditionally adopted the direct achieving styles. In these styles, the leader masters his/her own tasks while achieving progress towards the goal. In the relational styles, the leader achieves progress by contributing actively or passively to team-members' tasks. The instrumental styles emphasize using one's personal strengths to attract supporters,

creating and working through social networks and alliances, and entrusting various aspects of one's vision to others.

Connective leaders understand that complex issues require one to be able to utilize all the different behavioral styles in order to succeed.

Lipman-Blumen notes that their conception of leadership reaches beyond the direct styles favored by traditional leaders, including competition and power. It involves the ability and willingness of these leaders to call upon ethical relational and instrumental action.

An important takeaway from the leadership literature, particularly from Burns' and Lipman-Blumen's work, is that as a process and a relationship of engagement, the key elements of leadership are the "motives and resources of the power holder, the motives and resources of the power recipients, and the relationship among all these."⁹⁵ Burns combines the elements of leadership as personality, leadership as a power relation, leadership as the exercise of influence and leadership as the focus of group processes.⁹⁶ Lipman-Blumen points out that Connective leaders create short-term coalitions to work on different problems unique to those groups. They also know how to integrate the contradictory tensions of interdependence and diversity.⁹⁷ These elements become helpful in approaching leadership as a factor in influencing development outcomes.

⁹⁵ James M. Burns, *Leadership*, (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), 13.

⁹⁶ See Heather Lyne de Ver, "Leadership, Politics and Development: A Literature Survey," (Canberra: AUSAID, 2008).

⁹⁷ See Jean Lipman-Blumen, *Connective leadership: Managing in a changing world*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 226-231, and Jean Lipman-Blumen, *The Connective Edge: Leading in an interdependent World*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

Through leadership and engagement with the requirements of followers, there is potential for the leader to transform their needs into something that is higher, and establish a common vision for progress. Heather Lyne de Ver notes that it is this perspective on leadership that helps form the basis for a useful exploration of leadership's importance for development and for politics in general – as the basis of planned, organized, or coordinated change.

The above section provides an overview the different approaches and ways to define leadership. Bass aptly notes, *“There are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept.”*⁹⁸ The way to define leadership can evince passionate debates and long deliberations that have preoccupied theorists and practitioners for centuries now. Until there is a centrally recognized authority on leadership, Bass notes that we have to live with both broad and narrow definitions of the subject, ensuring that the definitions are being applied according to context and the purpose being served.

“Leadership is an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and of the perceptions and expectations of the members. Leaders are agents of change, whose acts affect other people more than other people’s acts affect them. Leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group. Leadership can be conceived of as directing the attention of other members to goals and the paths to achieve them. It should be

⁹⁸ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 25.

*clear with this broad definition, any member of the group can exhibit some degree of leadership, and the members will vary in this regard.*⁹⁹

Limitations in the Literature

There are some limitations in the literature that one needs to be aware of as well. It is evident that the majority of definitions of leadership discussed in the previous section need to be considered as definitions of particular types of leadership, or leadership in particular contexts.

Most of the definitions of leadership are not universal in their applicability, and it becomes important to understand the scholars' conceptions of leadership, and the context within which they are trying to define leadership. There is no single definition of leadership that is accepted across different disciplines, like history, anthropology, political science, psychology, and management and organizational behavior.

The literature also tends to focus primarily on Western corporate and organizational leadership. The studies often make assumptions based on a controlled, established institutional context, which is not the case in most developing country leadership scenarios. Also, there is a bias towards Western sensibilities and ethical standards – with little attention being given to local historic and cultural norms.

⁹⁹ See Bernard Bass, *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications 4th Edition*, (New York, NY: The Free Press, 2008), 25.

Focus of this Study

As can be seen from the literature review above, the literature on leadership is massive and diffused across multiple disciplines and contexts. The concepts and definitions of leadership vary according to the context for which they were developed. Some definitions focus on the traits and attributes of an individual (the leader as “personality,” “symbol,” or “attribution”). Some focus on the interaction and relationship between a leader and followers (“leadership as the foci of group processes,” “power relationship,” or “transformational leadership”). Still others emphasize the results or outcomes of leadership (leadership as “effect”). For the purpose of this dissertation, the definition of leadership that best suits the development context would be: Leadership is the process by which change agent(s) mobilize ideas, people, and resources to make progress in attaining complex shared objectives.

Given the explicit focus of this dissertation on the challenges of fragility, I am interested in learning about the nature of leadership that can help with a durable exit from fragility. In order for such an exit to occur, leadership would need to address the underlying issues of political fragmentation, citizen security, weak institutions, and economic growth. The following chapters attempt to do this through quantitative and qualitative methods. Chapter 3 looks at the relationship between leadership and fragility through a cross-country time-series analysis. Chapter 4 then looks at specific cases of leadership in countries that have experienced different trajectories of post-conflict development.

3. Leadership and Fragility: A Cross-Country Analysis

Analytical Framework

Assumptions

As seen in Chapter 2, the literature review suggests that leadership is a process through which a change agent interacts with coalitions to create and implement strategies that help make progress towards achieving collective goals. One insight is that leadership is thus as much about agency, as it is about how and what was achieved. The challenge, then, is to see how this process-oriented definition of leadership can be applied in the context of state fragility.¹⁰⁰

This dissertation examines the role of leadership strategies in transits in and out of fragility. For the purposes of this dissertation, a leadership change is explained in terms of a regime change. I have found through my research that a regime change generally brings along with it a new leader, who has a new leadership strategy and approach to governance.

There are no data available, however, for fragile states related to leadership changes. I have, hence, approximated regime change to represent leadership change. A regime change is indicated primarily by a change in (or abandonment of) the principles and norms governing the nature of the regime i.e., establishment of new principles and norms.

¹⁰⁰ The World Bank Institute defines leadership as the process by which a change agent mobilizes meaning, people, and resources toward making progress to achieve collective goals.

Assuming $\{Leadership\ Change\} = \{Regime\ Change\}$, we can express the relationship as, $Fragility = f\{Leadership\ Change\}$

The first step in establishing whether a robust relationship exists between leadership and fragility is to examine the available empirical data. After considerable research on databases of fragility and leadership, I selected the Polity IV database to identify leadership change (represented by regime change) and the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) database to identify the level of fragility in a country, and the World Bank's World Development Indicators to create a vector of control variables that include political, economic and social indicators that represent the level of fragility in a country.

This approach is limited by the fact that the existing data can be utilized to the extent of being able to show that there is a robust relationship between leadership change and fragility, but I am aware that this does not prove causality. In order to understand what causes movement in or out of fragility, I then conduct in-depth case studies to analyze the role of leadership strategy.

Measuring Fragility (Dependent Variable of Interest)

As previously noted in Chapter 1, the term, "fragile states" generally describes countries facing particularly severe development challenges such as weak governance, limited administrative capacity, violence, or the legacy of conflict. Development partners have been converging around a definition of fragility developed at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This definition recognizes common characteristics of weak governance

and vulnerability to conflict, together with differentiated constraints and opportunities in situations of (1) prolonged crisis or deadlock, (2) post-conflict or political transition, (3) gradual improvement, and (4) deteriorating governance. Based on this definition of the nature of fragility, the variable I employ is an additive measure. It consists of indicators representing Internal Conflict, External Conflict, GDP growth rate, Government Stability, and Bureaucratic Quality. I have adapted these indicators from the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) Methodology in order to measure the level of fragility in a country.¹⁰¹

The Internal Conflict indicator in the ICRG ratings is an assessment of political violence in the country and its actual or potential impact on governance. The highest rating is giving to those countries where there is no armed or civil opposition to the government and the government does not indulge in arbitrary violence – direct or indirect – against its own people. The lowest rating is given to a country embroiled in an on-going civil war. The risk rating is the sum of three subcomponents, each with a maximum score of four points and a minimum score of zero points. A score of four points equates to Very Low Risk, and a score of zero points equates to Very High Risk. The subcomponents of this indicator are:

¹⁰¹ The International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) rating comprises 22 variables in three subcategories of risk: political, financial, and economic. A separate index is created for each of the subcategories. The Political Risk index is based on 100 points, Financial Risk on 50 points, and Economic Risk on 50 points. The total points from the three indices are divided by two to produce the weights for inclusion in the composite country risk score. The composite scores, ranging from zero to 100, are then broken into categories from Very Low Risk (80 to 100 points) to Very High Risk (zero to 49.9 points). The Political Risk Rating includes 12 weighted variables covering both political and social attributes. ICRG advises users on means of adapting both the data and the weights in order to focus the rating on the needs of the particular investing firm. For more details about the International Country Risk Guide Methodology, please see http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG_Methodology.aspx

- Civil War/Coup Threat
- Terrorism/Political Violence
- Civil Disorder

The External Conflict indicator is an assessment both of the risk to the incumbent government from foreign action, ranging from non-violent external pressure (diplomatic pressures, withholding of aid, trade restrictions, territorial disputes, sanctions, etc.) to violent external pressure (cross-border conflicts to all-out war).

External conflicts can adversely affect foreign business in many ways. These range from restrictions on operations to trade and investment sanctions, to distortions in the allocation of economic resources, to violent change in the structure of society. The risk rating assigned is the sum of three subcomponents, each with a maximum score of four points and a minimum score of zero points. A score of four points equates to Very Low Risk, and a score of zero points equates to Very High Risk. The subcomponents are:

- War
- Cross-Border Conflict
- Foreign Pressures

The Government Stability indicator is an assessment both of the government's ability to carry out its declared program(s), and its ability to stay in office. The risk rating assigned is the sum of three subcomponents, each with a maximum score of four points and a minimum score of zero points. A score of four points equates to

Very Low Risk, and a score of zero points equates to Very High Risk. The subcomponents are:

- Government Unity
- Legislative Strength
- Popular Support

The Bureaucratic Quality measure deals with the institutional strength and quality of the bureaucracy, another shock absorber that tends to minimize revisions of policy when governments change. Thus, high points are given to countries where the bureaucracy has the strength and expertise to govern without drastic changes in policy or interruptions in government services. In these low-risk countries, the bureaucracy tends to be somewhat autonomous from political pressure and to have an established mechanism for recruitment and training. Countries that lack the cushioning effect of a strong bureaucracy receive low points because a change in government tends to be traumatic in terms of policy formulation and day-to-day administrative functions.

The GDP Growth Rate is the annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. Aggregates are based on constant 2000 U.S. dollars.

Measuring Leadership Change (Independent Variable of Interest)

As noted in the assumptions section in the beginning of Chapter 3, regime change is most often associated with leadership change in fragile states. Because of the lack of data regarding leadership changes in fragile states, I have sought to

approximate regime change to represent leadership change. I understand that this may be an imperfect (noisy) measure, but it is clear that regime change associated with the change of at least some number of policy-makers at the highest levels of government. I have employed regime transition data available from the Polity IV Database for Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2010, for this purpose.¹⁰²

The Regime Transition (REGTRANS) variable in the Polity IV Database is relevant to this dissertation as it indicates the change in the type of leadership at the level of national government.¹⁰³ It is also relevant because this dissertation

¹⁰² The Polity IV dataset covers all major, independent states in the global system (i.e., states with total population of 500,000 or more in the most recent year; currently 164 countries) over the period 1800-2010. The Polity IV Project constantly monitors regime changes in all major countries and provides annual assessments of regime authority characteristics and regime changes and data updates. It is also the most closely scrutinized data series on political issues as analysts and experts in academia, policy, and the intelligence community regularly examine and often challenge Polity codings. See <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm> for more information.

¹⁰³ For more details on the REGTRANS Variable, please see Pg. 35, Polity IV Project: Dataset Users Manual available at <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/inscr.htm> The REGTRANS variable indicates that the Polity has undergone a substantive regime transition, defined as a “regime change.” A “regime change” is defined simply as a three-point change in either the polity’s DEMOC or AUTOC score (variables in the Polity IV Dataset) and may be either a negative value change (i.e., “negative regime change” or “adverse regime transition”) or a positive value change (i.e., “positive regime change,” “minor democratic transition,” or “major democratic transition”). An “adverse regime transition” is defined as a six-point decrease in the polity’s POLITY score or by an interregal period (-77) that denotes a collapse of central authority or a revolutionary transformation in the mode of governance. A “democratic transition” is defined as at least a three-point POLITY value change in three years or less from autocracy (i.e., a negative or zero POLITY score) to a partial democracy (POLITY values +1 to +6) or full democracy (POLITY values +7 to +10). The REGTRANS value is coded according to the CHANGE value assigned for a continuous regime transition; REGTRANS records the same value for each year in a multi-year regime transition (i.e., from the last recoded POLITY prior to transition to the establishment of a new Polity). Each year of a regime transition has a recorded value from 3 to -3; this method is used to facilitate the isolation of regime transition (leadership change) data.

Value	Description
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+3	Major Democratic Transition – six points or greater increase in POLITY score over a period of three years or less including a shift from an autocratic POLITY value (1 to 0) to a partial democratic POLITY value (+1 to +6) or full democratic POLITY value (+7 to +10) or a shift from a partial democratic value to a full democratic value.
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seeks to study the nature of leadership at the level of national government that leads to different outcomes.¹⁰⁴

What is a Regime?

Calvert says that, “a regime is the name usually given to a government or sequence of governments in which power remains essentially in the hands of the same social group.”¹⁰⁵ Christian Anglade and Carlos Fortin say, “On the one hand, the state expresses the domination of a given combination of classes and fractions of classes on the rest of the society. On the other hand, the state is a set of institutions and personnel through which class domination is expressed.” The state in its institutional sense is often referred to as the ‘regime’, thereby emphasizing the

-
- +2 Minor Democratic Transition – three to five point increase in POLITY score over a period of three years or less including a shift from autocratic to partial democratic or from partial to full democratic value (see definitions above).
 - +1 Positive Regime Change – three or more point increase in POLITY score without a shift in regime type as defined above.
 - o Little or No Change in POLITY score.
 - 1 Negative Regime Change – three to five point decrease in POLITY score.
 - 2 Adverse Regime Transition – six or more point decrease in POLITY score or an interregal period
 - 3 This value has been designated for codes -77 State Failure – complete collapse of central political authority, - 66 Interruption, 96 State Disintegration and 98 State Demise

¹⁰⁴ The Polity IV conceptual scheme is unique in that it examines concomitant qualities of democratic and autocratic authority in governing institutions, rather than discrete and mutually exclusive forms of governance. This perspective envisions a spectrum of governing authority that spans from fully institutionalized autocracies through mixed, or incoherent, authority regimes (termed "autocracies") to fully institutionalized democracies. The "Polity Score" captures this regime authority spectrum on a 21-point scale ranging from -10 (hereditary monarchy) to +10 (consolidated democracy). The Polity scheme consists of six component measures that record key qualities of executive recruitment, constraints on executive authority, and political competition. It also records changes in the institutionalized qualities of governing authority. The Polity data include information only on the institutions of the central government and on political groups acting, or reacting, within the scope of that authority. It does not include consideration of groups and territories that are actively removed from that authority (i.e., separatists or "fragments"; these are considered separate, though not independent, polities) or segments of the population that are not yet effectively politicized in relation to central state politics.

¹⁰⁵ See Peter Calvert, *The Process of Political Succession*, (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

formal structures of political authority—parliament, executive, judiciary—but including also the mechanisms of mediation between those structures and the citizens, notably the party system.¹⁰⁶

Chazan et al. contend that a regime may be characterized as the part of the political system that determines how and under what conditions and limitations the power of the state is exercised. In other words, the concept of regime is concerned with the form of rule.¹⁰⁷

What is a Regime Change?

Stephen Krasner suggests that changes in rules and decision-making procedures are changes within regimes, provided that principles and norms are unaltered. Thus, a case of regime change, in this perspective, is indicated primarily by a change in (or abandonment of) the principles and norms governing the nature of the regime (i.e., establishment of new principles and norms).¹⁰⁸ The transition phase *begins* before the formal or *de facto* collapse of a regime. At the same time, new forces or parties mobilize. The *endpoint* of a transition is more difficult to determine. According to Schmitter and Karl, the endpoint occurs when

¹⁰⁶ See Christian Anglade and Carlos Fortin, *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela*, (Pittsburgh:University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990).

¹⁰⁷ See Naomi Chazan, N. Mortimer, D. Rothchild, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1988).

¹⁰⁸ Stephan Krasner, "State Power and the structure of International Trade," *World Politics* 28, (1976), 317-347.

the transition regimes become “seedlings” (i.e. when they are rooted, reasonably stable but not immune from the vagaries of nature or politics).¹⁰⁹

Ronald Francisco emphasizes that regime change is a political event.¹¹⁰ Thus, the changes can center on political, social and economic issues. The most important aspect of a regime transition is that a new constellation of rules, institutions, and authority develops. Thus, a positive regime change or leadership change refers to a transition toward the establishment of more inclusive, democratic institutions. A negative regime change refers to a shift towards more autocratic, less inclusive institutions. This is consistent with the definition of positive and negative regime changes in the Polity IV methodology as well.

Statistical Analysis

Sample and Variables

The sample universe under consideration includes all the countries for which data were available within the ICRG Database, the Polity IV Database and the World Bank Database. The dataset contains information for 146 countries from 1985 until August 2011 for the following variables:

¹⁰⁹ Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl, “The types of democracy emerging in Southern and Eastern Europe and South and Central America,” in *Bound to change: consolidating democracy in East Central Europe*, Ed. Peter Volten, (New York: Institute for EastWest Studies, 1992), 42-68.

¹¹⁰ Ronald A. Francisco, *The Politics of Regime Transition*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).

Table 3-1: Variable Description

Sl. No	Name	Description	Comment
1	Country Name	Name of country	Data were available for 146 countries across the three datasets – ICRG, Polity IV, and the World Bank Database
2	Year	Year	Data were available for the period from January 1985 – August 2011
3	Fragility	Fragility of Country i at time t	This variable is an additive composite of other variables representing conflict (internal and external conflict), security (government stability and bureaucratic quality) and growth (lagged GDP growth rate).
4	Internal Conflict	Internal Conflict of Country i at time t	The Internal Conflict indicator in the ICRG ratings is an assessment of political violence in the country and its actual or potential impact on governance. The value ranges from zero (most fragile) to 12 (least fragile). This variable forms part of the dependent variable being studied.
5	External Conflict	External Conflict for Country i at time t	The External Conflict indicator looks at both the risk to the incumbent government from foreign action, ranging from non-violent external pressure (diplomatic pressure, withholding of aid, trade restrictions, territorial disputes, sanctions, etc.) to violent external pressure (cross-border conflicts to all-out war). The value ranges from zero (most fragile) to 12 (least fragile). This variable forms part of the dependent variable being studied.
6	Government Stability	Government Stability for Country i at time t	This indicator measures both the government's ability to deliver its programs as well as its ability to stay in office. The value ranges from zero (most fragile) to 12 (least fragile). This variable forms part of the dependent variable being studied.
7	Bureaucratic Quality	Bureaucratic Quality for Country i at time t	This indicator measures the strength of institutions and quality of bureaucracy in a country, which act as shock absorber that tends to minimize revisions of policy when governments change. The value ranges from zero (most fragile) to 4 (least fragile). This variable forms part of the dependent variable being studied.
8	Regime Transition	Leadership Change for Country i at time t	The Regime Transition variable indicates the change in the type of leadership at the level of national government. This is the independent variable under study. The value ranges from -3 to +3 (depending upon the nature of transition). Negative values indicate more autocratic characteristics, while positive values indicate democratic characteristics.

9	GDP per Capita	The Natural Logarithmic value of the GDP per Capita of Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	This Indicator was obtained from the World Bank World Development Indicators Database
10	Cash Surplus / Deficit as a portion of GDP	The ratio of the cash surplus / deficit to the overall GDP for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	Cash surplus or deficit is revenue (including grants) minus expense, minus net acquisition of nonfinancial assets. In the 1986 Government Finance Statistics manual, nonfinancial assets were included under revenue and expenditure in gross terms. This cash surplus or deficit is closest to the earlier overall budget balance (still missing is lending, minus repayments, which are now a financing item under net acquisition of financial assets).
11	GINI Index	GINI Index for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	GINI index measures the extent to which the distribution of income (or, in some cases, consumption expenditure) among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution. A Lorenz curve plots the cumulative percentages of total income received against the cumulative number of recipients, starting with the poorest individual or household. The GINI index measures the area between the Lorenz curve and a hypothetical line of absolute equality, expressed as a percentage of the maximum area under the line. Thus a GINI index of zero represents perfect equality, while an index of 100 implies perfect inequality.
12	Adult Literacy Rate	Literacy rate, adult total (% of people ages 15 and above)	Adult literacy rate is the percentage of people ages 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life. ⁱⁱⁱ
13	Population	The Natural Logged value of Total Population of Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	Total population is based on the default definition of population, which counts all residents, regardless of legal status or citizenship—except for refugees not permanently settled in the country of asylum, who are generally considered part of the population of their country of origin. The values obtained from the World Development Indicators database are midyear estimates.
14	Life Expectancy	Life expectancy at birth, total (years) for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	Life expectancy at birth indicates the number of years a newborn infant would live if prevailing patterns of mortality at the time of its birth were to stay the same throughout its life.
15	Corruption	Corruption for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	This indicator varies from zero (most corruption) to 6 (least corruption) and is an assessment of corruption within the political system. Corruption is a threat to foreign investment for several

ⁱⁱⁱ Definition of Adult Literacy Rate from United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics, <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Pages/default.aspx> (Accessed January 3, 2012)

			reasons: It distorts the economic and financial environment; it reduces the efficiency of government and business by enabling people to assume positions of power through patronage rather than ability; and, last but not least, it introduces an inherent instability into the political process.
16	Democratic Accountability	Democratic Accountability for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t</i>	This indicator is a measure of how responsive government is to its people, on the basis that the less responsive it is, the more likely it is that the government will fall, peacefully in a democratic society, but possibly violently in a non-democratic one. This variable is measured on a scale of zero (least democratically accountable) to 6 (most democratically accountable). ¹¹²
17	GDP Growth Rate	GDP Growth Rate for Country <i>i</i> at time <i>t+1</i>	Annual percentage growth rate of GDP at market prices based on constant local currency. Aggregates are based on constant 2000 U.S. dollars. GDP is the sum of gross value added by all resident producers in the economy plus any product taxes, and minus any subsidies not included in the value of the products. It is calculated without making deductions for depreciation of fabricated assets or for depletion and degradation of natural resources.

Bivariate Analysis

Before exploring the robustness of any association between leadership and fragility, it is worth seeing whether a simple bivariate relationship exists between different types of leadership change (positive or negative) and transition out of/into fragility.¹¹³ From the Figure 3-1 below, it is easy to see that the median level of fragility associated with negative leadership change is more than the one associated with positive leadership change (i.e., positive leadership change seems to be associated with a more stable, less fragile political-economic-social

¹¹² For more information, please see how Democratic Accountability is calculated based on the ICRG Methodology at http://www.prsgroup.com/ICRG_Methodology.aspx#Background

¹¹³ A positive leadership or regime change is a transition to a more democratic and participatory type of regime. A negative leadership or regime change is a transition to a more authoritarian and centralized type of regime. For more information on this, please see the discussion of positive and negative regime change in the Polity IV database. See <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>

condition). However, since there is some overlap of the interquartile range values, it is not possible to determine the robustness of this relationship without utilizing multivariate controls.

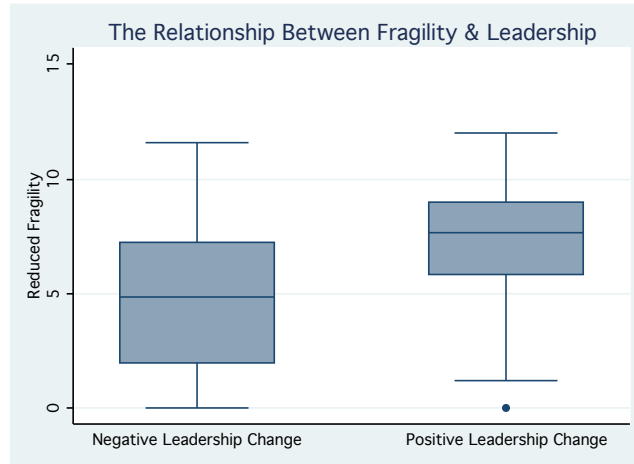


Figure 3-1: Box Plot of Relationship between Fragility and Leadership

Regression Model Specification

Given that data on both fragility and regime change exist for many countries, over multiple years, it is possible to determine the relationship between fragility and leadership change using a panel data specification. This is superior to simple cross-sectional regressions as it allows for the systematic control of country¹¹⁴ and time¹¹⁵ fixed effects, thereby reducing, but not eliminating, the possibility that the results are driven by omitted variable bias.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Country fixed effects refers to ALL variables that may vary between countries, but not within a given country over time. These can include variables such as colonial legacy, the size of the country, legal system, etc.

¹¹⁵ Time fixed effects refers to ALL variables that do not vary across countries, but do vary over time. For example, the oil shock of 1973, which, to an extent had a homogeneous effect on global growth (depressed) would be considered a time-fixed effect to the extent that it altered the growth patterns of all countries.

¹¹⁶ This is because country and time fixed effects do not include variables such as per capita income, level of urbanization, etc., which change over time and within countries.

The relationship between fragility and leadership change may be expressed as:

$$y_{it} = \theta_t + \phi_i + \beta_1 \text{Leadership}_{it} + Z_{it} + u_{it}$$

Where y_{it} is the level of fragility in country i in time period t

θ_t represents time fixed effects

ϕ_i represents country fixed effects

$\beta_1 \text{Leadership}_{it}$ is the variable that indicates the nature of regime change in country i in time period t

Z_{it} is the vector of control variables (economic, demographic, & political).

u_{it} is the error term

The null hypothesis is

H₀: Fragility (internal conflict) is independent of Leadership Change (regime change)

The alternate hypothesis is

H_a: Fragility (internal conflict) and Leadership change (regime change) have a robust association.

Country fixed effects control for all those characteristics in a country that do not change over time. This may include such things as legal system, colonial legacy, the size of the country, and so on. Time fixed effects control for common factors that affect all countries in a given time period, in this case, a year. Using a panel data set allows systematic control for all time and country fixed effects,

thereby reducing the possibility that the results are driven by omitted variable bias. It is important to note however, that, because these fixed effects do not control for variables that change within countries and/or over time, it is still necessary to utilize a set of control variables in order to mitigate the possibility that the results are still driven by omitted variable bias.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis was carried out to determine if the different factors and the loadings of measured (indicator) variables on them conform to what is expected on the basis of pre-established theory. Factor analysis was used to see if they load as predicted on the expected number of factors. The results of the factor analysis were positive, indicating that these variables load as predicted on the expected number of factors (See Column (6) in Table 3-2 for results of the factor analysis). This confirms that the selection of the dependent variables is consistent with theory.

Regression Analysis Results

The results of the panel data analysis (Table 3-2) are entirely consistent with the alternate hypothesis, namely that there is a robust association between regime change and fragility in the direction anticipated by the theoretical framework. That is, a positive/negative change in regime type is associated with a statistically significant positive/negative change in fragility. This robust association remains significant at conventional confidence levels, even when controlling for country

and time fixed effects (Regression Model 1); the inclusion of economic control variables (Regression Model 2); the inclusion of demographic control variables (Regression Model 3); political control variables (Regression Model 4); or all Control Variables (Regression Model 5).

Table 3-2: Panel Data Regression Analysis Results

Dependent Variable	(1) Fragility	(2) Fragility	(3) Fragility	(4) Fragility	(5) Fragility	(6) Fragility
Index Type	Additive	Additive	Additive	Additive	Additive	Factor
Regime Transition (Leadership-change) (IV)	0.12 * (0.06)	0.12* (0.07)	0.14 ** (0.07)	0.15 ** (0.07)	0.16 ** (0.07)	0.03 * (0.02)
Economic Control Variables (IV)		Yes			Yes	Yes
Demographic Control Variables (IV)			Yes		Yes	Yes
Political Control Variables (IV)				Yes	Yes	Yes
Time Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Observations	326	302	326	326	302	302
Adjusted R ²	0.66	0.65	0.67	0.70	0.70	0.67

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses; clustered by country. *** Denotes significance at the 1% level, ** denotes significance at the 5% level, and * denotes significance at the 10% level.

Economic control variables include: (log) GDP per capita, budget balance (surplus/deficit as a percent of GDP), GINI coefficient (level of inequality); demographic control variables: adult literacy (%), (log) population, life expectancy at birth; political variables include level of perceived corruption (0-6), democratic accountability (0-6). Given the results of the Hausman test, a fixed effect, rather than a random effect, panel data specification was utilized.

The overall fit of the model can be inferred by the adjusted R^2 value, which is 0.70. Thus 70 percent of the variance of the dependent variable is explained by the independent variables. This is an extremely good fit for political science data. The overall significance of the model was tested using a t-test, which reported a significant value. (t-value 2.37, $p=0.019$). As $t>2.0$ and $p<0.05$ the test, we can reject the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between fragility and leadership change. The overall fit of the model is significant, and leadership change is an important predictor of fragility.

The regression analysis results show that there is a very robust association between regime transition and level of fragility specifically as the hypothesis anticipates; positive regime transition is associated with lower fragility at conventional confidence levels. These results hold not only when only country and time fixed effects are controlled for (regression model 1), but also when economic (regression model 2), demographic (regression model 3), political (regression model 4), or all additional control variables (regression model 5) are controlled for.

Disaggregating Leadership

The results of the regression analysis demonstrate that there is empirical evidence for the hypothesis that fragility is influenced by leadership changes. The cross-country time-series analysis shows that leadership change is very significantly associated with movement in and out of fragility, measured by conflict, institutional strengthening, and income growth. The data available help

to highlight that positive leadership change is associated with more stability. It also helps to solidify the fact that negative leadership change is associated with greater fragility.

In order to understand the nature of the leadership that leads to different outcomes in fragile states, however, it becomes necessary to undertake in-depth studies of cases that might identify potential causal mechanisms and generate rich operational insights.

While case studies are good, without empirical data analysis, it becomes difficult to establish whether they are describing overall trends or are only idiosyncratic. Thus, by first establishing whether there is a robust association between leadership and fragility and then selecting typical cases, it becomes more likely that the causal mechanisms identified by the qualitative case studies are likely to be important in other cases that exhibit similar robust associations. This is the purpose of the cross-country time-series analysis, followed by the in-depth case studies in the following chapter of the dissertation.

4. Leadership and Fragility: Country Case Studies

Rationale behind Choice of Country Cases

The goal of this dissertation is to study and understand the nature of leadership that leads to different outcomes in fragile states. The country cases selected are Rwanda, Uganda, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe is the archetypal example of a leadership strategy gone wrong in a country that was once seen on the verge of breaking out of the orbit of poverty in which most post-conflict, post-transition states seem to be mired. Robert Mugabe struggled against White supremacist rule and was elected as the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in 1980. His policies over the last 15 years, however, have brought economic ruin to Zimbabwe, along with worsening relations between the Black majority and the White minority.

Uganda has been an intermediate case, in that, it has overcome civil war and experienced stability and economic growth, but has continuing ethnic violence and institutional weakness. Yoweri Museveni's leadership strategy seems to have prioritized security and economic growth over political participation.

Rwanda's case seems to be a successful transition out of fragility and has experienced societal reconciliation and economic gains. Paul Kagame's leadership strategy has been able to pull Rwanda back from the brink and put it on the path to becoming a middle-income-country by 2020. Nonetheless, tensions continue

between the different ethnic groups in Rwanda, and the sustainability of the development trajectory remains in question.

Though South Africa was not a fragile state in the truest sense of the term, the Apartheid regime had brought violent conflict to the streets. The economy was teetering on the brink of collapse, and South Africa had become an international pariah. In this context, Nelson Mandela's leadership strategy was able to transform the nation into a democracy and helped the process of reconciliation among the Black, Colored, Indian, and White people in South Africa.

Methodology for Country Cases

As established in Chapter 2, leadership, once again, has emerged as a prominent theme in understanding the development trajectories of nations. It is important, however, to address the issue of structure versus agency in understanding the role that leadership plays in improving governance and development.

Early scholars like Apter and Pye placed greater emphasis on 'agency' as the central variable in the political development of countries.¹¹⁷ The attention to agency offered by those emphasizing leadership suggests that structural impediments may be less important. The bulk of development research, however, points to institutions and structural issues as the main factors in determining a

¹¹⁷ See David E. Apter, "Political Religion in the New Nations," in Clifford Geertz, ed. *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) and Lucian W. Pye, "The Process of Political Modernization" in John J. Johnson, ed. *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 79.

state's development strategy. The development literature also discounts the role that agency plays in determining outcomes.

Research suggests that the debate of structure versus agency can be resolved. The concern with an overemphasis on the role of individuals in determining the development outcomes is understandably justified. It is important to take into consideration the structural and historical conditions in shaping and constraining change agents: weak state institutions, colonial legacy, and continued conflict, as well as the role of elites and coalitions. These are the different contexts under which leaders have had to govern. In each case, the leadership was faced with a particular structural context, replete with different historical, social, economic, and political constraints. Leaders adopted different strategies to address their particular structural contexts and had different outcomes in each case.

In an effort to capture the interaction between the agent and structure, this study will include a section describing the context in which each of the change agents (national executives) came to power. This section will provide the background and the summary context for each case. The case study also will include an analysis of the challenges that the change agent faced in the beginning, as well as over their time in office. The independent variables being studied are the change agent's strategy and approach to security, economic growth, and political participation. The analysis will also consider the relationship between the change agent's leadership strategy and the outcomes, which include economic

development indicators, the security situation, and the political inclusion (dependent variables).

Thus, we have, given the contextual challenges,
 $\Delta Fragility(PoliticalInclusion, EconomicGrowth, Security) = \Delta LeadershipStrategy(ChangeAgent)$,
where the *Leadership Strategy (Change Agent)* is how the change agent interacted with the coalition and the structural context in order to bring about conflict resolution, economic growth, and political participation (which determines state legitimacy in the eyes of the people). More specifically, the dissertation will look at whether the change agent's strategy was inclusive and broad-based, or exclusive and elitist – across three dimensions: security and justice, economic growth and inclusion, and political participation and inclusion.

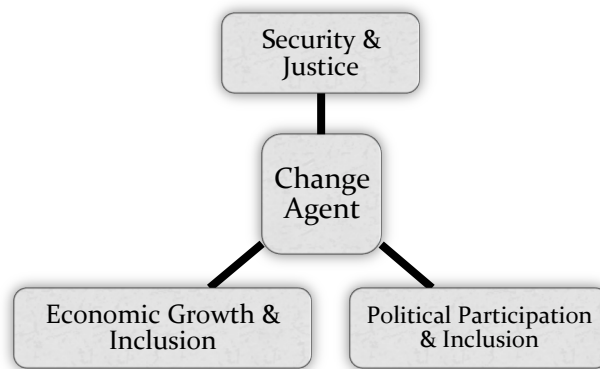


Figure 4-1: Aspects of Leadership Strategy in Addressing Fragility

I have sought to create an heuristic index using the aspects of the leadership strategy illustrated in Figure 4-1. This index includes the extent to which the change agent's leadership strategy emphasized security and justice, economic growth and inclusion, and political participation and inclusion, and its

impact on the outcomes of fragility. Each of the dimensions identified above, more or less, can alleviate fragility, depending on the change agent’s approach. I seek to illustrate a leadership strategy by assigning different values to the three aspects identified above. I have chosen the following values: low (0.33) to indicate a negative impact or exacerbation of fragility, medium (0.67) to indicate a neutral impact on fragility outcomes, and high (1.00) to indicate a positive impact or alleviation of fragility.

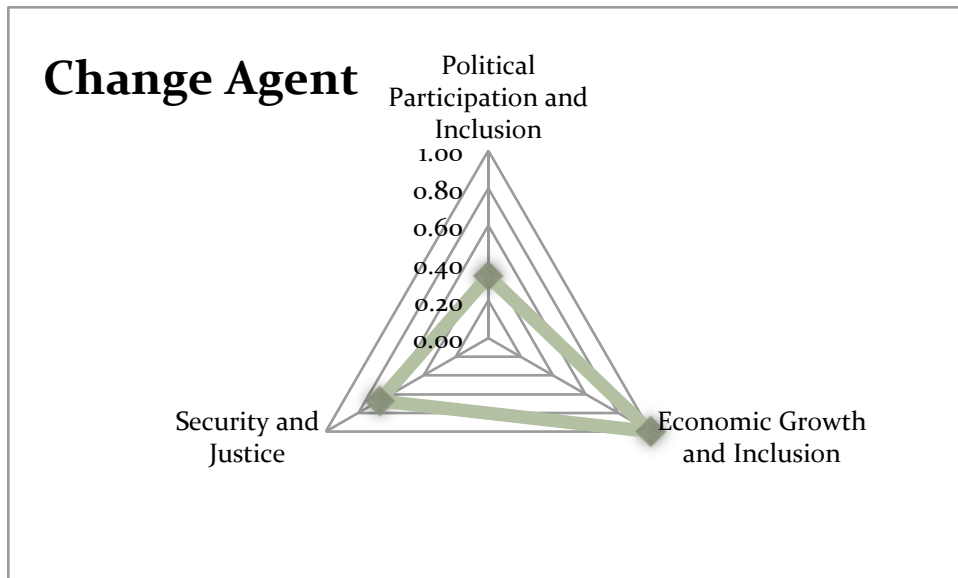


Figure 4-2: Heuristic Depiction of a Leadership Strategy

Figure 4-2 could be interpreted as a leadership strategy that had an approach to economic growth and inclusion that was oriented towards alleviating fragility. The approach to security and justice was neutral in terms of its impact on fragility, while the approach to political participation and inclusion was detrimental and exacerbated fragility.

Table 4-1 conceptualizes some of the actions that a leadership strategy could entail in relation to the methodology and framework developed in this dissertation. Similar to the values assigned to the figures above, I use the colors red (low), amber (medium) and green (high) to indicate exacerbation, neutral to, and alleviation of fragility in terms of the actions undertaken by national executives.

Table 4-1: Mapping Leadership Strategies to Fragility Outcomes

	Exacerbating Fragility	Neutral	Alleviating Fragility
Political Participation & Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Routinely inhibiting political competition • No broad coalitions • No reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occasionally inhibiting political competition, • Some broad coalitions • Some reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for political competition • Systematic broad coalitions • Systematic reconciliation
Economic Growth & Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reckless fiscal policies & Budget deficits • Narrow/particularistic provision of public goods • No orientation towards job growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed fiscal record • Unbalanced or limited distribution of public goods • Some focus on job growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fiscally responsible • Broad based distribution of public goods • Systematic focus on job growth
Security & Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus for perpetrating ethnic violence • Centralizing control over armed forces • No respect for rule of law, interfering with & undermining judicial institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus to stem violence and protect peace • Centralizing control over armed forces • Some stretching of legal authority & judicial interference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus to protect the peace and prevent violence • Institutionalizing civilian control over armed forces • Respecting legal limits of authority, independence of judicial institutions

The premise is that each of the cases being studied can be evaluated across these three dimensions. This can help facilitate the effective comparison of leadership strategies across countries in a systematic manner.

Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe

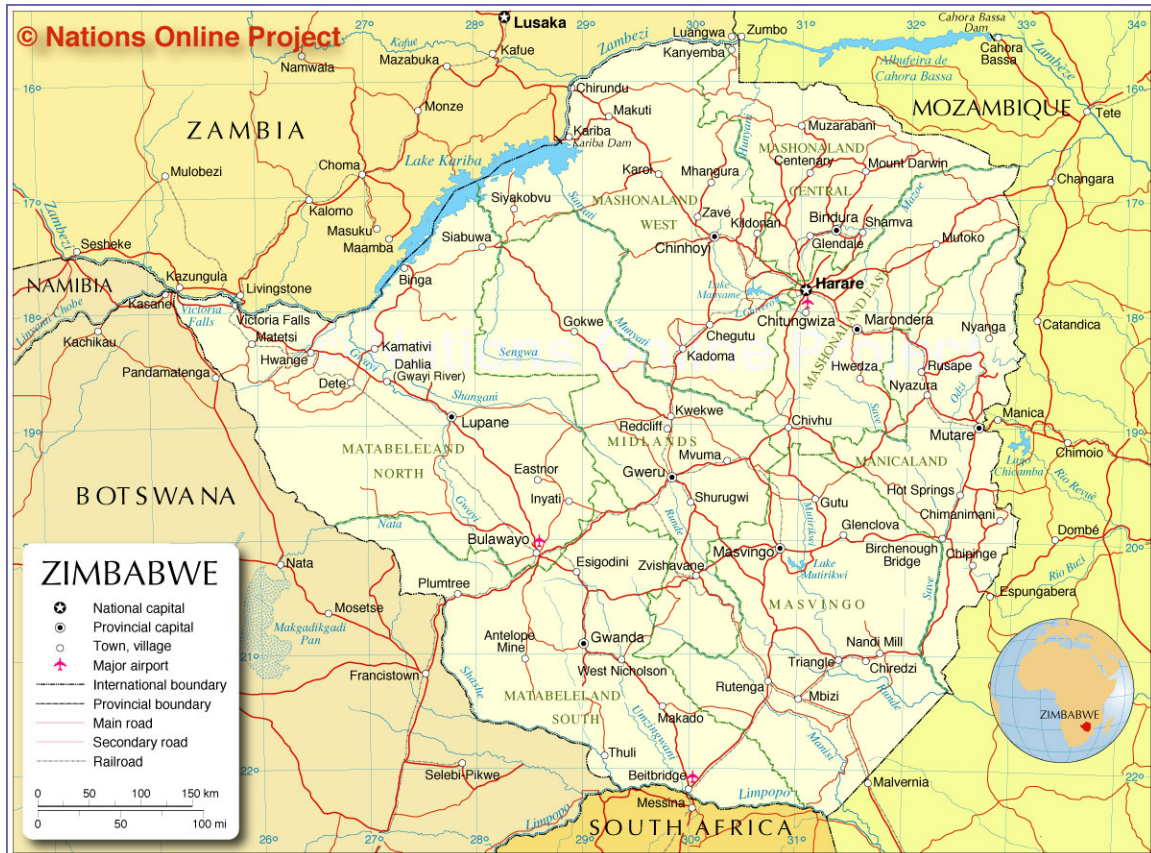


Figure 4-3: Map of Zimbabwe¹¹⁸

The Structural Context for Mugabe's Rise

Zimbabwe's colonial name was Southern Rhodesia and was created from land owned by the British South Africa Company. The British colony was largely self-governing, and the White settlers had established an interventionist state. The State aimed mainly to protect the welfare of the White ruling minority against the

¹¹⁸ Source: <http://www.nationsonline.org>

interests of the majority Black population. White settlers benefited from the reservation of senior posts in the civil service, preferential property and marketing laws, as well as tariffs and subsidies that encouraged commercial agriculture, investment in mining, and the emergence of a modest manufacturing sector.

In 1953, in the face of African opposition, Britain consolidated the two colonies of Rhodesia with Nyasaland in the ill-fated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which was dominated by Southern Rhodesia. Growing African nationalism and general dissent, particularly in Nyasaland, persuaded Britain to dissolve the Union in 1963 and form three colonies, instead.

In the 1960s, colonial rule was ending throughout the continent. As African-majority governments assumed control in neighboring Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi), the white-minority Rhodesian government, led by Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front (RF) dropped the designation "Southern Rhodesia" in 1964 and issued a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from the United Kingdom on November 11, 1965. This effectively repudiated the British plan for the country to become a multi-racial democracy. It was the first declaration of independence by a British colony since the American declaration of 1776, which was, indeed, claimed by the Rhodesian government to provide a precedent.

The Ian Smith government lasted from 1962-1979 and oversaw large-scale suppression of Black political and economic aspirations. More than 500,000 Black people had been uprooted from their homes on land designated to be "White" areas by the minority government over a period of several decades. Blacks had no

political or economic opportunities, other than serving the needs of the white rulers.

The growing discontent prompted the government to declare a state of emergency in 1965 and assume sweeping powers. In addition to international opposition and British sanctions, the white supremacist government was faced with the prospect of civil war. The main challenge to White rule came from increasingly militant organizations representing the disenfranchised African majority. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe became the focus of the Black majority's aspirations.

Mugabe's Early Life

Robert Gabriel Mugabe was born near Kutama Jesuit Mission in the Zvimba District northwest of Salisbury, in Southern Rhodesia, to a Malawian father Gabriel Matibili, and a Shona mother Bona, both Roman Catholic. His father, a carpenter, abandoned the family in 1934 and went in search of work in Bulawayo.

Mugabe was raised as a Roman Catholic, studying in Marist Brothers and Jesuit schools, including the exclusive Kutama College, headed by an Irish priest, Father Jerome O'Hea, who took him under his wing. Through his youth, Mugabe was never socially popular or physically active. He spent most of his time with the priests or his mother, when he was not reading in the school's libraries. He was described as never playing with other children, but enjoying his own company. According to his brother Donato, his books were his only friends.

Mugabe qualified as a teacher, but left to study at Fort Hare in South Africa graduating in 1951. It was here that he met with contemporaries, such as Julius Nyerere, Herbert Chitepo, Robert Sobukwe and Kenneth Kaunda. By the time Mugabe returned to Southern Rhodesia in 1952, he was completely hostile to the system of White supremacy that still prevailed there. Mugabe, however, continued his studies rather than engage in political activity. To his political friends in the 1950s, he appeared to be a nationalist at heart, but reluctant to engage in activism of any sort. In 1955, Mugabe moved to Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) to take up a post in a teacher training college. There, he earned his third degree from London University and moved again to the Takoradi Teacher Training College, in Ghana.

Mugabe's Entry into Politics

Mugabe found inspiration to engage in political activity during his time in Ghana. He was inspired by the Ghanaian freedom struggle led by Kwame Nkrumah. This movement led to Ghana becoming the first black African colony to gain independence.

At the time, Ghana was teeming with optimism and ambition, and Nkrumah saw himself as a revolutionary Pan-Africanist leader. He wanted to transform Ghana into an industrial power, a center of learning, and a model socialist society that other states in Africa would want to emulate. Nkrumah wanted to lead a "United States of Africa" that could rival the United States of America or the Soviet Union in terms economic and political might. He sought to use Ghana as a launching pad for this ambition. Mugabe reveled in this

environment of ambition and rhetoric and began to accept the principles of Marxism. It was also in Ghana that Mugabe met Sally Heyfron, his future wife.

In Rhodesia, the political tempo had changed by this time. In 1957, a new nationalist organization, the African National Congress (ANC), had been launched by Joshua Nkomo and sought to project a moderate image. The ANC stood for non-racialism and economic progress for all. It sought the abolition of discriminatory laws, land reform, and voting rights for all people, irrespective of race, sex, or income. Within a short time, the ANC succeeded in establishing a mass movement in both the urban and rural areas. A bloated population, widespread poverty, and lack of economic opportunities for Blacks had led to growing unrest among the people. Though the ANC had not caused any open disorder, the Rhodesian government responded in an extreme manner by banning the ANC, in February, 1959. This was done on the pretext that the ANC and its leaders were inciting the Black population to defy the law and ridicule government authority. More than 500 ANC members were arrested, and 300 were detained.¹¹⁹

Joshua Nkomo had left Rhodesia to attend a conference on African liberation organized by Kwame Nkrumah in December, 1958, and, thus, managed to escape arrest. He moved to London where he established a base of operations. Nkomo moved back to Rhodesia in 1960 to establish a new organization, the National Democratic Party (NDP) that demanded political power in addition to the redressing of grievances related to land and property-based discrimination.

¹¹⁹ See Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2007), 24-26.

The NDP attempted to convince Britain to put pressure over the White minority government in Rhodesia to cede to their demands.

Mugabe returned to Rhodesia in 1960 to introduce his wife Sally to his mother and planned to return to Ghana after the visit; however, he found himself caught up in the political developments in Rhodesia. Leopold Takawira, Mugabe's Catholic teacher, asked him to stay back and join the cause. While Mugabe considered his options, the government arrested several senior NDP officials, including Takawira, charging them under the Unlawful Organizations Act.

This move prompted Mugabe to join 7000 Africans who set out from the Black suburb of Highfield to march the eight miles to Salisbury, to protest before the Prime Minister's house. On the way to Salisbury, they were stopped by police in full riot gear near Harare Township.

By the next day, the crowd swelled to more than 40,000, and a makeshift platform was created for leaders to address the crowd. Mugabe was introduced to the crowd as a distinguished scholar (he had three university degrees by now) who had traveled across Africa. Mugabe spoke about his vision for "Zimbabwe," the name that the nationalists sought for Rhodesia and was greeted with rousing applause. The government eventually asked the police to breakup the protest and followed it up with the Law and Order Maintenance Act. The legislation was meant to deal with any future African opposition by giving the government sweeping powers to curb individual liberties and rights, essentially turning Rhodesia into a police state.

Mugabe's Rise in Domestic Politics

“The March of the 7,000,” as it became known, propelled Mugabe to the front of nationalist politics in Rhodesia. He resigned his teaching job in Ghana and became a full-time activist. At the inaugural NDP congress in October 1960, he was elected the publicity secretary of the organization. In that role, Mugabe developed his skills in angry rhetoric against the status quo. He became increasingly respected by fellow nationalists as a strategic thinker and disciplined individual.

Aware of the growing developments in Rhodesia, the British Government convened a constitutional conference in 1961, to which NDP officials were also invited. Joshua Nkomo, NDP president, missed a golden opportunity for the nationalists to leave their mark on the future of Rhodesia. Nkomo misread the real intentions of the British and Rhodesian Governments. The British were anxious to disengage from the colony and were ready to give the colony autonomy if African advancement was established in the Constitution. The Rhodesian Government sought to perpetuate White minority rule and acquire virtual autonomy. Nkomo accepted a deal that gave the nationalists 15 out of 65 parliamentary seats, based on a complex franchise that would have delayed majority rule for several decades.

Mugabe was furious at this concession, and others in the NDP felt the same way. Nkomo had to repudiate this deal in just ten days, by which time it was too late. The Constitution became law in 1962.

Mugabe sought action that he thought would force the British Government to take remedial action and support the NDP's demands for majority rule. The nationalists resorted to violence to prevent Black voters from registering for the 1962 elections. There was widespread looting, arson, sabotage, and intimidation of Black voters who had not registered as NDP members. Mugabe's rhetoric increasingly became more and more violent, as he exhorted crowds to abandon all that was European. At an NDP meeting in December 1961, Mugabe declared,

*“Europeans must realize that unless the legitimate demands of African nationalism is recognized, then racial conflict is inevitable. Today, you have removed your shoes. Tomorrow you may be called upon to destroy them altogether, or to perform other acts of self-denial.”*¹²⁰

It was the NDP's last rally. The Government banned the NDP a week later, and the nationalists launched a new organization, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), with identical aims and methods. The violence increased, and White people and their properties were targeted.

During this upheaval, Nkomo continued to travel abroad, seeking international support, but denying ZAPU much needed leadership. His prolonged absence from Rhodesia and ZAPU affairs caused a lot of discontent among the officials, including Mugabe. They argued that pseudo-diplomacy was not the solution to the problem in Rhodesia, militant activism was. ZAPU was banned in nine months time, and Mugabe and others were arrested and restricted to their

¹²⁰ See Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2007), 29.

homes, in September, 1962. Nkomo managed to evade arrest, as he was in Mozambique at the time and went into hiding for some time. Nkomo's efforts to evade arrest were not seen favorably by other African revolutionaries, and eventually, Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's new president, convinced him to return to Rhodesia. Upon his return, Nkomo was arrested and restricted to a village in the Semokwe reserve, south of Bulawayo.

The growing threat of violence led to the radicalization among the Whites as well. In December, 1962, a new right wing party, the Rhodesian Front (RF), emerged with the support of White farmers, who were worried about their lands. Once in power, the RF moved swiftly to tighten up security laws, like the Law and Order Maintenance Act, and included a mandatory death sentence for sabotage. The RF was also determined to achieve independence from Britain, on its own terms.

After the restriction order was lifted against the nationalists in January, 1963, Mugabe returned to his house in Highfield and began making plans for an armed struggle. He and the other nationalists were convinced that this was their only recourse. They had lost lives and resources. The three parties they had created had been banned. Mugabe advocated the training of Africans for an armed struggle against the Government. Nkomo, however, did not agree with this approach. He was convinced that the only way for the nationalist campaign to succeed was for ZAPU's president to leave Rhodesia and set-up a Government in exile. He argued that if the Rhodesian Front seized independence, the NDP could

potentially claim international recognition. Mugabe and the others disagreed with this approach, but reluctantly supported the idea when they heard that Nyerere approved of this plan.

When the members of ZAPU met in Dar es Salaam, in April, 1963, they discovered that neither Nyerere, nor any other African leader approved of Nkomo's plan of a Government in exile. The focus was on action on the ground, and Nkomo's foreign travels had not helped ZAPU domestically or internationally. Mugabe was among Nkomo's most vocal critics and called for a change in the leadership. After arranging for his pregnant wife to travel to Ghana, Mugabe planned his return to Rhodesia.

The Zimbabwe African National Union Emerges

In Salisbury, Mugabe's colleagues formed a new organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), on August 8, 1963. Ndabaningi Sithole, a mission-educated teacher and church minister, was made the leader. Mugabe was elected as the secretary-general in absentia.

ZANU and ZAPU both advocated for majority rule and continued to seek outside support from the British Government. Both organizations recruited Africans for guerilla training and established bases outside Rhodesia to coordinate their activities. In terms of tribal support, most of the Ndebele and Kalanga stood by Nkomo. Both groups received support from the Shona. Nkomo's strongest support came from Salisbury and Bulawayo, the two big cities in Rhodesia. ZANU received support from the South, East, and Midlands.

As each group tried to assert itself, the differences between ZAPU and ZANU, quickly escalated into violent conflict. The cause of Nationalism seemed to take a backseat, as the violence spread across the country. This inter-group rivalry also caused many sympathizers abroad to become disenchanted with the nationalists. It also provided the RF leaders with additional ammunition for their claims that Black rule would bring chaos to Rhodesia.

Mugabe returned to Rhodesia, in December 1963, and was arrested on arrival. At his trial, Mugabe refused to retract any of the subversive statements that he was accused of making, and, in March 1964, he was sentenced to 21 months in prison. Other nationalist leaders were also placed in restriction. Nkomo was sent to ten years detention near the Mozambique border. The warring between ZAPU and ZANU continued until August 1964, when Prime Minister Ian Smith banned both ZAPU and ZANU and rounded up every nationalist leader and imprisoned them.

Mugabe's Time in Prison

Mugabe continued to be self-disciplined in prison, as he was outside, and urged his colleagues to use their time to plan for the liberation of Zimbabwe. He was shifted from Salisbury to Wha Wha Prison and then to Sikombela, in Que Que. In 1966, Mugabe was taken back to Salisbury to a large communal prison cell that he shared with Ndabaningi Sithole, Edgar Tekere, and Enos Nkala. Mugabe resumed his studies with dedication, and in the eight years that he spent in Salisbury prison, he earned three more degrees in law and economics from London

University. Mugabe gained the reputation of being a hard-working, single-minded individual, who was preparing for bigger challenges in his life.¹²¹

While in prison, Mugabe was informed that his son had died at the home of Sally's parents in Ghana. He was absolutely grief stricken and sobbed openly when he heard the news. He petitioned the Government for temporary release to travel to Ghana to mourn his son and to comfort his wife. The Government refused, and Mugabe never forgot or forgave the Government for this incident. By the end of the 1960s, there was no sign that the government would ever release political prisoners.

Ian Smith's Government had declared independence from Britain in 1965. He was determined to entrench White rule in Rhodesia and not make any more concessions in terms of transitioning to majority rule. In 1966, the British sought to make a deal with the RF Government that would have postponed majority rule well into the 21st century, but Smith was confident that he could get better terms. In 1967, the British tried to reach a settlement again, but Smith would not budge. In 1969, he introduced a new Constitution that would keep power within the hands of the White minority indefinitely.

In 1971, Smith's Government finally agreed to a British proposal that would keep power within the White minority until 2035. Strong African opposition to this deal prompted the British to test public opinion concerning the deal. The deal fell

¹²¹ Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2007), 32-35.

through because the settlement terms were not acceptable to the majority of the population.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa led the opposition to this deal and warned of the deep undercurrents of bitterness rising among the African population. Instead of trying to mend relations, Smith blamed the African opposition for the failure of the deal and imposed even more draconian measures to control them.

The Revolutionary Struggle in Zimbabwe

Limited guerrilla activity began in 1966, but ZANU's military campaign in the Northeast, in 1972, marked the beginning of an increasingly successful challenge to the regime. The guerilla movement also received support from Botswana, Zambia, and Mozambique in their efforts to oust the White supremacist government. Over the years, the fighting against Ian Smith's Government intensified. Rhodesia had also lost the support of Mozambique, and South Africa began to cut back its support from 1975 onwards.

In December, 1974, Mugabe was released after 11 years in prison. By this time, he was completely dedicated to the revolutionary cause. The death of his son and the inhumane treatment by the RF Government made the cause even more important to him. Martin Meredith argues that though Mugabe impressed people who met him with his soft-spoken demeanor, his broad intellect, and his articulate manner, all this disguised a hardened and single-minded ambition.¹²² Mugabe's

¹²² See Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2007), 37.

efforts faced significant challenges. While he was intent on resuming the revolutionary struggle under ZANU's banner, African leaders, like Kaunda and Nyerere, were determined to bring about unity between ZANU and ZAPU.

Soon after his arrival in Mozambique, Mugabe was placed under restriction in the port of Quelimane to prevent him from disrupting the formation of a combined guerilla army, the Zimbabwean People's Army (ZIPA). ZIPA was beset by internal rivalries and disintegrated after a series of clashes. It was not until August, 1977, that Mugabe was able to retake total control of ZANU. The rivalry between ZAPU and ZANU continued unabated, even though they were banded together as the Patriotic Front (PF).

Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANU's military arm) faced the brunt of the Rhodesian military. Constantly short of food and supplies, the army was based out of Mozambique and received Chinese support. Nkomo's guerilla fighters operated out of bases in Zambia and had substantial Russian support. Most of Nkomo's well-trained army remained in reserve and did not get involved in the war effort. Mugabe suspected that Nkomo was saving them for an attack on ZANU. Mugabe was furious when he learned of the secret negotiations between Nkomo and Smith, in 1978, to achieve a settlement that would lead Nkomo to power separately.

Persuasion from the South African President John Vorster, himself under pressure from Henry Kissinger, forced Prime Minister Ian Smith to accept, in principle, that White minority rule could not continue indefinitely. On March 3,

1978, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole, and other moderate leaders signed an agreement at the Governor's Lodge in Salisbury, which paved the way for an interim power-sharing Government, in preparation for elections.

As a result of the Internal Settlement, the country's first multi-racial elections were held in April 1979. The United African National Council (UANC) party won a majority in this election. On June 1, 1979, the leader of UANC, Abel Muzorewa, became prime minister, and the country's name was changed to Zimbabwe Rhodesia. The internal settlement essentially left control of the country's police, security forces, civil service and judiciary in White hands. It also assured Whites of about one-third of the seats in parliament. However, international recognition did not follow and sanctions were not lifted. The two 'Patriotic Front' groups under Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo refused to participate in this arrangement and continued the war.

The Lancaster House Agreement

Following the fifth Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), held in Lusaka, Zambia, from August 1-7, 1979, the British Government invited Muzorewa and the revolutionary leaders of the Patriotic Fronts to participate in a Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House in London. The purpose of the Conference was to discuss and reach agreement on the terms of an independence Constitution. The Conference also sought to ensure that the different parties would settle their differences by political means, and that the British would supervise elections.

Lord Carrington, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, chaired the conference. The Conference took place from September 10, to December 15, 1979, with 47 plenary sessions. Smith, Mugabe, Nkomo, Muzorewa, and others attended the Lancaster House conference. On December 1, 1979, delegations from the British and Rhodesian Governments and the Patriotic Front signed the Lancaster House Agreement, ending the civil war. The parties to the talks also agreed on a new Constitution for a new Republic of Zimbabwe with elections to be held in February, 1980.

Despite a hard-fought guerilla campaign from 1972-1979, Robert Mugabe and the ZANU-PF gained power not because of their victory in the battlefield, but as the result of an elite pact. Mugabe had to enter into a negotiated political settlement brokered by the departing colonial authority.

The Independence Constitution contained several legal constraints that forced Mugabe to make concessions. For instance, twenty seats in parliament were reserved for Whites, civil service pensions were guaranteed, and property rights of Whites (including land and other holdings) were protected. The Lancaster House Agreement also involved an implicit bargain: while Blacks would be allowed to ascend to positions of political leadership, Whites would continue to enjoy ownership of the means of economic production. This *pacted* regime transition essentially brought about further division of political and economic power in Zimbabwe. It did not address the Black Zimbabweans' aspirations regarding

remedying the stark economic inequalities that existed in the country.¹²³ In one sense, the pact was bound to fail, as it did not address the asymmetric division of power.

The Approach to Political Participation and Inclusion

In the 1980 parliamentary elections, Mugabe's ZANU-PF won 63 percent of the national vote. ZANU-PF gained 57 of the 80 parliamentary seats reserved for Blacks in the parliament. More than anything, this had been a vote for peace, as most black Africans in Zimbabwe knew that anything other than a victory for ZANU-PF would have caused Mugabe to revert to violent resistance. Mugabe initially surprised his critics by emulating Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya and announced a policy of racial reconciliation. His sincerity in this effort remains in question, but, at least provisionally, ZANU-PF acknowledged the need for a truce with White business and commerce leaders, as well as the administrative elites.

As Prime Minister, Mugabe appointed two White Cabinet Ministers, including a leader of commercial farmers as the Minister of Agriculture. He retained the heads of the National Intelligence Agency and the Army for a brief period.

Mugabe seemed to be aware of the fact that the ZANU-PF members had matured politically in prison, combat, or exile, and that they lacked the necessary skills and experience to control and manage an extensive state apparatus. Many

¹²³ A pacted transition refers a democratic transition that occurs when pacts or agreements among the elites of formerly undemocratic states permit the establishment of democratic government.

older loyalists, like Leopold Takawira had died in the revolutionary struggle, and as a result, Mugabe had to install ZANU's younger intellectuals in key government positions. For instance, Dingai Mutumbuka was appointed as Education minister, and Herbert Ushewokuze received the Health portfolio. Tribal leaders, like Eddison Zvogbo, from Masvingo, and Kumbirai Kangai, from Manicaland, were also included in the cabinet, both, for their professional expertise and for regional balance. Initially, Mugabe sought to bring rivals from the PF-ZAPU into the Government and appointed four cabinet ministers from ZAPU. He even offered the ceremonial position of President to Joshua Nkomo.

Table 4-2: 1980 Zimbabwe Parliamentary Election Results¹²⁴

Parliamentary Election	1980
ZANU-PF (Robert Mugabe)	57
Rhodesian Front (Ian Smith)	20
PF-ZAPU (Joshua Nkomo)	20
UANC (Abel Muzorewa)	3
Total Seats	100

Thus, the first post-independence cabinet was a combination of the “old guard” nationalists, young intellectuals, regional tribal leaders, guerilla commanders, and professionals. During the early days of his administration, Mugabe did not seek to assert himself as the “strong-man.” This was in contrast to the approach that Joshua Nkomo had taken to leading the PF-ZAPU as a dominant African “big man.”

¹²⁴ See African Elections Database, <http://africanelections.tripod.com/zw>

Instead, Mugabe strengthened his hold over the party and the military as Prime Minister by co-opting the factional leaders into his Cabinet. The fragile elite coalition, however, would not last long and unraveled in 1982. There were major outbreaks of violence between ZIPRA (PF-ZAPU's military arm) and ZANLA (ZANU-PF's military arm) awaiting integration into the National Army. ZAPU was believed to have been planning an armed revolt to make up for ZAPU's poor showing in the 1980 elections. Major arms caches were discovered in early 1982, and this caused a decisive rift between ZANU and ZAPU.¹²⁵

In 1983, Mugabe fired Nkomo from his cabinet, triggering bitter fighting between ZAPU and ZANU supporters in the Ndebele-speaking region of the country. Mugabe accused the Ndebele tribe of plotting to overthrow him after sacking Nkomo. Between 1982 and 1985, the military crushed armed resistance from Ndebele groups in the provinces of Matabeleland and the Midlands, leaving Mugabe's rule secure. Mugabe has been accused by the BBC of committing mass murder during this period of his rule.¹²⁶

From the beginning, Mugabe's Government moved to penetrate the state apparatus in the peasant farming areas. It did so by appointing party loyalists as

¹²⁵ Some scholars believe that the rift between the ZANU and ZAPU was engineered by South African agents. South Africa's Apartheid Regime followed a policy of destabilizing Zimbabwe by military means, while blaming ZAPU for the actions of South African agents, helped to escalate the breakdown between ZAPU and ZANU in the early 1980s. This, in turn, led Zimbabwe to retain a state of emergency throughout the 1980s. See, The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe, *Report on the 1980s disturbances in Matabeleland and the Midlands*, (March 1997), <http://ia600409.us.archive.org/9/items/BreakingTheSilenceBuildingTruePeace/MatabelelandReport.pdf> (accessed December 26, 2011).

¹²⁶ See Mugabe: The price of silence, BBC, 10 March 2002 available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/panorama/1844779.stm>

District Administrators and replacing the old system of native administration with District Councils. ZANU-PF worked to get its candidates elected to these local government bodies and a hierarchy of development committees (See Figure 4-4). ZANU-PF was successful in doing this in all of Zimbabwe's provinces, except Matabeleland. The District Councils were responsible for public service delivery, and ZANU-PF used its presence at this level to claim political legitimacy.

Mugabe directed a large proportion of funding to the Ministry of Local Government, Urban, and Rural Development, which was in charge of disbursing patronage opportunities at the various levels of the hierarchy. Thus, the ZANU-PF was able to consolidate its own position vis-à-vis the White settlers and other rival political parties, like the PF-ZAPU, through the use of force and patronage. Mugabe sought to establish party hegemony for ZANU-PF under a banner of national unity. This was to ensure that political competition would be between different factions within the ZANU-PF, and not among parties. The governing coalition also created a political space where leaders could pursue their own personal interests using state resources.

Mugabe's Government also moved quickly to Africanize the civil service, which was dominated by the White minority. The Government initially instituted a politically neutral and professional Public Service Commission and protected the principle of merit recruitment. To promote Africanization of the Civil Service, the Government doubled the size of the bureaucracy, handed promotions to Blacks who had been long held back, and accommodated those returning from the

diaspora. These institutional developments strengthened the position of the party with respect to the civil service; however, they also led to the flight of qualified White bureaucrats out of Zimbabwe.



Figure 4-4: The Hierarchical Organization of ZANU-PF in Mugabe's Zimbabwe

The victory in the 1985 parliamentary elections (see Table 4-3) further cemented Mugabe's hold on power. Nonetheless, the interparty violence that had started after the collapse of the first coalition government, in 1982, continued until a national Unity Accord was signed in 1987. The Accord restored the coalition between ZANU-PF and PF-ZAPU, and brought peace to the country.

The Unity Accord created a virtual one-party state. In retrospect, the Unity Accord was a Trojan horse for Mugabe's efforts to bring ZANU-PF control over the Sindebele-speaking regions of Zimbabwe. It helped achieve what his previous violent campaigns were unable to accomplish. In the same year, the Constitution

was amended to create an executive Presidency, with Mugabe as the President and Nkomo as one of two national Vice-Presidents.

Table 4-3: 1985 Zimbabwe Parliamentary Election Results¹²⁷

Parliamentary Election	1985
ZANU-PF	64
PF-ZAPU	15
CAZ	15
Independent Zimbabwe Group	4
Independents	1
ZANU-Ndonga	1
Total Seats	100

With the expiration of the Lancaster House Agreement's stipulations in April 1990, the Government moved to create a *de jure* one party state. Mugabe's party leaders had already ensured the passage of a resolution favoring the one-party idea at ZANU-PF's National Congress, in December 1989. The argument was that single-party rule was consistent with African traditions and was essential to establishing a society free of class and other ethnic cleavages. A single party was also important in helping coherent development planning. When faced with opposition from Britain on this, Mugabe insisted that the British had no right to teach democracy to the Zimbabweans.

Though the ruling elites wanted to create the one-party state, a public opinion survey, conducted in 1990, by the University of Zimbabwe, showed that 60 percent of the population was opposed to it. There was considerable opposition from within the ZANU-PF as well, with former President Canaan Banana claiming

¹²⁷ See African Elections Database, <http://africanelections.tripod.com/zw>

that the ZANU-PF had already attained a *de facto* one party state through popular support at the ballot box, and there was no need to entrench this legally into the Constitution.

The move to a one-party state seemed out of sync with the times. Neighboring Kenya, Mozambique, and Zambia were moving towards multi-party regimes. The intentions of Mugabe and his elite were becoming clearer. They sought to hold onto power at any cost and worked to “game” the system in order to do so.

By this time, Mugabe had demonstrated an inability to tolerate the expression of political dissent of any sort. In 1988, he had expelled Edgar Tekere, ZANU-PF’s Secretary General and Cabinet Minister for alleging corruption against the party leadership. In 1989, Tekere formed the Zimbabwe Unity Movement (ZUM) on a platform that promised employment, market reform, and opposition to a one-party state. ZUM formed an alliance with the white-led Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ).

In 1990, the ZANU-PF leadership did its best to stifle an emerging opposition – both internally and externally. The ZANU-PF also faced opposition from Abel Muzorewa (UANC) and Ndabaningi Sithole (ZANU-Ndongo). The ruling elites resorted to the standard dirty tricks employed by incumbents, including monopolizing the public airwaves, disrupting opposition rallies, directing official resources in the ruling party campaign, and threatening

opposition candidates. Mugabe won the Presidential Election with 83 percent of the vote (See Table 4-4).

Table 4-4: 1990 Zimbabwe President Election Results¹²⁸

Presidential Election	1990
Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF)	83.05%
Edgar Tekere (ZUM)	16.95%

After the 1990 elections, President Mugabe moved to revive the Law and Order Maintenance Act, which in the past had been used by the White minority regime to control and prohibit political opposition. He established the Ministry of Political Affairs within the purview of the President's Office to further consolidate his power.

The Cabinet was expanded and loyalists were given plum positions. When Members of Parliament tried to exercise their authority and questioned the Government's budget, they were labeled as traitors. If independent-minded individuals ran for office and won elections, ZANU-PF intervened to overturn the election results. The Politburo and Central Committee of ZANU-PF gradually usurped the policy-making roles of the Cabinet and the parliament, ensuring that the party controlled virtually every institution in Zimbabwe.

In the 1980s, opposition to the Government's economic mismanagement and perceived closeness with economic special interests led to rifts between the ZANU-PF officials and the workers who belonged to Zimbabwe Congress of Trade

¹²⁸ African Elections Database, http://africanelections.tripod.com/zw.html#1990_Presidential_Election

Unions (ZCTU). Led by Morgan Tsvangirai, the union workers and University of Zimbabwe students called for greater representation in ZANU-PF structures. The Government responded by closing down the University of Zimbabwe and the police violently cracked down on students' and union workers' protests.

By 1990, the ZCTU was vocal about their support for a multi-party system. It grew in terms of organizational strength and was buoyed by increased support among laid-off workers and a weakening of state institutions (due to lack of money). However, despite the growing opposition, Mugabe easily managed to win the 1996 elections, with close to 93 percent of the vote (See Table 4-5).

Table 4-5: 1996 Zimbabwe Presidential Election Results¹²⁹

Presidential Election	1996
Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF)	92.70%
Abel Muzorewa (United Party)	4.80%
Ndabaningi Sithole (ZANU-Ndonga)	2.40%

The emergence of a National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), in 1997, was a major step in the organization of collective action in independent Zimbabwe. The NCA was a broad alliance of professionals, union workers, media personnel, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women's and religious organizations. It called for a new Constitution that would replace the Lancaster House Constitution, which had been amended several times to entrench ZANU-PF in power. The NCA was successful in bringing about a boycott of the Government's official Constitutional Commission. As the decade ended, Zimbabwean civil society

¹²⁹ See African Elections Database, http://africanelections.tripod.com/zw.html#1990_Presidential_Election

arose to challenge the entrenched ruling party on the basis of its economic mismanagement, rampant corruption, and nepotism. Morgan Tsvangirai and the ZCTU announced the formation of a new political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), whose main aims included “a struggle for jobs, decency, and democracy.”¹³⁰

By the end of the 1990s, the ZANU-PF leadership coalition had become narrower and less cohesive. There were growing rifts between the coalition members about who would succeed Mugabe. The legitimacy of the ZANU-PF regime was also being openly questioned. Mugabe won 93 percent of the vote because opposition parties pulled out of the election, citing irregularities and intimidation. Barely one-third of the registered voters bothered to turnout for the election.¹³¹

Mugabe faced serious internal opposition from the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veterans’ Association (ZNLWA), led by Chenjerai Hunzvi. Hunzvi protested their exclusion from the spoils of state patronage, when it came to light that senior ZANU-PF members had illicitly helped themselves to massive handouts from a War Victims’ Compensation Fund. The President was not in a position to negotiate with the veterans as he heavily depended upon them for their support in enforcing his illegitimate regime. He acceded to their demands and disbursed generous gratuities and pensions.

¹³⁰ See Michael Bolton and Eldred Masunungure, “The Anatomy of Political Predation: Leaders, Elites, and Coalitions in Zimbabwe, 1980-2010,” Research Paper 09, Developmental Leadership Program, (Canberra: AUSAID, 2010).

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

This unbudgeted expenditure further drained the already depleted treasury and put the Zimbabwean Dollar in a free-fall. By caving into their demands, Mugabe put an end to the era of Structural Adjustment and entered an era where economic rationality was abandoned in the search for political survival.

In 2000, the ruling coalition was losing mass support to an emerging opposition led by the MDC. The turning point seemed to be the referendum on a new constitution. The Government's official draft of the Constitution ignored popular views for a reduction in presidential powers. In a referendum vote in February, 2000, a 55 percent majority voted "No" on the Government's draft. It was the ruling party's first defeat at the polls. Blaming the loss on the MDC and declaring it as a front for the White minority, the ZANU-PF openly intensified its efforts to crush the opposition movement that threatened its hold on power.

Mugabe unleashed a reign of intimidation, terror and militarization casting aside any pretense of adherence to legal or normative limits. Afraid of losing the upcoming Parliamentary elections, the ruling party played the "land card," and called for a campaign of invasions of White farms. In the next two years, 11 million hectares of land were confiscated from 4,000 White farmers and redistributed among 127,000 small-farm families and 7,200 Black commercial farmers.¹³²

Mugabe faced Tsvangirai in presidential elections in March 2002. Mugabe defeated Tsvangirai by 57 percent to 42 percent, amid widespread violence, intimidation, and the prevention of large numbers of citizens in urban areas from

¹³² Michael Bolton and Eldred Masunungure, "The Anatomy of Political Predation: Leaders, Elites, and Coalitions in Zimbabwe, 1980-2010," Research Paper 09, Developmental Leadership Program, (Canberra: AUSAID, 2010), 23.

voting. The conduct of the elections was widely viewed internationally as having been manipulated. Many countries, such as the United Kingdom, the European Union, and the United States, as well as Tsvangirai's MDC, asserted that the result was rigged. The opposition to ZANU-PF and Mugabe continued to grow in the 21st century. It was aided by a weakening of state capacity due to the economic catastrophe that had been 20 years in the making.

In March 2007, Tsvangirai was arrested and beaten following a prayer meeting in the Harare suburb of Highfield. One MDC activist was killed by police, 50 were hospitalized, and more than 200 MDC members were arrested. Mugabe declared that Tsvangirai and the others deserved the police beatings, as there was a ban on attending political rallies. After this incident, there was an upsurge of state-sponsored violence against MDC leaders and their families. The regime portrayed the MDC leaders as terrorists, invaded their homes, and beat them in front of their families. Media coverage of these events evoked international condemnation of the Mugabe regime.

The crackdown of 2007 and the growing regional unease about the barbaric violence and instability in Zimbabwe prompted South African President Thabo Mbeki to step-in to facilitate dialogue between the Government and the opposition. The ZANU-PF was reluctant to hold talks with the MDC. Mugabe delayed sending envoys to the talks in Pretoria and refused to enter into face-to-face deliberations with MDC leaders.

In December, 2007, the Government announced that it would allow political rallies as long as police deemed no threat of violence. It also declared that it would selectively allow licensing of journalists and broadcasters. In addition, the Government agreed to work on constitutional reform. Immediately after the talks, however, Mugabe unilaterally announced a timetable for elections on March 29, 2008. He did so without addressing the MDC's precondition of comprehensive constitutional reform.

It was clear that the ZANU-PF did not intend to abide by the agreements and police continued to harass MDC gatherings. In an attempt to reinforce its rural base, the ZANU-PF turned tribal chiefs and other traditional leaders into party officials. These officials were given generous gratuities and expected to act as the agents of ZANU-PF and help deliver the rural vote (by force, if necessary).

In the March, 2008, parliamentary and presidential elections, it seemed as though the opposition had won with the MDC-Tsvangirai winning 99 seats in the lower house, compared to the ZANU-PF's 97. After suspiciously long delays, the Zimbabwe Election Commission (ZEC) announced that neither Tsvangirai (48 percent) nor Mugabe (43 percent) had won the absolute majority required to become President.

Table 4-6: 2008 Zimbabwe Presidential Election Results¹³³

Presidential Election	2008
Round 1	
Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF)	43 ⁰ %
Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC)	48 ⁰ %
Round 2	
Robert Mugabe (ZANU-PF)	86 ⁰ %
Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC)	9 ⁰ %

A Constitutionally mandated run-off election was scheduled for June 27, 2008. In the run up to the election, Government-sponsored violence caused the deaths of more than 100 MDC officials and injured and displaced more than 200,000 people. Tsvangirai withdrew from the contest, and Mugabe won with 86% of the vote from a brutalized and shrunken electorate.

In reality, Mugabe appears to be the face of a military regime effectively being run by Emmerson Mnangagwa, a senior politburo member and a contender for succession, who now chairs the JOC. *Washington Post* reporter Craig Timberg noted in his July 5, 2008 article, that Mugabe had informed the security chiefs that he had lost the presidential vote and intended to surrender power. But the commander of the Zimbabwe Defense Forces (ZDF), Constantine Chiwenga, Police chief Augustine Chihuri, Air Force head Perance Shiri, and Director of prisons Paradzai Zimondi allegedly vetoed this proposal.¹³⁴ The ZANU-PF elite had much

¹³³ See Election Guide, <http://www.electionguide.org/>

¹³⁴ See Craig Timberg, "Inside Mugabe's Violent Crackdown," *Washington Post*, (July 5, 2008).

to lose from ceding power to the opposition, including the risk of being persecuted for their abuse of power since Zimbabwe's independence.

For the past two years, a regime transition has been underway in Zimbabwe on the basis of a fragile and contested elite political settlement. The new settlement was no leader's first choice and Mugabe and Tsvangirai agreed reluctantly under intense international pressure. The parties signed the Global Political Agreement (GPA) to form a Government of National Unity (GNU), with Mugabe as President and Tsvangirai as Prime Minister. The power-sharing agreement offered an antidote to political polarization, a mechanism for the peaceful resolution of disputes, and an opportunity to attend to the urgent humanitarian and development needs of the Zimbabwean people. The GPA called for a division and dispersion of executive authority and sought to break down the old party-state nexus; however, this has not yet been realized.

Mugabe selectively implemented the terms of the GPA and reverted repeatedly to exercising executive powers to make key political decisions without the consent of the MDC. As of late 2011, the coalition Government remained deadlocked with regard to re-working the Constitution and electoral framework.

Mugabe and his elites have approached political participation and inclusion in a purely opportunistic manner. They manipulated the political system to give the executive more power. This is clear in the way Mugabe abolished the post of Prime Minister and opted for a Presidential System. Under the pretext of reforming the system, Mugabe bestowed the executive with even greater powers to

subvert the original legal system. Over the years, Mugabe openly used violence to suppress any political competition and routinely detained and intimidated those who were perceived as a threat to his authoritarian regime.

The Approach to Economic Growth and Inclusion

Initially, the Government followed a corporatist model. This involved Government management of the economy, including maintaining policies first instituted by the previous Government to deal with UN-sanctions imposed in 1965. The State already controlled ownership of utilities and agricultural marketing agencies. The new Government added to this by buying out more private companies. The Government also extended existing protectionist policies. Zimbabwe adopted a growth strategy that sought to blend Marxist-Leninist principles with a capitalist economy.

Mugabe did not attempt reforms that would push the economy in an explicitly socialist direction, most obviously with regard to land redistribution. But Mugabe and his party were schooled in Marxist economics, and their reaction to economic crises tended to follow a Marxist path. For instance, the maize meal shortages in the early 1980s were addressed by the State taking over milling companies, rather than encouraging of competition.

Mugabe's team, however, also seemed to understand that they needed the country's productive assets (which were under White control) in order to have a realistic chance of raising Black living standards. Even though the inequality in land distribution was a key issue during the revolutionary struggle, Mugabe could

not afford to alienate the commercial farmers on whom the Government depended to feed the hungry Black people. Instead of trying to capture the White lands, the Government chose to invest in improving access to agricultural and social services for the majority of the population, who were small-scale Black farmers.

The new Government propagated a whole range of new economic policies, introducing a minimum wage and virtually eliminating the right to fire workers. Total spending on education nearly tripled (from Z\$227.6 million to Z\$628.0 million), as did Government spending on healthcare (from Z\$66.4 million to Z\$188.6 million), between 1979 and 1990. In the 1980s, expenditure on public-sector employment rose by 60 percent and on the civil service by 12 percent per annum. Central Government expenditure tripled and increased its share from 32.5 percent of GDP in 1979 to 44.6 percent, in 1989. Interest rates were artificially capped.¹³⁵

During this time, the consequences were rather mixed. There was an exodus of White skilled Zimbabweans to other Commonwealth countries because of insecurities stemming from Mugabe's rhetoric against the white minority during the Independence struggle. Economic inequality within the population decreased, however, and provision of education and healthcare became more widespread.

There were several reasons for the mixed performance of the economy. Protection sustained existing high-cost companies, but discouraged exports by raising the costs of inputs to exporters. This led to a critical shortage of the foreign

¹³⁵ See Edward Brett, "From Corporatism to Liberalization in Zimbabwe: Economic Policy Regimes and Political Crisis, 1980-97," *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1, (January 2005), 91-106.

exchange needed to acquire imported technology. Foreign companies were not allowed to remit dividends, and new foreign investment was actively discouraged. The need to get permission and licenses for new investment and the dismissal of individual workers imposed unwieldy time and transaction costs. Repressed interest rates discouraged saving, and the Government's strong propensity to borrow reduced the supply of capital to all but favored borrowers, while stoking inflation. The regime did not encourage, and even suppressed, the development of independent new African businesses because of the threat they were thought to pose to ZANU's political monopoly.

Public spending skyrocketed, particularly in the areas of civil service employment, spending on social services, drought relief, and subsidies for Government owned companies. This, in turn, generated a chronic budget deficit, a high tax regime, and a rapid increase in public debt; all of which created a drag on the economy. Private investment was crowded out by shortages of credit stemming from the fiscal deficit, high taxes and the shortages of foreign exchange.

The overall effects of these constraints favored existing capital-intensive producers, biasing the economy against the areas labor-intensive activities.

Compounding the problem, private companies were effectively discouraged from employing new workers because of controls over wages and employment. This had two politically significant consequences. First, it suppressed the emergence of a genuinely entrepreneurial African business class and reduced the political support of those who did make their way despite these problems. Second,

it turned unemployment into a major threat to the legitimacy of the regime, especially in urban areas. In real terms, wages declined over the decade.

By the end of the 1980s, there was increasing agreement among Government elites that new economic policies needed to be implemented for the long-term survival of the regime. The Government consulted the World Bank for its assistance in helping the ailing economy. The new Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) designed by the Government and the World Bank set out to encourage job-creating growth and reduce the fiscal deficit. It did so by transferring control over prices from the state to the market and improving access to foreign exchange. The program also sought to reduce administrative controls over investment and employment decisions. It had widespread local support. A 40 percent devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar was allowed to occur and price and wage controls were removed.

The austerity plan in Zimbabwe was followed by economic problems of increased severity. Growth, employment, wages, and social service spending contracted sharply. Inflation was not reduced, the deficit remained well above target, and many industrial firms, notably in textiles and footwear, closed in response to increased competition and high real interest rates. The incidence of poverty in the country increased during this time. On the positive side, capital formation and the percentage of exports in GDP increased, and urban-rural inequality fell.

The new policies were undermined by extremely unfavorable natural and economic conditions. Drought reduced agricultural output, exports, public revenue, and demand for local manufacturing. Growth during three drought-affected years (1992, 1993, and 1995) averaged 2.6 percent; during three good years (1991, 1994, and 1996) it was 6.5 percent. The new ANC regime in South Africa canceled its trade agreement with Zimbabwe at this time and subjected its exports to punitive tariffs, just as Zimbabwe reduced its own, contributing significantly to deindustrialization.

The Government's failure to bring the fiscal deficit under control undermined the effectiveness of the program. This led to further growth in Government borrowing, sharp increases in interest rates, and upward pressure on the exchange rate, just as local firms were exposed to intensified foreign competition.

Many firms failed, many others were forced to restructure, and new investment was discouraged in both the formal and increasingly important informal sector. The limited cuts that were made concentrated on the social services and led to serious reductions in the quality of health and education.

The Government's austerity plan, coupled with a relatively weak and highly protected economy came far too quickly. Uncompetitive industries were eliminated and workers were laid off. But this happened in such a sudden and disruptive manner as to cause economic chaos. The public reaction to the disaster only further undermined the economy, perpetuating a vicious cycle.

In the 1990s, there were increasing demands for greater native African participation in ownership of the economy on the basis of continuing racial inequalities in the post-colonial economy. For example, in 1991, 50 percent of the population received less than 15 percent of total annual incomes and contributed to about 15 percent of total consumption. By contrast, the richest three percent of the population received 30 percent of total incomes and were responsible for 30 percent of total consumption.

The Government-controlled economy of the 1980s tried to redistribute wealth to the Black majority, while trying to maintain racial harmony. The structural adjustment program and other reforms in the 1990s coupled with increasing unemployment and unrest, led to growing complaints against the unequal distribution of wealth, which seemed to be moving from the White minority into the hands of the ZANU-PF elite. The ZANU-PF elite periodically manipulated the issue of unequal wealth distribution to shore up support from the Black majority.

In the late 1980s, opposition parties, such as the Zimbabwe Unity Movement and the Forum Party, had demonstrated the potential for political opposition from disconcerted sections of the African middle class. This emphasis on redistribution of wealth from Whites to Blacks was a policy that the Government began to pursue openly in the mid-1990s. This policy led to the death of the manufacturing industries and commercial farms that had been responsible for maintaining some economic stability. The Government sought to redistribute

jobs and wealth from the Whites to the Blacks, but did not focus on a comprehensive policy of skills development and job growth that could address the growing unemployment problem.

Zimbabwe's economy has shrunk consistently since 2000, in an atmosphere of political turmoil, capital flight, and mismanagement. Inflation has spiraled out of control, and the underpinnings of the economy in agriculture and industry have been dissipated. The economic policies of ZANU-PF have become erratic and lack any sense of rationality. For instance, when the country was faced with skyrocketing inflation in the mid 2000s, the Government announced a plan that required citizens to turn in their old currency to receive devalued banknotes marked in higher denominations. The Government then mandated that retailers cut the prices of basic commodities by 50 percent. This led to a disappearance of basic commodities from shops, as producers were unable to supply goods below the cost of production. Instead, a gray market developed, where commodities were sold at higher prices in foreign currencies.

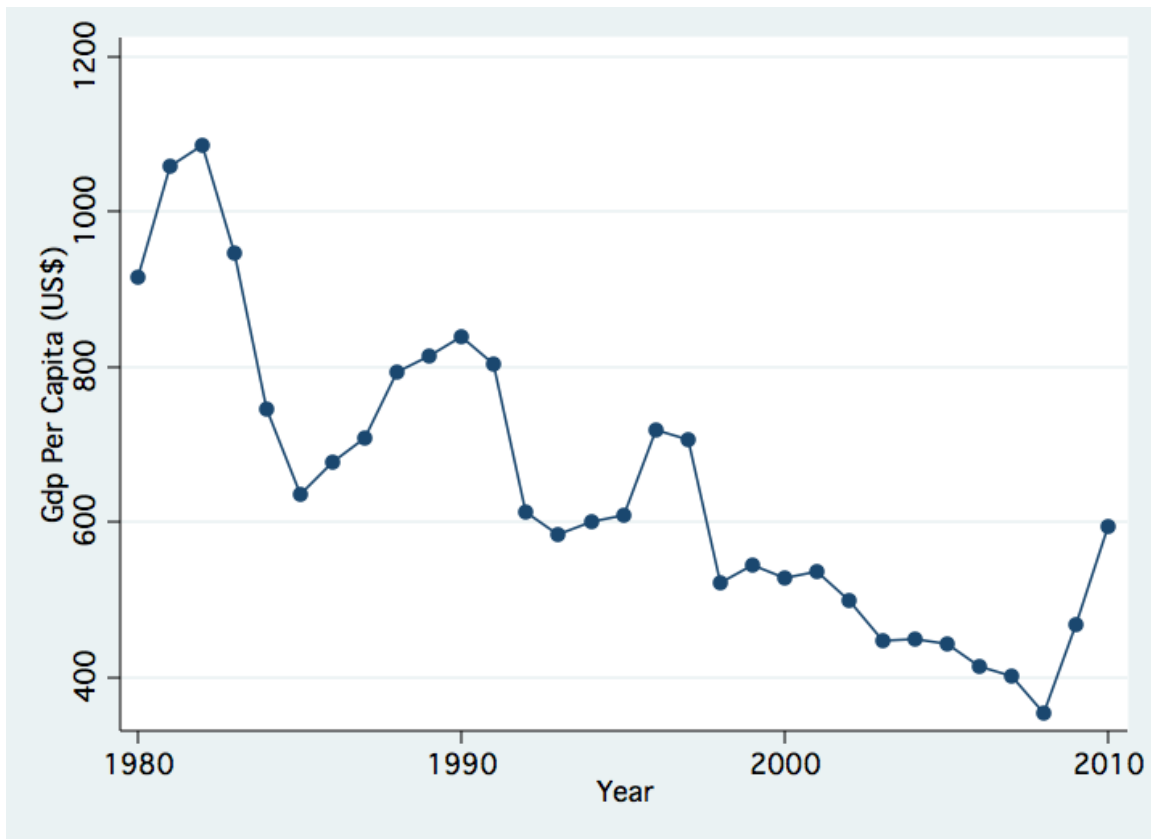


Figure 4-5: Economic Performance Under Mugabe¹³⁶

Despite these policy failures, Mugabe and his elite continued to print currency notes, which led to six-digit hyperinflation that rendered the Zimbabwean dollar nearly worthless. Both unemployment and poverty rates run near 80 percent. The impact on education has been even more drastic. From an overall pass rate of 72 percent in the national O-level examinations in the mid 1990s, the pass rate had fallen to 11 percent in 2007. The UNICEF noted that 94 percent of Zimbabwe’s rural schools were closed in 2009, and 66 out of 70 schools were abandoned.¹³⁷ Figure 4-5 illustrates the descent of GDP per Capita due to the disastrous economic policies adopted by Mugabe’s administration. The reversal of

¹³⁶ See World Development Indicators available at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

¹³⁷ See Jan Rath, “Zimbabwe chaos wipes out education for 4.5 million pupils.,” Times Online, 2008.

the trend in the last couple of years can be attributed to the Government of National Unity that has been in power since late 2008.

Mugabe's approach to economic policy and inclusion was initially a form of socialism, coupled with an impetus on the redistribution of wealth. Corruption and mismanagement of the economy by his administration and the controversial and violent eviction of white farmers from their lands, however, has led to an economic meltdown.

The reasons are not difficult to see. The White-minority controlled the majority of the economic resources and means of production in Zimbabwe. Their alienation, coupled with gross economic mismanagement and lack of skilled workers, has contributed to the economic disaster. Despite his socialist background, Mugabe and his elite have focused on amassing huge amounts of wealth for themselves and their families. Meanwhile, a majority of Zimbabweans continue to suffer in abject poverty and hopelessness.

The Approach to Security and Justice

Postcolonial states like Zimbabwe inherited a repressive state security apparatus geared towards the protection of the colonial regime. These structures were assigned wide powers and were subject to little oversight or accountability. Mugabe gave top priority to strengthening the Government's coercive apparatus.

The influence of the armed liberation struggle on the conduct of state security in Zimbabwe is relevant even until today. By their very nature, armed liberation movements operate underground in an environment of intense secrecy.

The shared experiences of those involved in the armed struggle in Zimbabwe contributed to who became part of the post colonial structures.

The first priority was to assert ZANU-PF control over key security agencies. Mugabe did this by appointing loyalists from the nationalist struggle to top positions in the Cabinet and the state security apparatus. A Joint High Command was set up to oversee the integration of three rival forces – the ZANLA (ZANU’s military wing), the ZIPRA (ZAPU’s military wing), and remnants of the Rhodesian Army – into a unified Zimbabwe National Army.

From the beginning of his rule in 1980, Mugabe sought to keep control of the defense forces, intelligence, and provincial administration in the Office of the Prime Minister. The military still exerted considerable influence over the general population, and Mugabe wanted to ensure its loyalty. He promoted former guerilla commanders from ZANLA to become heads of the security forces and the intelligence forces. The ideology of the armed struggle also brought along with it a sense of entitlement with regard to governing the state and to enjoying the benefits that power brought.

Mugabe also oversaw the creation of the Fifth Brigade, which consisted exclusively of fighters recruited from the Shona-speaking tribes. This type of discrimination led to sporadic insurgencies by former ZIPRA commanders, who were disgruntled with Mugabe’s attempts to consolidate power. The insurgencies gave Mugabe an excuse to dismiss Nkomo and other ZAPU ministers in 1982, charging them as enemies of the State. Mugabe then proceeded to unleash a

violent pogrom against the rural population of Matabeleland, whom he accused of aiding South African interests. This was part of Mugabe's "Gukurahundi Campaign" to eliminate resistance to the Shona-dominated ZANU-PF across the country. This violence, however, led to the alienation of the Ndebele-speakers and Sindebele-speakers from Mugabe's government.

For the past three decades, Mugabe and the ZANU-PF elite have used violence as a tool to maintain political control and to further their personal agendas. The close ties between the military elite and Mugabe have ensured his personal control over the years. Mugabe has used the sensitive issue of land redistribution to sponsor State-backed violence against the minority White-settlers. The "land-invasions" by "war veterans" and the speed and zeal with which the government rolled out the land redistribution program hastened the descent into economic crisis and political turmoil.

In 1998, Mugabe's intervention in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa)—purportedly to protect his personal investments—resulted in suspension of international economic aid for Zimbabwe. This suspension of aid and the millions of dollars spent to intervene in the war further weakened Zimbabwe's already troubled economy. In part through its control of the media, the huge parastatal sector of the economy, and the security forces, the Government managed to keep organized political opposition to a minimum through most of the 1990s.

During the 2000s, Zimbabwe's electoral authoritarian regime hardened considerably. The polity became militarized, and the military was politicized. Though military commanders had always sat on key committees and policy-making bodies, most of their influence was behind the scenes.

When the ZANU-PF began to lose elections, senior military officers were seconded into strategic political posts previously held by civilians. Serving or military officers were appointed to lead strategic corporations, like the railways, the national oil company, and others.

A Joint Operations Command (JOC) had sidelined the civilian Cabinet as the supreme, but unofficial, decision-making body of the State. The JOC reports directly to the President and does not consult with any other government body. Over the past decade, the JOC and its intelligence agencies have been successful in intimidating opposition leaders and have cracked down on any opposition political activity. The violence has had the effect of reducing political participation among the Zimbabweans.

Zimbabwe's security situation remains tense. The Armed Forces have deeply entrenched themselves into the polity of the state, and have no accountability or transparency vis-à-vis the broader public. The armed forces have been used time and again to perpetrate violence for political ends. Mugabe has demonstrated a willingness to use excessive force against perceived enemies.

The enforcement of the law in Zimbabwe has also taken on a political flavor. The police and intelligence agencies have sided with the ZANU-PF activists

and contributed to the erosion of the rule of law in Zimbabwe. For instance, during the land invasions, the police took no action against the perpetrators of the violence. The police have engaged in several human rights violations over the years, as well. Figure 4-6 illustrates the variation in the level of conflict in Zimbabwe since Mugabe took power. The analysis reveals that the level of violence increases during the time of elections or referendums.

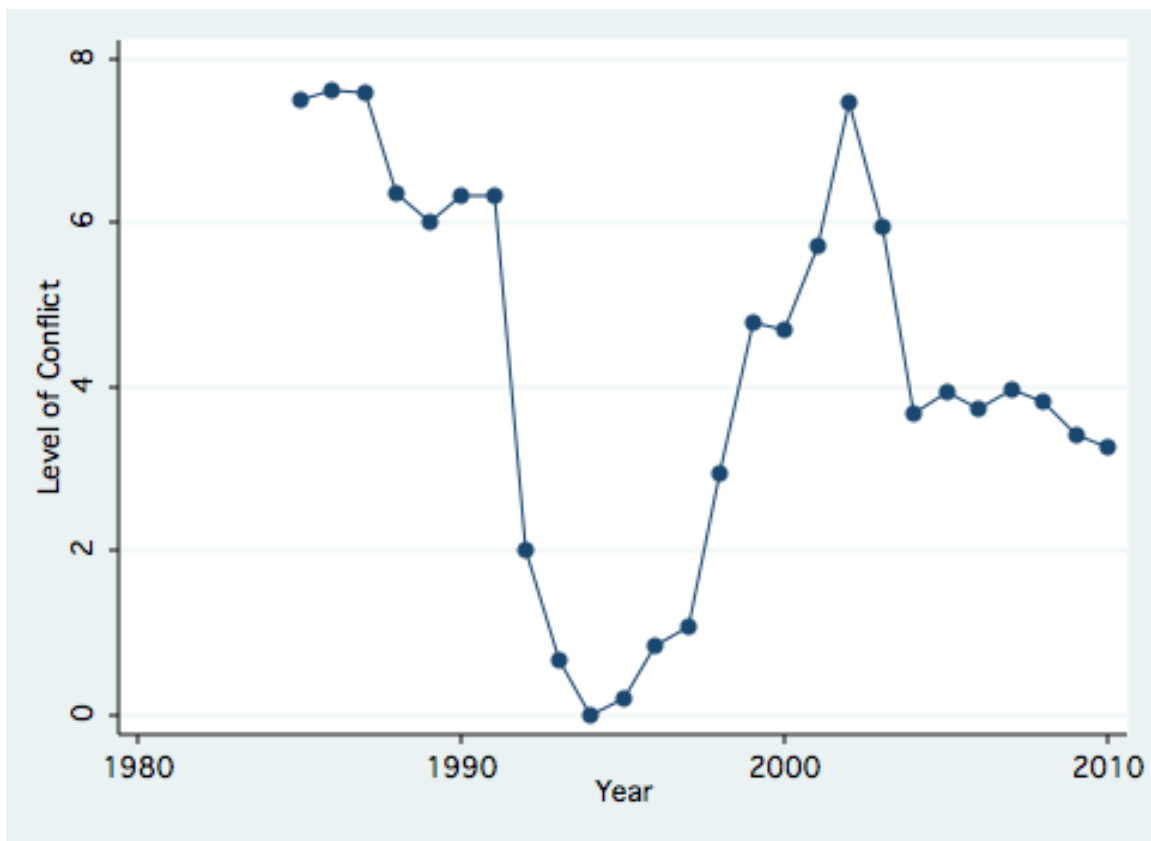


Figure 4-6: Level of Conflict Under Mugabe¹³⁸

Due to the vast network of patronage that Mugabe and the ZANU-PF have created, there is no system of checks and balances in Zimbabwe that can possibly

¹³⁸ The measure for level of conflict was developed using the Internal and External conflict indicators from the International Conflict Risk Group (ICRG) Database. These indicators have also been used in the panel data analysis in chapter 3.

prevent the subversion of the State apparatus by the regime for its selfish ends. There have been attacks on the independence of the judiciary ever since independence, with the Executive encroaching on the authority of legal institutions in Zimbabwe. Over the past decade, many judges have resigned because the government could not guarantee their security. A number of judges, who have been appointed by the President, have been accused of corruption.

Zimbabwe ranks within the bottom ten percent of countries worldwide in terms of respect for rule of law. There is no separation of powers between the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches. The executive has overpowered the other two branches and continues to exert undue influence and pressure over the judicial system. Mugabe has subverted the entire security apparatus of Zimbabwe to serve his authoritarian regime.

Analysis: Mugabe as the Change Agent

When Mugabe took over the reins of power in Zimbabwe in 1980, it was hard to imagine that the new hero of the people would lead them to starvation, ruin, and anarchy. No one expected Zimbabwe to become the “sick man” of southern Africa, beset by violence, and a security concern for its neighbors. From the beginning, Mugabe and the ZANU-PF elite presented themselves as liberators who were the reason for Zimbabwe’s existence and as builders the new nation.

The contribution of other revolutionaries, like Joshua Nkomo, Abel Muzorewa and others, was trivialized. The ruling party, ZANU-PF, propagated the

fiction that its military arm, the ZANLA, was responsible for the freedom that Zimbabweans enjoyed and, hence, ZANU-PF had the right to rule.

Mugabe saw the State as the most valuable prize in African politics because State power can be used to create opportunities for private gain. Where private sector opportunities are limited, public office remains the most reliable means of accumulating wealth. In Zimbabwe, the quest for power and wealth expressed itself in the form of violence, blatant corruption, and nepotism.

The years of colonial domination and suppression, and the years spent in jail and in fighting against the oppressors almost became a license for Mugabe and his elites to accumulate wealth. They used the most viable agency for such accumulation – the State.¹³⁹ Mugabe's leadership strategy has indeed been oriented towards the accumulation of wealth and power. The nationalist story of the struggle against the White minority rule and that of fallen heroes in the service of Black Zimbabweans has been manipulated by Mugabe and the ZANU-PF elite in every election since 1980.

Mugabe's agenda of monopolizing power and controlling resources was partly derailed by adverse circumstances, internal squabbles within the ZANU-PF, and the resilience of the Zimbabwean people in struggling to keep some democratic spaces open: at the University of Zimbabwe, in the media, in the trade-unions, and by the Movement for Democratic Change, all of which formed a frontal challenge to the absolutist rule of the ZANU-PF. The culmination of their

¹³⁹ See Michael Bolton & Eldred Masunungure, "The Anatomy of Political Predation: Leaders, Elites, and Coalitions in Zimbabwe, 1980-2010," Research Paper 09, Developmental Leadership Program, (Canberra: AUSAID, 2010).

efforts resulted in the globally brokered power-sharing agreement in 2008. The coalition government, however, has been rendered dysfunctional by Mugabe's uncooperativeness. Mugabe's strategy of patronage has created a cadre of lieutenants who do not have any democratic credentials or any education in economics. The culture of violence and recklessness dominates ZANU-PF and has, to a great extent, permeated into the society as well. As a result, it is difficult to see what a post-Mugabe Zimbabwe will look like.

Conclusion

Mugabe began with ostensibly good intentions for the Black majority in Zimbabwe. Sadly for Zimbabwe, however, he became dictatorial pretty soon, and used the government apparatus to extend control over the population. Mugabe has held onto power for more than three decades now, and in that period, he has not sought to build checks-and-balance institutions but used coercive power and violence to keep his opposition at bay. Zimbabwe is a classic example of how bad leadership can derail the socio-economic prospects of a nation and take it into the depths of fragility.

Yoweri Museveni's Uganda



Figure 4-7: Map of Uganda¹⁴⁰

The Structural Context of Museveni's Rise

At the time of its independence from Britain in 1962, Uganda was an emerging success story, with rapid agricultural growth and a developing industrial

¹⁴⁰ See <http://www.nationsonline.org>

sector. The first government after independence was a coalition of Northern and Southern interests, led by Milton Obote as Prime Minister. Its politics and society, however, continued to be deeply divided along ethnic lines; a consequence of its colonial legacy.

The British had pulled together different ethnic groups and artificially created Uganda (like most modern African states), and the differences between the various groups continued after independence. The late 1960s dramatically reversed progress when political instability was followed by a coup led by General Idi Amin in January 1971. General Amin was initially popular, particularly when he expelled the Asian community in 1972, but the incompetence and violence of his regime brought society to the point of collapse in the late 1970s. It was during this period that Yoweri Museveni embarked on a journey to bring change in Uganda.

Museveni's Early Life

“If a Government does not bother to solve the problems of its people, what does it expect? Does it expect peace?”¹⁴¹

Yoweri Kaguta Museveni was born to Amos Kaguta and Esteeri Kokundeka in 1944 in Ntungamo, in southwestern Uganda. Museveni was born into the Banyankole ethnic group.

In 1967, Museveni entered the University of Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, where he studied economics and political science. During the course of his studies,

¹⁴¹ Yoweri Museveni, 'Building Uganda for the Future', *What is Africa's Problem?*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

he was greatly influenced by leftist ideology and became a Marxist. It was during his University education that Museveni began involving himself in radical pan-African politics. He formed the University Students' African Revolutionary Front activist group and led a student delegation to Frelimo territory in Portuguese Mozambique, where he received guerrilla training. By now, Museveni was so influenced by Leftist ideology that he wrote a dissertation on the applicability of Frantz Fanon's ideas on revolutionary violence to post-colonial Africa.¹⁴²

In 1970, Museveni joined the Uganda's intelligence service under President Milton Obote. This stint was short-lived, as Major General Idi Amin seized power in January 1971 through a military coup. Museveni fled to Tanzania with other exiles, including the deposed president Obote.

The Revolutionary Struggle

The power bases of Amin and Obote were very different and this led to a significant ethnic and regional aspect to the resulting conflict. Obote was from the Lango ethnic group of the central north, while Amin was a Kakwa, from the northwestern corner of the country. The British Colonial Government had organized the colony's internal politics so that the Lango and Acholi dominated the national military, while people from southern parts of the country were active in business. This situation continued until the coup, when Amin filled the top

¹⁴² Yoweri Museveni, 'Fanon's Theory on Violence: Its Verification in Liberated Mozambique', in *Essays on the Liberation of Southern Africa*, ed. Nathan Shamuyarira, (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1971), 1-24.

positions of government with Kakwa and Lugbara and violently repressed the Lango and their Acholi allies.

The forces opposed to Idi Amin, who were predominantly Lango and Acholi, attacked Uganda from Tanzania in September, 1972. They were repelled and suffered heavy losses. The precarious situation of the rebels was compounded by a peace agreement signed later in the year by Tanzania and Uganda, in which rebels were denied the use of Tanzanian soil for aggression against Uganda. During this period, Museveni briefly worked as a lecturer at a co-operative college in Moshi, in northern Tanzania, before breaking away from the mainstream opposition and forming the Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) in 1973.¹⁴³

In October 1978, Idi Amin ordered the invasion of Tanzania in order to claim the Kagera province for Uganda. In March 1979, Museveni and FRONASA attended a gathering of 28 Ugandan rebel groups in the northern Tanzanian town of Moshi. The various groups came together setting aside their differences in order to try to jointly topple Idi Amin.

The different groups established the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF). At this gathering, Museveni was appointed to an eleven-member Executive Council. The gathering also established the National Consultative Council (NCC), in which each of the 28 groups had one representative. The UNLF joined forces with the Tanzanian army to launch a counter-attack that culminated in the toppling of the Amin regime in April 1979.

¹⁴³ See Chronology in "Protracted conflict, elusive peace - Initiatives to end the violence in northern Uganda," Okello Lucima, ed., *Accord Issue No. 11*, (Conciliation Resources, 2002).

Museveni was appointed as the Minister of State for Defense in the new UNLF Government, in 1979. At 35, Museveni was the youngest minister in Yusuf Lule's administration. He oversaw the integration of the thousands of troops that he recruited into FRONASA during the war into the new Ugandan National Army. They retained their loyalty to Museveni and would prove crucial in later rebellions against the second Obote regime.

The NCC selected Godfrey Binaisa as the new chairman of the UNLF after infighting led to the deposition of Yusuf Lule, in June 1979. Attempts to consolidate power continued with Binaisa in a similar manner to that of his predecessor. In November 1979, Museveni was reshuffled from the Ministry of Defense to the Ministry of Regional Cooperation, with Binaisa himself taking over the key defense role.

In May 1980, Binaisa was placed under house arrest after an attempt to dismiss Oyite Ojok, the army chief of staff – in a de facto coup led by Paulo Muwanga, Yoweri Museveni, Oyite Ojok, and Tito Okello. A Presidential Commission, with Museveni as Vice-Chairman, was installed and the Commission quickly announced plans for a general election in December.

The Emergence of the National Resistance Movement

By 1980, Museveni was a relatively well-known national figure. He established a new political party, the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), which he would lead in the elections. Museveni sought to compete against three other political groupings – the Uganda People's Congress (UPC), led by former president

Milton Obote, the Conservative Party (CP), and the Democratic Party (DP). The main contenders were the UPC and DP. The official results declared UPC the winner, with Museveni's UPM gaining only one of the 126 available seats (see Table 4-7 for a detailed breakdown of the seats).

A number of irregularities compromised the credibility of the election. During the election planning, the leader of the ruling commission, Paulo Muwanga, supported the UPC's view that each candidate should have a separate ballot box. This was fiercely opposed by the other parties, which maintained that it would make the election easier to manipulate.

The configuration of the political boundaries of constituencies might also have aided the UPC. Constituencies in generally pro-UPC northern Uganda contained proportionally fewer voters than the anti-UPC Buganda. Gerrymandering the constituencies allowed more power to be claimed by Obote's party.

Suspicious of electoral fraud were compounded by Muwanga's announcement on the day of the election that all results needed to be cleared by him before they were announced publicly. The losing parties refused to recognize the legitimacy of the new regime, citing widespread electoral irregularities.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ "Protracted conflict, elusive peace - Initiatives to end the violence in northern Uganda," Okello Lucima, ed., *Accord Issue No. 11*, (Conciliation Resources, 2002).

Table 4-7: 1980 Uganda Election Results ¹⁴⁵

Party	Seats
Uganda People's Congress	73
Democratic Party	52
Uganda Patriotic Movement	1
Conservative Party	0
Total seats	126

Unhappy with the manipulated election results (see Table 4-7), Museveni returned with his supporters to his support base in the Bantu-dominated south and southwest. There he formed the Popular Resistance Army (PRA). He also planned a rebellion against the second Obote regime (Obote II) and its armed forces, the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). Museveni sought to fight the second Obote regime, not only due to the rigged election, but also to dismantle the system of military Government that had institutionalized state violence based on sectarianism.¹⁴⁶

The insurgency began with an attack on an army installation in the central Mubende district on February 6, 1981. The PRA later merged with former president Yusuf Lule's fighting group, the Uganda Freedom Fighters (UFF), to create the National Resistance Army (NRA) with its political wing, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) in 1981. Two other rebel groups, the Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF) and Former Uganda National Army (FUNA), formed in West Nile from the remnants of Amin's supporters, also engaged Obote's forces.

¹⁴⁵ See Africa Elections Database, <http://africanelections.tripod.com/>

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 2 in Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 46-48.

On July 27, 1985, sub-factionalism within the UPC Government led to a successful military coup against Obote by his former army commander, Lieutenant-General Tito Okello, an Acholi. Museveni and the NRM/A saw this as a hijacking of the revolution that they had been fighting for four years. The UNLA was also viewed as having been discredited by gross human rights violations during Obote II. Despite having reservations, the NRM/A eventually agreed to peace talks presided over by a Kenyan delegation headed by President Daniel arap Moi.

The peace talks lasted from August 26 to December 17, 1985, and were quite acrimonious. The resulting ceasefire broke down almost immediately. The final agreement, signed in Nairobi, called for a ceasefire, the demilitarization of Kampala, the integration of the NRA and government forces, and absorption of the NRA leadership into the Military Council. These conditions were never met.

The prospects for a lasting agreement were limited by several factors, including the Kenyan team's lack of an in-depth knowledge of the situation in Uganda and the exclusion of relevant Ugandan and international actors from the talks. Ultimately, Museveni and his allies refused to share power with generals they did not respect. This refusal to share power also stemmed from their belief that the NRA had the capacity to achieve an outright military victory.

By this stage, the NRA had developed an unstoppable momentum. By January 22, 1986, Government troops in Kampala had begun to quit their posts en masse, as the rebels gained ground from the south and southwest. On January 25,

1986, the Museveni-led faction finally captured the capital. The NRA toppled Okello's Government and declared victory the next day.

Museveni was sworn in as president three days later on January 26, 1986. *"This is not a mere change of guard, it is a fundamental change,"* said Museveni at his swearing-in ceremony, conducted by British-born chief justice Peter Allen. Speaking to a crowd of thousands of people outside the Ugandan parliament, the new president promised a return to democracy and said:

"The people of Africa, the people of Uganda, are entitled to a democratic government. It is not a favor from any regime. The sovereign people must be the public, not the government... No one should think that what is happening in our country today is a mere change of guard: it is a fundamental change in the politics of our country. In Africa, we have seen so many changes that change, as such, is nothing short of mere turmoil. We have had one group getting rid of another one, only for it to turn out worse than the group it displaced. Please do not count us in that group of people."⁴⁷

The Approach to Political Participation and Inclusion

In the beginning stages of the conflict, Museveni explained why he and his group chose to fight and why they expected to win.

"We are fighting a just cause. We are fighting for democratic rights and human dignity of our people, all of which have been trampled upon by Obote and his erstwhile protégé Amin for nearly two decades. Our women shall no longer be raped by bandit soldiers; our citizens shall not be robbed or beaten at roadblocks; nobody, not even a tramp on the road, shall be killed unless so condemned by the courts. Court orders shall be obeyed by even the highest government officials; elections shall take place and they shall not be rigged; the right to be treated with respect and courtesy by these so-called officials, the right

¹⁴⁷ Yoweri Museveni, Presidential Inauguration Speech, (1986).

to life, the right to dignity, are not favors to be bestowed by anybody. They belong to our people by right."¹⁴⁸

During the early stages of the National Resistance Movement, Museveni strove to build the morale and strengthen the ideology of his supporters. He did so to build a more effective military force, by also to explain his inclusive philosophy to the rural people, whose support he needed.

Museveni sought to address the attitude of the people towards the role of Government and their own progress. In the feudal and colonial systems, people looked to the Government to provide all the solutions to their problems. When they were hungry, the people asked to be fed by the Government. In exchange, they followed orders of the king, whose own goals were often the pursuit of ethnic or sectarian rivalries or self-enrichment.¹⁴⁹

Museveni saw that the way to break out of this cycle of poverty and violence was to encourage individuals to seek solutions to their own problems by taking an active role in societal and economic life. The politics of differences and ethnic cleavages was the root cause of Uganda's problems according to Museveni, and the poverty and socio-economic dependence of Uganda's poor farmers forced them into following the chief's orders rather than participating in the running of their community's affairs.

¹⁴⁸ Yoweri Museveni, *Selected Articles on the Ugandan Resistance War*, (1985).

¹⁴⁹ Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, 2004), 32-34.

The Movement Structure

Museveni's mobilization pattern consisted of winning over a sufficient number of people to join the movement in each village. Once this was done, these individuals would be organized into a village Resistance Council, which in turn would be part of a parish Resistance Council. The Parish Resistance Council would send representatives to a county Council. The County Council would send representatives to a district Council. At the top of the movement structure, was the National Resistance Council, which completed the comprehensive executive network. At the same time, local representatives had the power to deal with their own local issues.

This proposed pyramid structure itself was revolutionary in terms of giving power to the people and was in direct opposition to the colonial and post-colonial regimes that sought to concentrate power in the executive (see Figure 4-8). The NRM approach was comprehensive and aimed at bringing power to the people. Museveni dismantled the colonial institutions that concentrated power in the hands of chiefs and executives and gave the power to the local Resistance Councils.

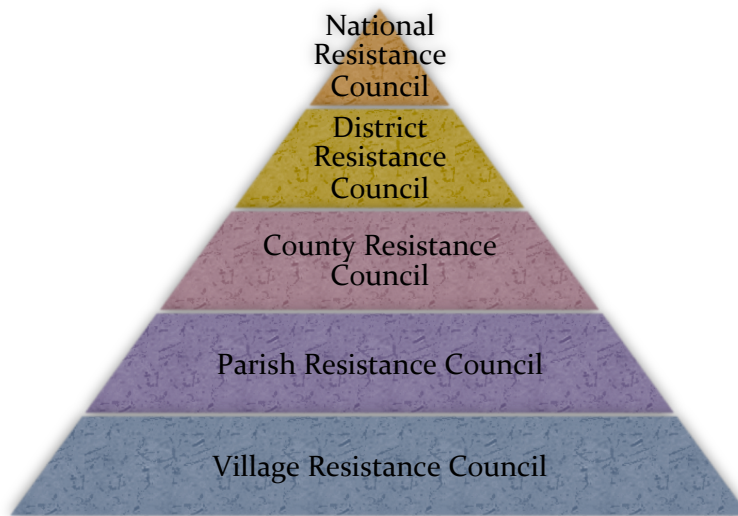


Figure 4-8: The National Resistance Movement Structure

Before Museveni assumed power in 1986, he sought to introduce a system of government that was non-sectarian and broad-based. This notion had its roots in the Uganda National Liberation Front's idea of a politics of consensus. This idea was enshrined in Museveni's ten-point program for an eventual government, covering 1) democracy, 2) security, 3) consolidation of national unity, 4) defending national independence, 5) building an independent, integrated and self-sustaining economy, 6) improving social services, 7) eliminating corruption and misuse of power, 8) redressing inequality, 9) cooperating with other African countries, and 10) establishing a mixed economy.¹⁵⁰

Analysis of Museveni's actions suggests that Museveni sought to be as accommodative as possible in the pre-transition years. His approach was largely democratic, participatory, and, yet, opportunistic. Museveni wanted to win the

¹⁵⁰ See Chapter 2 in Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 47.

war, and hence sought to co-opt parties from all sides of the political spectrum. He heavily relied on military strength to attain power and believed that strength alone would bring peace to conflict-torn Uganda.

The post-independence regimes in Uganda had been characterized by corruption, factionalism, and an inability to restore order and gain popular legitimacy. When Museveni came to power, he sought to pacify the opposition by incorporating leaders representing a variety of interests, even former opponents that he had fought during the Bush war. A law guaranteed amnesty to all combatants, police, and personnel in prison and state security agencies who might have otherwise been subject to prosecution. Former rebels groups were incorporated into the NRA, including those who had formerly been associated with Idi Amin.¹⁵¹

A Broad-based Coalition

In terms of the political coalition, Museveni initially sought to build a government of national unity and heal the divisions created by past party differences. He tried appeasing a wide range of ethnic groups by giving them representation within the Movement and Government. Museveni was able to bring together the pro-monarchy Ganda ethnic group, Protestant clergy, Catholics, members of the UPM, former Idi Amin supporters from West Nile, Leftists from the eastern parts of the country, and his own supporters from the South and

¹⁵¹ Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 48.

southwest.¹⁵² Some of these groups had been in conflict for more than twenty years.

Decentralization policy is but one of several NRM policies that were implemented as part of a political strategy to bring about a fundamental change in state and society. The strategy was influenced by Museveni's understanding of the basic forces at work in Uganda, and his experience with fractious post-independence politics. The starting point of this strategy was the incorporation of as many groups as possible in a Government of National Unity to operate strictly for an interim period.

Several factors contributed to this choice. In terms of territorial control, the NRM was in a relatively weak position and needed to avoid conflict with as many opponents as possible.¹⁵³ It is clear that the NRM leadership was aware of the elite-dominated sets of interests that had been contending for State power since independence, manipulating and deepening the sources of conflict in the process. By incorporating these contenders, short-term peace could be achieved.

The challenge for the NRM was to achieve long-term change in Uganda. For this to happen, the NRM required political space to implement a broad package of policies seeking to resolve conflict and reform the country. A Government of

¹⁵² See Joseph Oloka-Onyango, "New-Breed Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni", *Africa Today* - Volume 50, Number 3, (Spring 2004), 29-52.

¹⁵³ "Building State Capacity in Africa: Learning from Performance and Results," Poul Engberg-Pedersen and Brian Levy in *Building State Capacity in Africa: New Approaches, Emerging Lessons*, eds. Brian Levy and Sahr Kpundeh, (Washington DC: World Bank Institute and the Africa region Vice-Presidency of the World Bank, 2004).

National Unity would help create this space for reform; a luxury not enjoyed by many other African governments.

The NRM declared a four-year interim government, comprising a broader ethnic base than its predecessors. The sectarian violence, which had overshadowed Uganda's recent history, was put forward as a justification for restricting the activities of the political parties and their ethnically-distinct supporter bases.

One of the first pieces of legislation passed by the NRM was an anti-sectarianism statute in 1988. Museveni assigned Eriya Kategaya, the chairman of the Political and Diplomatic Committee, to reach out to different political forces and to help create this consensus.¹⁵⁴ Election to the legislative body, the National Resistance Council (NRC), was based on individual merit, rather than party affiliation. This was based on the idea that a meritocracy would help alleviate some of the cleavages exacerbated by sectarian politics.

Museveni's first cabinet reflected the effort to balance political and ethnic representatives. It included a broad range of individuals, primarily from the Democratic Party, which held at least ten key ministries, including Internal Affairs, Finance, Agriculture, Commerce, Constitutional Affairs, Energy, Justice, Regional Affairs, and Economic Development, as well as the position of attorney general. The cabinet also included the leaders of the Conservative Party, the UNRF, and the UPC.

¹⁵⁴ Kizza Besigya, "An Insider's View of How NRM Lost the 'Broad-Base.'" *Monitor*, (November 7, 1999).

Museveni personally selected the representatives of the various factions to serve on his cabinet. In terms of geographical diversity, the cabinet had four northerners out of a total of 33, with the south and southwest taking the lions' share of the pie.

The Evolution of the National Resistance Movement

The non-party system did not prohibit political parties, but prevented them from fielding candidates directly in elections. In particular, elections were not based on political party campaigning. The NRM system was defined as a no-party system that welcomed anyone who wished to contribute to building the future of the country.

A system of Resistance Councils, directly elected at the parish level, was established to manage local affairs, including the equitable distribution of fixed-price commodities. The election of Resistance Councils representatives was the first direct experience many Ugandans had with democracy after many decades of varying levels of authoritarianism. The replication of the structure up to the district level has been credited with helping even people at the local level understand the higher-level political structures.

This broad-based nature of the NRM, however, slowly began to change over time. The 1994 Constituent Assembly (CA) elections were conducted amidst arrests and treason charges being leveled against multipartyists. The election

results led to a strengthening of the belief in Uganda that the broad-based nature of the NRM had all but disappeared.

The multipartyists were accused of using their positions in government to weaken and destabilize the NRM. Tensions surfaced between the NRM leaders and individuals who were considered broad-based and potential threats to Museveni and his elites. There was a growing sense within the NRM leadership that they could dispense with broad-based politics without political cost because the NRM was so popular at the time.

Museveni and the NRM elite saw the Constituent Assembly elections as an important step in helping the NRM solidify its power. Sensing this possibility, the NRM began to operate as a de facto party, secretly supporting NRM candidates and publicly discrediting multipartyists. Museveni directed the formation of a Movement Group in the Constituent Assembly with the support of special interest groups. The Movement Group was established through ten presidential appointments and six elected representatives in the assembly with the purpose of lobbying for the NRM's position on different policies. Pressure from the NRM also resulted in the formation of a Movement Caucus in the Assembly. The NRM, thus, had all but abandoned its broad-based position and had turned into a political party.¹⁵⁵

By 1996, the NRM had tightened its grip on power in a way that left little room for meaningful power sharing. In July 1995, a debate on the future of

¹⁵⁵ Kizza Besigya, "An Insider's View of How NRM Lost the 'Broad-Base.'" *Monitor*, (November 7, 1999).

multipartyism was defeated by the NRM, and the CA resolved in favor of continuing no-party rule.

The first “no-party” elections under Museveni's leadership were held on May 9, 1996. Museveni defeated the two contenders Paul Ssemogerere and Mohamed Mayanja. Museveni won with a landslide 75.5 per cent of the vote from a turnout of 72.6 per cent of eligible voters (see Table 4-8). Although international and domestic observers described the vote as valid, both the losing candidates rejected the results. Museveni was sworn in as President for the second time on May 12, 1996.

Table 4-8: 1996 Uganda Presidential Election Results¹⁵⁶

Candidate	Percentage
Yoweri Museveni	75.5%
Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere	22.3%
Muhammad Kibirige Mayanja	2.2%
Turnout	72.6%

The main message in Museveni's election campaign was the restoration of security and economic normality in much of the country. A memorable electoral image produced by his team depicted a pile of skulls in the Luwero Triangle. This powerful symbolism was not lost on the inhabitants of this region, who had suffered rampant insecurity during the Civil War. The other candidates had difficulty matching Museveni's efficacy in communicating his key message.

¹⁵⁶ See The Electoral Commission of Uganda: Presidential Elections Results 1996, http://www.ec.or.ug/Elec_results/Nat_Res_1996.pdf

Museveni seemed to have a remarkable ability to relate political messages by using grass-roots language, especially with people from the south. The metaphor of “carrying a grindstone for leadership,” referring to an “authoritative individual, bearing the burden of authority,” was just one of many imaginative images he created for his campaign. He would often deliver his speeches in the local colloquial language, demonstrating respect, and attempting to transcend tribalistic politics. Museveni's comfort with speaking in English, Luganda, Runyankole, and Swahili helped him connect with a wider audience.¹⁵⁷

Until the prospect of presidential elections, Ssemogerere (Museveni's concurrent political rival) had been a minister in the NRM government. His decision to challenge the record of Museveni and the NRM, rather than claim a stake in Museveni's "movement," was seen as naive opportunism and regarded as a political error. Ssemogerere's alliance with the UPC was anathema to the Buganda, who might otherwise have lent him some support as the leader of the Democratic Party. Ssemogerere also accused Museveni of being a Rwandan and his army of being dominated by Rwandans.¹⁵⁸

A Weakening Coalition

¹⁵⁷ See Joseph Oloka-Onyango, “New-Breed Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni”, *Africa Today* - Volume 50, Number 3, Spring 2004, Pp. 29–52.

¹⁵⁸ Museveni was often accused of being Rwandan by his opponents because of his birthplace near the Uganda-Rwanda border. Museveni claims to be an ethnic Munyankole, kin to the Banyarwanda of Rwanda. Museveni's Army included 4000 Rwandan exiles.

As power concentrated within the NRM, many of the Movement's old allies fell out favor or became disillusioned with Museveni. Paul Ssemogerere's candidacy in the 1996 elections divided the Catholic vote. By the mid-1990s, the relationship between the Buganda and the NRM had also grown strained, as Museveni sought to pit different sections of royal society against one another.

King Ronald Mutebi was restricted to be in an apolitical role, and his movements were closely monitored to prevent him from becoming anything more than a cultural symbol. The cracks in society were once again beginning to emerge. In addition, the growing perception was that Museveni favored his "own people" when it came to government appointments. The Ankole Bahima, in particular, were unduly benefiting from "State House scholarships, State House welfare programs, presidential donations, and appointments to key and strategic military and security offices."¹⁵⁹

The differences between the hardcore NRM supporters and those who endorsed a more broad-based meritocracy led to regional tensions in Uganda's Kabale, Ntungamo, Kasese, and Iganga provinces. The NRM-led government harassed and suppressed those who advocated multipartyism on the grounds that it would lead to confusion and exacerbate societal cleavages. Though there were no legal grounds, the NRM made it very difficult for opposition parties to hold meetings or sponsor candidates, unless approved by the NRM leadership. Even the local Resistance Councils had been usurped by the NRM and turned into an

¹⁵⁹ Andrew Mwenda, "Museveni Doesn't Favor Bahima, He Uses Them." *Independent*, (April 4, 2008).

instrument for maintaining control at the grassroots level. The Election Commission was entirely made up of presidential appointees.

Thus, Museveni and the NRM elite systematically retarded the strengthening of check-and-balance institutions. The artificial constraints on the development of democracy and the insecurity felt by opposition leaders led to the growing perception that power was now serving the interests of a few elites from the western part of the country.¹⁶⁰

As the national executive, Museveni began to behave more like his predecessors. In the 1996 elections, when a majority of the northerners voted against him, Museveni publicly announced that he would not be allocating cabinet positions to this area, but would consider allocating some infrastructure-related funding.

Between 1996 and 2000 the popularity of the president and the NRM Government began to decline. One main reason was the increasing number of high-level cases of corruption that were uncovered. Scandals were exposed relating to the expropriation of money from the huge flows of international development assistance. There were also allegations of misappropriation of wealth from the sale of state companies under the privatization project. The web of corruption was seen to extend to the highest levels, implicating government ministers and even Museveni's family, through his brother, General Salim Saleh. In 1998, NRM MPs

¹⁶⁰ See Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 51.

sought to demonstrate their independence of the executive by forcing the removal of guilty ministers.¹⁶¹

Table 4-9: 2001 Uganda Presidential Election Results¹⁶²

Candidate	Number of votes	Percentage
Yoweri Museveni	5,123,360	69.4%
Kizza Besigye	2,055,795	27.7%
Aggrey Awori	103,915	1.4%
Muhammad Kibirige Mayanja	73,790	1.0%
Francis Bwengye	22,751	0.3%
Karuhanga Chapaa	10,080	0.1%
Turnout	7,511,606	69.7%

In the 2001 elections, Museveni won by a substantial majority (69%), with his former Bush War associate and personal physician Kizza Besigye as the only real challenger (see Table 4-9). Museveni travelled on a cheap Bodaboda motorcycle taxi to submit his nomination form for the election, in what was clearly seen as a publicity stunt. There were considerable acrimony and bitterness during the 2001 presidential election campaign, and incidents of violence occurred following the announcement of the results.

Besigye challenged the election results in the Supreme Court of Uganda. Two of the five judges concluded that there were illegalities in the elections and that the results should be rejected. The other three judges decided that the

¹⁶¹ See Economist Intelligence Unit, *Uganda Country Profile, 2009*, (London, UK: The Economic Intelligence Unit Limited, 2009).

¹⁶² See The Electoral Commission of Uganda: Uganda Presidential Elections (March 2001), http://www.ec.or.ug/Elec_results/sum_const_2001.pdf

illegalities did not affect the result of the election in a substantial manner. They stated, however, that, “*there was evidence that in a significant number of polling stations there was cheating.*” They also noted that in some areas of the country, “*the principle of free and fair elections was compromised.*”

Besigye was briefly detained and questioned by the police, allegedly in connection with the offense of treason. In September 2001, Besigye fled to the United States, claiming that his life was in danger. It was becoming increasingly clear that any challenge to Museveni’s authority would not be taken lightly.

The move to Multiparty Politics in Uganda

After the 2001 elections, Museveni and the NRM elite began a campaign to lift constitutional limits on the number of presidential terms. The motivation was to allow Museveni to stand for election again in 2006. The 1995 Ugandan Constitution provided for a two-term limit on the tenure of the president.

Given Uganda's history of dictatorial regimes, this check-and-balance was designed to prevent a dangerous centralization of power around a long-serving leader. The effort to change Uganda’s Constitution led to the removal of key allies from Museveni’s administration, including his childhood friend, Eriya Kategaya, and Cabinet Minister, Jaberu Bidandi Ssali.

Moves to alter the Constitution and alleged attempts to suppress opposition parties had attracted considerable criticism from domestic commentators, the international community, and Uganda's aid donors. In a press release, the main opposition party in 2001, the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), accused

Museveni of engaging in a "life presidency project," and of bribing members of Parliament to vote against Constitutional amendments, FDC leaders claimed:

“The country is polarized with many Ugandans objecting to the constitutional amendments. If Parliament goes ahead and removes term limits this may cause serious unrest, political strife and may lead to turmoil both through the transition period and thereafter ... We would therefore like to appeal to President Museveni to respect himself, the people who elected him and the Constitution under which he was voted President in 2001 when he promised the country and the world at large to hand over power peacefully and in an orderly manner at the end of his second and last term. Otherwise his insistence to stand again will expose him as a consummate liar and the biggest political fraudster this country has ever known.”¹⁶³

Table 4-10: 2005 Uganda Multiparty System Referendum Results¹⁶⁴

Question: "Do you agree to open up the political space to allow those who wish to join different organizations / parties to do so to compete for political power?"

Option	Number of votes	Percentage
Yes	3,643,223	92.4%
No	297,865	7.6%
Turnout	3,941,088	47.3%

The 1995 Constitution only lasted 10 years. In 2005, following a referendum, Uganda adopted a multiparty system (see Table 4-10). In order to understand why, after investing enormous efforts to build a no-party system, the NRM elite agreed to a multiparty system, one needs to examine the broader historical and structural context. Parliamentarians were forced to agree to lift presidential term limits in exchange for a move toward multipartyism. In other words, the executive office

¹⁶³ "Press release: FDC Position on amending article 105(2) of the constitution", Forum for Democratic Change, (27 June 2005).

¹⁶⁴ See Results of the Referendum available at The Electoral Commission of Uganda <http://ec.or.ug/referendum/finalresults.pdf>

was strengthened in the process and positioned to control the electoral process in the future.

Museveni and the NRM elite opened up to multipartyism, not because they wished to encourage open competition, but because, in doing so, it could win future elections and maintain its dominant political position with greater legitimacy and credibility. The opening allowed it to operate and develop more freely as the party it had already become. The NRM also created unfavorable conditions for other political parties, like the DP and UPC, which were significantly weaker in 2005 than they were in 1994. The main opposition party, the FDC, also suffered from divisions, and its members were also similarly harassed, tortured, or forced to flee the country for fear of their lives.

Essentially, the 1994 Constituent Assembly elections marked the beginning of the end of the broad-based coalition that had characterized the NRM. After this election, the NRM began to act as a de facto single party under an increasingly authoritarian rule. Ultimately, the NRM's efforts to entrench itself through the constitution and various pieces of legislation became subordinated to the goal of expanding executive authority and remaining in power.¹⁶⁵

Museveni's goal of remaining in power outweighed all other concerns, including those of freedom of speech, freedom of association, political freedoms, and other human rights. Museveni's predilection to stay in power led to attacks on the independence of the judiciary and the legislature. The judiciary was never able

¹⁶⁵ See Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 106-108.

to assert its independence under any of the previous leaders, but, under Museveni's first Government, there were some positive developments. The judiciary proved to be quite active in pushing back against executive encroachments; however, the Executive constantly challenged its influence and power.

A World Bank report in May 2005 suggested that it might cut its support to non-humanitarian programs in the Uganda.

*"We regret that we cannot be more positive about the present political situation in Uganda, especially given the country's admirable record through the late 1990s. The Government has largely failed to integrate the country's diverse peoples into a single political process that is viable over the long term...Perhaps most significant, the political trend-lines, as a result of the President's apparent determination to press for a third term, point downward."*¹⁶⁶

Museveni responded to the mounting international pressure by accusing donors of interfering with domestic politics and using aid to manipulate poor countries.

*"Let the partners give advice and leave it to the country to decide ... developed countries must get out of the habit of trying to use aid to dictate the management of our countries. The problem with those people is not the third term or fighting corruption or multipartyism, the problem is that they want to keep us there without growing."*¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Paul Busharizi, "World Bank may cut aid", *New Vision*, (Kampala, May 17, 2005).

¹⁶⁷ Frank Nyakairu, "Donors Fear Me, Says Museveni," *The Monitor*, (26 May 2005).

In November 2005, Museveni was chosen as NRM's presidential candidate for the February 2006, elections. His candidacy for a third term sparked criticism, as he had promised in 2001 that he was contesting for the last term.¹⁶⁸ Opposition leader Kizza Besigye returned from exile to be adopted as the candidate for a new party, the FDC, but his program was duly interrupted by the authorities through a series of arrests on various dubious charges.

Museveni's order to arrest Besigye on November 14, 2005, on charges of treason, as well as, concealment of treason and rape, sparked demonstrations and riots in Kampala and other towns. Museveni's punitive actions also had international repercussions. European donors Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom announced their plans to withhold economic support to Museveni's Government. The donors expressed concerns about the future of democracy in Uganda and cited Museveni's bid for a third term, the arrest of Besigye, and the siege of the High Court during Besigye's hearing.

On January 2, 2006, Besigye was released after the High Court ordered his immediate release. Prior to the election, a spokesman for the opposition FDC said,

“Key sectors of the economy are headed by people from the president's home area... We have got the most sectarian regime in the history of the country in spite the fact that there are no parties.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ “The Challenges of Constitutionalizing Politics in Uganda,” Goran Hyden in *Developing Uganda*, eds. Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998).

¹⁶⁹ “Uganda: Nation decides on political parties,” UNOCHA-IRIN, (27 July 2005).

The February 23, 2006, elections were Uganda's first multiparty elections in 25 years. These elections were seen as a test of Uganda's democratic credentials. Museveni won a convincing victory in the 2006 presidential elections, gaining 59 percent of the national vote on a respectable turnout of 68 percent.

Foreign observers reported that though the election process itself was broadly fair, there were some irregularities. They criticized the absence of a level playing field for all candidates during the election campaign with reference to the treatment of Besigye. Besigye's 37 percent of the vote partly reflected the protest vote in parts of the north, which had suffered from the violence perpetrated by the rebel Lord's Resistance Army.

The NRM convincingly won the battle for parliamentary seats, taking 187 of the 319 seats in the legislative election. The FDC became the main opposition party.

Museveni's bold decision to transform the NRM into a political party and take on the other parties in elections paid off handsomely. The scale of the victory in the presidential and parliamentary elections enhanced his authority both inside and outside Uganda. Besigye alleged electoral fraud and vote rigging and rejected the result. He contested the election results in the Supreme Court of Uganda, which later ruled that the election was marred by intimidation, violence, voter disenfranchisement, and other irregularities. The Court, however, voted 4-3 to uphold the results of the election.

Disunity within the Movement

Since 2006, signs of disunity have begun to emerge in the NRM. Though it has remained politically dominant, there is evidence of growing discontent within the party since the 2006 elections. There was internal pressure on Museveni to give up the chairmanship of the NRM parliamentary caucus in 2007. This is possibly related to the uncertainty about leadership succession.

The discontent became even more apparent in 2008 after Museveni confirmed that he would stand for a fourth presidential term at the 2011 presidential election, provided that he received the support of his party. The most significant opposition to him comes from ambitious politicians within the NRM, who see their advancement blocked, and those who represent areas of Uganda where regional discontent has been building.

Political infighting among factions of the NRM supporting different potential successors to Museveni has destabilized the party to an extent. Two controversial political developments in 2008 – a dispute with Buganda over an amendment to the Land Act and the Temangalo corruption case,¹⁷⁰ which involved two senior ministers – underlined the difficulties that Museveni faces in keeping the NRM united. So far, however, he has retained control, partly because there is no obvious successor with sufficient support at present, and partly because he remains very popular in rural areas.

¹⁷⁰ The NRM dominated Parliament cleared the finance minister and the security minister of accusations of unfairly using political influence in the sale of land for around US\$6m to the National Social Security Fund in the Temangalo affair, despite a parliamentary committee report that found the ministers guilty.

Museveni was reelected on February 20, 2011, with a 68 percent majority with 59 percent of registered voters having voted. These election results were disputed by both the European Union and the opposition, "*The electoral process was marred with avoidable administrative and logistical failures,*" according to the European Union election observer team.¹⁷¹

Museveni has been successful in bringing relative stability and economic growth to a country that has endured decades of government mismanagement, civil war, and rebellion. It is not clear, however, that he has been able to establish institutions that will be able to continue providing stability and economic prosperity to Ugandans after his regime. Museveni has progressively limited political contestation and freedom by coopting and even intimidating potential threats to his power.

The Approach to Economic Growth and Inclusion

By the time Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power in 1986, the economy was in ruins. Uganda's new NRM leadership was influenced initially by left-wing ideology, but was pragmatic enough to recognize that external financial assistance was needed to kick-start the economy. The new Government enjoyed widespread international support and focused on fixing the ailing economy. Museveni initiated economic policies designed to combat key problems, such as hyperinflation and the balance of payments. Abandoning his Marxist ideals after his initial economic policies

¹⁷¹ "Uganda's Museveni wins disputed presidential vote," Reuters, (February 20, 2011).

backfired, Museveni embraced the neoliberal structural adjustments advocated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Museveni's pragmatic approach to economic development, growth and security was quite different from the Marxist-Leninist approach that had been taken by many other revolutionary leaders. He pointed to intractable rural poverty and the persistent inability of the people to achieve progress.

While other countries in the developed world had been able to overcome problems of famine, drought, and disease, these challenges loomed large over African states. The colonial legacy of slavery, a feudal approach to agriculture, and the impoverishment of local economies was a central point in his argument. He contended that farmers in the former colonies were trying to grow cash crops like tea, coffee, and cotton for export, while having no real way of growing basic food crops to sustain themselves. The overreliance on export based crops left them vulnerable to the fluctuations in commodity prices and demand in developed countries.

Museveni argued that the priorities adopted by post-colonial governments were flawed. Instead of allocating scarce resources for rural education and telephones, he argued that it was more important to focus on improving local transport, building roads, and enhancing the ability to communicate physically. This would enable the flow of goods and services within the local and regional economy. It would also help create a market that would set the stage for further

growth. He pointed out that Uganda's poor road network greatly stunted this possibility.

Uganda began participating in an IMF Economic Recovery Program (ERP) in 1987. Its objectives included the restoration of incentives to encourage growth, investment, employment and exports; the promotion and diversification of trade with particular emphasis on export promotion; the removal of bureaucratic constraints and divestment from ailing public enterprises so as to enhance sustainable economic growth and development through the private sector; as well as the liberalization of trade at all levels.

The absurdly high official exchange rate was abolished in favor of the black-market driven rate. A 77 percent devaluation of the shilling in 1987 was followed by other devaluations and a gradual relaxation of exchange controls, until the currency's value became market-determined, in 1993.

Museveni declared that "inflation is indiscipline," and, from early 1992 onward inflation was duly tamed. Inflation, which was over 200 percent in 1987, was tackled by imposing strict controls on budgetary spending and curbing monetary expansion. The authorities pressed ahead with the liberalization of all sectors of the economy. Restrictions on imports were removed progressively, with the establishment of an open general licensing system and the reduction and harmonization of tariffs. The policy of setting producer prices for export crops was abolished, and trading was opened up to the private sector - a major factor in the recovery of the coffee sector.

A policy of privatization was adopted for all 142 government-owned corporations. Uganda's investment law was liberalized to facilitate the repatriation of profits, in an attempt to attract foreign investment. A capital market was established in 1998, although activity remains subdued. The stabilization of the economy allowed rapid growth to resume in the 1990s. Although the rural population benefited from high coffee prices in the mid-1990s, the Ugandan authorities acknowledged that only a few people (especially in regions other than the relatively prosperous south) benefited from the economic recovery. This situation was made worse by the ravages of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and rebel insurrections.

Uganda changed from a centrally-controlled economy with few incentives to produce much to quite the opposite; liberalized and decentralized through thousands of small decisions taken in hundreds of towns and villages, the result was a burst of economic energy. The economic recovery, to an extent, was due to the "peace effect." That is, the reduction in the hostilities brought back traders and businessmen who had been forced into hiding, or exile. It could be argued that the economic liberalization initially took power away from corrupt administrators and gave it to local Resistance Councils, or the people themselves.

In April 1998, Uganda became the first country to be declared eligible for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, receiving some US\$700 million in aid. In 2006, the IMF approved Uganda's request for a new arrangement with the Fund under a policy support instrument (PSI). The PSI is a

non-financial program designed for low-income countries seeking IMF advice, monitoring, and endorsement of their policies.

Given its record of sustained macroeconomic stability and the completion of its first-generation structural reforms, Uganda is seen as a "mature stabilizer." Uganda no longer needs IMF funding, but benefits from a continuing policy dialogue that goes beyond a regular surveillance relationship. Despite its solid economic record with the IMF, Uganda's image with donors has been tarnished over the years by revelations of high-level corruption and the government's unwillingness to open up the political system.

According to surveys carried out by Uganda's Bureau of Statistics, there has been a steady decrease in the proportion of Ugandans living in absolute poverty, from over 50 percent in 1993-94, to 34 percent in 1999-2000. There is still a large inequality between the rural and urban areas, and there are significant regional differences. In the northern region, poverty levels have risen to around 70 percent, compared with 60 percent two years earlier. This is mainly to the adverse effects of continued insecurity on the rural economy and Museveni's preferential treatment of other regions.

Poverty levels had crept up again, reaching 38 percent in 2002-03. Reasons for this setback included a slowdown in real GDP growth, deterioration in the terms of trade, and high population growth. The Government responded by including remedial measures in the revised PEAP (Poverty Eradication Action Plan), and the 2004-05 Budget sought to tackle these factors. There is evidence

that improvements in the delivery of public services helped mitigate some of the problems stemming from the rise in poverty rates. The poverty rate fell to 31 percent in 2005 on account of these proactive steps taken by the government.¹⁷²

Figure 4-9 shows the variation in the GDP per Capita during Museveni's time in power.



Figure 4-9: Economic Performance Under Museveni¹⁷³

Strong economic growth has enabled substantial poverty reduction and some progress towards Millennium Development Goals (MDG). With the proportion of people living in poverty at 25 percent in 2009-10, Uganda has

¹⁷² See <http://www.undp.or.ug/focusarea/3>

¹⁷³ See World Development Indicators available at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

surpassed the 2015 Millennium Development Goal of halving the 56 percent poverty rate recorded in 1992-93.

There is also significant progress towards reducing the share of the population suffering from hunger. Uganda also may achieve the goals of universal primary education, gender parity, and combating HIV/AIDS.

Nonetheless, progress in completion of primary education, child and maternal mortality, access to reproductive health, incidence of malaria and other diseases, has been slow. There are growing concerns about the uneven progress. Inequality is increasing, while there are distinct geographical patterns of unequal outcomes in health and education amidst uneven access to services. This poses serious challenges to Museveni's aspiration for Uganda to become a middle-income country within one generation.¹⁷⁴

Economic conditions are best in the south, partly due to its climatic advantages for agriculture, but also due to the fact that the region has been largely peaceful and is well served by roads. Museveni has focused his attention in this area and has been able to steer a significant proportion of Government funds towards the development of the South and Southwest regions. The South also contains the majority of the population, the most productive agriculture, the bulk of manufacturing and the best-developed services.

¹⁷⁴ See World Bank, Uganda Country Brief. Available at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/UGANDAEXTN/0,,menuPK:374947~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:374864,00.html>

The main road network, from the Kenyan border at Busia to Kampala, then westwards to Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, forms part of the "northern corridor" between the Indian Ocean and Central Africa. Uganda's North and West have suffered economically, both because of their remoteness and border instability. The Karamoja region in the Northeast is culturally distinct and economically underdeveloped. The historical ethnic tensions between Uganda's Nilotic North and Bantu South have also contributed to regional economic disparities. These already existing cleavages have been exacerbated by Museveni's vindictive policies.

The people of the north have generally felt neglected by the NRM Government, whose political support base is in the south. The economic benefits experienced under the NRM have been largely confined to the south, although that area has suffered proportionally worse from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Over the past few years, the Government has introduced measures to promote development in the North. Not much has been accomplished, however, due to the presence of Lord's Resistance Army rebels in northern Uganda,

The Approach to Security and Justice

The NRM came to power promising to restore security and respect for human rights. Security featured prominently in the NRM's ten-point program. Museveni noted in his swearing in speech:

"The second point on our program is security of person and property. Every person in Uganda must have absolute security to live wherever he wants. Any individual, any group who threatens the

*security of our people must be smashed without mercy. The people of Uganda should die only from natural causes which are beyond our control, but not from fellow human beings who continue to walk the length and breadth of our land.*¹⁷⁵

Although Museveni now headed up a new government in Kampala, the NRM could not project its influence fully across Ugandan territory and found itself fighting a number of insurgencies in Northern Uganda. From the beginning of his presidency, Museveni drew strong support from the Bantu-speaking south and southwest. Museveni also convinced the Karamojong, a group of semi-nomads in the sparsely populated northeast that had never had a significant political voice, to align with him by offering them a stake in the new government.

The northern region along the Sudanese border proved more troublesome. In the West Nile sub-region, the Kakwa and Lugbara (groups that had previously supported Amin), the UNRF and FUNA rebel groups fought for years until a combination of military offensives and diplomacy pacified the region; the leader of the UNRF, Moses Ali, gave up his struggle to become Second Deputy Prime Minister.

People from the northern part of the country viewed the rise of a southerner-led government with concern. Rebel groups sprang up among the Lango, Acholi and Teso, though they were overwhelmed by the strength of the NRA except in the far north where the Sudanese border provided a safe haven. The Acholi rebel Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) failed to defeat the NRA

¹⁷⁵ Yoweri Museveni, Presidential Inauguration Speech, (1986).

occupation of Acholiland. This was followed by the *chiliasm* of the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM).¹⁷⁶ The defeat of both the UPDA and HSM left the rebellion to a group that eventually became known as the Lord's Resistance Army, which would turn against the Acholi, as well.

The NRA subsequently earned a reputation for respecting the rights of civilians. Museveni later received criticism for using child soldiers. Undisciplined elements within the NRA soon tarnished a hard-won reputation for fairness. In March 1989, Amnesty International published a human rights report on Uganda, which documented gross human rights violations committed by NRA troops.¹⁷⁷

In one of the most intense phases of the war, between October and December 1988, the NRA forcibly cleared approximately 100,000 people from their homes in and around Gulu town. Soldiers committed hundreds of extrajudicial executions, as they forcibly moved people, burning down homes and granaries. There were few reports of the systematic torture similar to those committed during Amin and Obote's regimes.

Museveni announced the end of the war in the northern and eastern provinces on October 9, 1988. Peace, however, was still elusive, as these areas continued to simmer with conflict well into the 1990s. As the conflict persisted, Museveni and the NRM were not inclined to incorporate many northerners into the Government.

¹⁷⁶ Chiliasm is the belief that Christ will return to earth in visible form and establish a kingdom to last 1000 years, after which the world will come to an end.

¹⁷⁷ See Amnesty International, *Uganda, the Human Rights Record 1986-1989*.

While the south and west continued to be well represented, the north was not. Between 1986 and 1988, northerners accounted for only four positions, easterners accounted for two positions, and by 1995, only a few multipartyists could be found in the cabinet. The majority of positions went to those who supported the “no-party” movement system.

Figure 4-10 shows the variation in the level of conflict under Museveni. The figure illustrates the periods of violence during his consolidation of power, and also shows the increasing incidence of conflict in the past few years. This is consistent with the increased use of State power to suppress political opposition. The levels of conflict, however, are still well below the levels before Museveni assumed power.

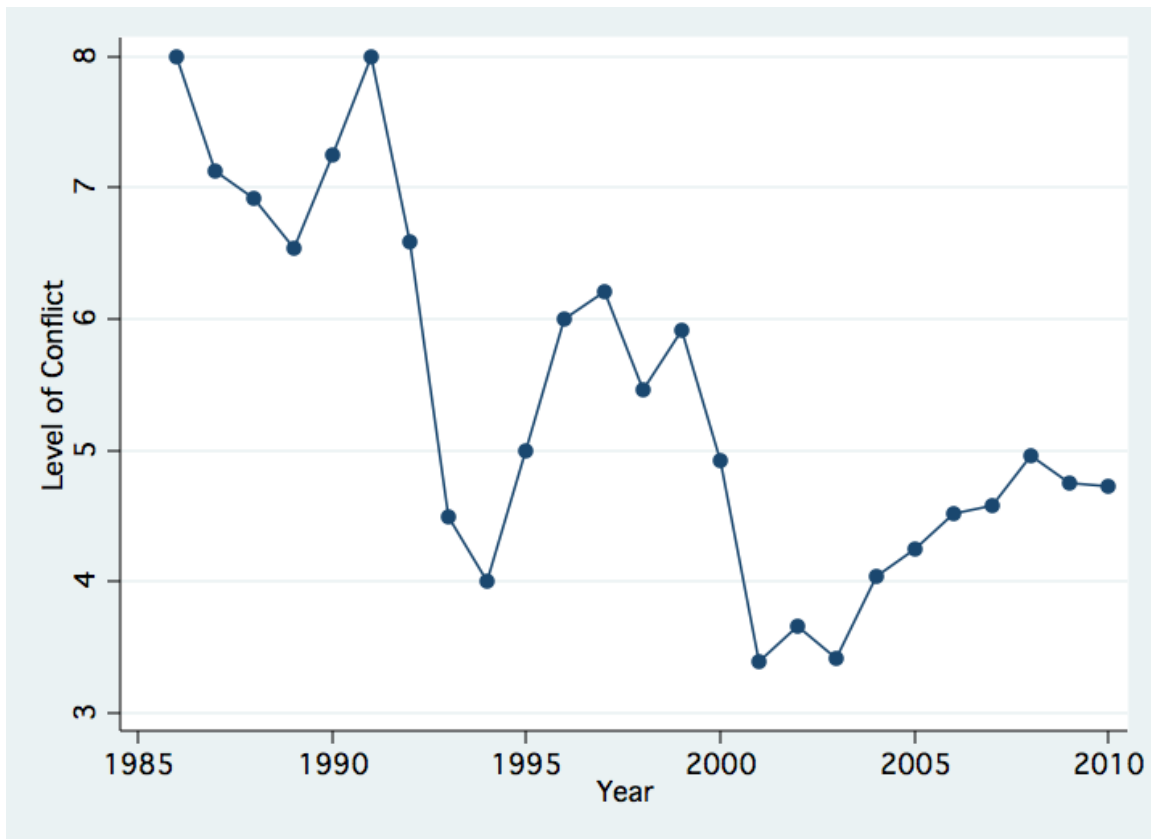


Figure 4-10: Level of Conflict Under Museveni¹⁷⁸

Museveni the Pan-Africanist

In terms of regional security, Museveni has long been a Pan-Africanist, who regularly questions the arbitrariness of borders in Africa and urges the development of larger markets. He openly challenges the notion of Francophone, Lusophone and Anglophone categorizations and urges the creation of a Bantu or Afrophone category of nations.

¹⁷⁸ The measure for level of conflict was developed using the Internal and External conflict indicators from the International Conflict Risk Group (ICRG) Database. These indicators have also been used in the panel data analysis in chapter 3.

Museveni's approach to this regional integration is essentially opportunistic and militarist in nature. When he first came to power, Museveni supported rebel elements against the one-party regime in Kenya in the late 1980s. As a result, there were a number of skirmishes with the Kenyans. These were stopped only after Museveni realized that President Daniel arap Moi was not a pushover, and that he could blockade Uganda's access to seaports.¹⁷⁹ The Kenyan opposition saw Museveni as a dynamic and charismatic leader, who was bringing reform to a region long prone to violent conflict.

Museveni's thinking on the use of force, as a political instrument, regarding Ugandan involvement in Rwandan politics is clear. There were significant numbers of ethnic Rwandan Tutsi refugees in Uganda. The Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) rebel group was a close ally of the NRA. Once Museveni had solidified his hold on central power, he lent his support to their cause.

The RPF launched unsuccessful attacks against the Government of Rwanda from bases in southwest Uganda from 1990-94. It was not until the Rwandan Genocide of 1994 that the RPF took power and its leader, Paul Kagame (a former officer in Museveni's army), became vice-president.

Following the Rwandan Genocide, the new Government in Kigali felt threatened by the presence of former Rwandan soldiers and members of the previous regime across the river in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

¹⁷⁹ See Joseph Oloka-Onyango, "New-Breed Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni", *Africa Today* - Volume 50, Number 3, (Spring 2004), 29-52.

These soldiers were receiving support from the DRC's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

Provocation by these rebels caused Rwanda (with the aid of Museveni) and Laurent Kabila's rebels to overthrow him and take power in Congo. In August 1998, Rwanda and Uganda undertook to invade Congo again, this time to overthrow Museveni and Kagame's former ally, Laurent Kabila.

Museveni and a few close military advisers made the decision to send the Ugandan Army into the DRC. A number of highly-placed sources indicate that the Ugandan Parliament and civilian advisers were not consulted over the matter, as was required by the 1995 Constitution. Museveni apparently persuaded an initially reluctant High Command to go along with the venture.

The Ugandan Government claimed that the military intervention intended to stop "genocide" against the Banyamulenge people in the DRC. The Ugandan Government also alleged that Laurent Kabila had failed to provide security along the border and was allowing the rebels to attack Uganda from bases in DRC. In reality, the Ugandan Army was not deployed in the border region but more than 600 miles to the west of Uganda's frontier with the DRC. The intention was to support the Mouvement de Libération du Congo (MLC) rebels seeking to overthrow Kabila.

As such, they were unable to prevent the ADF from invading the major town of Fort Portal and taking over a prison in Western Uganda. Troops from Rwanda and Uganda plundered the country's rich mineral deposits and timber.

The United States responded to the invasion by suspending all military aid to Uganda, a disappointment to the Clinton administration, which had hoped to make Uganda the centerpiece of the African Crisis Response Initiative.

In 2000, Rwandan and Ugandan troops exchanged fire on three occasions in the Congolese city of Kisangani, leading to tensions and deterioration in the relationship between Kagame and Museveni. The Ugandan government has also been criticized for aggravating the Ituri conflict, a sub-conflict of the Second Congo War.

In December 2005, the International Court of Justice ruled that Uganda must pay compensation to the Democratic Republic of the Congo for human rights violations during the Second Congo War.

In the north, Uganda had supported Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the Second Sudanese Civil War against the Government in Khartoum even before Museveni's rise. The continued support for the SPLA, led by Museveni's old acquaintance, John Garang, led Sudan to support the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and other anti-Museveni rebel groups in the mid-1990s.

The resulting insecurity and conflicts have caused widespread human displacement, death and destruction in southern Sudan and northern Uganda. Subsequent warming of relations with Sudan led to a pledge to stop supporting hostile proxy forces (from both sides) and the granting of approval to the UPDF to attack the LRA within Sudan itself.

While each of the conflicts in the East African region is influenced by history and a number of other factors, Museveni's role in them looms large. Over the past 25 years, Museveni seems to have designed the most aggressive foreign military policy for the region of any of his predecessors and any other leaders in the history of the region.¹⁸⁰ Museveni's approach discounts the use of political options of resolution of crises. An inordinate amount of emphasis has been placed on the use of force to end conflicts. This is what happened in the Ugandan interventions in Kenya, Rwanda, the DRC, as well as in Sudan.

The Relationship with the Judiciary

With reference to the legal situation in Uganda, right from the outset, there have been tensions between the judiciary and the executive. The judiciary has consistently resisted Government meddling in its affairs and attempts to limit its authority. Museveni and the NRM elite made concerted efforts to rein in the judiciary ever since the passage of the 1995 Constitution, which expanded judicial powers and protections, but also dramatically increased executive privilege.

The courts ruled against the Government in several notable cases. This led to Government threats to dismiss the judges involved. The Government accused these judges of being corrupt, sectarian, partisan and political.¹⁸¹ Ever since, the

¹⁸⁰ See Joseph Oloka-Onyango, "New-Breed Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni", *Africa Today* - Volume 50, Number 3, Spring 2004, Pp. 29-52.

¹⁸¹ See Aili Mari Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 86-89.

Government and the judiciary have locked horns on several other issues, but the judiciary has managed to maintain its independence.

Analysis: Museveni as the Change Agent

In the mid-1990s, Museveni was seen to exemplify a new breed of African leadership, the antithesis of the "big men" who had dominated politics in the Continent since independence. The international community is now not so sure about Museveni's commitment to democratic institutions and the rule of law.

The philosophy underlying Yoweri Museveni's approach to Ugandan politics and reform seems to distrust the ability of civil society to lead Uganda forward. Museveni saw that Ugandan society was still parochially divided along ethnic and religious lines. Basing his argument on the experience of politics during the first two decades of independence, it is apparent that Museveni initially considered that pluralist politics would only have the effect of reinforcing these divisions. He saw multi-party democracy moving Uganda backwards rather than forward.

Museveni's position has been that above all, the economy needs to be developed so that social and economic issues become the foundation on which future politics rest. It is clear that it is for this same reason that he embraces structural adjustment policies. Museveni was also in no hurry to bring back multi-party politics to the fore. As president, Museveni has attached more importance to the role of social structures.

The suffering in Uganda had been so widespread and deep that Museveni easily gained the support for his claim to start a new chapter in the history of Uganda's history. In the political sphere, the Movement sought to create an inclusive, national political community, in direct contrast to the elitist, partisan states under Obote and Amin. In the areas under the NRM's control, local chieftains were replaced by Resistance Councils. These Resistance Councils explicitly sought popular support and promoted the participation of previously excluded ethnic groups, women, and youth.

Museveni also called for respect for human rights and the investigation of past abuses. The establishment of a Constitutional Commission was viewed as another move that would take the country to a new level of governance, where individual freedom would be respected, and peace among Ugandans secured more firmly.

Uganda has seen over 20 years of uninterrupted economic growth, a huge achievement for a landlocked African country. The recovery owes much to the return of political stability in most of the country under the NRM Government. GDP growth has averaged over five percent a year in real terms. In terms of inclusiveness, however, the benefits of development have been skewed in favor of Museveni's traditional supporters from the South and Southwest. There are parts of the North and East that have continued to be mired in poverty.

Looking back at the past twenty-five years of Ugandan politics, it is clear that one of the ironies of the NRM victory is that it raised the level of expectations

among Ugandans so high that many people now see what has come out of the constitution-making process as a disappointment. There is no doubt that the NRM has considerably changed the quality of politics and economics in Uganda. These changes are evident in the positions taken by the opposition, which, by and large feed, on the same ethnic and religious divisions that structured Ugandan politics before 1986.

Traces of the past are also to be found in the actions of the NRM. The notion of politics as a 'zero-sum game', in which the winner takes all, is evident in the approach that the NRM has traditionally taken toward government. Patronage continues to be part of the way of governing. But Ugandan governance has been transformed in many important respects, notably in terms of popular involvement, deregulation, and decentralization.

Museveni has won praise from Western governments for his adherence to structural adjustment programs. A proponent of African self-reliance, Museveni was elected chairperson of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1991 and 1992. Within Uganda, he permitted a free atmosphere within which the news media could operate. Private FM radio stations flourished during the late 1990s.

There are other areas, however, where changes do not seem to be coming immediately and where practice actually diverges from promise. These areas include inter-group relations and civil and political liberties, both of which continue to be threatened by civil violence, involving rebels, as well as units of the National Resistance Army or the Local Defense Units.

As to whether the change brought about by the reforms process is sustainable, the full possibilities of civil society are yet to be seen, but it remains a fragile development. The political transition post-Museveni is going to be difficult, and the result of this transition will undoubtedly have an important role to play in the future reform and development of Uganda. A major concern is that the Movement System has failed to institutionalize mechanisms of governance distinct from the personality of Museveni.

The Movement System was initially seen as a temporary measure to bringing together a divided society. During its evolution as a permanent feature of Ugandan politics, the Movement has abandoned its broad-based nature and the notion of meritocracy. It has become a system that seeks to stifle any pluralist competition and oppresses civil liberties. The Movement has become whatever Museveni decides for it to be. Any opposition in the ranks is not tolerated, as the experience of Ssemogerere and Besigye indicate.

Museveni has not performed well when tested by the challenge of electoral politics. In 1996, opposition candidate Paulo Ssemogerere did not pose a serious challenge to Museveni, but the level of violence, open intimidation by the security forces, and the manipulation of the elections show the level of insecurity felt by Museveni.

In the 2001 elections, the challenge to Museveni came from a close friend and former ally, Kizza Besigye. Museveni's response to this was extremely hostile. Besigye was branded a traitor, as one who had HIV/AIDS, and many attempts were

made to block his candidacy. Over the next two elections, in 2006 and 2011, Museveni harnessed the State machinery to discredit, dissuade, threaten, torture, and intimidate the opposition. The level of violence used is reminiscent of Milton Obote and Idi Amin. Scholars have argued that Besigye's candidature touched a raw nerve because it finally demonstrated that the Movement system was an artificial edifice erected for the accommodation of Museveni's continued retention of power.¹⁸²

As a result, major doubts about sustainability remain. Uganda appears to be going down that all too familiar path of a leader reluctant to give up his power. Museveni's controversial decision to remove term-limits from the presidency has strengthened the argument that he intends to hold onto power indefinitely.

Uganda today recalls the images of the early days of African independence, when the "founding fathers," such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, and Jomo Kenyatta, enjoyed a legitimacy derived from their participation in the struggle for liberation from colonial hegemony. These leaders were unable to envision a system independent of their own participation in and domination over it. Thus came the subsequent disintegration into single-party regimes and life presidencies.

The success of the Ugandan experiment will be sealed only if it can extricate itself from reliance on a single individual and escape the travails of all systems that have disintegrated into single-person hegemony. To achieve enduring change,

¹⁸² See Joseph Oloka-Onyango, "New-Breed Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: A Sociopolitical Biography of Uganda's Yoweri Kaguta Museveni", *Africa Today* - Volume 50, Number 3, (Spring 2004), 29-52.

Uganda must reignite the spirit of “Fundamental Change,” which Museveni promised when he first took power in January 1986.

Conclusion

Museveni started out pretty well, with a focus on a broad-based coalition. During his time in power, however, Museveni favored his supporters from the South and used violent means to continue in power. To his credit, however, the National Resistance Movement brought power to the people and gave them increased control of their own economic destinies. Uganda today seems to be in relatively good economic shape, despite his less than stellar form of leadership. A lot of this can be attributed to the peace and stability that Uganda has been able to attain under the NRM Government. Sustaining this economic growth and stability in the future, however, seems questionable given Museveni’s reluctance to step down. As a result, Uganda’s durable exit from fragility is still uncertain.

Paul Kagame's Rwanda



Figure 4-11: Map of Rwanda¹⁸³

The Structural Context of Kagame's Rise

In the nineteenth century, King Rwabugiri, of the Kingdom of Rwanda, conducted a decades-long process of military conquest and administrative consolidation that resulted in the kingdom coming to control most of what is now Rwanda.

Germany, the colonial power at the time, allied with the Rwandan King and allowed him to conquer the remaining autonomous kingdoms along its borders.

¹⁸³ <http://www.nationsonline.org>

Following Germany's defeat in World War I, Belgium assumed control over the territory.

In 1926, Belgium carried out local government reforms and merged the separate land, cattle, and army chieftaincies into one post. The colonial practice of treating different ethnicities preferentially greatly increased Tutsi political control and contributed to Hutu resentment at the local level. This also led to the racialization of the system of minority Tutsi dominance created under King Rwabugiri.

A convergence of anti-colonial and anti-Tutsi sentiment resulted in Belgium granting national independence in 1961. Prior to independence and in the following years, ethnic tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis led to tens of thousands of mostly Tutsi deaths, with many more fleeing the country (see Figure 4-12 for a brief summary of the Hutu-Tutsi conflict).

The Rwanda of the 1960s and 70s had hardly any allies in the region. Rwanda had been artificially created, like most other African states, by the Germans and the Belgians. It depended heavily on the former colonial powers for sponsorship and support. As a result, there was no scope for joining in the socialist or anti-colonialist movements that were blossoming in neighboring countries like Tanzania. Burundi had turned into an apartheid state where the Tutsi minority government maintained control over the Hutu majority through the use of force. Uganda was embroiled in its own tribal and ethnic conflicts. The region was mired in conflict and transitional chaos.

Rwandans are divided over the extent to which the origins of the terms Hutu and Tutsi lie in class or ethnicity. This division has deeply influenced regional politics for the past 40 years. Colonial rule shaped the meanings of Hutu and Tutsi, partly because of the speculative and inaccurate theory of the Tutsis' supposed racial superiority.

The colonial authorities invoked physical differences to perpetuate these distinctions. As a result, the tallest and lightest-skinned persons were cast as Tutsis, while the shortest, stockiest and darkest-skinned were classified as Hutus. The changing economy, including increased coffee cultivation, further transformed Rwandan social relations. To the wage laborers working on the plantations, Tutsi came to imply boss, while owners increasingly equated Hutus with laborers. The atrocities perpetrated in Rwanda since Independence gave the terms "Hutu" and "Tutsi" new, polarized meanings.

Being a Tutsi today is to belong to a community that has survived massacres in 1959, 1973 and 1994. To be a Hutu is to belong to the ethnic group that has survived massacres in Burundi in 1972, 1988, 1990, and 1991, in northern Rwanda in 1990-94, and subsequently in eastern Zaïre and Congo. Today, the Rwandan Constitution forbids discussion of ethnicity as "divisive," and ethnic monitoring is illegal.

Figure 4-12: Understanding the Hutu-Tutsi Divide¹⁸⁴

In this context, Rwanda's first president George Kayibanda, a Hutu, took over from Belgium in 1962. He exacerbated the deep divisions in society through massacres and systematic purges of Tutsis from public office. The violence against the Tutsis led to a mass exodus to neighboring countries, including Uganda and Tanzania.

After a decade in office, Kayibanda began to lose his hold on power. In 1972-73, he attempted to shore up support by conducting another round of Tutsi persecutions. Even after eliminating the last few Tutsis who held high positions in government, Kayibanda did not succeed in winning back the support of the majority.

¹⁸⁴ The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Rwanda EIU Country Profile 2008*, (London, UK: Economist Intelligence Unit Limited, 2008).

In July 1973, the Army chief-of-staff, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, staged a successful *coup d'état*, claiming that such a course of action was necessary to restore order. When he first came to power, Habyarimana promised that the Tutsis would not be harmed and that their security would be guaranteed in the country.

For many years, this promise was upheld. The role that Tutsis played in public life, however, continued to decline. By 1980, there was only one Tutsi minister in the 34-member cabinet, and two out of eighty parliamentarians were Tutsi. There were no Tutsi prefects in local governments throughout the 1970s and 80s. Tutsis were essentially treated as second-class citizens, whose only real option for social and economic advancement was in the private sector in Rwanda or through immigration to other countries.

Suffering from similar treatment as second-class citizens in neighboring Uganda, the Tutsi exiles formed the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation (RRWF) in 1979, in order to provide help for Tutsis in Uganda and Rwanda. Initially, the RRWF was focused on humanitarian assistance, but soon it became more politically ambitious and was reborn as the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU). RANU stood for an end to the politics of division and persecution based on ethnicity in Rwanda. This philosophy remained the guiding principle for RANU and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) for the next two decades.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ See Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 10-16.

Kagame's Early Life

Paul Kagame was born in 1959 to Tutsi parents in the Gitarama Prefecture, about 40 miles west of Rwanda's capital, Kigali. When he was only three years old, his family fled across the border to Uganda to avoid sectarian persecution. His family was not alone. There were approximately 150,000 Rwandan refugees in camps in Uganda, by 1966.

Kagame attended primary school in Toro District and learned English. At the age of nine, he then moved to a Ugandan State school in Ntare. He proved to be a good student, placing among the top three performers in the school, which qualified him for a scholarship to secondary school. He was not given the scholarship, however, due to his status as a refugee in Uganda. Kagame, nonetheless, managed to secure a scholarship and completed his schooling in Uganda.

There was growing ill will and bitterness towards the Rwandan refugees from the locals due their above-average achievements. Children from the local Banyankole Ugandan group harassed the Rwandan children and often reminded them of their outsider status. For many refugees, this feeling of alienation would carry even into their adult life. The 1972 *coup d'état* in Uganda by General Idi Amin made matters worse for the refugees and further led to their isolation and challenges. Thus, Kagame grew up in a very challenging environment, with obstacles at every step of the way.

Throughout his childhood, Kagame had not been able to enter Rwanda. As he approached adulthood, the professional and social consequences of being a refugee became clear to him, and this awareness pushed him to learn more about his homeland. He spent two months in Rwanda in 1977 and then again in 1978, where he learned about life in Rwanda firsthand.

Habyarimana's regime had been primarily focused on economic development, and had not provided any space for democratic dissent or political debate. Though civilian rule, under one-party government, was introduced in 1978, and a legislature, the *Conseil National du Développement*, was established in 1981, the real power remained with President Habyarimana.

Kagame and the National Resistance Movement

By the time Kagame returned to Uganda in 1978, an armed struggle against Idi Amin had begun, and a new phase in the persecution of Rwandans in Uganda was about to start. The Government that took power under Milton Obote in 1980 (Obote II) characterized the Rwandan refugees as "foreigners" and removed any refugees from Government posts. In addition, the Government forces began systematically to harass the refugees through expulsions and theft of cattle and property.

The opposition groups rejected the 1980 Uganda elections as fraudulent, and by early 1981, Museveni went back to the Ugandan bush to fight against the second Obote regime. It was here that he launched the National Resistance Army

(NRA). Paul Kagame and Fred Rwigyema were two Rwandans who would play an important role in Museveni's efforts to oust the Obote regime.

Kagame had joined Museveni's Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) in 1978, and remained loyal to him throughout the duration of the struggle. FRONASA aimed to oust Idi Amin and fought alongside the Tanzanians during 1979. Museveni's inclusive approach appealed to Kagame. Kagame had seen his people used as political pawns by both Obote and Amin. Both these regimes had also persecuted and discriminated against the refugees. Museveni, on the other hand, sought to bring about an end to the politics of differences. In Kagame's mind, the Rwandan refugees were essentially faced with an existential choice: either fight with the NRA or flee from Uganda, as well.

Kagame spent several years as an intelligence officer in the Ugandan countryside. Museveni's guerilla army needed reliable information in order to succeed against its more powerful opponents. From being a specialist in intelligence matters for six years in the NRA, Kagame rose to become the head of military intelligence in Museveni's army, following Milton Obote's overthrow, in 1986.

During the struggle against the Obote regime, Museveni accepted assistance and training from a wide number of supporters – socialists, capitalists, Marxists, Maoists, or otherwise. He remained at the head of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), which was in a better position to influence

grassroots change and political awareness in Uganda, than most other political parties.

Museveni charted his own revolutionary path, and did not follow in the Marxist ideology that others, like Robert Mugabe, adopted during the previous decade. Museveni worked hard not to fall into the trap of becoming a proxy for either side in the Cold War. Due to the wide range of supporters that he gained, Museveni sent his lieutenants and officers for training across the world.

In an interview with Colin Waugh, Kagame recollects,

“When the war ended in Uganda, Museveni was trying to build institutions, the army, the police and other institutions and he was seeking help and he asked different countries... such as Libya and some other African countries to help to train people. So it happened that after the way in Uganda they were selecting people, they took about 70 people just out of the bush... I was picked and I went for nine months to Cuba, but there was no special connection... Some were trained by North Korea, China or other countries that offered the further training that they needed.”¹⁸⁶

Museveni believed that the overseas training of these officers would help rebuild Uganda, which had been suffering from decades of conflict and mismanagement. His template for development and armed resistance greatly inspired Paul Kagame.

Since its inception, Museveni’s National Resistance Army was a different kind of rebel army. It was comprised of different persecuted groups and exiles.

¹⁸⁶ Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 25.

Museveni sought to avoid creating an army that represented only one particular ethnic group, which would seek to take power and then become the oppressor. He wanted to break the cycle of resentment and counter-resistance.

The NRA was not a front for any colonial power. Museveni sought to heal the societal cleavages and bring development to the impoverished people of Uganda. The movement was pragmatic and was not cast in a Marxist-Leninist or anti-colonial ideology. Museveni, himself, rejected the idea of imposing a western-style democracy in Africa and insisted that Africa needed an indigenously-developed form of popular rule.¹⁸⁷

The Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front

During the first half of the 1980s, RANU evolved and matured into a broad-based organization that was focused on the common aims of all Rwandans, not as socialists, monarchists, or any particular ideological adherents. From 1983-86, RANU's leadership was primarily focused on mass mobilization and gaining representation in the NRA. When Museveni came to power in 1986, the 14,000 strong National Resistance Army included more than 4,000 Rwandan fighters.

Paul Kagame and Fred Rwigyema were part of the RANU leadership. At the 1987 RANU Congress, leadership adopted the Eight Point Plan which called for the achievement of "*national unity, democracy, the creation of a self-sustaining economy, an end to the abuse of public office, establishment of social services,*

¹⁸⁷ Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 30.

democratization of the security forces, a progressive foreign policy, and an end to the state-induced creation of refugees.”

In addition to the Plan, RANU also adopted operational guidelines that would determine the conduct of the movement’s activities, as well as a personal code of conduct for its members. These actions sought to underline RANU’s commitment to principled behavior and self-discipline among its membership. It was at this forum that RANU changed its name to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) to reflect its focus on militancy and mobilization against the oppressive Rwandan regime. Many of the RPF’s ideas were modeled on those of Museveni and the NRA.

As Museveni consolidated his hold over power, Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame became the highest-ranking Rwandans in Uganda. Kagame became acting head of the NRA’s military intelligence and Rwigyema rose to the rank of Major General in the NRA and Army Chief of Staff, and later Deputy Minister of Defense.

By 1988, however, Museveni found himself in a difficult situation: some of the best and brightest officers in his administration were Rwandans, but their continued presence in the high positions and their prominent role in the economy led to increasing tensions among the Ugandans and posed a political liability. Museveni knew that the Rwandans in his army had additional plans as well beyond the support for the NRM.

The anti-Rwandan lobby was also gaining momentum in the Ugandan parliament, and some parliamentarians sought to prevent Rwandans from buying land and also remove them from the Ugandan armed forces.

As a result of the growing internal opposition, Museveni was forced to remove General Rwigyema from his position as Army Chief of Staff in November 1989. Kagame was also relieved of his duties as head of military intelligence and sent to the USA for training at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. Both of these moves were part of Museveni's efforts to sideline his two influential Rwandan lieutenants. Museveni suspected that Rwigyema and Kagame were planning to make a move against the Rwandan Government from inside Ugandan territory.

These developments contributed to the sense of urgency that the RPF leadership already felt. The removal of prominent Rwandan leaders from the NRM Government escalated the sense of anxiety that Rwandans refugees felt and dashed any hopes of their achieving a life of normalcy in Uganda. The Rwandan refugees had to attempt to return to their homeland. The RPF's military experience would prominently figure in this effort.

President Habyarimana in Rwanda was aware of the RPF's growing strength and intentions. In 1989, he agreed to address the plight of the Tutsi refugees and participated in UNHCR-brokered talks with neighbors Zaire and Uganda to begin the process of selective repatriation of refugees.

Political and economic setbacks in Rwanda, however, reduced Habyarimana's political influence. The economy had taken a downward dip with

the collapse of coffee prices and there was the recurring threat of famine due to drought and crop failures. There was social unrest and increased infighting between political and ethnic groups.

Habyarimana's one party state was also showing signs of being under the influence of extremists. Internally, the ruling party's hardliners opposed any move towards multi-party democracy, while external donors continued calling for multi-party democracy. Habyarimana's Government denied the reports of increasing state-tolerated violence and discrimination against the Tutsi minority.

The RPF was increasingly skeptical about the Rwandan Government's promises to bring about a real change in the situation. The selective repatriation process that Habyarimana's Government proposed allowed for the return of a select number of refugees only. The plan intended for others to be "absorbed" by the host country. This was unacceptable to the RPF.

In a final effort to prevent hostilities, presidents Museveni, Habyarimana, and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire met in September 1990, in Kampala, but they failed to establish common ground for a solution. These developments emboldened the RPF to use military force.

Kagame saw these talks as irrelevant as they did not involve the refugees' representatives.

"It wasn't going to work because it wasn't involving the people who actually had the problem. I didn't see how Habyarimana and Mobutu were just going to sit down with each other and decide how to deal with it their own way...Maybe they would come out and say these ones will go and these ones will stay and be absorbed...and they can

just shut up...so I might be told to stay without my own consent...and then I would have to stay but without my full rights...then the Ugandans would just say that he is one of the ones who has been absorbed... but I would be there as a second-class citizen and a foreigner."⁸⁸

Kagame and the RPF's Armed Struggle

On October 1, 1990, Fred Rwigyema assumed command of the 4000 Rwandan soldiers in the Ugandan National Army and launched a surprise attack on Rwanda. The RPF began to make rapid progress towards the South. The RPF was initially able to take over several towns on the way, but soon found itself overstretched. The RPF was cutoff from supply lines and contact with potential reinforcements from the Ugandan side. The Rwandan Government forces were more numerous and received support from France and Belgium.

In a major setback to the RPF, General Rwigyema was killed on the second day of the military campaign by his senior officers. Mutual disagreement on the invasion strategy was the cause of his death. After Rwigyema's death, the RPF's luck began to run out and it soon found itself besieged on all sides by Government forces. It was clear that Kagame had to return to Rwanda from the United States, where he had been for over three months at the time of the attack.

Though Kagame did not directly participate in the preparations for the attack, he had been in regular touch with General Rwigyema. Upon Rwigyema's death, Kagame returned to Kampala by late October and was taken straight to the

⁸⁸ See Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 44.

border by RPF officers still operating inside Uganda. There was no effort on the part of the Ugandan Government to prevent the defection of one of their elite officers to the front in the region's latest civil war.

The RPF military offensive was in total disarray at the time of Kagame's return from the United States. The military offensive had made the situation worse for Tutsis in Rwanda. President Habyarimana called for rounding them up to prevent more conflict, and used the opportunity to perpetrate more violence on them.

Habyarimana was a close personal friend of French President Francois Mitterrand. He had ensured that the French Government would support him in this struggle.¹⁸⁹ In addition, Zairian president Mobutu also provided military support for the Habyarimana regime. The end of the Cold War had made Mobutu's Zaire strategically redundant in the eyes of the West. The Zairean dictator was looking for a role to make his strategic importance felt. However, the 1,000 so-called 'elite' soldiers from the Zairian Presidential Guard turned out to be ill disciplined in their conduct and terrorized the local population. They quickly became an embarrassment to the Habyarimana regime. Both Hutus and Tutsis suffered the brunt of this violence.

¹⁸⁹ See Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004). France's obsession with Rwanda stemmed from a need to maintain the self-image of a neo-colonial France, which was still in a position to influence developments in Francophone Africa. Official French military support for the Habyarimana regime reached \$8 million per annum, in addition to the weaponry and funds already being provided from 1990 to 93.

After the defeat of the RPF in 1990, Kagame (by now a Major-General in the RPF) set about the process of reorganizing, retraining, and reinforcing the army. Kagame relied on his extensive personal contacts across North America, Europe, and Africa to re-engineer the army and raise funds for the cause. From 1990 to 1994, the RPF's political arm also evolved. Paul Kagame became the figurehead of the RPF – both politically and militarily. Under his leadership, the army grew significantly under his leadership from its initial size of 4,000 men, into a 20,000 strong fighting force.

The RPF received support in the form of military supplies from neighboring Uganda, and as well as the states of the former Soviet Union. These newly formed states were cash-strapped, and often resorted to raising money by selling the Soviet-era arsenals to buyers in Africa and elsewhere.

The RPF's actions had led to increased harassment of Tutsis in Rwanda as well as reprisals and massacres of Tutsi communities by the government forces. In 1991, the RPF's advance on the capital, Kigali, was blocked by French armed forces. Donor pressure and the growing threat posed by the RPF finally led Habyarimana to sanction multiparty politics. He called for a truce to begin negotiations with the RPF.

The negotiations between the new Government and the RPF in Arusha, Tanzania, resulted in a settlement called the Arusha Accord in August 1993. The Accord stipulated that the RPF would join the Government. However, the Accord was unacceptable to members of the ruling elite, some of whom covertly

formed the Hutu supremacist *Coalition pour la Défense de la République* (CDR) to resist it. The CDR, senior army officers and others opposed to the Arusha Accord then began to arm and train radical Hutu militias. In 1993-94, Habyarimana also tried to orchestrate splits in the opposition, thus delaying the implementation of the Arusha Accords.

The Rwandan Genocide

On April 6, 1994 unknown assassins shot down Habyarimana's plane over Kigali.¹⁹⁰ Following Habyarimana's death, an elite faction of his administration installed a new Government and started eliminating its political opponents, including moderate Hutus, and all Tutsis. The main perpetrators of this genocide were the youth militias known as the *Interahamwe*, with the army also heavily involved. In addition, hundreds of thousands of civilians took part voluntarily or through coercion by the government.

The United Nations Security Council had been told months earlier about plans to implement the genocide against the Tutsis. When the killings began, the Security Council members misread this information as continuing instances of tribal warfare. The killing of Belgian soldiers by the *Interahamwe* led to the prompt withdrawal by the United Nations of all but 270 of its troops. The genocide intensified after the departure of the United Nations troops, and an estimated 800,000 – one million people were killed over a period of 100 days.

¹⁹⁰ Debate continues to this day over whether the RPF or Habyarimana's own supporters fired the missile and this remains a significant dispute between the current Rwandan government and France.

The reasons for the outburst of violence were easy to see. The high youth unemployment factor, coupled with historic enmity between the Hutus and Tutsis provided for an explosive situation. The economics of discrimination was very much at the heart of what was otherwise a caste-based conflict. The role that Belgium played as a colonial power in its ethnically based patronage and deliberate polarization of Rwandan society cannot be overemphasized. Scholars have also argued that another factor contributing to the genocide in Rwanda was the totalitarian nature of the state, which was able to direct its subjects (specifically the Hutus) to obey its orders, even if it meant killing people.¹⁹¹

The RPF renewed its offensive when the killing started and was able to capture Kigali on July 19, 1994. The RPF's victory ended the genocide but it triggered a mass Hutu exodus of nearly two million people to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Tanzania, and Burundi. The Hutu refugees gathered in huge camps in these countries. Hutu militias later used these camps as bases to launch raids into Rwanda well after the genocide had been stopped.

The Approach to Political Participation and Inclusion

The victorious RPF sought to try and heal the decades of ethnic rivalry by announcing a national unity Government in which Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, would be president. Paul Kagame, the leader of the RPF, was made vice-president and Defense Minister.

¹⁹¹ See Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*, (London, UK: Hurst Publishers, 1997).

Though Kagame was the real power behind the presidency, the RPF leadership sought to send the message to the majority Hutu community that they would be strongly represented in the national government. Hutu community leaders were drawn into local government structures to promote reconciliation efforts. This strategic move by Kagame and the RPF leadership helped to ensure the neutrality, if not loyalty, of the Hutu militias.

Following the Rwandan Genocide, the new Rwandan Government felt threatened by the presence of former Rwandan soldiers and members of the previous regime across the Congo River in the DRC. These Hutu militias were being supported by the DRC's President, Mobutu Sese Seko, and often engaged in sporadic attacks against Rwanda. The provocation by these Hutu militias caused Kagame and Museveni to join forces with Laurent Kabila's rebels in 1996 to overthrow Mobutu. Even though Laurent Kabila took power in the Congo, he was ineffective in being able to stop the cross-border attacks against Rwandans.

In August 1998, Rwanda and Uganda undertook to invade Congo again, this time to overthrow Museveni and Kagame's former ally, Laurent Kabila. Both Rwandan and Ugandan troops were accused to widespread looting and plunder of the DRC's rich natural resources, and the campaign met with international condemnation.

By 1999, however, the security situation had significantly improved inside Rwanda, and the RPF had been able to defeat the majority of the *Interahamwe* youth militias and the former Government forces who had fled into Zaire. Sporadic

cross border raids from the DRC continued, but were no longer considered to be a serious threat to the government.

Even though Bizimungu was the President, many believed that Kagame had true control of the government. Bizimungu eventually came into conflict with Kagame, amid growing differences over Government policies and what he saw as an unwarranted crackdown on dissent.

Between October 1999 and March 2000, political scandals and allegations of corruption led to an extensive Government shake-up. Hardline Tutsi leaders in the RPF did not agree with Kagame's approach of reconciliation and incorporation of Hutus in the Government structure. Many Tutsi political groups abroad felt that they had been passed over in terms of the reconstruction efforts. Many of the dissenters even supported the re-establishment of the Monarchy, which had ruled Rwanda into the late 1950s.

The RPF, which had been a non-ethnically based movement, began to show cracks. The 1993 Arusha Accords from which a majority of Rwanda's Constitution was derived, provided for the establishment of a multi-party democracy, with a cabinet composed of a balanced membership from all the major parties.

Initially, the transitional administration had adhered to this and allocated a number of posts to Hutu members of parliament. But the façade of multi-ethnicity faded very quickly, and Kagame found himself in a position he wanted to avoid: that of a military leader who maintained power by force, and represented the interests of an elite few. There were also growing instances of atrocities being

committed by the armed forces against civilians and the illegal exploitation of minerals in the DRC. Kagame initially denied all these allegations.

The president, Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, resigned in March 2000 citing the increasing intolerance and attacks against Hutu parliamentarians by members of his own party – the RPF. One could say that the multi-ethnic façade of the Government came to an end. Kagame succeeded Bizimungu as the President of Rwanda.

Strengthening State Institutions

In post-genocide Rwanda, there was significant opposition to the RPF-dominated Government. The constituencies opposed to Kagame became broader and more organized as Rwanda's political transition proceeded. Kagame's approach was similar to Museveni's approach to political participation. Following in Museveni's footsteps, Kagame avoided any early attempts to hold multiparty democratic elections and chose to strengthen the state and its institutions. Like Museveni, Kagame also chose to focus on economic development, with a strategy of pro-western market economics and privatization.

Given Rwanda's divided society and the recent experience with Habyarimana's regime, the country was not in a position to return to multi-party politics right away. Kagame and the RPF emphasized the need for consensus-based Government as enshrined in the Arusha Accords. However, the focus was on political education and creating awareness among the general population as a precursor to developing a new Constitution. Given the large percentage of illiterate

people in Rwanda, Kagame and the RPF elite saw this as a logical first step towards participatory democracy. It would also help heal the divisions that had been created due to propaganda and colonial motivations.

Kagame contended that the country was not yet ready for all the rights and freedoms associated with western liberal democracies. The experiment with multi-party democracy under Habyarimana between 1990-94 had failed. In an interview with Colin Waugh in 2003, Kagame said,

“...If you try to organize elections, to authorize parties to grow like mushrooms and allow competition, you create an even bigger problem for yourself than you already have: dividing people who are already divided.

What does the multi-party system mean in our African societies? That I will use every tactic to distinguish myself from my neighbor with the aim of winning more votes than he wins... We will never have democracy: people will prey on each other. One party would emerge to defend the perpetrators of genocide, while another would emerge to say that the perpetrators should be tried. We would end up with a great war...”¹⁹²

In this way, Kagame warned of the potential dangers and summarized the RPF’s philosophy that would guide the political, social, and economic reconstruction of Rwanda emerging from the genocide. During the process of launching the new Constitutional Commission in 2000, Kagame stressed cohesion, political education and accountability as prerequisites for the restoration of political rights. The crucial emphasis at the center of this process was the

¹⁹² See Colin Waugh, *Paul Kagame and Rwanda: Power, Genocide, and the Rwandan Patriotic Front*, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2004), 160-163.

prioritization of economic and social rights, over some civil rights. The process culminated in a popular vote to approve the new Constitution in 2003.

Kagame made a major concession to his political opponents by confirming that the forthcoming presidential and legislative elections would be conducted by universal suffrage against the advice of some of his closest advisors, particularly in the military. This was a gamble for Kagame, who would need to win a substantial percentage of Hutu votes to remain in power.

Kagame contested the presidential elections in 2003, and ran against two other candidates from the majority Hutu community. The RPF's incumbency in power, and the policy and strategy to denounce "divisionism" became a valuable and frequently used pretext of removing opposition candidates from the election arena. Kagame was, however, accused of strong-arming and using scare-tactics to eliminate and expel any challengers.

In the elections that followed in August, Kagame won the elections with 95.1 percent of the vote (see Table 4-11). The results were largely seen as "free and fair." Observers deemed that the elections were conducted in an atmosphere of calm and without violent incident. Some observers, however, reported instances of ballot stuffing, irregular handling of ballot boxes, misuse of Government vehicles and buildings by the RPF, a lack of transparency, and even buying votes with gifts.

Table 4-11: 2003 Rwanda Presidential Election Results¹⁹³

Candidates - Parties	Votes	%
Paul Kagame	3,544,777	95.1
Faustin Twagiramungu	134,865	3.6
Jean-Népomuscène Nayinzira	49,634	1.3
Total valid votes	3,729,276	100.0
Total votes (turnout 96.6%)	3,812,567	
Registered voters	3,948,749	

The 2010 Rwandan presidential election campaign began publicly in January 2010, when Victoire Ingabire, a Hutu who had been living abroad for some years, returned to Rwanda and announced her candidacy for the presidency. Ingabire caused controversy in Rwanda following her arrival, with comments relating to the genocide, which were construed as minimizing or denying that the horrific event ever happened. The Government accused her of breaking the country's strict laws regarding Genocide denial, and she was arrested in April 2010. She was released on bail, but was prohibited from running in the election.

In May 2010, President Kagame was officially endorsed as the RPF's candidate for the election, at the party's national congress. He ran against three other presidential candidates, who had previously supported him in the 2003 election. The opposition described Kagame's challengers as the RPF's "political satellites," a token opposition used to maintain the façade of pluralism.

¹⁹³ National Electoral Commission of Rwanda, <http://comelena.gov.rw/>

Intimidating the Opposition

The run-up to the election was plagued with the killings of several opposition leaders, including the unsolved murder of the vice-president of the Democratic Green Party, André Kagwa Rwisereka. The murder of journalist Jean-Léonard Rugambage, sparked concern, and prompted the United Nations to demand an investigation. The BBC described the electoral campaign as “marred by violence and intimidation against opposition politicians.”¹⁹⁴

Amnesty International also condemned the attacks and called on the government to ensure an atmosphere for Rwandans to “freely express their views.”

*“In recent months, killings, arrests and the closure of newspapers and broadcasters have reinforced a climate of fear. The Rwandan Government must ensure that investigations into the killings are thorough and reinstate closed media outlets.”*¹⁹⁵

South Africa also recalled its ambassador to Rwanda to discuss the situation in the country the week before the elections. This came about two months after a dissident Rwandan general survived an assassination attempt in Johannesburg. General Faustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, a critic of Kagame, alleged that it was an assassination attempt by Rwandan intelligence, a charge the Rwandan government denied. Days later, a journalist who claimed to have uncovered the regime's responsibility in the attempted murder was shot dead.

¹⁹⁴ See Paul Kagame: Rwandans “free to decide” at election <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-10694722>

¹⁹⁵ See Amnesty International Condemns Rwanda pre-election Attacks:
<http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/466/50840.html>

Opposition parties said more than 30 newspapers had been banned. Amnesty International declared that opposition party figures had been intimidated, journalists had been targeted and killed, and several senior officers critical of the ruling party attacked and arrested. The head of the African Union election monitoring delegation supported the Government by saying that they had not received any evidence of intimidation. Kagame also refuted opposition claims and said the vote was *“very democratic. The people of Rwanda were free to stand for election, those who wanted to, and to qualify, so I see no problem. Some sections of the media seem to be reading from a different page.”*¹⁹⁶

Table 4-12: 2010 Rwanda Presidential Election Results¹⁹⁷

Candidates – Parties	Votes	%
Paul Kagame – Rwandan Patriotic Front	4,638,560	93.08
Jean Damascene Ntawukuriryayo – Social Democratic Party	256,488	5.15
Prosper Higiho – Liberal Party	68,235	1.37
Alvera Mukabaramba – Party for Progress and Concord	20,107	0.40
Total valid votes	4,983,390	100.0
Registered voters	5,178,492	

Kagame was declared the winner of the election, according to results released by the National Electoral Commission on August 11, 2010 (See Table 4-12). Opposition and human rights groups said the election was tainted by repression, murder and lack of credible competition. Kagame responded saying, *“I see no problems, but there are some people who choose to see problems where there are*

¹⁹⁶ See Voting Ends in Rwandas Election: <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/africa/2010/08/20108943239684905.html>

¹⁹⁷ National Electoral Commission of Rwanda, <http://comelena.gov.rw/>

*none.*¹⁹⁸ International observers also criticized the election because the campaign was devoid of truly critical opposition voices as the three other presidential challengers were linked to Kagame's party.

The Approach to Economic Growth and Inclusion

In the 1960s and 1970s, Rwanda's prudent financial policies, coupled with generous external aid and relatively favorable terms of trade, resulted in sustained growth in per capita income and low inflation rates. However, when world coffee prices fell sharply in the 1980s, growth became erratic. Compared to an annual GDP growth rate of 6.5 percent from 1973 to 1980, growth slowed to an average of 2.9 percent a year from 1980 through 1985 and was stagnant from 1986 to 1990.

The crisis peaked in 1990 when the first measures of an IMF structural adjustment program were carried out. While the program was not fully implemented before the war broke out, key measures such as two large devaluations of the currency and the removal of official prices were enacted. The consequences on salaries and purchasing power of citizens were rapid and dramatic. This crisis particularly affected the educated elite, most of whom were employed in the civil service or in state-owned enterprises.

During the five years of civil war that culminated in the 1994 genocide, the GDP shrank in three out of five years, posting a dramatic decline at more than 40 percent in 1994, the year of the genocide. Rwanda was indeed in dire straits.

The post-conflict Government inherited two sets of problems: the

¹⁹⁸ See Rwanda's Kagame Set for Big Win: <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/africa/2010/08/201081055824857943.html>

consequences of the 1994 genocide and the structural problems of Rwanda's economy. As a consequence of the genocide, the country lost not only one million people, including highly skilled professionals and workers, but most of the economic infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, warehouses, airports and train stations had been destroyed.

The genocide also had strong social repercussions, including losses at different levels of society and increased poverty, leading to higher Government expenditures in the form of social security payments. The Government sought to address these problems through the introduction of macroeconomic and structural reforms. Among others, the Government embarked on reforms in the following areas: the central bank was made independent in an effort to control inflation and achieve macroeconomic stabilization.¹⁹⁹

The Government also embarked on tax system reforms and created an independent tax collection agency, the Rwanda Revenue Authority and introduced the value-added tax (VAT). The RWANDA Revenue Authority was able to efficiently allocate Government revenues to finance public investment budgets. In addition, state enterprises were privatized; the tariff structure and labor market laws were reformed. Trade was liberalized through the removal of price controls.

Other specialized programs and socioeconomic initiatives to support youth and women were put in place to ensure inclusion of traditionally weaker sections of society. Kagame's Government also established institutions to deal with

¹⁹⁹ See National Bank of Rwanda, Annual Reports 2002-05

corruption in Rwanda. The Ombudsman's office was established to deal with the National leader's property (personal wealth); the General Auditor's Office to check the management of public institutions; and, the National Tender Board to manage public procurement.

President Kagame's approach to economic development is one of optimism, hard work, inclusion and community empowerment. The core of this approach is summarized in the Eight Point plan, one of which is strong social and economic development.²⁰⁰ It states that the key to the country's development is "within the Rwandans' hands," and nowhere else. This has helped build national self-confidence and a sense of ownership for Rwandan citizens about the possibilities for the future. In effect, the process of policy making in Rwanda is a dynamic and interactive game that involves multiple stakeholders. It does not seem to singularly hinge on President Kagame.

The Government of Rwanda also adopted a national decentralization policy in May 2000 to achieve three main goals: good governance, pro-poor service delivery, and sustainable socioeconomic development. This policy was developed through a nationwide consultative process aimed at determining the causes of genocide and outlining lasting solutions. In this context, decentralization is seen as an instrument for political empowerment, reconciliation, and social integration.

²⁰⁰ See Eight point political program of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) (1997 rev. 2003), <http://www.rpfinkotanyi.org/en/index.php/about-us/political-program?lang=en> (Accessed January 3, 2012)

The *ubudehe* process was established to reinforce decentralization and local development efforts. The *ubudehe* process is a unique policy of promoting citizens' collective action in partnership with a government committed to decentralization. The policy was designed to aid an improvement in the level of institutional problem-solving capacity at the local level by citizens and local governments.

The *ubudehe* process has been able to increase citizens' participation through local collective action. Kagame's government has sought to increase accountability and make the decentralization policy more effective by signing performance contracts with local governments. These contracts include details on the programs that are achievable within one year. Evaluations are performed every three months, which allows local institutions to plan their activities and establish quantifiable indicators for evaluation.

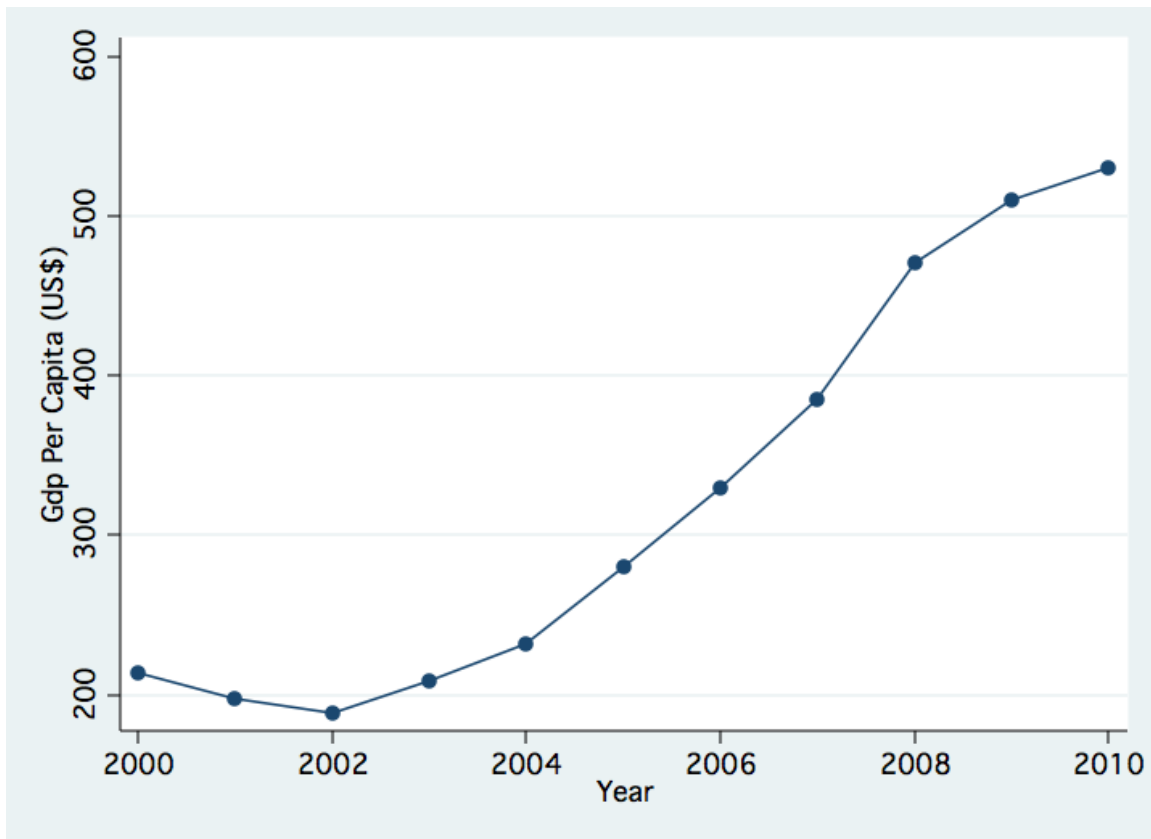


Figure 4-13: Economic Performance Under Kagame²⁰¹

Figure 4-13 illustrates the year on year increase in GDP per Capita under Kagame’s leadership. Over the years, Rwanda attained a reasonable level of macroeconomic stability and fiscal discipline. This was achieved in spite of the ongoing heavy reliance on foreign savings to compensate for insufficient domestic savings.

In 2005, Rwanda’s economic reforms were advanced enough to qualify for the highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) debt cancellation. Under the enhanced HIPC, Rwanda gained an estimated \$1.4 billion out of \$1.5 billion as a result of the adoption of strict measures in public debt management. These reforms and

²⁰¹ See World Development Indicators available at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

different economic policies explain important economic achievements in Rwanda during the last five years. From 2004 to 2008, the economic growth in Rwanda was around 8 percent on average against -1.8 percent from 1990 to 1993. The real GDP per capita, which grew on average 0.1 percent from 1980 to 1989, rose by 5 percent per year from 1995 to 2003, and by 14.9 percent per year on average from 2003 to 2007.²⁰²

The Approach to Security and Justice

Since 1994, President Kagame and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) leaders have worked to reestablish social harmony and promote sustainable economic development. The results include the reestablishment of security, economic and social revival, and promotion of the private sector and civil society.

One of Kagame's key security decisions was to follow the Hutu militias into the DRC to bring the perpetrators of the genocide to justice. Kagame was able to obtain Museveni's assistance. They jointly carried out a military campaign to oust President Mobutu of the DRC, and helped install Laurent Kabila as president. The RPF and its allies forcibly broke up the Hutu camps in Zaire and more than a million Hutu refugees returned to Rwanda between November 1996 and January 1997.

Through this approach, Kagame has been able to eliminate most armed militias based out of the DRC. His regime is much less prone to removal through violence as a result. The society and economy have been able to reap the dividends

²⁰² See *National Statistics Report*, (Kigali: National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, 2007).

of peace.

Involving citizens in governance and making them responsible for their own destiny are essential elements of legitimacy and consensus. Led by Kagame and the RPF, Rwanda embarked on a program of decentralization of public administration to improve the delivery of services and empower people to participate in their own development programs. Important efforts were made to build peace, security, and reconciliation.

President Kagame seems to have realized that a post-conflict country such as Rwanda could not experience meaningful economic growth separately from conflict resolution and building peace and security. Peace is a precondition for security, stability, and development. Like Museveni, Kagame's government understands that it needs political stability to attract domestic and foreign investors, and it needs peace to implement development plans and growth.

However, in contrast to Museveni's approach, President Kagame's office took the initiative to organize consultative discussions about the future of Rwanda in 1997-98. The discussions led to development of the Vision 2020 project as a high-level vision for the Rwanda's future. One of the key ingredients of this vision was building peace and security to facilitate productive initiatives. This would then help realize the main goal of the vision: to transform Rwanda into a modern, strong, and united nation, proud of its fundamental values, politically stable, and without discrimination among its citizens.

In most post-conflict situations, disarmament and demobilization programs have often left a power vacuum. There is a tendency to reduce the numbers of the police and the military without paying much attention to the challenges that lie ahead for the already weakened institutions to maintain order and security.

Many of these newly unemployed security personnel often tend to coalesce together into rebel movements, or become nuisances in the maintenance of law and order. With this in mind, Kagame and the RPF elite established the National Commission for Demobilization has developed a program for reintegration of former soldiers and police into civil life. The Commission does this by providing training and financial support in the implementation of small projects that generate income for demobilized soldiers.

In the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, Rwandans have been able to share the vision of peace and to work together without fear of civil crises. The environment of peace has promoted the involvement of Rwandans in productive activities such as agriculture and entrepreneurship. This involvement in productive sectors is an important factor of growth. After the genocide, national reconciliation has been and continues to be promoted as an official policy, understood as a prerequisite to economic development.

Rwanda's Government has been able to maintain law and order. There has been an emphasis on mutual support and complementarity among different institutions as essential preconditions for the attainment of stability and security in the country. The Government has invested in good governance efforts and

undertaken administrative reforms based on decentralization. Presently, administrative services are decentralized to the low levels of sectors, so-called *umurenge*. This has greatly facilitated easy and quick access to public services for all Rwandans, especially those living in rural areas. Easy availability of public services has been shown to be less costly in terms of money and time.

Numerous institutions have been established to contribute to the process of national reconciliation and socioeconomic growth. The National Commission for Reconciliation trains Rwandans to participate in personal exchanges, business transactions, and other socioeconomic activity without discrimination.

Analysis: Kagame as Change Agent

The decision to prioritize security, social cohesion and political awareness over free expression and broad civil rights has a number of parallels in other societies that have been thought of as successful models. Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea, and Uganda are some examples. This decision brought considerable criticism to Kagame – both within Rwanda and abroad. Over time, Kagame’s government muzzled both political opponents and media, or expelled them from the political scene.

It appears that it was clear to Kagame that political opponents from the Hutu majority would always clamor for more democracy, not only because of the support they would receive from the West, but also because it would make the possibility of majority rule more likely – much like the regimes that ruled Rwanda from 1960 onwards.

In addition to addressing the economic and security challenges, Kagame's efforts from 2003-2009, were towards reconciliation in the deeply divided society. The Government had to work on resettling and reconciling the Hutus and Tutsis in a challenging environment, which included a devastated economy and threats of violence from across the border.

In the aftermath of the genocide and the mass exodus of Hutus across the border to the DRC, Kagame declared that the Government would make efforts to repatriate the refugees and that justice would have to be done. The perpetrators of the genocide would have to be disarmed either inside or outside Rwanda's borders and brought to justice. The RPF proceeded on these lines and arrested 100,000 citizens and sent them to prison for crimes committed during the genocide. Kagame's stance also meant that he had to invade the DRC to find those who perpetrated the genocide and were trying to hide from justice.

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsis devastated both the Rwandan economy as well as its societal fabric. The gross domestic product (GDP) was halved in a single year, 80 percent of the population plunged into poverty, and vast tracts of farmland were destroyed. The genocide exacerbated societal divides and other constraints on development that existed well before 1994. The basic infrastructure of the state was completely destroyed; this included institutions as well as physical infrastructure like buildings and roads.

Since 2000, Rwanda has envisaged a set of policies with the goal of transforming the agrarian subsistence economy into a sophisticated knowledge-

based society. The policies envisioned by President Kagame and his team became the Vision 2020 framework. The main socioeconomic objectives of Vision 2020 include transforming Rwanda into a middle-income country by 2020.²⁰³

Since 1994 Rwanda has attained impressive achievements following the turbulent war and genocide and since that time has been on a path of economic development and poverty reduction of its citizens. Recently attained economic performance and social and political achievements are strongly linked to Kagame's leadership that invests in the inclusive development of all Rwandans.

The violent stifling of opposition and the recent killings of dissidents are worrisome developments. Kagame should realize that he is well positioned to direct a calibrated opening-up of the political system. He continues to dominate the political scene, and still has absolute control over the military. Even though he seems to believe that true multi-party politics could drive Rwanda back towards conflict, Kagame should make efforts to democratize the RPF and broaden the base of his government. Otherwise, at some point there will be conflict; it will most likely be violent and radical. And, it is not clear that Kagame will emerge as the victor.

One of Kagame's favorite themes is the development of strong institutions in Rwanda. When such institutions emerge, they will challenge his absolute hold on power. Though the institutions in Rwanda are getting stronger, they still have a way to go before they are capable of challenging Kagame's hold. Government

²⁰³ See Rwanda Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Rwanda Vision 2020*, (Kigali, 2000).

officials at all levels continue to tremble at the prospect of Kagame's wrath – this is perhaps because of the nature of Rwandan society which is very structured and discipline oriented, and also because of Kagame's demanding personality.²⁰⁴

Rwandan leaders have sought to develop a system that meets their country's unique needs and address the danger of conflagration between the different ethnicities. Under Kagame's leadership, the Government stabilized Rwandan society and set it on the path towards modernization. Though he has many critics, Kagame has been able to accomplish remarkable things in the time since the genocide.

Conclusion

Kagame's initial approach seemed more democratic and he sought to public reconciliation between the Tutsis and the Hutus. His government has done much to bring the perpetrators of crime to justice and has tried to heal the deep-seated divisions in society. Kagame's administration has focused on economic development in Rwanda and has been able to nearly triple the GDP per capita from around \$200 when he became president in 2000 to \$530 in 2011.²⁰⁵ Kagame's stellar record, however, has been tarnished by his suppression of political opponents and the use of violence to stay in power.

Rwanda today is in a much better place than anyone could have hoped for it to be. But the country faces two important challenges. It still faces threats from

²⁰⁴ See Stephen Kinzer, *A Thousand Hills: Rwanda's Rebirth and the Man Who Dreamed It*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 332-338.

²⁰⁵ See World Development Indicators available at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

across the border in the DRC, by the remnants of the Hutu militias and the *Interahamwe*, who would seek to unleash another round of ethnicity-based violence in Rwanda.

In such a situation, Kagame and other RPF leaders argue that opening up the political space to multi-party democracy would lead to another genocide. But how long this special situation of limited political freedoms will last, no one can tell. The other problem is that of human nature, and has to do with Kagame himself. Under his leadership, Rwanda has been called Africa's "biggest success story."²⁰⁶ Kagame has become a public advocate of new models for foreign aid designed to help recipients become self-reliant. Will Rwanda be Africa's Singapore? Only time will tell.

²⁰⁶ See Fareed Zakaria in CNN, "Rwanda: Africa's Biggest Success Story," (July 17, 2009).
<http://edition.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/africa/07/17/zakaria.rwanda/>

Nelson Mandela's South Africa



Figure 4-14: Map of South Africa²⁰⁷

The Structural Context for Mandela's Rise

Though South Africa was not a fragile state in the truest sense of the term, the Apartheid regime had brought the nation to its knees. The racially segregationist approach of the National Party regime deeply divided South African society by race and ethnicity. South Africa in the 1970s and 80s was becoming increasingly 'fragile' with violence regularly spilling onto the streets and paralyzing normal life.

²⁰⁷ <http://www.nationsonline.org>

In this context, Nelson Mandela played a crucial role in South Africa's peaceful transition to democracy. His efforts brought about a sense of reconciliation between the different ethnic factions and helped transform South Africa into a truly democratic country.

Mandela's Early Life

Nelson Mandela, the eldest son of a Xhosa chief,²⁰⁸ was born in 1918. He was born into the family of the Thembu chieftaincy as a member of the 'left-hand house'²⁰⁹ of King Ngubencuka, who presided over a united Thembu community in the 1830s. Mandela today prefers to be called "Madiba," as his father belonged to the Madiba clan, named after an eighteenth-century Thembu chief.

The Thembu were one of twelve isiXhosa-speaking chieftaincies that inhabited the Transkei, the largest of South Africa's African peasant reserves located on the eastern seaboard.²¹⁰ The Thembu left-hand house descendants served as advisers to the royal household. Tom Lodge in *Mandela: A Critical Life* notes that Mandela's genealogy has served as an important source of charismatic power for him throughout his life. Accounts of Mandela's birth and young age, prepared by the African National Congress (ANC) in the early 1960s, emphasize his social status and royal connections.

At the age of nine, Mandela's father died, and Jongintaba, the Regent of the Transkei became his caretaker. As a boy, Mandela learned about the tradition of

²⁰⁸ The Xhosas are the second biggest tribe in South Africa after the Zulus.

²⁰⁹ Children born to the third wife of the King were referred to as children of the left-hand house.

²¹⁰ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1.

African people and of their conflicts with colonial powers. This knowledge reinforced his awareness of African proto-nationalism.

Standard British textbooks also played an important role in shaping Mandela's thinking. He was disappointed with the manner in which the textbooks and teachers recognized White leaders, while Black leaders were described as savages and thieves. Mandela's formal education, through primary school at Clarkebury and high school at Healdtown, left a deep impression upon his thinking, as well as his values and etiquette.

With the intention of earning qualifications to become a court interpreter that would enable him to pursue a career in rural civil service, Mandela took his high school exams a year early and went to Fort Hare University in 1939. He understood that court interpreters were indispensable in the South African legal system, as most Africans would have been unable to follow the court proceedings in English or Afrikaans.

While at Fort Hare, Mandela formed a close friendship with Kaiser Matanzima, his kinsman (Jongintaba's son), who would later become the ruler of the Transkei and, as a Bantustan leader, a fierce opponent of the ANC. Mandela also became friends with Oliver Tambo, who would be his predecessor as president of the ANC.

Although Mandela supported student-led demonstrations against British rule, during his time at Fort Hare he was not wholly committed to African nationalistic politics. Lodge notes that Mandela's participation in a student protest

that led to his expulsion from Fort Hare is often wrongly perceived as the reason for his progress towards political militancy.

Lodge argues that other accounts conflate or confuse two separate events. One event was the boycott of the Student Representative Council (SRC) elections in 1940 due to complaints about the quality of food served in the dining hall, and the second more serious event was the protest against the SRC in 1941 when students went on strike after a White teacher slapped a Black canteen worker. Lodge notes that Mandela became involved in the SRC electoral boycott because he had been nominated before the elections and was in fact elected by a small minority who chose to vote. Mandela felt a sense of obligation to the students, however, and refused to take up his position in the SRC. This was despite a warning from the Principal, Alexander Kerr, to do so or face expulsion. Oliver Tambo contends that Mandela's sense of dignity and sensitivity against insult or patronage also might have contributed to his decision.²¹¹

After the expulsion from Fort Hare, Jongintaba announced that he had arranged marriages for Matanzima and Mandela. Displeased with this development, the young men moved to Johannesburg and found jobs at the gold mines. Mandela worked as a guard, but his employment was terminated when the employer discovered that he was the Regent's runaway ward.

At this point, Mandela went to stay with his cousin, Garlick Mbekeni in George Goch Township. Upon learning of Mandela's interest in the legal

²¹¹ See Mary Benson, *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement*, (New York, NY: WW Norton & Co, 1986), 20.

profession, Mbekeni introduced him to his friend Walter Sisulu who was well connected in Johannesburg.

As Mandela's friend and mentor, realtor Walter Sisulu helped him secure a job as a law clerk at Johannesburg law firm Witkin, Sidelsky and Edelman. While working for the law firm, Mandela completed his B.A. degree at the University of South Africa via correspondence. He then began law studies at the University of Witwatersrand where he befriended fellow students and future anti-apartheid political activists Joe Slovo, Harry Schwarz and Ruth First.²¹² During this time, Mandela lived in Alexandra Township, North of Johannesburg.

Mandela moved from Alexandra in 1942, after accepting a clansman's offer to move into the headman's quarters in Witwatersrand Native Labor Compound. In late 1943, he met Sisulu's first cousin, Evelyn Mase, whom he soon married and in 1946, they moved into their own home in Orlando Township in Soweto, a lower-class populated urban area of the city of Johannesburg.

Mandela's Involvement in Political Activism

During the 1940s, Mandela began attending gatherings of the Youth League of the ANC, a forum for young intellectuals. The Forum was led by Dr. Alfred Xuma, the president of the ANC. Other prominent Youth Leaguers included Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo. The young men discussed the growing

²¹² Slovo would eventually become Mandela's Minister of Housing, while Schwarz would become his Ambassador to Washington.

oppression of Black and Colored people in South Africa, and possible ways of remedying the situation.

Since its formation in 1912 and until the early 1940s, the ANC had been a symbolic body, meeting in conference every year, but otherwise undertaking little activity. Xuma's ascension to the presidency of the ANC changed all this, and he instituted a branch of the ANC to work with the Communist Party of South Africa to establish a following among the rapidly growing urban workforce. Mandela was persuaded by his ANC colleagues to participate in the Alexandra bus boycott in 1943. Mandela recollects finding this experience exhilarating and impressive.²¹³

Over the course of the next few years, Mandela came in contact with many Communist intellectuals who sought to establish more rights for Blacks, Colored people and Indians in South Africa.

Mandela's growing involvement in politics ran parallel with the rise of Afrikaner²¹⁴ nationalism in South Africa in the form of the National Party. The Afrikaner ideology of apartheid (apartness) and a more rigid and codified racial segregation developed in response to the acceleration of African urbanization that accompanied industrialization and the government's slight loosening of racial restrictions during World War II. The rise of the National Party was seen as a threat by Black and Indian intellectuals.

²¹³ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 30-32.

²¹⁴ Afrikaner nationalism is a political ideology that was born in the late 19th century around the idea that Afrikaners in South Africa were a "chosen people"; it was also strongly influenced by anti-British sentiments that grew strong among the Afrikaners, especially because of the Boer Wars. Afrikaner nationalism emphasized the unity of all Afrikaans speaking white people, the Volk (nation), against such "foreign" elements as Blacks, Jews and English-speaking South Africans. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrikaner_nationalism (Accessed February 23, 2012).

Apartheid politics called for a halt to permanent African urbanization as well as greater restrictions on Blacks, Indians and Colored people. This was appealing to White factory workers who feared the loss of their livelihoods and were eager to keep Indian businessmen out of main street commerce. The National Party also received support from White farmers who were finding it increasingly difficult to recruit labor – as most of the young Black men went to cities in search of higher paying factory jobs.

Mandela began actively participating in politics after the 1948 elections, which brought the Afrikaner-dominated National Party to power. His initial reaction to the National Party victory was one of dismay and concern. For others in the Youth League of the ANC, this victory meant that they had to work towards a program of action that would commit the ANC to militant tactics, strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience.²¹⁵

In November 1949, Mandela met with Xuma and argued that the ANC should derive inspiration from the work of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru during India's freedom struggle against British Imperialism. He wanted the ANC to launch its own program of action through non-violent resistance and civil disobedience. Xuma however did not concur with this proposal. He contended that the ANC's supporters were not ready for such an approach. He was worried that the government would suppress the ANC's activities further if such actions were undertaken.

²¹⁵ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 43-46.

When Xuma could not be convinced, the Youth Leaguers voted against him and installed, James Moroka, a Free-State medical practitioner as ANC president. In February 1950, Mandela was co-opted to the National Executive to fill the position created by Xuma's exit.

During the early part of his political career, Mandela had been ambivalent towards working with other Colored and Indian organizations in the struggle for equal rights. He was also concerned that the Communists might hijack the ANC agenda, and avoided any collaboration with them. His ambivalence to work with the Indian organizations and the Communist Party continued until the end of 1951.

By this time, Mandela had begun to see the value of working together with these different organizations for the cause of democracy and equal rights for all South African people. More generally, within the ANC the ideas of Karl Marx and Lenin became widely diffused during the early 1950s as is evident from the educational materials provided to the ANC members at the time.

The Gandhian influence also dominated freedom struggles on the African continent right up to the 1960s because of the power it generated and the unity it forged among the powerless. Nonviolence was the official stance of all major African coalitions, and the South African ANC remained opposed to violence for most of its existence.

Increasingly, the 'exclusivist' African sentiment expressed by other Youth Leaguers was at odds with Mandela's own beliefs and personal experiences. Many Youth Leaguers generally condemned any relationship with Indians or Whites, but

interestingly, the friendships that Mandela recalls most vividly and affectionately are those with Indians involved in the struggle against apartheid during that time.²¹⁶

Lodge notes that most African contemporaries from this period in their recollections often emphasize those qualities in Mandela that set him apart – his gentlemanliness, his openness to working with other races, and a lack of bitterness towards White people. Mrs. Tambo remembers that Mandela was quite a gentleman, with perfect etiquette and an eye for dressing well.

Another distinction in Mandela's attitude had to do with where he came from. Mandela came from the Transkei, and as a cultural consequence, he expected younger people to defer to him. But, over time, as he interacted with Indians and Whites, his patriarchal status among Africans became less important for him and less inhibiting. What scholars find striking about Mandela was his ability to shift from one kind of social etiquette to another, an ability that shows his social awareness, the capacity to understand where his adversaries and friends stood, and a keen sense of empathy.

Growing up, his contact with Whites was limited to those who had treated him with consideration. In his autobiography, Mandela confesses

*“to being something of an anglophile... In so many ways, the model of a gentleman for me was an Englishman... While I abhorred British imperialism, I never rejected the trappings of British style and manners.”*²¹⁷

²¹⁶ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 48-49.

²¹⁷ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 6.

Consequently, Mandela paid special attention to the way he dressed and presented himself in public. Ellen Khuzwayo, a schoolteacher in Pimville, who joined the Youth League in the mid-1940s notes:

“I remember the glamorous Nelson Mandela of those years. The beautiful white silk scarf he wore stands out in my mind to this day. Walter Max Sisulu, on the other hand, was a hardy down to earth man with practical clothing – typically a heavy coat and stout boots. Looking back the third member of their trio, Oliver Tambo, acted as something of a balance, with his middle-of-the-road clothes!”²¹⁸

The Defiance Campaign

Mandela was the prominent leader in the ANC's 1952 Defiance Campaign,²¹⁹ which demanded the repeal of unjust laws including the Bantu Authorities Act,²²⁰ the Group Areas Act,²²¹ the Voters Representation Act,²²² the Suppression of

²¹⁸ Ellen Khuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*, (Johannesburg, South Africa: Ravan Press, 1985), 139.

²¹⁹ The Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws was presented by the African National Congress (ANC) at a conference held in Bloemfontein, South Africa in December 1951. The ANC decided to implement a national action the following year based on non-cooperation with certain laws considered unjust and discriminatory. Demonstrations in support of the Defiance Principles were organized for April 6, 1952, the 300th anniversary of white settlement in the Cape of Southern Africa. Of approximately 10,000 people who protested the unjust apartheid laws, around 8,500 of them were imprisoned, including Nelson Mandela. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Defiance_Campaign (Accessed November 2, 2011).

²²⁰ The Bantu Authorities Act, 1951 (Act No. 68 of 1951; subsequently renamed the Black Authorities Act, 1951) was one of the pillars of apartheid in South Africa during the apartheid era. This legislation, succeeding the Native Affairs Act (Act No. 23 of 1920), created the legal basis for the deportation of blacks into designated homeland reserve areas and established tribal, regional and territorial authorities. This Act was augmented by the Bantu Homelands Citizens Act of 1970. After the end of apartheid, with the introduction of democratic local government and a new framework for traditional leadership, the act became obsolete, and it was formally repealed in 2010. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bantu_Authorities_Act,_1951 (Accessed November 2, 2011).

²²¹ The Group Areas Act of 1950 forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races. Led to forced removals of people living in "wrong" areas, for example Coloreds living in District Six in Cape Town.

Communism Act,²²³ Pass Laws,²²⁴ stock limitation controls, and other apartheid regulations. ANC leaders hoped that this campaign would build activist membership for the organization and signal the move towards more activism and militancy. The conference in the course of a lengthy public statement on this historic decision stated:

“All people, irrespective of the national group they belong to and irrespective of the color of their skin, who have made South Africa their home, are entitled to live a full and free life.

Full democratic rights with direct say in the affairs of the government are the inalienable right of every South African - a right which must be realized now if South Africa is to be saved from social chaos and tyranny and from the evils arising out of the existing denial of the franchise of vast masses of the population on the grounds of race and color.

The struggle which the national organizations of the non-European people are conducting is not directed against any race or national group. It is against the unjust laws, which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the creation of conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to every South African.”²²⁵

222 The Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 together with the 1956 amendment, led to the removal of Coloreds from the common voters' roll.

223 The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 outlawed communism and the Communist Party in South Africa. Communism was defined so broadly that it covered any call for radical change. Communists could be banned from participating in a political organization and restricted to a particular area.

224 The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 was commonly known as the Pass Laws. This ironically named act forced black people to carry identification with them at all times. A pass included a photograph, details of place of origin, employment record, tax payments, and encounters with the police. It was a criminal offence to be unable to produce a pass when required to do so by the police. No Black person could leave a rural area for an urban one without a permit from the local authorities. On arrival in an urban area a permit to seek work had to be obtained within 72 hours.

225 See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Defiance_Campaign (Accessed November 2, 2011).

Mandela and the other ANC leaders selected these laws in order to build a broad base of support across racial groups against apartheid. Through this effort, he was able to galvanize the support of Indian businessmen who donated large sums of money to the ANC for its activities, something that the Youth Leaguers remained wary of well into the campaign.

Ten thousand volunteers were to be prepared by June 26, 1952, for disciplined civil disobedience as part of the Defiance Campaign. The organizers envisaged a two step process where small groups of individuals would break laws in main cities, followed by a more generalized and more dispersed participation in the disobedience campaign across the country.

In Mandela's strategic understanding, the campaign would lead to a situation where the government would not be able to administer certain laws. Mandela addressed a 10,000 person strong crowd in Durban (half of those assembled were Indians) and suggested to them that if Defiance became a popular movement, the government might be compelled to remove discrimination or even concede mass suffrage or that White voters might choose to vote it out of power. Fewer than 200 people participated in the Defiance Campaign in Durban after his speech. This was partly due to the inter-communal riots in 1949, after which ANC leaders had remained nervous about engaging with Indian leaders.

Another challenge for Mandela was to be able to convert the large audiences he had in public meetings into sustained activism that would help further the aims of the ANC.

Building the ANC

Mandela's role was crucial in helping create a national organization for the ANC that was able to operate in a coordinated and coherent manner. His extensive travels in the early 1950s and his meetings with local organizers, helped mobilize people across the nation. Mandela explained to organizers about the purpose of the campaign and helped remove any misunderstandings.

Significantly, the Defiance Campaign was the first public movement in South Africa to be led by a Black person. The Campaign received considerable media attention and support across different racial and ethnic groups.

During this period, Mandela and fellow lawyer Oliver Tambo also operated the law firm of Mandela and Tambo, providing free or low-cost legal counsel to many blacks who lacked attorney representation.

Mandela was arrested twice in 1952, once for breaking curfew and then again under the Suppression of Communism act. He was put on trial with 20 other ANC officials in November 1952. All the accused received a 20-month prison sentence, which was suspended for nine months, something that Mandela retrospectively viewed as fair and reasonable, given the judge's acceptance that the ANC leaders had insisted on following a peaceful approach.²²⁶

During the trial, ANC President James Moroka obtained separate legal representation and argued that he was hostile to Communism, and cited his close

²²⁶ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 54.

connections within the White Afrikaner community as well. This defection cost him the ANC presidency.

Following the trial, the National Party led government began to actively curb Mandela's efforts at revolution. In December 1952, Mandela and 52 ANC leaders were restricted from leaving Johannesburg without permission or meeting with more than one person at a time. More than 8,000 volunteers were convicted during the Defiance Campaign, which ended in March 1953.

From Mandela's perspective, the Campaign had indeed been a success. It was able to help the ANC gain over 100,000 supporters, the national organizational capacity of the ANC had expanded, and 8,000 of its activists had stood against unjust laws and had braved the police, the courts, and the jails.

Towards the end of 1954, the ANC also began planning for protests against the Bantu Education Act²²⁷, which gave the government control over mission schools and the ability to dictate the syllabus for the African children. Mandela was also involved in the preparations for the 1955 Congress of the People, an assembly of more than 3,000 delegates mainly drawn from ANC branches. The Congress' adoption of the Freedom Charter provided the ANC a fundamental basis

²²⁷ The Bantu Education Act of 1953 established a Black Education Department in the Department of Native Affairs, which would compile a curriculum that suited the "nature and requirements of the black people". The author of the legislation, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd (then Minister of Native Affairs, later Prime Minister), stated that its aim was to prevent Africans receiving an education that would lead them to aspire to positions they wouldn't be allowed to hold in society. Instead Africans were to receive an education designed to provide them with skills to serve their own people in the homelands or to work in laboring jobs under whites. See <http://africanhistory.about.com/library/bl/blsalaws.htm> (Accessed November 2, 2011).

for the anti-apartheid struggle.²²⁸ A multi-racial Federation of South African Women began organizing protests against the extension of the Pass Laws to African women in 1956.

Mandela was by now the deputy president of the ANC. He played a central role in the organization's activities. He is known to have been the architect of the ANC's new organizational scheme, in which the base units of the ANC would be 'cells', one for every street of a township. These 'cells' were themselves divided into 'blocks' of seven households each. Seven cells would constitute a 'zone' and four zones would constitute a 'ward' led by 'prime stewards.' The stewards together would embody a branch secretariat. Mandela envisioned that this new structure would enable the ANC to work in close contact with common folk and hence make it more representative of their sentiments and wishes (See Figure 4-15).

²²⁸ See Congress of the People, 1955,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080622053030/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/cop/index.html> (Accessed October 28, 2011).

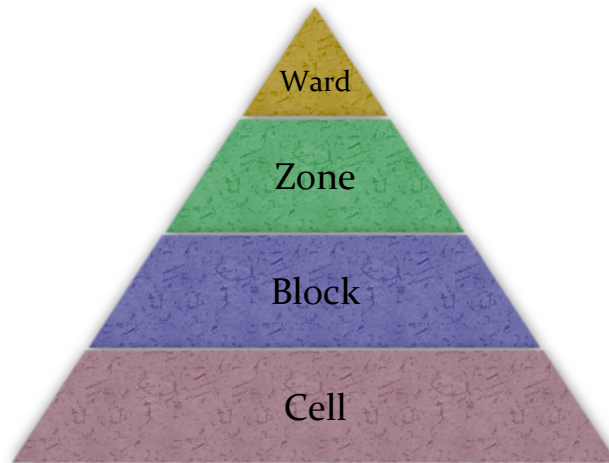


Figure 4-15: The ANC's New Organization Structure as envisaged by Mandela in the 1950s.

The ANC leaders, including Mandela, during the 1950s believed that racial reconciliation was possible and tried to work towards such a settlement. Mandela and his associates had received help from White farmers and Afrikaners in unexpected circumstances, and these experiences had reinforced the hope that the White minority could be reasoned with in South Africa.

Within the ANC, however, the Youth Leaguers found the idea of incorporation of racial minorities into a broad notion of South African citizenship unacceptable. Many members would break away from the ANC and form the rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. This was the culmination of developments over a seven-year period from 1952–1959.

During this time, a new class of Black activists known as the Africanists disrupted ANC activities in the townships, demanding more drastic steps against the National Party regime. The ANC leadership under Albert Luthuli, Oliver

Tambo and Walter Sisulu felt not only that the Africanists were moving too fast but also that they challenged their leadership.

The ANC leadership consequently bolstered their position through alliances with small White, Colored, and Indian political parties in an attempt to give the appearance of wider appeal than the Africanists. This led to further differences between the ANC leadership and the Youth Leaguers.

The Africanists criticized the 1955 Freedom Charter at the Kliptown Conference for the concession of the 100,000-strong ANC to just a single vote in a Congressional alliance. In 1959, the ANC lost its militant support when most of the Africanists (Youth Leaguers), with financial support from Ghana and significant political support from the Transvaal-based Basotho, broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) under the direction of Robert Sobukwe and Potlako Leballo.²²⁹

Mandela confessed to harboring thoughts of an exclusivist African government in the 1940s, and entertaining doubts about the merits of multi-racial mobilization. But by 1955, his thinking had considerably changed and he campaigned for mass revolution at the widest scale possible in order to completely transform the current social, economic and political situation in South Africa.

²²⁹ For more information on the Pan Africanist Congress, please see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan_Africanist_Congress (Accessed November 2, 2011).

The Freedom Charter

In 1956, Mandela wrote an exposition of the 1955 Freedom Charter of the Congress of the People for a left-wing journal, *Liberation*. He explained that the Charter was not merely a list of demands for democratic reform. It was not a blueprint for a Socialist state either. He argued that the Charter proposed a “*transfer of power to the people, not a single class, but all the people... be they workers, peasants, professional men, or petty bourgeoisie.*”²³⁰

Mandela emphasized that the Charter’s implementation would essentially dismantle the White monopoly over the gold mines, the farms, and the financial sector. This would allow for the development of an African middle class, which could for the first time look forward to land ownership and property rights. He foresaw that this would allow for the growth and spread of private enterprise in South Africa.

Mandela had several detractors within and outside the ANC in this interpretation of the Charter. The Communists wanted workers’ committees to manage the mines and other big industries. Mandela was not so sure about this approach. He was more focused on creating institutions that would help sustain democracy and ensure economic opportunities for all Africans.

Lodge points out that on one hand Mandela found the moral absolutism of the ‘professional revolutionary’ quite appealing. Mandela kept pictures of Lenin and Stalin on his office wall throughout the 1950s. He saw the ANC’s struggle as

²³⁰ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 66-67.

one against a fascist state, which sought to enrich a minority, while oppressing a large majority.

Mandela also believed, however, that there were significant numbers of White South Africans who might be willing to compromise and work with the ANC. Mandela took care to ensure that he represent himself and the ANC leadership as “professional revolutionaries” who merely represented the will of the people. They were not leading for any personal glorification, but were following the wishes of the people.

Though he believed in non-violent resistance and civil-obedience, Mandela also entertained the notion of violent insurgent politics in the 1950s. Towards the end of 1956, 156 ANC leaders, including Mandela were charged with treason and sent to a trial that would last for nearly five years. The marathon Treason Trial of 1956–1961 followed, with all defendants receiving acquittals.²³¹

The ANC and Violent Resistance

After police killed 69 unarmed black protesters at Sharpeville in 1960, Mandela and other Congress leaders increasingly abandoned their hopes for peaceful change. Mandela writes,

“Gandhi remained committed to nonviolence; I followed the Gandhian strategy for as long as I could, but then there came a point in our struggle when the brute force of the oppressor could no longer be countered through passive resistance alone. We founded Umkhonto

²³¹ See "Nelson Mandela's Testimony at the Treason Trial 1956–60" African National Congress.

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080802140822/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1960s/treason.html>
(Accessed October 28, 2011).

*we Sizwe and added a military dimension to our struggle. Even then, we chose sabotage because it did not involve the loss of life, and it offered the best hope for future race relations. Militant action became part of the African agenda officially supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) following my address to the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) in 1962, in which I stated, "Force is the only language the imperialists can hear, and no country became free without some sort of violence."*²³²

In 1961, Mandela and his peers formed the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (The Spear of the Nation).²³³ The following year, Mandela left the country for military training in Algeria and to arrange training for the other members. On his return he was arrested for leaving the country illegally and for incitement to strike.

Mandela conducted his own defense, but was convicted and jailed for five years in November 1962. While serving his sentence he was also charged in the Rivonia trial with sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island Prison. His statement during his defense at the Rivonia Trial in 1964 described how the ANC had used peaceful means to resist apartheid for years until the Sharpeville Massacre.

The shift to violent resistance had several factors. The massacre at Sharpeville, the banning of the ANC, the referendum establishing the Republic of South Africa, and the declaration of a state of emergency were all factors that

²³² See the section on Gandhi at http://www.sa-venues.com/nelson_mandela.htm

²³³ See Manifesto of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080521064728/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/manifesto-mk.html> (Accessed November 2, 2011).

contributed to this decision. All these made it clear to Mandela and his colleagues that their only choice was to resist through acts of sabotage and that doing otherwise would have been equivalent to unconditional surrender.

In his closing remarks to the judge Mandela remarked,

*“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.”*²³⁴

Mandela’s Time in Prison

Nelson Mandela spent the next 27 and half years of his life as a prisoner from August 1962. He initially spent 18 years at Robben Island prison where he was held in Section B of a specially built one-level block, enclosing a courtyard, for political prisoners.

Robben Island Prison held African, Indian and Colored political prisoners between 1962 and 1991. From the mid to late 1960s, there were more than 1000 PAC and ANC activists on the Island. The prison warders were exclusively White Afrikaners. Mandela was put into a single cell prison, and was kept in solitary confinement for the majority of the time. He was given a mat and three blankets, and slept on the floor until the mid 1970s when the International Red Cross persuaded the authorities to provide beds for the prisoners.

²³⁴ Nelson Mandela’s statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial ended with these words. See http://www.savenues.com/nelson_mandela.htm for more details (Accessed November 2, 2011).

During this period, Mandela's life was solitary and introspective and he was treated mostly in the same manner as many other prisoners on the Island. The authorities, however, allowed him to continue his University of London Bachelor of Law course. This might have been due to his Transkeien royal connection or the international attention that the Rivonia trial received.²³⁵

In addition to his pursuit of law degree, Mandela also made an effort to learn Afrikaans and was seen as civil and respectable by the warders. Lodge notes that Mandela especially liked reading and was fond of quoting William Henley's 'Invictus':

*'It matters not how straight the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate,
I am the Captain of my soul.'*²³⁶

When allowed to meet, the inmates would engage in political discussions and philosophical debates with fellow ANC leaders, as well as leaders of other groups. It was clear that Mandela exerted an intellectual and ideological influence on the other prisoners on Robben Island. His presence on the Island helped to create a groundswell of support for the ANC across South Africa, as well as strengthened the organization.

Soon, the Government had no choice but to take some action to try and curb his growing influence. In March 1982 Mandela was transferred from Robben

²³⁵ See <http://observer.gm/africa/gambia/article/2008/7/25/the-big-read-nelson-mandela-a-living-legend-1>

²³⁶ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 140.

Island to Pollsmoor Prison along with other senior ANC leaders Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Raymond Mhlaba.²³⁷ The Government made this move in order to remove the influence of these senior ANC leaders on the new generation of young Black activists imprisoned on Robben Island, the so-called "Mandela University".²³⁸

Minister Hendrik Coetsee however, claimed that the move was to enable discreet contact between the senior ANC leaders and the South African Government to move towards a political settlement.²³⁹ One of the other reasons for the transfer was that the older prisoners needed medical attention more frequently, and Pollsmoor Prison was closer to a hospital.

Mandela believed that the move was to decapitate the ANC's leadership structure on the Island. More generally, in the 1970s the government began to disperse the political prisoners with the aim of reducing their organizational capacity as well the prison's symbolic significance for anti-apartheid campaigners.²⁴⁰

In 1976, nationwide protests by school children put South Africa's government on the defensive. Adding to the strain on the Government was the contraction in GDP growth rates as production for local markets reached its limits in a low-wage economy. A decade of African experience with semi-skilled

²³⁷ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 147.

²³⁸ See Anders Hallengren, "Nelson Mandela and the Rainbow of Culture," The Nobel Foundation, 2001.

http://web.archive.org/web/20080822063757/http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/articles/mandela/index.html

²³⁹ See Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

²⁴⁰ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 149.

manufacturing work gave the Black Africans added leverage against their White employers and laid the foundations for strong labor unions.

Increased literacy due to the expansion in secondary and high school enrolments of Africans combined with the growing vibrancy of local media fostered the formation of new political organizations. International developments like the Civil Rights movement in the United States and the collapse of colonial power in most of Africa inspired Black activists to continue and scale-up their struggle against the Apartheid regime.

The growing desperation of the regime was evident in the manner in which Police fired upon a crowd of 15,000 school children, killing two, in 1976. This incident led to large-scale riots across 50 Transvaal centers before spreading to the main economic centers in the eastern and western Cape. The situation worsened over the next year, with more street battles, strikes and classroom boycotts, and more than 500 protesters died.

As a prisoner, Mandela remained true to the cause of the people. In 1976, Mandela refused the offer of a remission of sentence if he recognized Transkei, an area set-aside for members of a specific ethnicity and a nominal parliamentary democracy in the southeastern region of South Africa, and settled there. His struggle was against apartheid in South Africa. He would not compromise his principles and the faith that his peers and followers had placed in him.

In February 1985, President P.W. Botha offered Mandela his freedom on the condition that he unconditionally rejected violence as a political weapon. Minister

Coetsee and others in the cabinet had advised Botha against this, saying that Mandela would never commit his organization to giving up the armed struggle in exchange for personal freedom.

Mandela spurned the offer and released a statement via his daughter Zindzi saying,

"I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die. Oliver Tambo is much more than a brother to me. He is my greatest friend and comrade for nearly fifty years. If there is any one amongst you who cherishes my freedom, Oliver Tambo cherishes it more, and I know that he would give his life to see me free. There is no difference between his views and mine.

I am surprised at the conditions that the government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man. My colleagues and I wrote in 1952 to Malan asking for a round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored. When Strijdom was in power, we made the same offer. Again it was ignored. When Verwoerd was in power we asked for a national convention for all the people in South Africa to decide on their future. This, too, was in vain.

It was only then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who will govern them.

I cherish my own freedom dearly, but I care even more for your freedom. Too many have died since I went to prison. Too many have suffered for the love of freedom. I owe it to their widows, to their orphans, to their mothers and to their fathers who have grieved and wept for them. Not only I have suffered during these long, lonely, wasted years. I am not less life loving than you are. But I cannot sell

my birthright, nor am I prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I am in prison as the representative of the people and of your organization, the African National Congress, which was banned.

What freedom am I being offered while the organization of the people remains banned? What freedom am I being offered when I may be arrested on a pass offence? What freedom am I being offered to live my life as a family with my dear wife who remains in banishment in Brandfort? What freedom am I being offered when I must ask for permission to live in an urban area? What freedom am I being offered when I need a stamp in my pass to seek work? What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected?

Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, when freed, never gave any undertaking, nor was he called upon to do so.

I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free.

*Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."*²⁴¹

The first meeting between Mandela and the National Party government came in November 1985 when Hendrik Coetsee met Mandela in Volks Hospital in Cape Town where Mandela was recovering from prostate surgery. In mid-1985, Mandela wrote to Minister Coetsee and requested a meeting, representing a decisive break from the accepted convention that ‘as isolated prisoners, we would do nothing that could be construed as policy making.’²⁴² Mandela later explained in 1994 that he knew that his colleagues would condemn his proposal and that

²⁴¹ See “I am not prepared to sell the birthright of my people in order to be free”, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080622004124/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/64-90/jabulani.html> (Accessed October 29, 2011).

²⁴² See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 157.

would kill his initiative, but at times a leader must move out ahead of his flock and go in a new direction.²⁴³

The South African government saw Mandela as an exceptional individual who could be reasoned and negotiated with. He was not seen to be racially embittered like many other ANC leaders. He was philosophically pragmatic, intellectually creative, and believed in the cause he was fighting for. A 1981 prison report on Mandela noted that he commanded all the qualities to be the Number One Black leader in South Africa. Imprisonment had actually served to increase his 'psycho-political posture' and had provided him with an added charisma.²⁴⁴

In addition to Mandela's personality and charm, the Government of Prime Minister P.W. Botha in the early 1980s had to take into consideration the increasing international pressures as well as internal developments. During a private meeting with Botha, British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, advised him to release Mandela.

Over the next four years, a series of tentative meetings took place, laying the groundwork for further contact and future negotiations, but little real progress was made.²⁴⁵ Throughout Mandela's imprisonment, local and international

²⁴³ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 157-158.

²⁴⁴ See Anthony Sampson, *Mandela: The authorized biography*, (London, UK: Harper Collins, 1999), 300.

²⁴⁵ See Allister Sparks, *Tomorrow is Another Country: The Inside Story of South Africa's Road to Change*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

pressure mounted on the South African government to release him, under the resounding slogan Free Nelson Mandela!²⁴⁶

In 1980, the editor of the Johannesburg daily tabloid, *The World*, launched the Free Mandela Campaign. The Campaign received widespread international support, and was symbolized by Winnie Mandela's efforts within South Africa. A petition sponsored by *Sunday Post* soon received over 86,000 signatures and was supported by many organizations and community leaders.²⁴⁷

In the years after Mandela was moved to Pollsmoor Prison, the Government undertook further reforms and conceded executive authority to previously advisory African municipal assemblies. The Government also lifted restrictions on private sector investment in black townships and in 1986, it repealed the system of Pass Laws and influx control.

In the more liberal political climate of the 1980s, some South African activists formed the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, and proclaimed their loyalty to the 'non-racial' ideology of the ANC. The ANC's revival as a political force inside South Africa was also due to the resumption of the military operations of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, through infiltration from Botswana and Mozambique.

²⁴⁶ See Free Nelson Mandela: An Account of the Campaign to Free Nelson Mandela and all other Political Prisoners in South Africa, available at:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080802140816/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/prisoner.html> (Accessed October 30, 2011).

²⁴⁷ See Free Nelson Mandela: An Account of the Campaign to Free Nelson Mandela and all other Political Prisoners in South Africa, available at:

<http://web.archive.org/web/20080802140816/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/campaigns/prisoner.html> (Accessed October 30, 2011).

The UDF campaigned for boycotts of the tri-cameral parliament election, which was instituted by the government in 1984 and would include Indian and colored chambers of parliament alongside the white chamber of parliament. Members of all three chambers would join a multi-racial cabinet. UDF activists were prominent in the riots and violence that occurred across townships in South Africa. This was the beginning of the bloodiest phase of South Africa's political history after the Anglo-Boer War. In the decade between 1984 and 1994, more than 25,000 political motivated killings occurred in South Africa.²⁴⁸

In 1988, Mandela was moved to Victor Verster Prison and would remain there until his release. In 1989, South Africa was at crossroads when President Botha suffered a stroke and was replaced as state president by Frederik Willem de Klerk.

Mandela and de Klerk

F.W. de Klerk was not considered a reformer or a member of the National Party's liberal wing. Like Mandela, de Klerk was notable in the Afrikaner community. He was the son of a former cabinet minister and related to the second Prime Minister of the Apartheid era, Hans Strydom. He remained convinced that the people who created the Apartheid ideology were not 'evil people' and that in its idealistic form, Apartheid was a program to bring political rights to all South Africans via nation states. However, he later conceded that the Apartheid system had failed and had just resulted in racial discrimination and minority domination.

²⁴⁸ See Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 155.

The resulting moral and practical crisis represented a matter of conscience he agreed.²⁴⁹

The fall of the White regime in neighboring Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) in 1980 and the regular briefings about the growing unrest in the country might have persuaded the new President to seize the initiative for negotiations with Mandela and the ANC. Scholars have acknowledged de Klerk's courage and moral conviction to the negotiations, and his willingness to take risks, which proved a decisive factor in South Africa's achievement of democracy.

By the time Botha stepped down, Mandela had established regular contact with Oliver Tambo, who was now the ANC President in exile in Harare, through Mac Maharaj, another longstanding ANC associate. He was able to review a document that Tambo had prepared as the ANC's Harare Declaration. The Declaration suggested that the ANC's military operations could be suspended in exchange for release of prisoners, lifting the ban on the ANC, and the withdrawal of South African Defense Force soldiers from black townships.

In October 1989, Mandela suggested to Coetsee that de Klerk should release ten prominent prisoners including Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and he assured the minister that their behavior would be low key. Mandela also spelled out the fundamental requirements for a political settlement with the Government. He wanted a unified South Africa with no artificial homelands; black representation in the central parliament; and a 'one-man, one-vote on a common roll' policy.

²⁴⁹ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 163.

The government was willing to negotiate regarding these terms. Mandela met with President F.W. de Klerk on December 13, 1989. It was a positive meeting, and both men found each other to be a good listener. To Mandela, de Klerk appeared willing to at least consider the possibility that the National Party's commitment to 'Afrikaner rights' was negotiable. De Klerk saw Mandela as a politician to be reckoned with.

On 2 February 1990, President F.W. de Klerk reversed the ban on the ANC and other anti-apartheid organizations, and announced that Mandela would shortly be released from prison. Mandela was released from Victor Verster Prison in Paarl on February 11, 1990. The event was broadcast live all over the world.

On the day of his release, Mandela made a speech to South Africa. He publicly declared his commitment to peace and reconciliation with the country's white minority, but made it clear that the ANC's armed struggle was not yet over:

"Our resort to the armed struggle in 1960 with the formation of the military wing of the ANC (Umkhonto we Sizwe) was a purely defensive action against the violence of apartheid. The factors which necessitated the armed struggle still exist today. We have no option but to continue. We express the hope that a climate conducive to a negotiated settlement would be created soon, so that there may no longer be the need for the armed struggle."²⁵⁰

Mandela maintained that his main focus was to bring peace to the Black majority and give them the right to vote in both national and local elections.

²⁵⁰ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 164-165.

Many international leaders were disappointed with Mandela's speech, and felt that it was not inspiring and lacked warmth, vision, and humanity. However, Mandela's focus was his African constituents. He wanted to reassure them that he continued to remain loyal to their cause, and that he could be relied upon to represent their aspirations. It was a speech that was focused on collective requirements of South Africans, and not on his personal experiences in prison.

Even though it seemed simple enough, Mandela's walk out of the prison with Winnie was carefully planned. UDF leaders and trade unionists had put a National Reception Committee together. Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers, headed the Committee. Ramaphosa met with Mandela the day before his release to help him draft his speech. He maintained that Mandela's position was similar to other ANC leaders and that he would take his place in the movement as a member of the ANC.

Negotiating with the "enemy"

The end of the Cold War meant that Soviet support for the ANC's armed insurgency no longer existed. De Klerk knew that the ANC's armed forces were under increasing pressure to settle with the Government. He also believed that the ANC was a much weaker opponent without international support. He was aware, however, of the domestic challenges facing his Government and was willing to accept Mandela's offer of 'talking about talks.'²⁵¹ Such a gesture of accommodation

²⁵¹ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 165.

on his part won de Klerk support from the conservative administrations in London and Washington.

Negotiated or '*pacted*' transitions require strong adversaries and popular moral authority. Lodge notes that it was clear by 1989 that the South African regime needed to negotiate with their most famous prisoner in order to render any settlement legitimate. This was also due to Mandela's diplomacy and willingness to 'talk with the enemy.' In doing so, he had become more than the master of his own fate, and could effectively influence the political destiny of his compatriots and his opponents as well.²⁵²

Mandela returned to the leadership of the ANC and, between 1990 and 1994, led the party in the multi-party negotiations that led to the country's first multi-racial elections. This period saw increasing tensions between the UDF/ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The Inkatha Freedom Party's aims were increasingly at odds with those of the ANC and other Black activists.

The Inkatha sought to maintain the Zulu monarchy and a federal political system in which the regional governments would enjoy virtual autonomy. Aware of the growing rift between the ANC and Inkatha, the South African government began channeling money towards funding Inkatha from 1990.

Mandela missed an important opportunity to make an early peace with Chief Buthelezi, when he withdrew from a previously arranged meeting at the last

²⁵² Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 166.

minute in March 1990. Jacob Zuma reckons that much of the violence between the ANC and Inkatha could have been avoided had the two men met in 1990.²⁵³

In 1991, the ANC held its first national conference in South Africa after the lifting of the ban. In the conference, the ANC members elected Nelson Mandela as President of the organization. His old friend and colleague Oliver Tambo, who had led the organization in exile during Mandela's imprisonment, became National Chairperson.

During the conference, Mandela received criticism from fellow Robben islander, Terror Lekota. Lekota accused him of being dictatorial and of imposing his will on other ANC members. Mandela acknowledged that leaders should grasp the principle that they were servants of the people, but also rebuked the audience for their failure to express any praise for the leadership. Those who believed that one could negotiate without secrecy did not understand the nature of negotiation. He argued that before any Constitutional negotiations could begin, there needed to be agreement on who should take part, and how the talks with the Government would be organized.

Mandela brokered a compromise at the beginning of 1991 and the talks began with an all-party meeting that would decide on an Interim Constitution, as well as the more permanent principles that would be incorporated into a final Constitution after the election of a Constituent Assembly.

²⁵³ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 173.

Mandela's leadership through the negotiations as well as his relationship with President F. W. de Klerk was recognized when they were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993. The relationship between the two leaders was at times tense and strained. In a particularly sharp exchange in 1991, Mandela furiously referred to De Klerk as the head of “an illegitimate, discredited, minority regime.”

The negotiations broke down following the Boipatong massacre in June 1992, when heavily armed Inkatha Freedom Party members stormed into Boipatong Township and killed 46 people. This incident caused Mandela to take the ANC out of the negotiations, accusing De Klerk's government of complicity in the killings.²⁵⁴

However, talks resumed following the Bisho massacre, where Ciskei Defense Forces killed 28 ANC members in September 1992. The specter of violent confrontation made it clear to Mandela that negotiations were the only way forward.²⁵⁵

Economically, the situation was getting to a tipping-point. The ongoing violence had scared the White minority-owned businesses. The ANC's head of economic policy, Trevor Manuel warned Mandela about the ongoing degeneration

²⁵⁴ The growing Black-on-Black violence was taking its toll on the relationship between Mandela and de Klerk. Revelations about the secret activities of the police and the other intelligence units' role in the ongoing violence shook Mandela's faith in de Klerk's integrity and commitment to the settlement process. See ANC Statement on the Boipatong Massacre, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080306075135/http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1992/pr0618.html> (Accessed October 30, 2011).

²⁵⁵ See Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, (New York, NY: Little, Brown and Company, 1994).

of the economy since 1990. He cautioned that the economy would be so destroyed by the conflict that when a democratic government came to power, it would not be able to survive. Mandela reasoned that the deadlock must end.

It was not easy however, and insurgent politics was keeping any possibility of settlement at bay. While arriving to address a meeting of supporters in Johannesburg, one of the battlegrounds between the ANC and Inkatha, he found a note awaiting him at the speaker's table. *'No peace, do not talk to us about peace. We've had enough. Please, Mr. Mandela, no peace. Give us weapons. No Peace.'*

Mandela departed from his prepared speech and gave an impassioned plea to those assembled stating:

*"There are times when our people participate in the killing of innocent people. It is difficult for us to say when people are angry that they must be non-violent. But the solution is peace, it is reconciliation, it is political tolerance. We must accept that blacks are fighting each other in the townships... we must accept that responsibility for ending the violence is not just the government's, the police's, the army's. It is also our responsibility. We must put our house in order. If you have no discipline you are not a freedom fighter. If you are going to kill innocent people, you don't belong to the ANC. Your task is reconciliation. Listen to me. Listen to me. I am your leader. I am going to give leadership. Do you want me to remain your leader? Yes? Well, as long as I am your leader, I will tell you always, when you are wrong."*²⁵⁶

The assassination of ANC leader Chris Hani in April 1993, led to renewed fears that the country would erupt in violence. Mandela addressed the nation

²⁵⁶ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 174-175.

appealing for calm in a speech regarded as 'presidential' even though he was not yet president of the country at that time.

Mandela said,

“Tonight, I am reaching out to every single South African, Black and White, from the very depths of my being. A White man, full of prejudice and hate, came to our country and committed a deed so foul that our whole nation now teeters on the brink of disaster. A White woman, of Afrikaner origin, risked her life so that we may know, and bring to justice, this assassin. The cold-blooded murder of Chris Hani has sent shock waves throughout the country and the world. ...Now is the time for all South Africans to stand together against those who, from any quarter, wish to destroy what Chris Hani gave his life for – the freedom of all of us.”²⁵⁷

There were several factors that contributed to a consensus between the ANC and the Government during the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum. These factors include: the ANC's willingness to embrace transitional constitutional arrangements; the breakdown of any prospect of alliance between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party; and Mandela's assumption of the role of national conciliator in the crisis that followed Hani's assassination.

The Multi-party Negotiation Forum agreed that democratic elections should take place on April 27, 1994, just over a year after Chris Hani's assassination. For five years from the 1994 elections, South Africa would be ruled by a coalition administration, in which, seats were shared in a proportional manner based on the electoral support for parties with more than five percent of

²⁵⁷ See Nelson Mandela's statement on the Assassination of Martin Chris Hani <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4083> (Accessed November 1, 2011).

the vote. The elections themselves would be held under the system of proportional representation. The electorate would be voting for a National Assembly and nine regional Governments. The regional Governments demarcated by borders would allow at least one of the old homeland parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party, a reasonable prospect of securing executive authority.

The House of Assembly, along with the Senate, would sit as a Constituent Assembly and decide on a final Constitution. The Constitution would have to incorporate key features of the interim constitution negotiated at the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum, including an extensive Bill of Rights. Bureaucrats, soldiers, and policemen had their jobs guaranteed and amnesty would be offered to those guilty of politically motivated killings.

Mandela's political authority was crucial in securing legitimacy for constitutional arrangements that fell well short of political expectations among the ANC's support base. An interim Government of national unity was not 'power-sharing' he insisted.²⁵⁸

Lodge contends that Mandela's preoccupation with reconciliation may have been only one facet of a deeper preoccupation with unity. At one extreme, the politics of maintaining unity can be authoritarian. It is in such a situation that Mandela's adherence to the tenets of liberal democracy is admirable.

²⁵⁸ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 180-183.

Approach to Political Participation and Inclusion

Table 4-13: 1994 South Africa Election Results

Party	Percentage of Votes	Seats Won
African National Congress	62.65	252
National Party	20.39	82
Inkatha Freedom Party	10.54	43
Freedom Front	2.17	9
Democratic Party	1.73	7
Pan Africanist Congress	1.25	5
African Christian Democratic Party	0.45	2
Africa Muslim Party	0.18	0
African Moderates Congress Party	0.14	0
Dikwankwetla Party	0.1	0
Federal Party	0.09	0
Minority Front	0.07	0
Sport Organization for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights	0.05	0
African Democratic Movement	0.05	0
Women's Rights Peace Party	0.03	0
Ximoko Progressive Party	0.03	0
Keep It Straight and Simple Party	0.03	0
Workers' List Party	0.02	0
Luso-South African Party	0.02	0
Total	100	400

After the 1994 general elections, the ANC and its allies fell short of the two-thirds majority required to form a government (See Table 4-13). In accordance with the Interim Constitution, the ANC formed a Government of National Unity along with the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mandela's experience as national executive was brief. He presided over the coalition government from 1994 through 1999.

Halfway through the Government's tenure, de Klerk and his colleagues from the National Party left and joined the opposition benches. They were disappointed with their lack of influence in the cabinet. The National Party was also unhappy with its inability to get the ANC to agree to entrench power sharing as a permanent feature of the constitution.

Though the Coalition Government worked well at the beginning, de Klerk was surprised by Mandela's lack of consultation in allocating cabinet positions. This had been something that was required by the interim Constitution. On several other occasions as well, Mandela's humiliating treatment of de Klerk went against his own ethical code, though such treatment had beneficial effects in terms of Mandela's standing with his ANC colleagues.

During the beginning of his administration, Mandela used his powers of public appointment to send reassuring signals to former or potential adversaries. He also took care to bring about a racial balance in his cabinet. Mandela's sensitivity to business leaders' confidence explained the reappointment of Finance Minister Derek Keys. Keys had been part of de Klerk's cabinet previously.

Mandela's appointment of the conservative economist, Chris Stals as the governor of the Reserve Bank led to criticism from Bulelani Ngcuka, the ANC's chief whip in the House of the Assembly. He suggested that Mandela might be leaning too much towards the other side in attempting to reassure former adversaries.

Mandela's predisposition towards inclusiveness motivated a series of invitations, in 1997, to smaller parties to join his government, a 'consensual' practice maintained by his successor, Thabo Mbeki, to the detriment of vigorous opposition politics.

Mandela's inclusive 'social nationalism' in which all people could join the nation if they shared its values is evident in his many public speeches. Through his public speeches, Mandela was able to tell a story and in doing so was able to invite his listeners to share emotions and experiences.

However, consensual politics often has authoritarian dimensions. At times, Mandela could sound as impatient as his predecessors with media critics. In 1997, he accused newspapers of conspiring with counterrevolutionary forces to undermine democracy. Only a year earlier, Mandela had said that the mass media had set itself up to oppose the ANC. However, Mandela's administration dismantled press censorship, and he resisted any restrictions to media freedoms, even when suggested by his colleagues.

Though he remained assertive in the ANC, he was unable to influence the choice of Cyril Ramaphosa as his successor. Mandela believed that Thabo Mbeki was intolerant of criticism and inflexible and hence, not fit to lead the ANC and the country.

Mandela was willing to stand against the ANC when it was necessary to protect the National interest. For instance, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report initially received a hostile response from the ANC and its

youth wing. Thabo Mbeki tried to delay the release of the report because of its 'wrong and misguided' conclusions. ANC leaders were unhappy with the report's equation of their organization's abuses of human rights with the crimes of the Apartheid regime. Mandela endorsed the report however, and later explained that *"I am the president of the country... I have set up the TRC and they have done not a perfect but a remarkable job and I approve of everything they did."*²⁵⁹

Another example of Mandela's efforts towards reconciliation was his insistence that Afrikaans be included as an official language, when the ANC insisted that the army adopt English as its only language. Mandela said that ANC's proposal could undo all the work that he had undertaken to promote reconciliation with Afrikaners.

Incorporating Whites, Blacks, Indians, and Colored people into a multiracial community of citizens was Mandela's imperative. He observed that if there was no genuine attempt at reconciliation, the majority of the Whites in South Africa would flee abroad. Mandela was aware of the chaos that such an exodus could cause. Mandela's genuineness and sincerity towards reconciliation was understood and appreciated by Afrikaners, and it helped the South African leadership to win friends internationally.

The Approach to Economic Growth and Inclusion

During the 1960s and 70s, the South African economy grew by virtue of inflows of foreign capital and public investment in strategic industries like

²⁵⁹ See *Mail and Guardian*, (June 11, 1999).

armaments and synthetic petrol. These investments were in response to a United Nations embargo on petroleum and arms sales to South Africa in 1965.

In 1965, the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the GDP was equal to that of the mining and agricultural sectors. However, by 1988, the manufacturing sector contributed to 22 percent of GDP. Although South African factories were less sophisticated and produced much smaller proportions of capital goods of export quality²⁶⁰ the level of industrial development was comparable to Mexico or India.

South Africa's economy evolved and took on different characteristics along with the societal changes that occurred during the 1970s and 80s. By the mid-1970s, the social interests shaping Afrikaner-nationalism had changed. More than 65 percent of Afrikaners were white-collar workers due to the preferential recruitment policy of the public and private sectors. Within the business sector, Afrikaner firms were among the most advanced manufacturers and their executives were increasingly inconvenienced by the restrictions on African labor mobility.

In 1979, African unions were able to obtain collective bargaining rights, with support from White Afrikaners. These reforms were reflective of changing attitudes among Afrikaners, and increasing internal and international pressures. Between 1959 and 1994, the sanctions against the Apartheid regime represented the most widely supported single-issue protest in the world.

²⁶⁰ Tom Lodge, *Mandela: A Critical Life*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006), 152.

The ANC had to compromise on its commitment to nationalizing key industries, as it would lead to capital flight from an already fragile economy. Mandela played a key role in the realignment of ANC policy regarding the nationalization of industries and other socialist policies that ANC leaders wished to implement.

After the first two years as President, when he paid close attention to every policy detail, Mandela increasingly shifted the task of decision making to Thabo Mbeki, his deputy. Mbeki oversaw the implementation of the GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) plan, a macro-financial liberalization program. Mandela saw the first draft of the program and supported its monetarist implications and endorsed a new commitment to privatizing parastatal companies.

Mandela was deeply influenced by the Malaysian experience of the preferential opening up of the public sector to Malay *bumiputra* entrepreneurs (sons of the soil), and sought to include such elements in the GEAR plan.

Mandela's administration oversaw a period of mixed economic outcomes – the GDP per Capita actually reduced during his term, but the Government's emphasis was on helping lift millions of Black South Africans out of poverty (See Figure 4-16).

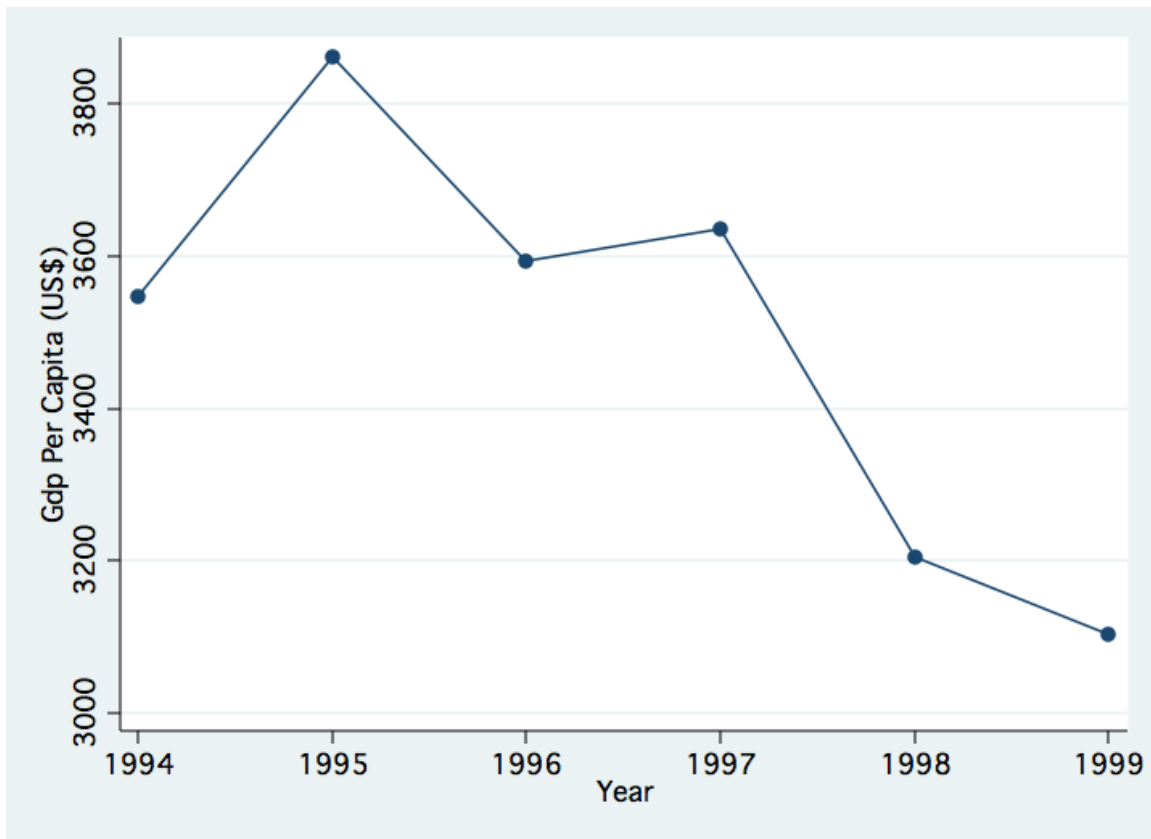


Figure 4-16: Economic Performance Under Mandela²⁶¹

On assuming office, Mandela announced a series of ‘presidential initiatives’ (See Figure 4-17) including free health care for mothers and children as well as a primary school feeding scheme. The Mandela administration’s achievements included impressively disciplined management of public finances in which tight controls on public expenditure eliminated a public debt of 250 billion Rand, while simultaneously redirecting resources from richer communities to poorer ones.

In 1999, the government could make valid claims that it had undertaken serious efforts to alleviate poverty. It had financed the construction of nearly a million low-cost homes, extended clean water supply to millions of people in the

²⁶¹ See World Development Indicators available at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator>

rural areas, expanded the provision of health care in the countryside, and spent money on building schools in Black neighborhoods.

- The introduction of free healthcare (1994) for all children under the age of six together with pregnant and breastfeeding women making use of public sector health facilities (a provision extended to all those using primary level public sector health care services in 1996).
- The launching of the Reconstruction and Development Program, which invested in essential social services such as housing and health care.
- Increases in welfare spending, with public spending on welfare and social grants increased by 13% in 1996/97, 13% in 1997/98, and 7% in 1998/99.”
- The introduction of parity in grants for communities which were previously, including disability grants, child maintenance grants, and old-age pensions, which had previously been set at different levels for South Africa’s different racial groups.
- The extension of the application of the child maintenance grant to blacks in rural areas, who had been previously excluded from the system.
- A significant increase in public spending on education, with expenditure raised by 25% in 1996/97, 7% in 1997/98 and 4% in 1998/99.
- The introduction of child support grants (1998) to alleviate child poverty.
- The Skills Development Act (1998) which provided for the establishment of mechanisms to finance and promote skills development at the workplace.
- The Labour Relations Act (1995), which promoted workplace democracy, orderly collective bargaining, and the effective resolution of labor disputes.
- The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1997), which Improved enforcement mechanisms while extending an improved “floor” of rights to all workers.
- The passage of the Employment Equity Act (1998) to put an end to unfair discrimination and ensure the implementation of affirmative action in the workplace.
- The Welfare Laws Amendment Act (1997), which amended the Social Assistance Act of 1992 to provide for equality of access, uniformity and effective regulation of social assistance throughout South Africa.
- Amendments to the Aged Persons Act (1998), which provided for the establishment of management committees for homes for the elderly, to require reporting on the abuse of elderly persons, and to regulate the prevention of the abuse of elderly people.
- The establishment of a National Development Agency (1998), which was mandated to provide funds to civil society organizations to meet the developmental needs of poor communities.

Figure 4-17: Economic and Social Reforms Enacted by the Mandela Administration²⁶²

These investments, however, failed to reduce poverty significantly. Better housing and improved public facilities could not compensate for rising unemployment. Left-wing critics of the Government argued that the liberalization

²⁶² See Presidency of Nelson Mandela, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidency_of_Nelson_Mandela (Accessed November 2, 2011).

of foreign-trade and Mandela's ministers' reluctance to borrow on the international capital market were partly to blame for the economy's failure to generate jobs. In the meantime, business lobbies argued that social reforms were mainly to blame for unemployment and cited the new industrial relations legislation and affirmative action programs.

The Approach to Security and Justice

In the two decades or so that Mandela had spent in prison, the ANC and other African liberation movements had reorganized themselves in exile and were getting ready to take on the government forces through guerilla warfare.

Successive National Party Governments under Hendrik Verwoerd and John Vorster had embarked on an ambitious program of racial segregation and the establishment of ethnically constituted administrations in all the historic 'native' reserves. This would ensure that the Black Africans would remain migrants to the urban areas, and need valid contracts and passes in order to visit or work in cities. Those without valid passes would be deported to their respective native homelands.

In the 1970s, restrictions were placed on Africans, Indians, and Colored enrollment in major universities and segregated colleges were established to train future generations of ethnic administrators. A succession of fierce anti-terrorist laws institutionalized detention without trial and facilitated the torture of prisoners. These repressive restrictions were removed upon Mandela's ascent to the presidency.

Mandela undertook a series of policy reviews to redefine the government's priorities. Among the key Government commitments were, support for human rights, multilateral initiatives to assert South Africa's role in the African continent, and an expansion of South African armed forces through the procurement of military equipment.

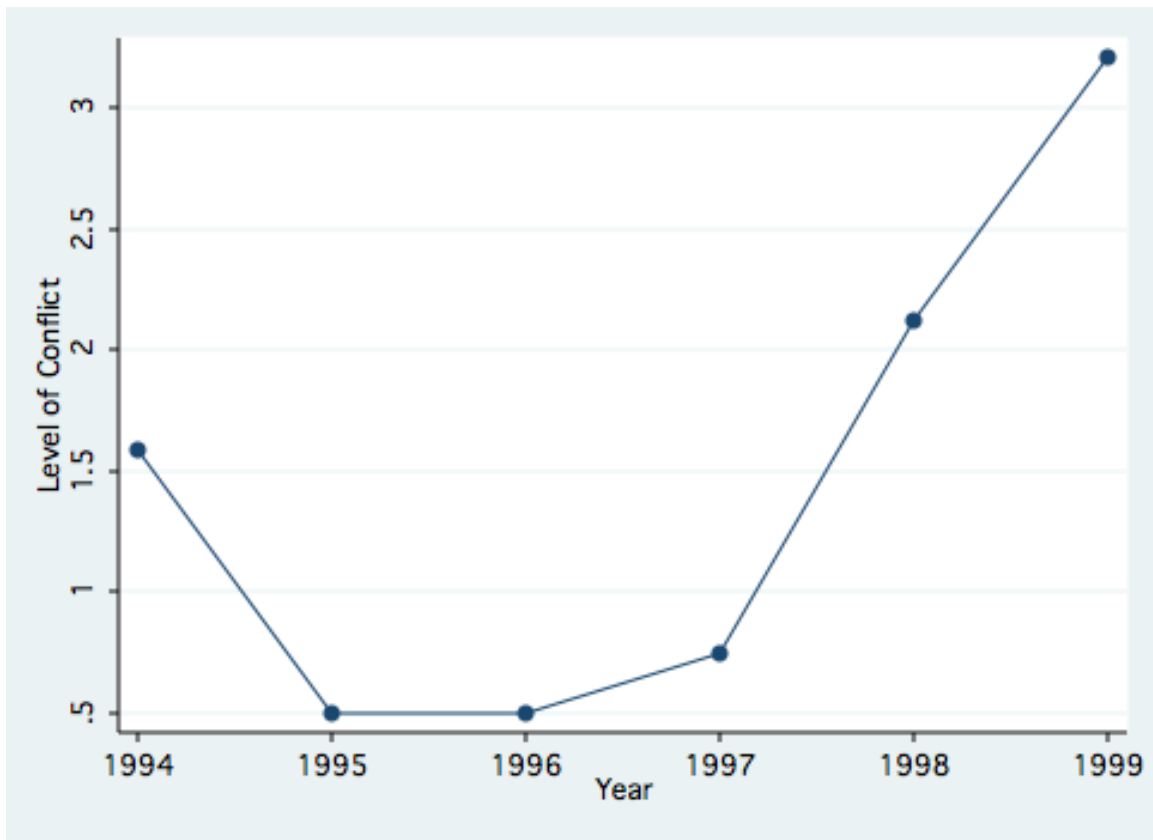


Figure 4-18: Level of Conflict under Mandela²⁶³

Mandela's government could claim success in the area of social reconciliation and in beginning the process of healing the divisions in the society. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission represented an especially ambitious

²⁶³ The measure for level of conflict was developed using the Internal and External conflict indicators from the International Conflict Risk Group (ICRG) Database. These indicators have also been used in the panel data analysis in chapter 3.

venture, which as well as administering amnesty through its televised public hearing supplied a forum for the stories of victims of human rights violations. The Commission's six-volume report offered a morally complicated public history, which despite angering politicians on all sides generally accorded with public perceptions. A definitive Constitution was enacted in 1996 that entrenched and extended the human rights provisions of the 1993 interim constitution. A Constitutional Court rapidly established its credentials as an independent and politically neutral authority.

A sharp decline in politically motivated violence in Kwa-Zulu Natal was partly an effect of localized peace making by ANC and Inkatha leaders before and after the 1994 elections. Other reasons were the inclusion of Inkatha representatives in national administration and its predominance in Kwa-Zulu Natal regional government, and also as a result of politically neutral public resource allocation.

In April 1995, Mandela warned that he might cut off funds to Kwa-Zulu Natal because of continuing Inkatha opposition to the province's constitutional status. It was an unwise and illegal threat for him to make and provincial revenue allocation in fact remained equitable. The main credit for peace making in the province belonged to Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, as well as the second echelon Inkatha leadership. Relations between Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained fractious as Mandela reneged on his pre-election promise to invite foreign mediators over constitutional issues pertaining to the status of Kwa-Zulu

Natal.²⁶⁴ As a result of these differences with the Inkatha party and continuing high youth unemployment, there was an increase in conflict towards the end of his presidency (as illustrated in Figure 4-18).

Analysis: Mandela as the Change Agent

Nelson Mandela is an individual of immense stature. His story is one of outstanding moral courage against seemingly impossible odds, determination to destroy apartheid, and above all – tireless efforts to bring about reconciliation in his homeland.

As an individual, Mandela led a simple lifestyle. Unlike his colleagues who tended to live ostentatiously, Mandela lived in a comfortable suburban home in Johannesburg. He donated one-third of his salary and his Nobel Prize earnings to the charitable foundation he had established. He made his own bed and folded his own clothes. Mandela had no privileged circle or presidential cronies.

Mandela made conscious efforts to democratize and demystify his larger than life personality. In his autobiography he insists on his status as ‘an ordinary man who became a leader because of extraordinary circumstances.’ In this spirit, the ANC’s electoral campaign borrowed from American politics the device of a people’s forum or town hall in which members of the audience would pose questions to Mandela.

²⁶⁴ KwaZulu was a bantustan in South Africa, intended by the apartheid government as a semi-independent homeland for the Zulu people. The capital, formerly at Nongoma, was moved in 1980 to Ulundi. It was led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Zulu tribe and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party until its abolition in 1994. It was then merged with the surrounding South African province of Natal to form the new province of KwaZulu-Natal.

British political scientist John Kane contends that charismatic leaders like Mandela rely on absolute trust and their authority is partly magical, not entirely legal or rational. Leaders who command moral authority achieve their position through action and behavior, by appearing constantly committed to a widely shared cause, through undertaking actions that are similarly perceived to advance their cause, through exemplifying the values they represent in their behavior, and finally by the use of language and symbols that animate their followers and reach across political boundaries.

Leaders who mobilize support through the deployment of this 'moral capital' need not be philosophical visionaries or grand strategists. They lead by example, through scripting and acting out a narrative that embodies the passions and aspirations of those whom they seek to attract as followers. They may create and draw upon their moral prestige self-consciously, as Mandela certainly did at different stages of his life, so as to bring coherence to previously disparate social forces and in doing so extending exemplary influence across a range of political constituencies.²⁶⁵

Kane argues that Mandela accumulated his moral capital through his skilled, dignified, and powerful theatrical performances in the service of the ANC through the 1950s and his redemptive leadership, and in his legal defense of the armed rebellion.

²⁶⁵ John Kane, *The Politics of Moral Capital*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 126.

Mandela's moral capital was further enhanced by his colleagues and his family through their evocation of his mythical personality during his years in prison. Upon his release, this intensely self-controlled personality directed his emotions, both anger and forgiveness, in ways that extended his appeal well beyond the followers of his cause, particularly during points of crisis in the transition to democracy.

As a leader in government, Mandela remained intensely conscious of the symbolic function of his role in creating a focus for new ideas about citizenship, simultaneously exploiting his moral power, insisting upon his ordinariness and admitting to his mistakes.

Neither before nor during his presidency did Mandela demand or receive entirely unconditional devotion. While in power, he expected his compatriots to behave as assertive citizens, not as genuflecting disciples.

In a 2003 article for TIME magazine that celebrated the People of the Century, Mandela wrote "*Gandhi dared to exhort nonviolence in a time when the violence of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had exploded on us; he exhorted morality when science, technology and the capitalist order had made it redundant; he replaced self-interest with group interest without minimizing the importance of self.*"²⁶⁶ These were ideals that Mandela tried to mirror in his actions as the leader of the ANC's non-violent campaigns against apartheid during the 1950s.

²⁶⁶ See Nelson Mandela, "The Sacred Warrior, Nelson Mandela on Gandhi," *Time*, (January 3, 2000).

Conclusion

In general, Mandela strengthened the institutional bases of power with which he associated himself, rather than substituting his authority for organized politics. This is probably his strongest achievement. Mandela's political style engendered public participation and democratic deliberation.²⁶⁷

Mandela followed a largely participatory approach when it came to political institutions, security and justice and economic growth. He was able to keep the country together and prevented it from sliding into civil war. Mandela's administration had mixed success in reforming the economy. It could be argued that South Africa at the time was already a middle-income country and Mandela's focus was more on political and social reconciliation. Peace and stability were crucial to prevent South African from sliding into fragility, and this is exactly what Mandela and his administration strove to do.

Nelson Mandela is an example of an exemplary leader, who did what he could during his limited, legal tenure and left with dignity. Mandela played a key role in ensuring South Africa's path towards a stable democracy.

²⁶⁷ Keith Grint, *The Arts of Leadership*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 420.

5. Comparison Across Cases

Different Strokes: A Comparison of Leadership Strategies

At the outset, this dissertation sought to study the different leadership strategies that led to different outcomes in terms of exit from fragility. The cases examined in this dissertation offer interesting insights into the different approaches taken by the national executives of Zimbabwe, Uganda, Rwanda, and South Africa. More specifically, the dissertation examined the extent of political inclusion, economic inclusive growth, and the approach to security and justice, as pillars of a leadership strategy of each national executive.

There are two particularly important insights that emerge from the in-depth analysis of the country case studies. The first insight is related to the sustainability of the exit from fragility based on the strategy adopted by the change agent and the interaction of the agent with the structural aspects of development. The other insight has more to do with the personal agency aspect of the leader and is specifically related to the issue of leader exit or how the leaders give up power. This issue becomes significant given that disorderly or violent leadership exits can lead to a relapse into fragility.

Mugabe's Leadership Strategy

In Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe oversaw the transition from what was a hopeful democracy to political, social and economic collapse. Mugabe's strategy at the outset was to strengthen the state institutions in order to maintain control and

power. Though he initially called for reconciliation between the White minority and the Black majority, he did not follow this up with concrete actions to heal the divisions in society.

Instead, Mugabe directed Government resources and established a network of patronage and corruption to bolster support for his rule. For example, Mugabe disbursed gratuities to party elites, rural peasants, war veterans and the military in order to strengthen his ruling coalition. To deflect criticism of his failed policies, he used angry rhetoric to frame the threat to black Zimbabweans as one from white neo-colonialists and former colonial powers, and resorted to white farm invasions. His intentions regarding reconciliation became quite clear, and it was also clear that he would stop at nothing to maintain power, even at the cost of economic ruin.

Mugabe's approach to political participation was not inclusive of the White minority and the non-Shona speaking people in Zimbabwe. Mugabe and the ZANU-PF elite followed reckless fiscal policies and ran-up big budget deficits. The focus was not so much on creation of jobs or a sustainable economic system, but rather on the strategic disbursement of economic goods to a narrow coalition that was responsible for keeping Mugabe and his corrupt elites in power.

Dissent of any form was not tolerated, and the government routinely resorted to using the state apparatus to perpetrate violence against any opposition leaders, in addition to the White minority. The White minority was often singled

out and targeted for state supported violence in order to detract attention from the Government's failed economic and political policies.

Mugabe thus sought to strengthen the coercive apparatus of Government and avoided the installation of any checks-and-balances institutions that would pose any challenge or threat to his authority. His strategy has been limited to maintaining power, and focused on the plunder of state resources to maintain his narrow coalition of elites, through whom he ruled Zimbabwe for nearly thirty years.

As a result of his economic policies the Zimbabwean dollar, which had parity with the US dollar, is now nearly worthless. The country's GDP shrunk by more than half over the last decade and the country's economy deteriorated from being one of the World's strongest to the World's weakest. Mugabe and his elite coalition have followed an authoritarian-exclusive approach to leadership and are responsible for Zimbabwe's sorry state of affairs today.

As a leader, it appears as though Mugabe did not have an exit strategy, and sought to rule over Zimbabwe for life. Even when he was voted out in 2008, Mugabe and his elite did not cede power to the MDC, and resorted to violence to keep the power. They eventually had to agree to a power-sharing agreement that continues till date. However, Mugabe has continually resorted to violence to intimidate and keep his hold on power.

Figure 5-1 below is a heuristic depiction of Mugabe's non-inclusive leadership strategy, which led to an exacerbation of fragility.

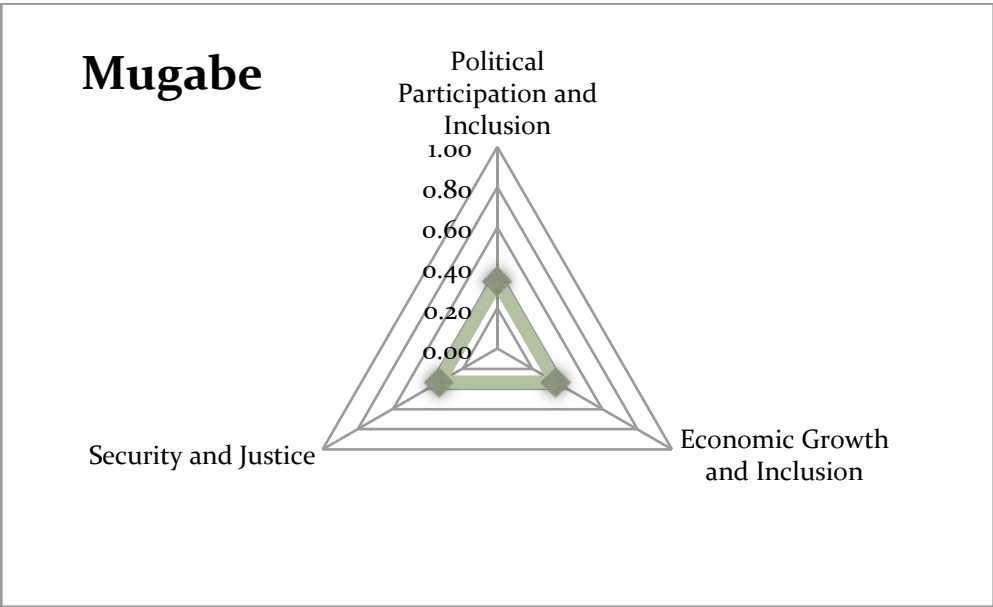


Figure 5-1: Robert Mugabe's Leadership Strategy

Note: In this heuristic depiction of the leadership strategy of national executives and their coalitions, I use three values – low (0.33), medium (0.67) and high (1.00) to indicate exacerbating fragility, neutral, and alleviating fragility outcomes.

Museveni’s Leadership Strategy

In Uganda, Yoweri Museveni sought to exit from fragility by reducing conflict through the use of force and strengthening the government apparatus. Museveni argued that multi-party politics would only exacerbate an already fragile society. This made sense in Uganda, given its violent history of fractious, ethnicity-based politics. The suffering in Uganda had been so widespread and deep-rooted that Museveni easily gained support for his ‘no-party’ democracy.

A majority of Ugandans appreciated Museveni's call for respect for human rights and the investigation of past abuses. He sought to promote popular participation in Government through the system of Resistance Councils.

Uganda has had over 20 years of uninterrupted economic growth, a huge achievement for a landlocked African country. The recovery owes much to the return of political stability and peace in most of the country under the government of Museveni. The benefits of development, however, have been skewed in favor of Museveni's traditional supporters from the South and Southwest. The North and Eastern parts of the country continue to be mired in poverty.

Museveni has resisted strengthening checks-and-balance institutions and in fact regressed to a certain extent when it comes to media and political freedoms. The state is still very much in charge, and unfortunately for Uganda, it seems wedded to Museveni's own ambitions. It is unclear as to what will be the fate of a post-Museveni Uganda.

It appears that Museveni, also, does not have a clear exit strategy. During the early days of his presidency, Museveni had criticized African leaders who sought to cling onto power for more than 15 years. Now, Museveni has been in power for 25 years, and has resorted to undemocratic means like vote rigging, intimidation of opposition leaders, and manipulation of the constitution, to ensure his continued hold on power. There is concern among scholars that Uganda may be another Zimbabwe in the making.

Uganda risks losing the valuable progress it has made since 1986, due to Museveni's personal ambition and inability to exit office gracefully. See Figure 5-2 for a heuristic depiction of Museveni's leadership strategy.

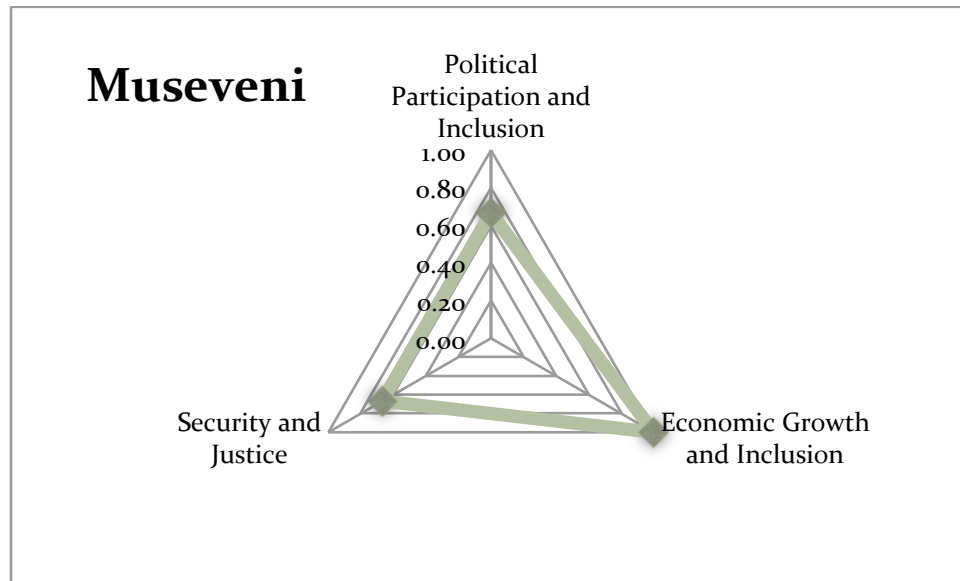


Figure 5-2: Yoweri Museveni's Leadership Strategy

Kagame's Leadership Strategy

In Rwanda, Paul Kagame faced a divided society with a horrific genocide fresh in public memory. Like Museveni, Kagame moved to first strengthen Government institutions and the army in order to ensure that the peace would hold in the aftermath of years of violence. He brought individuals from both Hutu and Tutsi backgrounds in the reconstitution of the Government.

After ensuring that there was a degree of stability, the Government focused on economic issues and poverty reduction. With the stated aim of making Rwanda a middle-income country by 2020, Kagame and his team sought to establish an inclusive economic system to help businesses thrive and succeed. Kagame oversaw

the establishment of Government agencies focused on education and job growth.

Kagame and the RPF Government outlawed ethnicity based discrimination, and instituted the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the divisions in society. There was a focus on ensuring that the perpetrators of the genocide were brought to justice.

In the political realm, Kagame's Government has not yet been able to shape an inclusive political system in a country used to exclusionary politics. The Tutsis are still very much in control. To his credit, however, Kagame took the initiative to organize consultative discussions about the future of Rwanda in 1997-98, unlike Museveni's more centralized approach.

The Vision 2020 project was developed collaboratively and has become a high-level vision for Rwanda's future. One of the key ingredients of this vision was building peace and security to facilitate productive initiatives. This would help realize the main goal of the vision: to transform Rwanda into a modern, strong, and united nation, proud of its fundamental values, politically stable, and without discrimination among its citizens.

Rwanda faces two daunting challenges in the years ahead. One of these challenges has to do with the nature of post-genocide Rwanda. Numerous genocide perpetrators fled across the border into the DRC. These Hutu militias continue to wait for an opportunity to strike back at the Kagame's Government.²⁶⁸ The other challenge is that of Kagame himself. It is unclear as to whether Kagame

²⁶⁸ Gérard Prunier, *From Genocide to Continental War: The "Congolese" Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa*, (London, UK: C. Hurst & Co, 2009), 193.

can institute a system that ensures an orderly transfer of power to the next elected leader. If Kagame continues to cling onto power like others before him, it could lead to a continuation of the vicious cycle of violent revolution.

Kagame's exit strategy is unclear as well, though he has stated that he would respect the two-term limit for presidents in Rwanda. Recent efforts by his Government to limit political opposition through intimidation and targeted killing are contrary to the official rhetoric of political inclusion and reconciliation. See Figure 5-3 for a heuristic depiction of Kagame's leadership strategy.

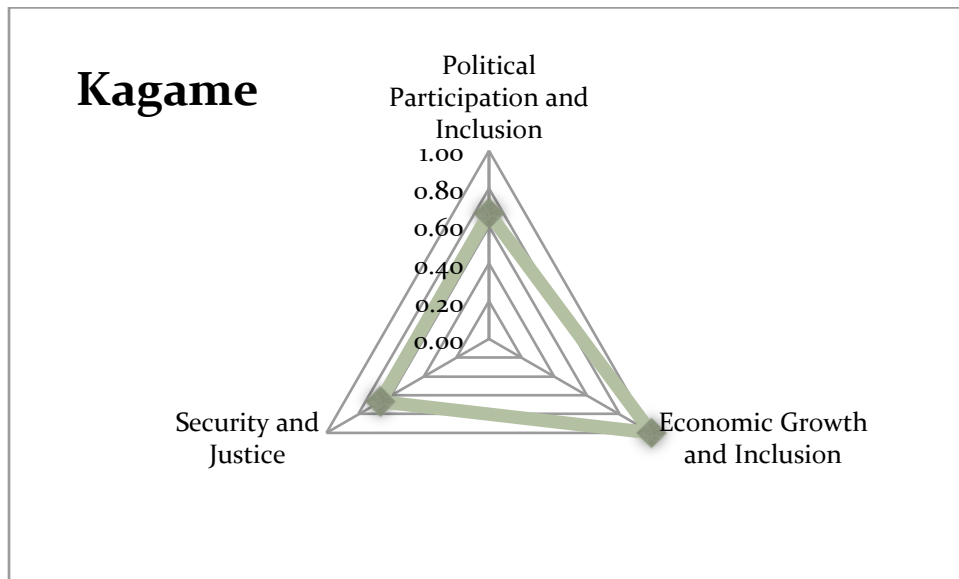


Figure 5-3: Paul Kagame's Leadership Strategy

Mandela's Leadership Strategy

In South Africa, Nelson Mandela was part of the struggle for equal rights for Africans, and became the symbol of the ANC's struggle against Apartheid. In general, Mandela strengthened the institutional bases of power with which he associated himself, rather than substituting his authority for organized politics.

This is probably his strongest achievement. Incorporating different races and ethnicities into a community of South African citizens was Mandela's imperative. Without genuine attempts at reconciliation, Mandela knew that most White South Africans would flee abroad, causing economic chaos in South Africa. Though he faced considerable opposition from his ANC colleagues, Mandela stood firm in his commitment to a sincere process of reconciliation.

Mandela's genuineness and sincerity towards reconciliation was understood and appreciated by Afrikaners. His speeches and conduct after the 1994 election results went a long way in helping calm nerves and even helped the South African leadership win friends internationally. Mandela undertook a series of policy reviews to redefine the government's priorities, including government support for human rights.

Mandela supported multilateral initiatives to assert South Africa's role in the African continent. He advocated an expansion of South Africa's military and sought to promote South Africa's role in Africa as the continent's regional power. Mandela ensured that there would be no restriction on free speech. His administration allowed complete freedom of the press, even though it meant that the media could come down against him and the ANC.

Mandela and his administration instituted broad-based economic policies but were only moderately successful in their efforts. South Africa still has unemployment rates in the range of 25 percent and faces growing income inequality. To Mandela's credit, however, he was able to ensure the transition of

South Africa from being a racial autocracy into a multi-racial democracy full of hope for the future.

Mandela stepped down after serving one term as South Africa's president. His graceful exit serves as an example for other national executives who seem to yield to the temptation of staying on in power even after they complete their terms. See Figure 5-4 for a heuristic depiction of Mandela's leadership strategy.

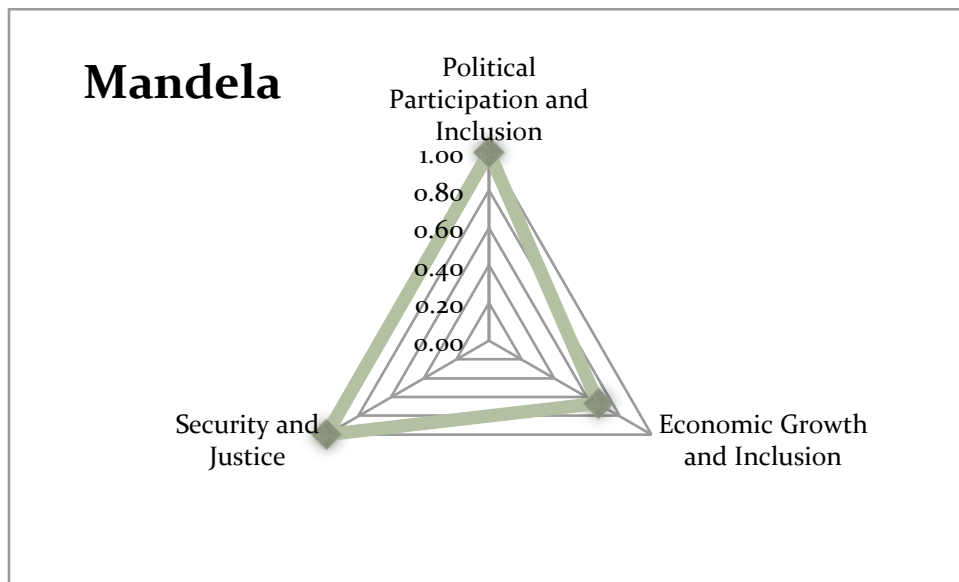


Figure 5-4: Nelson Mandela's Leadership Strategy

Comparison of Leadership Strategies

In terms of comparing the leadership strategies, Table 5-1 provides a more detailed analysis of the approach of each of the leaders to political participation and inclusion, economic growth and inclusion, and security and justice. This comparison is based on the framework for analyzing leadership strategy related to fragility developed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Table 5-1: Comparison of Leadership Strategies

Leadership Strategy	Mugabe	Museveni	Kagame	Mandela
Political Participation & Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Routinely inhibiting political competition • No broad coalitions • No reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occasionally inhibiting political competition • Some broad coalitions • Some reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occasionally inhibiting political competition • Some broad coalitions • Some reconciliation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect for political competition • Systematic broad coalitions • Systematic reconciliation
Economic Growth & Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reckless fiscal policies & Budget deficits • Narrow/particularistic provision of public goods • No orientation on job growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fiscally responsible • Broad based distribution of public goods • Systematic focus on job growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fiscally responsible • Broad based distribution of public goods • Systematic focus on job growth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed fiscal record • Unbalanced or limited distribution of public goods • Some focus on job growth
Security & Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus for perpetrating ethnic violence • Centralizing control over armed forces, • No respect for rule of law, interfering with & undermining judicial institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus to stem violence and protect peace • Centralizing control over armed forces, • Some stretching of legal authority & interfering with judicial institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus to stem violence and protect peace • Centralizing control over armed forces, • Some stretching of legal authority & interfering with judicial institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using state apparatus to protect the peace and prevent violence, • Institutionalizing civilian control over armed forces • Respecting legal limits of authority, independence of judicial institutions

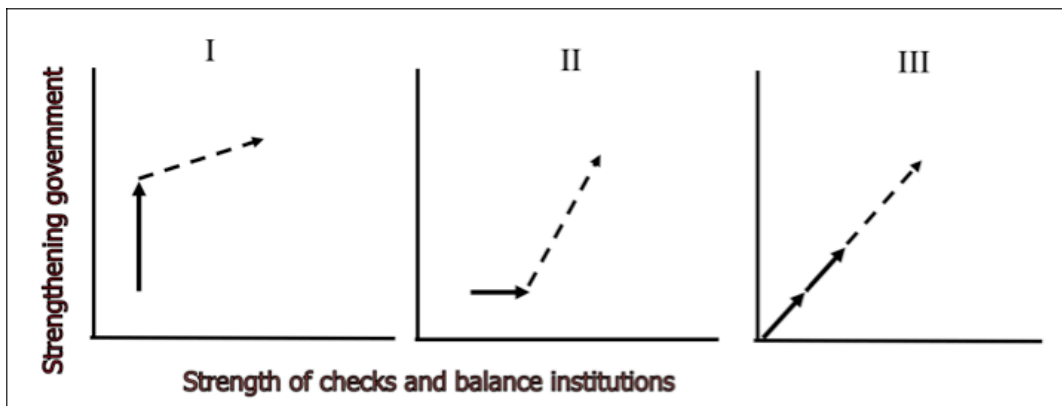
Sequencing and Prioritizing Reform

The comparison of leadership strategies employed by the different leaders reveals differences in the sequencing of governance strategies. It is interesting to see that Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda have employed similar strategies in helping alleviate fragility in their countries, while Robert

Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Nelson Mandela of South Africa have followed strategies that are poles apart.

Research at the World Bank has shown that countries follow different strategies while pursuing governance reform. In terms of sequencing of strategies, the trajectories of progress differ from country to country by virtue of their unique structural factors, as well as the leadership strategy.

In a 2007 World Bank report on governance reform, Brian Levy notes that individual countries show a strikingly uneven mix of strengths and weaknesses across different institutions and governance outcomes.²⁶⁹



Source: Global Monitoring Report, 2006

Figure 5-5: Sequencing Governance Reform²⁷⁰

In the first trajectory, the political leadership takes power and focuses primarily on liberalizing the economy and strengthening the performance of the public sector – and considers checks-and-balance institutions a lower priority. Museveni in Uganda and Kagame in Rwanda have adopted this approach.

²⁶⁹ See Brian Levy, *Governance Reform: Bridging Monitoring and Action*, (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2007).

²⁷⁰ See The World Bank, *Global Monitoring Report*, (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2006).

Economic growth can be rapid in this scenario, but if the country leadership and reformers wait too long to put the challenge of strengthening checks and balances on the agenda, the consequence (as in Indonesia during the later Suharto years) can be rising corruption, financial crisis, a difficult process of political succession and a reversal of earlier gains. Mugabe's approach would be one of trying to strengthen government, without addressing the strength of checks and balance institutions.

In the second trajectory, a country moves towards political pluralism. Albania in the early 1990s and Indonesia more recently are examples of this approach. Only sometimes does this political openness translate into stronger Government capacity. Such a trajectory could also cause a country to be trapped in a cycle of what Thomas Carothers calls "feckless pluralism," with short-lived Governments repeatedly voted out of power. These Governments do not have the sufficient support or time to build the basis of institutional capacity on which effectiveness and legitimacy will eventually be restored.²⁷¹ Museveni and Kagame were fearful of this outcome and hence, chose to prioritize the stability and strength of the Government versus opening up the country to multi-party democracy, and provision of the rights and freedoms that come along with such a transition.

In the third trajectory, following regime collapse, international intervention or support helps to provide an umbrella of security under which both the

²⁷¹ Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 1, (2002).

government and checks-and-balances institutions are strengthened side-by-side. Mozambique is an example of a country that appears to have followed a balanced trajectory.

It is arguable that South Africa, post-Apartheid, was in a fragile situation. There had been widespread riots and violence, and the economy was teetering on collapse. In such a situation, Mandela sought to steady the ship by continuing on a path of reconciliation, coupled with institutional strengthening, as well as ensuring the efficacy of checks-and-balances institutions.

Thus, a comparison of the leadership approaches of the four cases presents an interesting picture of different leadership strategies. The national executives studied in the dissertation utilized different strategies to address their own unique contexts, but they had to address the common issues of political fragmentation, security, and economic growth.

Mugabe's approach was more authoritarian in nature, and the veneer of consultative and consensus based politics evaporated in the first few years of the regime. Mugabe only focused on strengthening the coercive apparatus to help maintain control and as a result was able to reap the dividends of the peace effect for the first ten years of his regime. Without a clear exit strategy, Mugabe fell prey to the disease of "*life-long rulership*," that seems to afflict many rulers in Africa and the Middle East.

Kagame and Museveni used more broad based strategies when it comes to establishing security and economic growth, but did not fully open up to political

consultation. Though they sought to establish a stronger government apparatus to ensure security and stability at first, they have succumbed to allowing this power to be used against any opposition to their regime. Museveni in particular has not indicated what is his leadership exit strategy and as a result, the durability of Uganda's exit from fragility is still unclear. Kagame on the other hand has declared that he will step down at the end of his second term as president in 2016. Whether he is able to strengthen Rwanda's institutions in the next five years, so that they can endure and evolve beyond his exit remains to be seen.

In South Africa, Mandela followed a largely inclusive, broad-based leadership strategy, and handled the issue of leaving office in a graceful manner. Though his economic record is mixed, it can be argued that his administration's focus was on political and social reconciliation. Mandela paved the way for the institution of leadership to take root in the fledgling democracy.

When interpreted together with the findings of the data analysis, it appears that an inclusive leadership strategy, in terms of the political, economic and security aspects, helps sustain an exit from fragility.

6. Insights and Implications

Politics is at the core of development. Though natural and human resources are important, what seems to matter most is how governments manage those resources. The role of governance is critical to whether a country makes economic and social progress or not.

Development, however it is defined, involves economic, social and political changes in society. Such change is shaped by ideas, engages interests and proceeds within rules and norms set by political institutions. Since the structure of political institutions is influenced by human agency, leadership becomes a critical factor that merits its own research agenda.

This chapter seeks to draw together the insights obtained during the course of the study and outlines some of the implications for policies of development assistance.

Insights

Insight 1: The Important Role of Leadership in Establishing Institutions for Development

Leaders and their elite coalitions are crucial agents in establishing the basis for political and economic institutional foundations of effective states. The process of establishment of these institutions in fragile and post-conflict states often requires societal reconciliation and security for citizens. These are both bottom-up

and top-down processes in which the role of leaders and coalitions across multiple levels is fundamental.

From the data analysis and the country case studies in the preceding chapters, it is evident that agency plays a clear role in determining the development trajectory of fragile states post-transition.

The 'structure-agency' debate has been going on for many decades in the social sciences.²⁷² The structure-agency problem is about the key issue of how to explain socio-economic and political behavior. On the one hand there are explanations that give emphasis to structural and institutional factors that shape and govern behavior; and on the other hand there are explanations that place greater emphasis on the autonomy of agents and agency. Both structure and agency are important.

Leadership as an institution is paramount because it provides a transitioning society with the means to solve problems, make decisions, and craft policies. Leaders can help shape institutions that reduce uncertainty.²⁷³

There is widespread agreement in the international community and among researchers that institutions matter for stable and secure states, economic growth, political democracy and inclusive social development. Policy makers and international financial institutions have been insisting on the adoption of 'appropriate' political, economic and social institutions in the belief that these

²⁷² Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, (London, UK: Macmillan, 1979).

²⁷³ See Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

would promote economic growth, accountability and responsiveness through good economic governance and political democracy.²⁷⁴ It takes effective leadership to achieve this.

The cross-country panel data analysis in this dissertation supports the hypothesis that leadership change and fragility are related. The cases analyzed in this dissertation lend support to the hypothesis that leadership is crucial in establishing policies and institutions that in turn determine the development trajectories of nations.

Insight 2: Differentiated Leadership Strategies – Key role of sequencing political participation of inclusion

While Mugabe's strategy seems to have led to all-round deleterious outcomes, and Mandela managed a very effective transition, the more nuanced implications and issues arise from the intermediate cases of Museveni's Uganda and Kagame's Rwanda. Both achieved a measure of security, and strong economic outcomes, but felt it essential to allow hesitant, limited or even retreating political participation. This raises a key issue of what is the appropriate sequencing of political participation; while limiting political participation can lead to short-term gains in the consolidation of power, when does that prove to be unsustainable.

Fragile states are characterized by weak governance institutions, debilitated economies, and prolonged vulnerability to conflict. In such situations, the new

²⁷⁴ See Adrian Leftwich and Steve Hogg, "Leadership for Development: The Role of Leaders, Elites, and Coalitions," Research and Analytical Program 2008-2009, Global Integrity Alliance, (Canberra: AUSAID, 2009).

government leadership must seek to restore security and stability as a priority. Restoring confidence and legitimacy through inclusion and early, visible results at local levels is important before embarking on wider institutional reform.

The leadership case studies in this dissertation demonstrated the importance of trying to build inclusive coalitions in order to realize a transition away from fragility. The 2011 *World Development Report on Conflict, Security, and Development* emphasizes that coalition-building efforts will only be successful if they can address the underlying weaknesses that increase the risks of repeated cycles of violence – deficits in security, justice, and job-creation.

The World Development Report also outlines four key principles that can help national leadership galvanize and sustain a virtuous cycle to address the challenges of weak institutional capacity and repeated violence:

- Inclusion is important to restore confidence, but coalitions need not be “all-inclusive.” Inclusive-enough coalitions work to build national support for change and bring in relevant international stakeholders whose support is required. At the local level, the coalitions can work with community leaders and structures to identify priorities and deliver programs. Inclusive-enough coalitions help address violence through collaboration with community leaders, parliaments, civil society, private sector, and with regional neighbors, and donors.
- Some quick wins are required to build confidence of citizens and create momentum for longer-term institutional transformation. When trust is low,

people do not believe in big reform plans. Some early results can help build trust, restore confidence, and build momentum for reform. Sustained economic growth and socio-political development require complex structural and institutional transformations that can take a generation.

- It makes sense to establish first the basic institutional functions that provide citizen security, justice, and jobs, and ensure that the new initiatives do not lose credibility due to corruption. Progress in these areas helps lay the foundation for broader change that will require addressing the longer-term issues of social attitudes to marginalized groups, political reform, deeper economic reform, and decentralization.
- Embrace pragmatic options to address immediate challenges. In post-conflict situations, it is important to be realistic and pragmatic in dealing with challenges, and not wait for a perfect solution based on a single ideology.

This is also where the leaders studied in this dissertation diverged in their approaches. A key insight emerging from the case studies is that inclusive-enough coalitions need to be managed dynamically; a coalition that is inclusive enough at one point may not be sufficient or sustainable as the regime matures and pressures build for strengthening political participation and inclusion.

Mugabe, Museveni, Kagame, and Mandela are from different backgrounds and operated in different geo-political and ethno-historical contexts. They were successful (or unsuccessful) to different extents in terms of managing the exits from fragility and addressing the underlying issues of political fragmentation,

security and justice, and economic growth. These divergent leadership strategies involved addressing complex issues related to political participation and inclusion, economic growth and inclusion, and security and justice. From the data analysis, and the case studies, it appears as though an inclusive leadership strategy helps put a country on the path out of fragility.

Insight 3: Importance of Exit as Key Aspect of Effective Leadership Strategy

The issue of leadership exit or how leaders leave office is also worth more systematic study. Leaders who leave at the end of their terms generally seem to respect the institutional setup that has been put in place. This gives the institutions an opportunity to take hold.

On the other hand, leaders who refuse to exit in accordance with institutional and legal constraints, endanger the country's exit from fragility. For instance, Nelson Mandela's exit at the end of his term cemented South Africa's transition to a multi-party democracy. On the other hand, Museveni's manipulation of institutions in order to continue as president of Uganda is putting the country at risk of regressing into another violent struggle for power when Museveni exits, and hence a regression back into fragility. The same challenge is relevant to Kagame in Rwanda, whose future seems to be quite intertwined with the president's political fortunes.

Insight 4: The Need for Additional Rigorous Research on Leadership

Another implication is that the field of leadership for development needs more analytical research that lends itself to empirical investigation. Since leadership is an elusive construct riddled with so much ambiguity, it can be hard even to define it, let alone study it systematically. However, the demand for insights into leadership has only increased over time.

A majority of the leadership literature is focused on the corporate sector and business organizations in the developed world. There has also not been a systematic approach to studying the role of leadership in influencing development outcomes. It is important to understand systematically the specific structural and leadership contexts that influence development outcomes. Based on this understanding, national leaders and international donor agencies could then make more focused policies that address the specific contextual challenges.

The methodology developed in this dissertation could be significantly improved upon to provide more convincing results and address more specific questions about the nature of leadership that can promote a durable exit from fragility. Additional research could be done to develop empirically measurable indicators for the variables identified in the framework and panel data analysis of these variables could be carried out as a later research project.

Conclusion

This dissertation establishes the importance of leadership in determining development outcomes in fragile states using a rigorous combination of both

quantitative and qualitative methods. The dissertation conducted a panel data analysis to determine whether there was a robust association between changes in leadership and levels of fragility. Having found a strong association, the dissertation then delved into in-depth case studies.

The country case studies examined the role that agency plays in determining development outcomes. The case studies provide support for the hypothesis advanced at the beginning of this dissertation. The nature of the leadership strategy clearly impacts fragility outcomes and consequently the sustainability of the transition away from fragility.

The dissertation provided the basis for a framework that could be further developed to measure how specific leadership actions and policies impact fragility outcomes.

This dissertation contributes to the scholarship on the role of leadership in development. It also sets the stage for further, more refined research linking elements of leadership to development outcomes.

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