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**The Rise and Fall of Long Serving African Leaders: A Comparative
Analysis of Libya and Zimbabwe**

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**Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Award
of a Master of Social Science (Political Studies) Degree at University of
Fort Hare**

2021



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DECLARATION

I, Mihle Maciko hereby declare that this work has been carried out by myself and does not breach any plagiarism law. All secondary sources have referenced and quoted accordingly to show that their work used in this study has been acknowledged to belong to them.

Signature..... Date: 14/10/2022



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

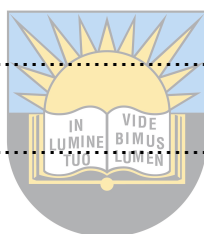
Firstly, I would like to firstly acknowledge my supervisor Dr V. Ferim for his assistance and guidance for the duration of both my honours and master's research. I truly appreciate his guidance in completing this study. I would also like to acknowledge the constant support from my family and peers. Their support has pushed me till the end. I would also like to acknowledge NRF which assisted me with the funds for the duration of my studies. They have eased a lot of stress on me and my family.



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ABSTRACT

Africa has recently faced a wave of dethroning of long serving leaders after many years of these leaders being in power. Some of the names which have been victims to this wave include Muammar Gaddafi, Omar Al Bashir, and Robert Mugabe. This study aims to examine this new wave as to the reasons behind it and what it means for existing long serving leaders in Africa. It will study the rise to power of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe and what led to their demise, as hopes of providing advice to remaining dictators on how they can consolidate power so that they do not suffer the same fate as those already dethroned. A qualitative study has been carried out using secondary sources for data collection, to study this wave. From the data analysed, it showed that these leaders rose through ways of good governance and progressive economic policies. Various tactics were used to consolidate power, some being aggressive while others were aligned with democratic principles. These tactics are explained using two theories: informational theory of authoritarianism and theory of revolution. The data also pointed out that these methods eventually proved to be fuelling a fire of revolt amongst citizens, who found themselves in unbearable situations, eventually removing Gaddafi and Mugabe from power. This study provided lessons to existing long-serving leaders of having respect for human rights, being able to adapt with democracy and prioritising the welfare and well-being of their citizens. This is to ensure they do not suffer the same fate as Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

1.1.1 Prevalence of Dictatorship in Africa

Dictatorship is one of the oldest forms of rule that continues to exist in contemporary politics. It has been a method of rule that has been used all over the world but continues to remain popular in Africa – amongst old statemen who want to assume control over their country's financial resources, political structures, and influence beliefs of the majority. "Dictators impose their creeds through media and propaganda, educational systems, and sheer repression and coercion" (Brum 2018: 2). This is all done with the aim of trying to increase their stay in power. This has been a popular and continuous way of governing or behaving by dictators in Africa. Dictatorships in Africa have always been organised around family groups or social groups with common interests. Dictatorship in Africa has been founded around or within members of the military, factions within the government, or they could be economic elites who own land, businesses, or other assets whose value is threatened by democracy (Naidu, Robinson & Young 2016: 2). These factions have always driven out democratic governments through what is called a 'coup', often were organised by the mentioned groups. Dictatorship in Africa started after African states gained independence from colonial rule, from the mid-1950s towards late 1970s. A few newly formed independent countries went on to be ruled by dictators or military juntas (US Department of State 2018). These countries ended up being in constant civil wars (including coups) over who should be in power. The road to

independence in Africa was mostly led by individuals who went on to assume the seat of presidency. Ghana became the first country to gain independence in 1957 even though it “did not involve military confrontation especially when compared with African countries such as Algeria and South Africa” (Johnson 2015: 2). More and more states would go on and gain independence from European powers and established rule through ‘Independence movements.’

Sub-Saharan Africa is home to Africa’s longest-ruling heads of state who from the 1960s and 1970s the sought-after becoming president for life (Felter 2021). Today we see rulers who have been in power for more than three decades – namely Teodoro Obiang Nguema-Mbasongo & Omar Bongo (Equatorial Guinea & Gabon 42 years), Paul Biya (Cameroon 38 years) and Gnassingbe Eyadema (Togo 38 years) among others. Post-independence and in contemporary politics, there are many similarities within the remain dictators in Africa. Together, these leaders have increased “spurring corruption, instability, societal fractures, and economic stagnation” (Felter 2021) which have weakened the respective countries. All this has been done with the intent of stamping their authority and enrich themselves to ensure they accumulate all the wealth they can while in power. It can be said that politics is a zero-sum game, and these leaders are aware of the possibility of being removed from power, like Robert Mugabe was. Felter (2021) “Leaders are increasingly securing longer terms through “constitutional coups, proposing amendments for approval by the legislature or judiciary, or in national referenda, that allow for additional terms in office.” Modern dictators have been able to manipulate democratic institutions and processes to ensure they work in their favour. They have been able to identify weak spots in

democracy which they have been able to manipulate to ensure they keep longer hold of power. This has not always been a success in all cases, with “Zambian President Frederick Chiluba’s and Malawian President Bakili Muluzi’s proposals to raise presidential term limits in 2001 and 2003, respectively, were stopped after opposition and civil society groups formed alliances with lawmakers from the countries’ ruling parties” (Felter 2021). This goes to show that dictators have not always been victorious in their stride to extend their stay in power in contemporary politics.

1.1.2 Dictatorships, the root of political instability

“Economic welfare and social order are the contemporary relevant factors of political regimes’ stability” (Artige 2004: 1). The dictator plays a crucial role in keeping a balance in society to ensure both economic welfare and social order are well maintained. Failure to maintain the balance, leads to instability, however, being able to have a healthy environment in all aspects of society can create stability in a dictatorship. Dictatorships for years have always been surrounded by chaos and violence, often linked to the desire to accumulate, and own raw materials (wealth) and political and military power. Such desires in an authoritarian state filled with opposition movements to that in power, presents the possibilities of “high frequency of irregular and often-violent leadership turnovers” (Shih, Zhang & Liu 2018: 1). As such, such turnovers present instability in society as there is turmoil occurring constantly, disrupting the daily lives of citizens. Dictatorships present instability on the political sphere of a state as there is no fair participation and existence of other parties, giving citizens zero options to

choose from, denying them universal rights such as political participation through voting.

1.2 Rationale of the Study

The reason for studying this wave of the dethroning of long-serving African leaders is because it is a contemporary issue in African politics and holds high relevance. It is an existing and on-going process which has shaken many corners of the continent, given how many may have thought that African people had tolerated the abuse of power by these leaders. It is important to study this wave as it presents a defying behaviour by African citizens, in which they are now starting to lean towards democracy by suggesting presidential term limits.

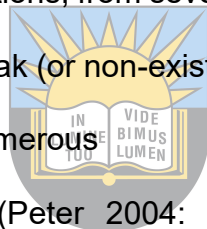
1.3 Research Problem



Recently in Africa we have witnessed a wave of dictators or long serving leaders being dethroned, either through a coup or being ousted in elections. In all cases, the aftermath of these occasions has been met with optimism. It is believed that this would allow a country to make a fresh start with a new democratically elected government (Gopaldas 2018: 2). This optimism comes after citizens of these states have suffered for very long, living in poverty under economies which generally benefited only the elites.

Contemporary times have shown us that long-serving leaders such as Gaddafi and Mugabe are losing their relevance in leadership. The abrupt of the youth in the Arab Spring has pushed the African Union to amplify youth voices and provide concrete plans of action for more youth inclusion in public service and

governance, as they have shown a distaste of the oldest form of rule (African Leadership Institute (2020). This stance is one which is intriguing, given how long these leaders ruled in their countries (Gaddafi 24 years and Mugabe 30 years). Both Gaddafi and Mugabe were praised as well as condemned for different reasons. However, their demise presents an area worth investigating, given that they were in power for decades. One was killed and the other was overthrown by the military. This also presents a challenge for one of Africa's longest forms of government and it should be investigated as to whether this form of rule still works as we now live in a democratic era. There is a sudden shift "to more accountable government, from less competitive (or non-existent) elections to fuller and fairer competitive elections, from severely restricted to better protected civil and political rights, from weak (or non-existent) autonomous associations to more autonomous and more numerous associations in civil society" (Peter 2004: 368) in (Tar 2010: 84). Their consolidation of power is also of high interest as they thrived even when democracy in Africa was on the rise.



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1.4 Research Questions

- What strategies were employed by both Gaddafi and Mugabe while consolidating their political power?
- What factors led to the demise of both Gaddafi and Mugabe?

1.5 Research Aim

The aim of this study is to examine the rise and fall of African dictators using Gaddafi, and Mugabe as case studies.

1.6 Research Objectives

- To analyse and explain the various strategies used by both Gaddafi and Mugabe while consolidating their political power.
- To uncover the various factors which led to the demise of both Gaddafi and Mugabe.

1.7 Significance of The Study

This study contributes to literature which arises from this wave of dethroning of long serving leaders. It unpacks the factors which have triggered this phenomenon of the dethroning of these leaders, whilst pointing out the strategies utilised which have ensured this removal of long serving leaders became a success. The main beneficiaries of this study will be students and researchers who may show interest to study or pursue further research on this wave of the removal of the two long serving leaders, Gaddafi, and Mugabe. Students can utilise the contents of this research in their own assessments when looking into African dictatorship and how it may have worked and failed in Africa. Researchers can be able to derive topics of interest which they may want to either contest, enquire further information on or be able to cite contents of this study in their own research papers.

1.8 Research Methodology

“The research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data” (Kothari 2004: 31). This study is qualitative research.


“Qualitative research generally adheres (although not always) to a

constructivist view of the world, one that suggests that reality is in the eye of the beholder” (Kielmaan Cataldo & Seeley 2012: 7). Data has been collected from secondary sources such as books, journals, online sources, and media reports, to limit time consumption and simplify research logistics. Primary sources such as official documents have been used but the study has been largely dominated by secondary sources.

The method of analysis used is content analysis, by looking at the various themes which arose in the study, based on the different ways in which these leaders have consolidated power and have lost power. Bryman (2004: 392) states that qualitative content analysis is "probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents" and that it "comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed." These have been grouped into different themes such as the use of force, bribery to stay in power under the strategies of consolidating power. Human rights violation and the transition to democracy are themes which fall under the demise of these leaders.

Tabular representation of the research questions linked to research methods and their justifications:

Research Question	Data Source & Method	Justification
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What strategies were employed by Gaddafi and Mugabe to consolidate power?	Books, Online Sources, Reports, Official Documents and Journal Articles	Books, online sources, official documents, reports, and journals provided a great analysis of these strategies and how they worked for the benefit of these dictators in consolidating power.
What factors led to the demise of Gaddafi and Mugabe?	Books, Online Sources, Reports, Official Documents and Journal Articles  University of Fort Hare <i>Together in Excellence</i>	Books, online sources, reports, official documents and journals gave an understanding about the factors which led to the demise of these dictators

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Given the fact that this study relies heavily on secondary data, all works of other authors used in the study, were cited, and referenced to acknowledge that it was their original work. There has been a consistent use of quotation marks for all words verbatim. A declaration page will also be signed and attached as part of this study, stating that all work of other authors in this study have been acknowledged. An ethical clearance certificate has been obtained from the University of Fort Hare for this study.

1.10 Proposed Structure of the dissertation

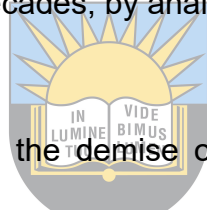
Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter comprises of the Introduction, Research Problem, Research Questions and Objectives, the Significance of the Study, Research Methodology and Envisaged Ethical Issues and Chapters outline.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework – This chapter reviewed the various literatures by authors on how dictators consolidate power and what also leads to their demise. This chapter uncovered the theory for this study which assisted in answering the research questions.

Chapter 3: What strategies were employed by Gaddafi and Mugabe to consolidate power? - This chapter discussed how Gaddafi and Mugabe managed to stay in power for decades, by analysing the strategies employed by them to consolidate power.

Chapter 4: What factors led to the demise of Gaddafi and Mugabe? – This chapter took a dive into the factors which led to them being removed from power. Giving analysis their stay in power and how it led to them being toppled from power.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations. This chapter is made up of the Conclusion and Recommendations

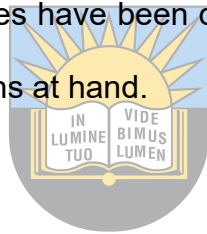


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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 of this study dives into reviewing literature of this study. This chapter has investigated the concept of dictatorship, breaking it down where it has come from and to what it is in contemporary politics. This chapter has paid some focus on what long-serving leaders are and what classifies them to be such. Various literature has been reviewed, looking at how dictators consolidate power and how they potentially can lose power. This chapter has presented on the theories which have been used in this study: Informational theory of Authoritarianism and Theory of Revolution. These two theories have been detailed out and have assisted in answering the research questions at hand.



2.2 Literature Review

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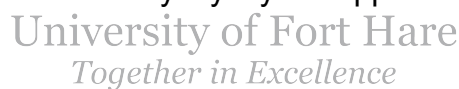
2.2.1 Conceptualising Dictatorship

“The term dictatorship has an origin in the Latin word *dictatura*, which means dictation” (Antic 2004: 777). Dictatorship is a concept which has been around for centuries, dating back to 5th century. It has always resonated with ideas of illegality, domination, the rule of the military and totalitarianism (Baehr 2004: 162). Dictatorship was adopted by those who believed that a collective body of decision makers would derail bringing solutions to problems, particularly in Rome. Initially the thought behind vesting power in a single individual would help reduce the consumption of time taken in dealing with critical issues of the state. However, modern dictatorship has enabled individuals or groups to monopolize

political power to the detriment of society at large (Baehr 2002: 162). It has become a system of self-benefit whereby power is used to secure all resources the leader wants, at the expense of everyone else.

Dictatorship involves a lot of inequality be it economic, political, or social. The way it operates is about oppression of the poor majority by elite minority. In a dictatorship, “the masses are fed propaganda declaring their leader to be flawless” (Freeman 2019). They are presented with an image of the leader being the “Messiah” (more especially leaders who lead liberation movements). Aside from the use of propaganda, “the dictator not only represses his opponents, but he also redistributes to his supporters” (Wintrobe 2009: 9). This simply means that in a dictatorship, not only is the use of force key to remain in power, but financial gains for those who ensure the dictator stays in power are key.

Financial resources are used to buy loyalty of supporters.



It can be understood that in a dictatorship, loyalty, and repression form part of key elements of a success. The use of repression does not diminish the level of popularity a dictator has. Hitler remained popular in Germany despite carrying out horrible acts like the holocaust. That even strengthened the loyalty of many who were around him. However, there is some intricacy in the interrelationships between repression and loyalty. “The main complication is that while loyalty and repression both use up resources (and in that sense are alternative “inputs” into the creation and maintenance of political power), their levels are not independent of one another: the level of repression affects the supply of loyalty” (Wintrobe 2009: 10). That is why dictators often must bring a balance between the two, to

ensure supporters loyalty is not lost. This can be said to be something some African dictators have failed to do which has led to their downfall.

It is of this backdrop that this study has focused on Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe as case studies. The rise to power of these leaders shares a lot of similarities and fall closely to being regarded as one of the most powerful dictators Africa has ever had. These two leaders have had controversial tenures as leaders in their respective countries and have often drawn a lot of attention to their methods of consolidating power. It also comes as no surprise that these two leaders had a relationship, as “Gaddafi was willing to give Mugabe oil and money, which made him the most precious ally of all” (Johnson 2012). Their demise draws a lot of attention given how long they ruled in their respective countries. One was killed and the other was overthrown by the military. These kinds of events draw a lot of attention to dictatorships and some of its flaws.



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2.2.2 Conceptualising long-serving leaders

Over the years, we have witnessed the rise and fall of regimes and long serving leaders the world over. These regimes have been established using various methods and strategies, which have seen their existence for so many years, even till today. One of the most common ways which long serving leaders have used to secure power is through the overthrowing of governments or organising military attacks. “Nondemocratic regimes almost always rely on some degree of repression against competing groups” (Acemoglu, Ticchi & Vindigni 2008: 1). The control of the police force or military have been key at this, ensuring that any opposition that speaks against the regime is silenced through force. The use of

force has proven to be an important instrument, sometimes substituting intimidation of opposition or disloyal citizens. Force has and continues to be control measure which many leaders use in consolidating power.

The downfall of these autocracies and regimes have also been marked by events which have shaped and changed the political atmosphere of those countries. In most cases, the fall of these regimes marked the entry of democracy into those countries. "Economic sanctions and military intervention" (Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2019) have been used by external forces (the United Nations) to weaken regimes and force them to crumble and give way for democracy.

2.2.1 Consolidation of Power by Dictators

There are various ways which leaders around the world use to consolidate power. Some of the used methods come across as democratic or nondemocratic and some totally unfashionable, in the sense that they go against morality or human rights. Regardless, these methods are deemed necessary for these leaders to keep a grip on power.

2.2.1.1 Use of Neopatrimonialism

According to Francisco (2010: 1) Neopatrimonialism is the vertical distribution of resources and is not regarded as corrupt behaviour by the population who rely on the system for their own survival. It is based on a client-patron relationship, where the client stands to receive material benefit for the protection of a patron. Usually, this relationship utilizes state resources to ensure it is sustained. This is popular attribute of African leadership/politics. Often when leaders get into power, they have a group of individuals they keep close to them. Some of these

individuals could have played a part in helping the leader secure power while others are key for consolidating power with.

According to McGovern (2016: 1) "Authoritarian leaders typically attempt to secure a safe margin of continuing political support by providing political and economic benefits to an essential group of allies." These benefits may include financial transactions or employment opportunities. This way they go to elections knowing they have secured a certain margin or votes they may need to win. In the DRC, "Mobutu's reign was characterized by the rampant corruption of a government engineered solely to benefit him and his friends" (Dizolele 2014).



Despite this kind of behaviour leading to a decline in a country's economy, dictators find it necessary to please those around them to avoid losing their loyalty and support. Having allies more especially in key government areas allows the leader to have access to the government's funds and resources, which is often the case for any leader, new or existing. This goes to show that selfish behaviour is common amongst leaders and does not necessarily lie with a certain leader from a particular part of the world. All leaders want to secure and keep power for security. Neopatrimonialism "is still regarded as an important mechanism for ensuring continued support for the ruling party and access to resources" (Francisco 2010: 2). This continuous manipulations and misuse of resources by the client-patron relations tightens the relationship and mainly loyalty of the client (individual) to the patron (ruling party or leader).

Voting in a neopatrimonialism system is also supported by religion, tribe, and ethnicity “while policies and even the lack of development will be ignored by both candidates and voters.” (Cammack 2007: 602). It is no secret that neopatrimonialism affects growth and development of a state, as resources are diverted to personal gain, instead of benefiting the public. “Neopatrimonial states are burdened by bureaucracies whose appointments are made according to tests of loyalty, and which ineffectively account for public funds siphoned off to spend on political projects” (Cammack 2007: 602-603). These appointments then go on to create a dysfunctional public service, one where corrupt action go unpunished and are normalised. This then impacts on the overall growth of a state, its development and creates more reliance on foreign aid. “Neopatrimonialism aids corruption and renders official and formal systems of accountability redundant” (Hooper 2017). The only form of accountability only happens between the client-patron relationship. This clearly indicates that leaders and their allies completely undermine all formal systems put in place, ensuring compliance only to what the leader deems as correct to follow.

2.2.1.2 Use of Force and Punishment

“The totalitarian tyrannies of Stalin, Hitler, Mao, Pol Pot, and others relied largely—although not exclusively—on mass terror and indoctrination” (Guriev & Treisman 2016: 2). The victims of this force and punishment are often opposition parties, media or any disobedient citizen or movement which chooses to defy the ruler. According to Egorov & Sonin (2011: 904) “the main problem for an autocrat might not be the incompetence but the possible disloyalty of a vizier.” In any autocracy there is no room for disloyalty and often it is punished severely through

being imprisoned without trial or assassination. Disloyalty poses a threat and resistance of a tyrant and should therefore be dealt with in a manner which is exemplary for others who may want to take their chance. In a dictatorship, force “acts as a deterrence tool in that it signals that discontent with the regime is futile, and it will be almost always punished” (Kawalya-Tendo 2020: 29). The army and the police are key elements for any ruler which uses force to consolidate power. They instil fear on the citizens and act as a wall of defence for the leader.

According to Wintrobe (2001: 39) “The existence of a political police force and of extremely severe sanctions for expressing and especially for organizing opposition to the government such as imprisonment, internment in mental hospitals, torture and execution are the hallmark of dictatorships of all stripes.” This method reduces criticism of the ruler and ensures obedience of citizens. This kind of force extends to a point where the media and human rights organisations are banished from functioning as they speak against the dictator. It also extends to “imprisoning without reason, torture, imposing financial strain, and in most cases, killing regime opponents” (KawalyaTendo 2020: 29). Criticism of the dictator represents weakness and ability for citizens to resist the dictator’s rule. Banning the media and human rights organisations silences any voice which speaks for citizens against the ruler.

The use of force by a dictator is not an act carried out at first attempt. According to Markevich (2007: 3) “The single most important condition is that, when the dictator issues an order, it is obeyed.” In a situation where an order is disobeyed, punishment or force is then carried out as a measure of displaying strength, a display for other observers to see that the leader does not want to be obeyed

and in an instance that happens, there will be repercussions. The display of force is mainly to show the power the leader possesses and how they can maintain order around them. There is no room to show weakness by a dictator and therefore should be pragmatic in how they keep order. This kind of punishment does not only happen to citizens but also opposing parties and even members of the party which is led by the dictator.

2.2.1.3 Electoral Fraud

The consolidation of power is not only witnessed in authoritarian regimes/rule but also in democracy we see this kind of behaviour. It is no secret that majority of countries in the world practise democracy or some form of democratic principles. Even with the existing authoritarian regimes like China, to some extent their systems are guided by democratic principles, and they even hold elections to 'legitimise' their rule. Electoral fraud can be defined as coercing voters at the polling station to cast ballots for party X or filling the ballot box with votes for party X or polling station opening late and closing early or failing to advertise its location before election day (Lehoucq 2003: 235). Such actions are carried out by parties or leaders to alter election results to their favour. Electoral fraud is carried out when leaders believe that their chances of losing elections are high. This often happens when they are starting to lose a grip on their power and feel the pressure from citizens which demand the fall of the regime. Party leaders go to the extent of using funds to secure power. There are suggestions that parties offer an array of promises, gifts, and even cash for votes" (Lehoucq 2003: 248).

The prevalence of electoral fraudulent activities in Africa indicates that "Africa exhibits overall lower levels of electoral integrity" (Gromping & Coma 2015: 9).

As elections are starting to become important in Africa, due to the transition to democracy, malicious actions around elections are also growing, as there is still a pool of leaders who want to hang onto power using democratic principles as a decoy to meet international standards of 'democratic practise.' "Because electoral fraud can be decisive in close races, its ultimate cost may be that it undermines democratic stability" (Lehoucq 2003: 249). It undermines democratic practises and the transition to democracy, creating a cycle of malpractice when it comes to the operations of a government. It also breeds a kind of government which will not initially serve the needs of the people as the way power was acquired did not follow and legal or proper channels. Rather, power was secured for personal gain. Ruling parties use many fraudulent ways to win elections. According to Jimenez, Pericchi & Klimek 2018: 3) "Electoral irregularities, such as threats on electors, the buying of votes or skewed interventions on the electoral process such as running out of ballot papers or breaking voting machines for favouring a party" can be identified as ways of ensuring victory for a party. Electoral fraud may have its negative impact on the progress of democracy in Africa, however, it is a necessary evil/rouge dictator need to take to secure victory. Pretending to be complying to democratic principles is only done to avoid certain punishment from the global political community and to appear good, however, the practise is always different. This is necessary for leaders to want to keep power, as it is part of being a pragmatic leader.

2.2.1.4 Electoral Violence

In the early 1990s democracy became a dominant political system across Africa and elections emerged as a vital mechanism for the distribution of political power

(Kovacs & Bjarnesen 2018: 1). Countries started adopting multi party systems, opposing the ruling party/independence party. This became an obvious threat to many leaders of these independence parties, and they felt they had to act to protect their power from these emerging oppositions. From this emergence of democracy, the continent started to experience the breakout of electoral violence. According to Burchard (2015: 50) in (Kovacs & Bjarnesen 2018: 1-2) “more than half of Africa’s states, 55 per cent, have experienced electoral violence in the post-Cold War period.” This goes to show how threatened old parties were by the emergence of new political parties, parties which were leaning more towards democratic rule. Dictators also opted for disrupting elections to ensure there is no voting that took that could potentially remove them from power.



Many elections in Africa have always had the presence of either the police force or military. The presence of police and military according (Kovacs & Bjarnesen 2018: 3) “did not always instil a sense of security among the population” but rather it was provocation strategy by the ruling party to ensure there would be no retaliation from the party. Its instilled fear in the sense that should citizens vote for a different party, there would be repercussions in the form of brutal punishment. This strategy worked well as it was being employed by individuals who had experience of war and knew how to be strategic with the use of violence. They had good knowledge of how to manipulate situations and people to their favour. “A large number of post-war African states have witnessed the emergence of so-called ‘warlord democrats’: former military or political leaders of armed groups who subsequently participate in electoral politics” (Themnér

2017) in (Kovacs & Bjarnesen 2018: 3). Politics and elections for them have become a battleground for achieving and consolidating power. The manipulation of the ballot for many leaders has become an act of high importance, as they do not have the utmost control of the voters' decision. However, disrupting elections for them delays the process of their removal and can plot more ways in which they can exercise their control and prolong their stay in power. Violence during elections also may determine if elections will proceed or not and elections being postponed or cancelled works in their benefit.

The role of elections in any country and their importance cannot be overlooked, as they determine the future of a leader or party. "Winning an election may be a matter of survival for the competing parties, as well as for entire communities within the state" (Adolfo, Kovacs, Nystrom & Utas 2012: 2). With so much at stake, it leads to elections becoming a zero-sum game for all those fighting to be in government. According to Adolfo et al (2012: 2) "many politicians' resorts to illicit electoral strategies and make use of militant youth wings, militias or the state security forces to either win the election or strengthen their post-election bargaining position." The process of mobilising these key players comes with promises being made once victory has been achieved. Victory in elections gives assurance of resources for the winning party, leading to the approach of violence in elections being a strategy worth of using. Other benefits of using violence during elections is about having ownership of the process to manipulate the processes. "The cost of carrying out elections plays a significant role in creating ownership of the process" (International Peace Institute 2012: 3). Those who can

manipulate the process in their favour whether through bribery or violence, are able to claim power over elections for a long period of time. They can capture electoral offices or processes to ensure a long stay in power. This kind of security is vital for leaders who aim to maintain a strong hold on power.

2.2.1.5 'The Big-Man' Syndrome

"The big-man syndrome or presidentialism refers to the dominance of one individual or group of individuals who strive to exert or achieve absolute rule or control over others deemed as 'subjects'" (Bratton and van de Walle 2002: 63).

This Big Man syndrome is an individual portraying themselves as the bigger fish in the pool and should be feared and respected by all. Watson (2012: 1) explains

the big man syndrome as "a form of autocratic rule that is highly personalized and restrained little by modern institutions." This syndrome is the result of this wave of dethroning of long serving leaders which boomed largely in 2011. The

Big Man syndrome has led to institutions becoming weak and eventually being under their control. Some of these institutions include Parliament and the Judiciary, which are key in protecting citizens. Under their control, they are abused to the benefit or protection of the leader.

Colonial rule used African traditional structures for "indirect rule," by giving full power to Chiefs and Kings, but African Presidents went on to perfect this system.

This power given to these individuals propelled them to feel like they are the biggest man in society and could do as they please. According to Cammack (2017: 1) "Such men ignore social norms, regulations, constitutional guarantees and international law to establish legal and administrative regimes that undermine the rights of citizens and others." They go the extent of putting people

of their choice or preferences in key government positions to rule by them and serve them with loyalty and protection. The purpose of the 'Big-Man Syndrome' works in a way where the leaders are an important figure in society, and a figure with all the power, resources, and influences in society. It works as an advantage for leaders as they become important to those around them, in return getting loyalty and support from those individuals. This works to their advantage as they also become feared, and people may tend to be reluctant to revolt against the leader.

2.2.1.6 Single-party rule

According to Jean-Phillipe (2018: 3532) "The single parties were an invention of military governments." Military governments who had the capacity to overthrow leaders through ambush and assuming office. Single parties started to emerge when countries gained their independence from colonizers. "The single party was the party that embodied the struggle for independence under colonization and the party leader became the head of State and party leader"

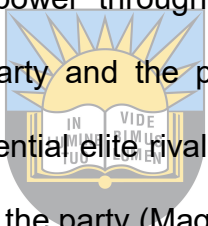
(Gunn 2018: 3532). Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya led the Kenya National African Union after the independence of Kenya from the British Empire. In South Africa, you will find the African National Congress known as the independence or liberation party. The wave of independence across the African continent created room for these independence parties to establish themselves as ruling parties, as they were at the forefront of fighting for their country's independence. This is where the single-party system started to rise in Africa. Even in modern African

politics, these parties continue to dominate their respective countries political systems.

Upon gaining independence, these parties started to establish themselves as the dominant party in their countries, gaining control of government and influencing how society is setup and behaves. “The absence of competition immediately put the party in a strong position and authoritarianism is characterized by coercive and violent methods, absence of individual and collective freedoms, bad political governance, poor economic and social system” (Carbone, 2007: 14-15) in (Gunn 2018: 3533). Human rights and freedoms started to perish, and the ruling parties began to abuse power for their own gain, to have full control of the resources of their country and exploit people in the process. When elections were held in these countries after reaching independence, they received majority votes into power and assumed leadership of their states. The single party started to serve the needs of those in leadership positions and who were known as ‘liberators.’ According to Mtimkulu (2006: 2) “They reaped the fruits of these endeavours when, in the founding elections held soon after the resolution of the conflicts, the parties were elected to power.”

We have witnessed these countries grown stronger in power despite the transition to democracy in Africa. Leaders have maintained a stronghold on power using the single party system, which has had many contributing factors to their long survival. These parties have been difficult to remove as they resemble with the large public, who also maintain an attachment with these parties. Mtimkulu (2006: 1) “A political party that comes to power during a crisis has an advantage over its rivals because the voting public will remember its role in

extricating the nation from the crisis.” These parties along with their leaders are Messiahs in their countries as they played a vital role in defeating colonial rule. Voting patterns tend to then follow traditional forms of thought and are informed by the historical attachment people have to these parties. This then supports the long stay of the leader in power as they go into any elections with a guarantee of winning the elections. Patronage has been a key factor in ensuring the single party system thrives. Mtimkulu (2006: 28) states that the Botswana Democratic Party uses patronage through development programmes to win the support of poor rural voters. Through these programmes people have hope that the leading party has its interests at heart. Through benefiting from the party, they can remain loyal and keep that party in power through their votes. “If the population overwhelmingly supports the party and the party controls the distribution of power, positions, and rents, potential elite rivals have no chance to gain power and spoils by competing outside the party (Magaloni 2006) in (Magaloni & Kricheli 2010: 128).



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The single party is also important for a leader as power is centralized within the party and is not shared with other parties. There is limited contestation, and the party can decide on laws and operations of the country. This gives absolute power to the leader as whatever decisions they make on behalf of the party go uncontested. The president has total control of the executive and oversees how various policies are implemented (Monyani 2018: 2). With such control, they influence the political environment of their country to work in their favour. Exerting control over government policy also ensures they know all the details of what happens, displaying them as a leader which has knowledge of everything that

happens around them. The single party plays a crucial role in ensuring the leader goes unchallenged and they can accumulate as much power as they can through having control of many aspects of government and being able to influence society to visualise them as a Messiah or saviour.

2.2.2 Factors which accounted for the demise of dictators

Despite seeing a lot of leaders being able to manoeuvre and use all methods and tactic available to them to remain in power, in some cases these have not worked for some. There are many factors which could lead to leaders losing their power and eventually be overthrown either through coup de tat or elections. “Leaders often become disconnected from the crucial lucky qualities and relationships that helped get them there in the first place” (Tjan 2012). For them the top is the destination meanwhile the struggle to get there is a journey. In many cases of dictators, human rights violation has become a trend and a norm to them. These rights refer to “civil, political, economic, social, or cultural and in their individual or collective dimension” (Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian 2014: 34). With the international community, human rights violation is taken a very serious offence. Using military and police force many leaders have killed and deprived large masses of their rights. This has gone to an extent where international bodies like the UN Security Council have stepped in to act. Mobutu’s regime committed human rights violation in terms of “Sexual violence, killings, and other manifestations of structural violence” (Lezhnev 2016: 9). This kind of behaviour and it being ignored by leaders tends

to aggravate not only citizens but the international community. In return, citizens take to the streets and protest the regime as it has lost popularity.

2.2.2.1 Military Coups

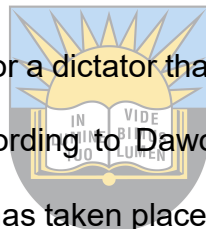
According to Collier & Hoeffler (2005: 2) “In Africa coup plots are by far the most common challenge to the continuity of regimes.” Military coups have become a trend in Africa when citizens or the military has reached its tolerance of the abuse of the leader. Coups have become the go-to method in removing an incompetent leader, after they refuse to step down peacefully. The military does not act without reason, often there is cause behind them pushing the president out of his seat. Often, it is always the condition in which the state is in (poor economic performance, high levels of corruption and social unrest). In such a case, “the army is therefore likely either to be representing national public good concerns, or at the other extreme, concerns about its own welfare such as military pay” (Collier & Hoeffler 2005: 6).



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The absence of the army for consolidating power signals inability to exert control and obedience of citizens for a leader. Without the support of the army, the dictator cannot achieve their goals. For example, Omar Al Bashir in 1993 led a military coup that ousted the democratically elected Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi to become President of Sudan (van der Vyver 2015: 561). For dictators, the army is a means to make ends meet. Without it, the dictator struggles to do as they please. However, there are situations where the military may decide to turn against a dictator based wanting to assume power for themselves or no longer believe in the dictator's leadership. In instances where the military can resist a dictators' rule, “their allegiance is to the people of their country, not to an

individual, party, tribe, or ethnic or religious faction” (Blair 2020: 6). Their purpose and obligation are to protect their country and its citizens. This becomes difficult for an authoritarian leader which wishes to establish itself as dominant and strong leader, with force being a tool of ensuring compliance. The military becomes an obstacle for them when it comes to having control of citizens who may want to revolt against them. In Blair (2020: 6) “they do not wish to oppose large numbers of peaceful citizens who have legitimate grievances against a repressive regime.” Generally, the military is corruptible, however, its prime purpose of protecting ordinary citizens never goes forgotten. It will not hesitate to act against the leader and ensuring citizens are not harmed.



The military poses a challenge for a dictator that abuses power to their own gain, while society deteriorates. According to Dawood (2014: 284) “the reasons of military interventions in politics has taken place on the basis of vested interest of military, poverty, economic instability, weak institutions, corruption and as well as on the basis of low political cultural.” The military may have its own interests in removing a dictator, however, they also act based on the common interest of society, ensuring that living standards do not become uncondusive for citizens. The military also may block the dictator from enriching themselves using a countries resource, as the military concerns itself about how the economy is developing, especially not at the expense of common men and women suffering. “In some cases, military is responsible to restore law and order in the country at different times, when the affairs of the state are beyond the control of law-and-order question” (Dawood 2014: 286). It quite visible that the military plays a pivotal role in being an obstacle for how a dictator may want to rule. Should they

lead the country into chaos, the military does not hesitate to step in. This then leads to the dictator being removed through a coup to reinstate order in the country. In as much the military may take bribes from the rule in some instances, however, citizens safety remains priority for them.

2.2.2.2 Transition to Increasing wave of democratisation

According to Baba (2015: 117) “democratic transition is the movement from one government to another.” It is no secret that majority of the world is moving towards establishing democratic institutions and processes, with the aim of replacing autocratic form of rule. Many social movements such as the one in Libya have risen to spread the gospel of democratizing. “Mobilization has frequently contributed to a destabilization of authoritarian regimes” (Porta & Rossi 2013: 1) given the unity that drives it, along with the abuse and failures of the authoritarian regime. Another reason for the success of these social movements is the fact that they are democracy in actual practise. The transition to democracy is not a new idea in Africa, with South Africa being exemplary (from apartheid to democracy). However, in 2011, it took over like a storm from the demise of Gaddafi and carried on with the removal of both Robert Mugabe and Omar Al Bashir in 2018 and 2019 respectively.

According to International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2017: 10) “Afro barometer surveys show that Africans have approved and taken ownership of democratic values and standards.” Africans are starting to embrace the ideas of Democracy and the freedom it provides for citizens, as opposed to be constantly vulnerable to police brutality. The removal of Jammeh and Mugabe serve as indications of how authoritarian rule is slowly fading a becoming a thing

of the past. This trend of transitioning to democracy started to pick up in some parts of Africa since the early 1990s, such as Kandjadja in Guinea-Bissau. “The people of Kandjadja exercise no political power beyond the local level, although they clearly have an interest in what the state does: as tax-payers, as potential beneficiaries of educational and social policies” (Rudebeck 1990: 171). People have continued to show huge interest in state affairs and want their voices to be heard in decision-making processes. People have an immense desire for their rights and freedoms which they have been denied continuously under authoritarian rule. They have found democracy as a system which allows for freedom of expression, freedom of speech without being imprisoned or punished, for simply disagreeing with those in leadership.



“Democratic politics allows for more spaces of popular participation” (Mainwaring 1989) which authoritarian rules does not allow for. People have close interactions with government whereas in a dictatorship people only obey what the leader says. These kinds of freedoms became tempting for African citizens, being able to be active in politics through contesting for community leadership positions, having open debates with those in government was a rarity in a dictatorship. Those temptations created more volume around the conversation of vouching for democracy as a new system to replace authoritarianism in Africa. The principles that democracy promised fuelled the fight to have democracy in Africa by African citizens. Issues of accountability and participation were key as democracy is a system of interactions and accountability between the government and the governed (Mainwaring 1989). The transition to democracy became a threat to dictators as now people would be able to vote out leaders and vote in those they

want in power. It gives them the freedom of choice and to take part in who governs. Elections under a democracy are slightly difficult to manipulate as there are strong independent organisations which oversee these elections, along with external leaders from supporting countries who ensure the elections are free, fair, and peaceful. This then would limit the chances of an unwanted dictator from retaining party.

2.2.2.3 Total Control Deteriorating the System

Excessive control in a dictatorship may work to benefit the ruler and those in his corner, however, it becomes detrimental for those who are powerless as they continue to live in poor conditions. This excessive control also affects different aspects such as the political environment, the economy and society at large, causing opposing parties, small independent media houses and ordinary citizens retaliating against the dictator. The economic control by a ruler includes their dominance over economic resources, including natural resource revenues, land, and employment opportunities (Seeberg 2017: 35). Having control over economic resources prolongs the survival of the dictatorship as the resources strengthens the ruler's power and survival. However, such control negatively impacts the population as their living standards become poor while the dictator becomes richer. The system becomes flooded with maladministration and the growing corruption and patronage begins to suffocate the economy (Papaioannou & Zanden 2012: 2).

When the economy suffocates it means that there is lack of economic growth, employment rates skyrocket, and poverty begin to infiltrate households. This

results in frustration of the population and opposing parties which eventually decide to act on removing a dictator. Such living conditions “increase the likelihood of a successful coup d’état” (Papaioannou & Zanden 2012: 2). Excessive control over the economy leads to not catering for the public’s needs, which creates a negative image of the dictator, leading to him losing support from the public. Not being able to look after the economy, especially ensuring citizens also benefit from a country’s resource led to support levels dropping and opposition identifying opportunities to lead a takeover. In most cases under a dictatorship, poor economic performance leads to political unrest. A country may start to witness coalitions between opposing parties, media houses blasting the government and people starting riots in the streets, causing damage to infrastructure as a display of their frustration with the government.



Dictatorship has had many negative effects on African states which have resulted in countries either being in debt or not being able to provide basic services to citizens. The rapid decline of economies and incline in opposing individuals being punished has presented and increased threat to political stability (Overland, Simons & Spagat 2000: 2). The lack of growth in the economy always puts the leader under scrutiny, gaining pressure from citizens to improve their living standards as the leader is seen as a ‘saviour of the masses.’ However, this causes frustration for the public, fuelling their frustrations to either form movements of opposing parties which aim to overthrow the leader. This creates a pool of violence in a state, with opposition leaders being arrested, assassinated, and assaulted, people’s rights being banished, and their mass gatherings being met by police force. Where instability is found, it reduced the

chances of the ruler surviving as political instability is simply implying risk and it limits investment (Overland, Simons & Spagat 2000: 3). Growing frustrations also create room for conversations of having elections for people to vote out the out of favour leader. Dictators in African have received little assistance from the transition to democracy, as along with along with the political instability, Africa has witnessed and “increased level of political awareness in their people as citizens are demanding accountability in their governments” (Ong’ayo 2008: 4).

Having control of a state’s affairs is of high importance to a dictator to ensure there is no information that flows out of their knowledge. Having control of all systems gives the dictator the ability to manipulate the state of resources. However, when this control becomes excessive it ends up being abusive to those at the receiving end of it (citizens). This kind of control ends up causing the rise of opposing movements, thus increasing the risk of political instability and violent conflict in the continent (Bello-Schünemann & Moyer 2018: 3). Economic instabilities also are contributing factors to that instability and rise of movements as people face poverty and lack of development, while those in high offices thrive from the resources of the state. These movements obviously threaten the leadership/reign of the dictator, increasing the likelihood of a coup taking place. According to Bello-Schünemann & Moyer (2018: 3) “Inequalities and state-led discrimination across groups are likely to continue to fuel grievances and instability.” These mass movements are powerful enough to topple a regime such was the case when Omar Al-Bashir in Sudan, where “the protests grew from hundreds to thousands, reaching across the vast country, almost one-fifth the size of the United States” (Chandler 2019). Often these movements can also be

supported by the military, giving them strength. Such frustrations give a clear indication that excessive control can lead to the dictatorship system deteriorating, especially when large groups of people feel abused and excluded from benefiting from their country's resources.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Informational theory of Authoritarianism

The first theory to be used in navigating this study is the Informational Theory of Authoritarianism. The informational theory of authoritarianism was advanced by Sergei Durev and Daniel Treisman in April 2015. The main assumption of this theory revolves around how dictators stay in power. Durev & Treisman (2015: 1) state that around 20th century, violence and mass terror were used to intimidate opponents, but in contemporary politics, leaders choose to simulate democracy into their rule as means of keeping hold of power. This theory clearly outlines the various tactics in which leaders use to maintain power. The second assumption of this theory is that leaders "aim only to convince citizens of their competence to govern" (Durev & Treisman 2015: 2). This is controlled through propaganda – the kind of information citizens are fed through the press which is controlled by the government. This theory is relevant to this study as it will assist in unpacking how Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe acquired power and maintained power in their respective countries. It will assist in explaining how the tactics which were used by Gaddafi and Mugabe worked in ensuring they maintain a stronghold of power. It also relevant seeing that it a theory which has been

recently advanced and is suitable in explaining contemporary African authoritarian rule.

The term authoritarianism has been discovered to have split meanings, in comparative politics and Political psychology. “In comparative politics, it refers to a regime that does not organize periodic free and fair elections” (Glasius 2018: 516). This is a complete opposite of a democracy which is practised in countries like South Africa and United States of America. However, should Cyril Ramaphosa or Donald Trump commit electoral fraud or dissolve parliament, they can then be regarded as authoritarian leaders. Glasius (2018: 516) “In political psychology, authoritarianism is about the psychological profile of people characterized by a desire for order and hierarchy and a fear of outsiders.” This definition perfectly defines many dictators and the way which they have ruled, more especially the two case studies in this study. It is also the ideal definition which should carry this study forward, seeing that it solely focused on the individual as opposed to the idea of dictatorship.

This theory seeks to describe how these long serving leaders came into power and their stay in power (Glasius 2018: 517). This is done through pointing out the certain strategies and behavioural patterns which have been implemented in ensuring they secure and keep power. Authoritarianism practices are much more of an individual, and less than a state structure (Glasius 2018: 523). It is the same practises which label the regimes of these leaders as authoritarian regimes. Their way of governing (practises) are the ones which have kept them in power. The informational theory of authoritarianism explains the leader as a repressive

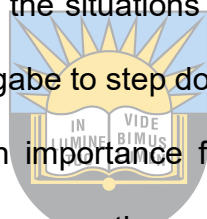
individual who denies citizens access to information with the attempt of concealing failures (Hall & Ambrosio 2017: 144). As defined above that authoritarian leader have a fear of outsiders, so they do to stay enclosed.

The theory also helps us understand how these leaders came into power. Solt (2017: 704) explains authoritarianism as the product of social learning, the result of one's individual experiences with authority. This simply translates that them (leaders) coming into power was motivated by how they were governed when they were civilians. One could have been motivated by the wealth in which authoritarian leaders create for themselves. Another could be motivated by the fear and respect being a leader comes with. The position of power present so many opportunities for a leader and many benefits, such as the following of people and the respect they show him. For example, "the Chinese leadership has carefully circumscribed media freedom and has attempted to oversee associational life, in order to build its stable, authoritarian political system" (Dimitrov 2013: 37). This theory clearly points out authoritarian behaviour as a way of understanding the motive behind the decisions which dictators take.

2.3.2 Theory of Revolution

The second theory of this study is the theory of revolution. This theory was advanced by Aristotle in his book *Politics*, in the 4th century. The first assumption of this theory is that "revolutions occur when long-term socioeconomic development is followed by short-term and sharp economic reversals" (Tiruneh 2014: 2). Often people have expectations of what their socioeconomic situation will be under a government, but in some instances, this does not go accordingly

and end up retaliating against those in power. The second assumption is that “revolution is caused by the gap between political mobilisation of the people and the inability of political institutions to absorb the mobilised masses into politics” (Tiruneh 2014; 2). This simply put means that the moment people feel they are not a part of the political system and are not engaged in politics, there is bound to be political instability. It has been clear with contemporary politics, and the widespread of democracy, people want to engage in politics. This theory is important in explaining the reasons that led to the Arab spring in Libya which led to Gaddafi’s leadership toppled. It clearly explains measures which were taken in both Libya and Zimbabwe by citizens to protest their respective long serving leaders, furthermore, explaining the situations Zimbabweans were living in that sparked a revolt and call for Mugabe to step down. Even though this theory may be old, however, it serves high importance for this study as revolutions are constantly occurring in Africa, however, these revolutions hold high significance for African politics (especially for the future).



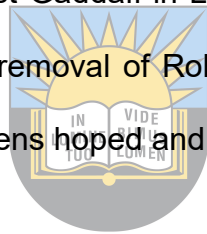
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The removal of both Gaddafi and Mugabe from power can be pointed to a revolt, driven, or motivated by circumstances which citizens found themselves under. There is a differing view over what a revolution really means, with the Hegelian and the Marxist bringing opposing views to the discussion. To the Hegelian, it is a manifestation of the world in an unceasing quest for its own fulfilment while to the Marxist, it is a product of irresistible historical forces, which culminate in a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Tanter & Midlarsky 1967: 264). What this implies is that a revolution occurs when people are not satisfied with what they have compared to what others have, with such

tension being popular between those in power and those being led. “For Marxist scholars, revolution is a necessary predestined locomotive of history” (Venter & Bain 2015: 3). Marxists see a revolution as a necessary event which is meant to shape history, a strategic process which leads to the desired outcome being achieved. For Marxists, a revolution is driven by oppression and desire for change.

A revolution has drivers behind it for it to occur, and some of these could be economic factors (low income) which push citizens to revolt against those in power. According to Neitzel (1996: 1) “Revolution has been central to the formation of the modern world.” Challenges to the status-quo have shaped how the world is and the way in which governments operate in recent times. This theory seeks to explore the way in which these leaders lost their power. It seeks to track events and incidences which sparked the revolts against their power. Often people engage in a revolution because they want to evolve as society. In many cases after a revolution there is a need for “reconstruction of the country, but also of restructuring the entire social, economic, and political environment” (Zaremba 1992: 6). This is where the voice of the people becomes important. Often in most cases like these used in this study, states and citizens along have often turned to the practise of democracy as a replacement of the old regime. The results of a revolution vary based on its intentions. This theory will also touch on the result of these revolutions, whether they have succeeded or not, also make comparison of the conditions of the state pre and post revolution.

According to Venter & Bain (2015: 3) “A revolution will occur when a population concludes that its situation is so undesirable that it can stand it no more.” A perfect example of this is the Arab Spring when the youth of those Arabic countries decided to act because their situations of suffering and being unemployed led to them retaliating against the leaders of those respective countries. The whole movement spread through social media, reaching many corners of the continent and the world at large. Collective behaviour can be pointed to the success of revolutions as people march and stand together against a problem, they all suffer from, the common goal being to seek change of their situation. In this study, the theory of revolution is key in explaining the actions which were taken mainly against Gaddafi in Libya, through the Arab Spring. It also explains the long-awaited removal of Robert Mugabe and the desires for change many Zimbabwean citizens hoped and wished for.



2.4 Chapter Summary

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Dictatorship as the oldest form of rule, has been embraced very well across the world by leaders who want to use power for their own gain. It has been presented in this chapter that dictators will utilise any means to protect their power or to increase their wealth. They have not shied away from using the most extreme methods of force to ensure obedience to their rule. However, such methods have not been popular with all parts of society, especially the military which has not been scared to act against rouge leaders. The informational theory of authoritarianism has given understanding as to why dictators act the way they do: the position of power for them presents opportunity to have access to a lot of financial and political power. Though this has worked well for decades, it has sparked the theory of revolution which motivates that individual are bound to act

out if they find a situation unfavourable to them. This chapter has given clarity on the behaviour of both the dictator and ordinary citizens.

CHAPTER THREE: Exploring the strategies employed by both Gaddafi and Mugabe to consolidate power

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the various strategies which Gaddafi and Mugabe utilised for them to acquire and maintain power. It analyses and describes how each strategy worked to the benefit of each leader in their quest to keep a stronghold of power. A brief introduction into each leader giving details on their first encounter with power has been carried out. This section is broken down into two parts, with the first looking at Gaddafi and the other focusing on Mugabe. At the end of this chapter, a conclusion of the findings on each dictator is made, to give an indication of how they both got into power and kept hold of power for a long period of time.

3.1.1 The rise of Muammar Gaddafi to power

Muammar Gaddafi can be described as one of the most significant political figures for the modern history of Libya, and as one of the most influential regional leaders (Garcia & Echeverría 2018: 4). Having ruled for 42 years, Gaddafi managed to accumulate himself a lot of wealth and enemies too in the process. Gaddafi was more of a popular figure within his nation and to the Islamic community as that was his religion of practise. Garcia and Echeverria (2018: 5) advance that his education was under the traditional Libyan ethnic

environment and Islamic rules. It is no secret that Muammar Gaddafi had close relations with Robert Mugabe as they shared similar views on political issues in Africa and had a lot of similarities in the way they governed.

3.1.1.1 Muammar Gaddafi Rising Through Good Governance in Libya

One of the key steps to have mobilised the support of the Libyan public for Gaddafi was through good governance, by ensuring state and social affairs were well looked after. Muammar Gaddafi navigated this firstly through the Revolutionary Councils, where it was “accountable only to ordinary citizens and may have been changed or recalled by them at any time” (Yahaya 2019: 577). Gaddafi displayed accountability and a sort of leadership which is inclusive of people’s views. This was vital for an incoming leader to show interest in what people think and what their needs are. Through this people feel a part of the leader and see the leader as one that values them as their supporters. Gaddafi took good care of his citizens economically, by ensuring they thrived from the resources of their country. At the beginning of his reign, “money from oil proceeds was deposited directly into every Libyan citizen's bank account” (Yahaya 2019: 580).

Through this Gaddafi was setting up equal opportunity for Libyan citizens, creating a society of stability through providing for their needs and ensuring they stay loyal to his leadership. Under his leadership, education was free and those

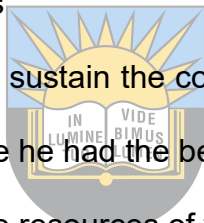
who could not find employment were paid an average of the profession they aimed to excel in (Yahaya 2019: 580). Libyans were given ample opportunity to thrive under the leadership of Gaddafi, displays traits of a leader which is considerate of its people. Through implementing such ideas, this gives citizens comfort and assurance that the leader is competent and has their interests at heart. For Gaddafi, this guaranteed stability and obedience as citizens would listen and carry out any directive by their leader given that they are providing for their wellbeing. This creates dependency to the leader, which he easily exploits to his benefit. Social welfare became a priority under Gaddafi to an extent that civil society organised itself to ensure society functioned well and people were provided for. According to The Governance Network (2011: 7) at the beginning of Gaddafi's leadership, they saw a need to address humanitarian issues, to an extent Civil Society Organisations climbed from 22 to 250 registered in Libya. Such a boom clearly indicated the importance of people mobilising to address their issues. To some this may indicate a sense of democratic practise from Muammar Gaddafi by allowing society to mobilise in such forms. However, this equates to good governance on Gaddafi's reputation, showing that his leadership valued human rights. This created a chain of trust between civil society and government, giving citizens safety from government.

3.1.1.2 Acceleration of economic growth through oil revenue in

Libya

Muammar Gaddafi paid careful attention to the growth of the Libyan economy and ensured that the citizens of Libya benefited well from it. Pre-Gaddafi era, the economy of Libya was on the verge of collapsing due to issues of "inflation,

balance of payment deficit, low rate of employment and growth, all of which has created and imbalance in the economy” (Masoud 2013: 1). A fruitless economy brings nothing but frustration to people and unsettles the leadership as the public begins to question the competency and ability of those at the helm. However, under Gaddafi this did not become the case. Muammar Gaddafi shifted the Libyan economy to be market based, where it would focus on “training labour, finding new jobs, encouraging investments, and selling public enterprises in order to minimise the public spending” (Masoud 2013: 1). Through such a strategy, the aim was to generate revenue, by generating revenue it means that Gaddafi’s government was able to spend on public service to improve people’s lives. The same revenue presented Libya’s economy as healthy and able to sustain the country. This built trust people had on Gaddafi, making them believe he had the best interests of the state at heart. It also assured the public that the resources of the state were in good hands. Oil was and is still an important resource in Libya. For Gaddafi, it served an important role at the start of his reign, more especially looking towards rapid economic growth in Libya.



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3.1.1.3 Use of Force and Violence to Intimidate Enemies

The use of force and violence as tools of consolidating power have been a key aspect of many regimes in Africa. They have become a commonality for analysts and scholars when studying how leaders rise and stay in power. The informational theory of authoritarianism explains or describes a leader as one who is repressive. This justifies why they will rely on force in their rule as a mean of fending off enemies. These remain important tools because they fend off

possible threats as they present the kind of punishment or attack, they are facing should they challenge a leader. It has been argued that “violence and other aggressive behaviours, arose from charismatic leaders evidencing power motives, narcissism, authoritarianism, and low self-efficacy” (Mumford, Espejo, Hunter, Beddel-Avers, Eubanks & Connelly 2007: 218).

Thomas Hobbes speaks on the importance of using violence, with relation to how dictators behave. He points it out as important “in order to ensure survival” (Walters & Ramirez 2009: 41). The use of force becomes a necessary evil to ensure survival and continuity of a leaders stay in power. Violence is also most likely to ensure compliance, although this would eventually come to an end. Violence being a necessary evil also creates an image of fear towards the leader, should they be challenged, the opponent will be crushed. Violence for dictators is a quick solution to silence opponents, prove their strength and to secure the necessary power/control. It is a critical tool which when used accordingly, safeguards the leaders’ position.

Gaddafi’s rise to power was strengthened by his position of Commanding the Libyan army after removing King Idris from power. After assuming power, “his actions were underlined with the tones of dictatorship, revolutionary socialism, and Arab nationalism” (Ghosh 2011: 10). Gaddafi was not silent over his use of violence in eliminating any threats to his power. He publicly bragged about his administration’s use of hit squads when his head of intelligence failed to plot his assassination (Ghosh 2011: 12-13). This use of violence helped Gaddafi by instilling fear against his enemies, indicating to them that he would take all

measures to crush them and keep his power. This kind of behaviour from Gaddafi, according to the informational theory of authoritarianism is indicative of a leader that is afraid of outsiders and sees them as a threat to his power.

The theory outlines and gives understanding of why enemies of Gaddafi were crushed through violent measures. According to Ghosh (2011: 13) “He resisted threats by brutal repression, purging military officers who showed even the slightest sign of opposition.” This is a mere indication that the brute force also extended to as far as political officials and military officers and not just the ordinary men and women only.

Even the constant change of military officers which Gaddafi undertook, was to eliminate possibilities of them plotting his removal. This meant that officers would not have any sense of comfort in their role to be able to grasp hold of key information they could use against Gaddafi. The constant shuffle of leaders also made him to be unpredictable as to who would come in next, meaning that the selected officer would not be lobbied upfront into overthrowing Gaddafi by oppositions. “His rule became characterised by patronage and the tight control of a police state” (Kafala 2011). Such moves allowed him to have control of all state affairs, without anyone disputing it. This kind of rule brings a lot of fear for oppositions or even those in support of the leader as they become reluctant to be critical as they might face punishment. Fear of punishment would then result in loyalty and obedience to an authoritarian ruler. Such reluctance leads to the leader making decisions which are economically beneficial for them. Gaddafi went as far as ensuring that state wealth remained tightly under his control (Kafala 2011).

3.1.1.4 Economic and Political Benefits for Ally Groups

Allies form an important aspect of any ruler or president as these are individuals who defend the leader regardless of any scandal they may cause. They vouch for the leader and support his campaigns whilst preaching the same ideas of the leader as a pledge of their loyalty. They carry out similar actions as the leader. Financial gains for allies have remained crucial for leaders to keep ties strengthened. These allies can also be ordinary supporters. “Libyan working mothers enjoyed a range of benefits including cash bonuses for children” (Chengu 2013) as part of Gadhafi’s push for recognizing women’s rights. These incentives could be Gaddafi buying the loyalty of these women as they would feel obligated to support him as they benefit from him.

Women were not the only focus but the population at large. “If a Libyan was unable to find employment after graduation the State would pay that person, the average salary of their profession” (Chengu 2013). Given the circumstances (of poverty) which many Africans found themselves under, such financial benefits proved to be important for their daily survival. They were repaid through loyalty to the leader; through this Gaddafi was strengthening his support base which could help him stay in power for long.

“In the redistribution of wealth, the enrichment of his own family from oil revenues and other deals was hard to ignore and redistribution was undertaken more in the spirit of buying loyalty than promoting equality” (Asser 2011). The support of his own family became very crucial in ensuring that they preached the gospel he was preaching and for them to support him through his reign. It has become

normal amongst dictators to enrich themselves and their families when they are in power as it was one of the motives of power. The

informational theory of authoritarianism highlights wealth as a motivating factor for a dictator to want to acquire power. This is seen as personal ambition and, in some instances, a social learning from a previous dictator on how they governed. Aside from family loyalty, Gaddafi also relied on tribes for his popularity and stay in power.

According to Mokhefi (2011: 2) “Gaddafi, from the Qadhadhfah tribe, surrounded himself with members of his tribe, and deployed them to the most sensitive posts.” This was to ensure that important government business remained within his control with people he can control. This was also for the safety of his government to ensure there would be no openings for any possible coup de tats. Having members of his tribe in crucial positions were means of protecting his power and support within the masses. It was to also ensure he appeals to a group which his is guaranteed to get support from. In return, they would receive some sort of power mainly politically but also financial benefits in the process. Tribes that were loyal to him benefited from material privileges and even had some influence in the military (Mokhefi 2011: 2).

3.1.1.5 Political Influence Through Dogmatic Ideologies

It has been clear that with the power dictators hold they are able to use it also to influence the people’s minds. They use this power to convince citizens of certain ideas or that they themselves as leaders are capable of being in power and lead accordingly. This is where theory and political power plays a part. According to

Guriev & Treisman (2015: 2) fundamentally dictators seek to reshape the views and thinking of the population through ideologies and theories. The ideas imposed are always in line with the dictator's agenda.

These ideas are at times in the form of propaganda and go uncontested. Dictators use their political power by broadcasting their ideas on state media for the greater public to read, see and hear. "The dictator can affect all the channels of information" (Guriev & Treisman 2015: 4) and therefore utilises such channels to impose their ideology to the public. This is to increase the dictator's credibility and prove to his citizens that they are competent to lead them and no one else is capable to do such.



Throughout Gaddafi's 42-year rule, Libyans were told that power rested in the hands of the people under a system Gaddafi called Jamahiriya – the so-called "State of the masses." In theory it was supposed to provide social justice, high levels of production, the elimination of all forms of exploitation, and the equitable distribution of national wealth. Gaddafi preached Jamahiriya to an extent that "in 1977, the country's name was changed to Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya" (Okaneme 2015: 34). Instead of parliaments, Libya was supposed to have direct democracy, achieved through self-government, by the people through popular committees, rather than any form of intermediation.

In practice, Gaddafi decided everything that mattered (Winer 2019 :4). He ruled Libya according to the way which pleased him and, in most cases, benefited him.

Gaddafi was able to win over the masses by ensuring that their basic needs were covered by the state. Public education became free and primary education became compulsory for both boys and girls while medical care was also available to the public at no cost at all (Okaneme 2015:33). Even the performance of the economy assisted in making sure that the living standards of people in Libya improved. The rule of Muammar Gaddafi's Revolutionary Command Council in Libya brought drastic changes which had good impact on the lives of people. Through the RCC Gaddafi became a dominant figure within it, in Libya and the rest of the world to an extent even his colleagues referred to him as the primary leader. "Political parties in 1972 and revolutionary committees were set up to enforce the regime's will through repression" (Mezran 2017).



This kind of tactic is very common amongst regimes in Africa, a tactic which led to Muammar Gaddafi being able to dominate Libya and ensuring that all he had envisioned about Libya to happen. Suppressing other or all political parties paves a way for the domination of one party. This gives absolute control to the presiding party to be able to manipulate citizens and state resources to advance their policies and political interests. This was very important in

Gaddafi's rule in helping him become the political figure he was. According to Totman & Hardy (2015: 2) Muammar Gaddafi established "a convoluted series of governance structures that made it extremely difficult for any other individual to accumulate enough power to challenge the "Brother Leader"." These governance structures were formed in close association with members of the RCC, which would later be disbanded and form the General People's

Congress. This kind of behaviour is clearly indicative of the informational theory of authoritarianism, where leaders tend to make decisions that are beneficial to them and are in line with their ambitions.

This new Congress “was to ensure the party line was held at all levels of society, and they developed powers of arrest and trial in the name of perpetuating the revolution” (Totman & Hardy 2015: 2). The use of the political party became an advantage for Gaddafi as those close to him were useful in maintaining control in society. The sole party rule also flattened opposition parties from rising and trying to enlighten citizens about the abuse of Gaddafi and his troops. Muammar Gaddafi was determined to establish his own personal idea and he used Libya as an experiment. “His country became a pariah state and an economic basket case despite its hydrocarbon bonanza” (Totman & Hardy 2015: 3). Libya operated on Gaddafi’s terms and was not in full compliance with international law despite his rule having toxic traits about it. Gaddafi opposed western ideas and wanted to establish a culture of rebuking western powers even with Africa, thus strengthening him as a political figure not only in Libya but also in Africa.

3.1.1.6 Ruling within Ethnic and Religious lines to gather support

Ruling within ethnic and religious lines in politics has always been a safe option for dictators, to ensure they are surrounded by familiar faces. Mobuto is a clear example of a leader that ruled for the benefit of those around him, especially his family. Often these ethnicities or religions are composed of the minority compared to the whole population but hold significant power over the state.

Norris and Mates (2003) in Cheeseman and Ford (2007: 1) “find that ethnicity does play a key role in determining support for ruling parties.” This is due to their ability to mobilise themselves and rally behind the leader. Ethnic groups go as far as vouching for the leader and ensuring that the ruler receives full support from the group of any kind. This is significant as it guarantees support for the leader when it comes to votes. Further, once power has been secured, majority of members of parliament or cabinet are composed of the rulers’ ethnic group. Ethnic and religious groups continue to be significant in African dictatorship given the role they play in protecting the power of the leader.

According to Marrella, Trampus & de Vido (2012: 8) “Gaddafi grew up listening to the Egyptian radio and its program the Voice of the Arabs, which encouraged Arab nationalism.” Gaddafi followed the Islamic laws and was somewhat influenced by the religion during his period as Libya’s leader. Muammar Gaddafi looked up closely to Nasser, former Egyptian leader as they shared similarities and Gaddafi would go on to learn a lot about leadership from

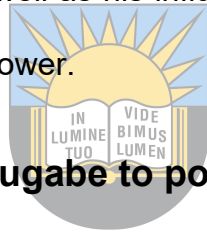
Nasser. This came as no surprise as “both Gaddafi and Nasser shared the belief of Arab unity; they practiced a strict adherence to the Islamic teachings” (Marrella, Trampus & de Vido 2012: 8). These beliefs went on to shape how Gaddafi went on to lead Libya, who was in his cabinet and how resources were distributed for citizens.

“Many developing countries have suffered under the personal rule of kleptocrats, who implement highly inefficient economic policies, expropriate the wealth of their citizens, and use the proceeds for their own glorification or consumption”

(Acemoglu, Robinson & Verdier 2003: 162). These types of rulers are mainly concerned about their bellies and those around them as opposed to citizens. Often, their allies' benefit from these policies in return for protection and loyalty. This tool of ensure financial gain of allies plays an important role for the ruler, as these individuals or groups come to the protection of the leader at all costs. They are always in agreement with the leader even when some of the decision or actions by the leader may be regarded morally wrong. Kleptocratic regimes – states which are controlled by an individual for their benefit and a small group (Acemoglu, Robinson & Verdier 2004: 162) have often been faced with inequalities, low-income levels & low productivity of the economy. Meanwhile, the leader and his allies thrive from the hard work of normal civilians. These relations survive “when there is more foreign aid to the ruler, which he can use to bribe pivotal groups and when there are greater natural resource rents that can be used to bribe pivotal groups” (Acemoglu, Robinson & Verdier 2004: 165). These funds go towards ‘buying’ the loyalty of the ally groups. These ally groups pledge their loyalty to the leader knowing they are financially secured.

“The Libyan government under Gaddafi – the Jamahiriya – eventually exploited tribal loyalties to bolster its political power” (Myers 2013: 12). This tribe served under Gaddafi and supported his rule through and through. This strengthened Gaddafi’s rule in Libya with this support as it guaranteed majority numbers when it comes to the ballot box. The tribe also vouches for the leader in the public, preaching their ideas to those who oppose the leader, garnering more support for the dictator. Gaddafi’s strength grew through tribalism when the ‘Popular Social Leadership’ system was established. These tribal

establishments had control over local law and governance and oversee the development of their designated areas (Myers 2013: 13). They removed government structures which already existed, suppressing opposing parties and movements. This tribalism led to certain groups being cast aside and being forgotten. Myers (2013: 13) “While these groups were ignored, Gaddafi made some attempts to gain their loyalty or utilize them in strategic military efforts.” These kinds of strides proved how crucial Gaddafi saw the support of the majority. Support of majority also means more numbers in the ballot box, leading to continuity in his power. Tribalism played a key part in keeping Muammar Gaddafi in power, giving him constant backing, and supporting his ideas. This strengthened his ideologies as well as his influence over Libyans, allowing him to enjoy a much longer stay in power.

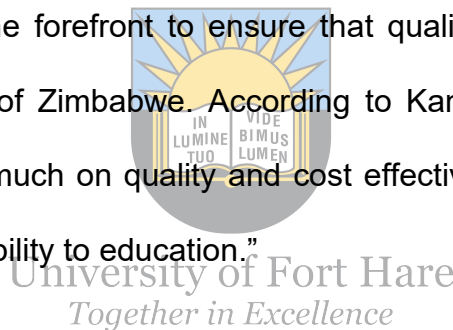


3.2.1 The rise of Robert Mugabe to power

It was in an oppressive and turbulent climate that Robert Mugabe rose to power under and became the country's first democratically elected leader in 1980, retaining power until 2017 (Little 2017). At the time Mugabe came into power, he brought a sense of calm in Zimbabwe (then known as Southern Rhodesia) mainly for black Zimbabweans due to their sufferings under white supremacy. He became a beacon of hope for many people in Zimbabwe as he was perceived as “a deliverer from the social, economic, political and religious crises” (Musendekwa 2018: 1). Mugabe's reign was not a smooth cruise, just like Gaddafi he had his own controversies especially related to violence and political manipulation. Zimbabwe experienced a period of stability after independence under the leadership of Robert Mugabe which declined years after which led to his removal in 2017 (Musendekwa 2018: 8).

3.2.1.1 Robert Mugabe's Improvement of Education Quality in Zimbabwe

One of the biggest positives from Mugabe's reign is the rapid improvement of Zimbabwe's education. It became a focus point to ensure that Zimbabweans were literate and skilled. "The government expanded the education system by building schools in marginalised areas and disadvantaged urban centres, accelerating the training of teachers, providing teaching and learning materials to schools" (Kanyongo 2005: 66). Access and inclusion became a focus area for the new government under Robert Mugabe, ensuring education reached all corners of Zimbabwe's society. The provision of training also indicates that skills development was at the forefront to ensure that quality education was being provided to the youth of Zimbabwe. According to Kanyongo (2005: 66) "The emphasis was not so much on quality and cost effectiveness of the education system, but on accessibility to education."



By providing access to education, Mugabe was also ensuring that Zimbabweans enjoy their right to access to education. Education at a primary level became free and compulsory, ensuring enrolment rates were constantly increasing. Through this increase, it also created a platform for employment chances to increase, leading to an improvement in the quality of life of Zimbabweans. When Robert Mugabe came into power, he gave his supporters an opportunity to an improved life. Mugabe's victory "set the stage for a new and more challenging struggle for national development through educational innovation" (Mungazi 1985: 199). This victory and acceleration of education was key for emancipation of Zimbabweans, for the progress of the country away from colonial rule into a new era. This purely

show a character of a leader which cares about its citizens to ensure their dignity and development. Through this, Robert Mugabe gained favour from Zimbabweans.

3.2.1.2 Electoral Fraud

It is no secret that former President Mugabe and his troops were able to undermine the electoral process in Zimbabwe by violating principles of democracy on many occasions to ensure victory at voting polls (Hove & Harris 2015: 2). Participating in regular, free, and fair elections forms an instrumental part of democracy, which was no surprise to see them being violated under Mugabe's reign as he did not subscribe to such norms. For him, elections were just another way of gaining popularity despite constantly manipulating elections to his favour, resulting in an extended stay in power. Mugabe was able to manipulate elections through the Zimbabwean Electoral Commission by ensuring it lacks funding, hence elections could not be held in 2011 due to financial constraints (Hove & Harris 2015: 8). This meant that the Commission would not be able to perform its duties.

Such tactics of delaying elections mean that those in power get to enjoy a much longer stay in power, leading to elections being dissolved till the following constitutionally set timeframe (till the next 4 years). In the authoritarian rule of Mugabe citizens became accustomed to the irregular practises relating to elections such as "lack of transparency in the electoral procedures, lack of information on electoral regulations among both the electorate and the contestants, numerous amendments to the laws, most of which are aimed at

disenfranchising sections of the electorate who are suspected of supporting opposition political parties, and fraudulent tallying of the votes at counting” (Makumbe 2006: 45). Mugabe utilized some of these strategies during his stay in power and were key in his stay in power. His reasoning of holding elections were to appeal not only to locals but to the international community, despite constantly violating various democratic principles.

According to Makumbe (2006: 46) “elections are an important feature of public participation in choosing the individuals and groups that will rule them.” However, this has not been the reality in many African states (Zimbabwe in this case). “The Mugabe regime firmly resisted the appointment of an independent commission” (Makumbe 2006: 47) simply to avoid external influence which would increase the chances of them losing power. An external force would mean they would have no influence over who wins elections. Along with this, various Acts related to elections were constantly amended by the ZANU-PF. The intention here is to bring rest to any fears the party would have felt over losing power. Such manipulation was well co-ordinated and executed by Robert Mugabe and his compatriots as this went on for many years without permanent external intervention or solutions which would ensure the proper practise of democratic principles. Through electoral fraud, Robert Mugabe was able to ensure that he could not be ousted through the ballot paper. He was able to block democratic practises from replacing his authoritarian rule, but rather he manipulated those practises to his gain and for him to appeal to the masses.

The authoritarian theory teaches us that once a leader manipulates democratic principles they can then be considered as an authoritarian ruler as they are bending such principles to their benefit.

3.2.1.3 The Use of Force to Eliminate Threats

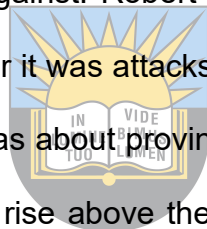
The use of force under Mugabe was not a foreign concept throughout his reign. Whether it came through the army or the police force, the message all about eliminating any possible threat to his reign. According to Reeler (2017: 38) “The perpetrators range from formal state agents, such as the police and the army, through to militia groups, such as war veterans or the youth militia and finally numerous ZANU PF party supporters.” Political violence was a major factor under Robert Mugabe, often having clashes with opposition parties. Mugabe used this strategy constantly to silence even movements which aimed to speak against him, in the process instilling fear to pour water over any future plots which may come against him. According to the informational theory of authoritarianism, this indicates a leader which is insecure and is afraid of outsiders. They tend to be repressive in their rule too. “Mugabe and his party of stifled democracy in Zimbabwe through the use of violence” (Chimbarange, Mukenge & Mutambwa 2013: 308).

During the period of the food riots in Zimbabwe, Mugabe made a payment to a war veteran which was not in the country’s budget. This sparked riots across the country against Mugabe’s government. “He did not hesitate in the unleashing of the riot police and the army, and mass beatings, torture, and arrests” (Reeler

2017: 4). It has become known to be a common feature of a dictators' behaviour to always use force against those who question their power. The intention of unleashing the police or army is to instil stability and ensure citizens do not retaliate. The norm under an authoritarian regime is that whatever the leader says, everyone abides by it without debate or protest, or be prepared to face punishment. This clearly aligns with the informational theory of authoritarianism, underling that dictators have a certain way of behaving which is aimed at safeguarding their power. The actions carried out by the simply explain that the behaviour may be learnt while they were civilians.

Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF had been in constant battle with the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change to such an extent that "political contestations between the two parties were accompanied by mutual violence and the limitation of rights and freedoms" (Cawthra, du Pisani & Omari 2007: 225). The fight between the two parties attracted so much attention from both the African and Global political community. The SADC tried to intervene and mediate a solution for both parties but that came to no avail, while the west imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in hope that the political wars between the two parties would come to an end. The MDCs decision to constantly challenge Mugabe and his cabinet is a major drive for the former Zimbabwean President using force to eliminate opposition. The wars showed that Robert Mugabe was unwilling to back down without protecting his reign till the very end, which on all occasions he came out top.

Ever since Zimbabwe gained independence under Robert Mugabe, his form of reign has been described as military styled, with so many attacks having occurred during his tenure, with some instigated by him. According to Ploch (2010: 20) "Reports suggest that the post-election round of violence had its own campaign name, Operation Mavhoterapapi ("Who did you vote for?")." This was a way in which Mugabe along with the ZANU-PF attacked citizens which voted against the party. Such attacks were a way in which fear was being inflicted to those who belong to the opposition, that way Mugabe inflicted damage to emphasise about the strength of his power. The use of force can also be pointed towards the mere fact that leaders showcase their force against their enemies to show them what they are up against. Robert Mugabe displayed this on many occasions in Zimbabwe, whether it was attacks against the citizens or politically motivated attacks. For him, it was about proving to his enemies that he has the capabilities to defeat them and rise above them, which he displayed on many occasions.



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3.2.1.4 Strong Support from the Ruling Party

Ruling parties in Africa hold high significance and great attachment to the African people. This is because these parties led the liberal movements of these African state from colonial rule. According to Southall (2013: 1) "After victory over colonial and white minority regimes, they moved into government embodying the hopes and aspirations of their mass of supporters." Till the liberation of each country in Africa majority of those parties have never lost power and continue to receive majority support during elections. Along with these parties, are the rulers

who led the liberation movements. Having led through the liberation of their country, these leaders have and continue to receive support from their ruling party. Paul Biya is a clear example of a leader who still receives strong support from their party as he has been in power for 45 years in Cameroon. This goes to prove the power of the ruling party and how much its support can mean for a leader who aims to keep power only to themselves.

Since Zimbabwe achieved independence from colonial rule, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front has enjoyed power in Zimbabwe for majority of the time. Despite the emergence of opposition political parties like the MDC amongst others, the party has maintained its grip on power (Guzura & Ndimande 2015: 1). The commonality with such parties is that they are liberation parties, for example, the African National Congress in South Africa. Though the ANC has seen a change of leadership, the ZANU-PF leadership has been largely dominated by Robert Mugabe, till the recent election of Mnangagwa.



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ZANU-PF has always shown strong support for Mugabe during his tenure, in some cases taking measures to ensure that ensure he enjoys a longer stay in power. One example is the banning of private media which (in most cases) prints critical news about the entire party of Robert Mugabe. According to Chitagu (2018: 3) "Journalists from the privately owned media were labelled as 'sell-outs', enemies and 'hostile press', while their colleagues from the state media were branded 'patriots' and supporters by the ruling party." These private journalists

would often become victims of attacks from the ruling government as means of silencing them. They would be accused to be speaking in support of the western government or the opposing parties. The situation transpired to a point “the government went on to bomb and latter banned a privately owned daily to silence critical reporting” (Chitagu 2018: 3).

President Mugabe and ZANU-PF's monopoly on power was not seriously challenged up until the formation of the MDC in 1999, which became a leading opposition party, especially under Morgan Tsvangarai. The arrival of the Movement for Democratic Change started to shake the ZANU-PF to an extent Zimbabwe started to experience a rapid growth in political violence between the two parties. The late 1990s provided a chance for both the ruling and opposition parties, as well as civil society, to address constitutional reform and related issues of democratisation, unfortunately the Zimbabwean political environment would witness a protracted bitter conflict between them (Sachikonye 2005: 9). This conflict went on for years as the struggle for power intensified in Zimbabwe.

For Mugabe, this indicates that the ZANU-PF were prepared to do anything to protect their leader and ensure he is not removed from the presidency. There are many factors which can be investigated which would cause for such drastic protection of one man, amongst those being the freedom that comes with being in power and the economic benefits. The suspension of private media and political violence assisted in giving Robert Mugabe the strength he needed as a leader and the kind of backing he needs from his comrades, in the process giving him the confidence that he is guaranteed success in any fight he goes into. In the

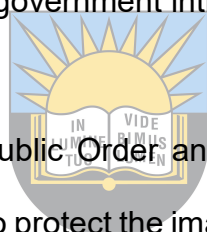
2013 elections, “ZANU-PF outfoxed, out-organised, and outmuscled a well-meaning but inexperienced popular opposition movement” (Bratton, 2014: 1). Through endless plotting and scheming the ZANU-PF has always managed to secure victory for Mugabe despite compromising the political and economic spheres of the country.

3.2.1.5 Control and use of the Media to influence public opinion

It is no secret that dictators utilise any tool at their disposal that will allow them to secure and maintain power. The media is also an instrumental tool in remaining in power. The media is vital for spreading ideas of the leader and shaping public opinion about the leader. This is important as according to the informational theory of authoritarianism; the ruler pays careful attention to the kind of information citizens are fed. They are aware of the power information holds and how it can be of benefit or demise to them. “The greatest power of mass media is social persuasion” (Ullah 2020: 1). This mass media includes radio, newspaper, television, and the internet. Mass media has a great reach of viewers and thus is vital in influencing the way people think and see things. Dictators capitalise on such opportunities, acquiring control of the media and using it in a way which will bring support for the ideas, or creating a good image for them.

In Zimbabwe, *The Herald* has often come under a lot of fire from Zimbabweans, even those in the diaspora, for its “traditional, openly progovernment stance” (Mutsvairo 2016: 157). *The Herald* faced a lot of criticism for not providing content which is reliable to its citizens. This was traced down to

the fact that the institution had ties with the ruling party, ZANU-PF. Through this association, *The Herald* editors would often paint the ruling party positively while speaking ill of the opposition (Mutsvairo 2016: 157). This association proved key for ZANU-PF and Robert Mugabe as it gave the image of Mugabe and the ZANU-PF being a 'Messiah' while opposition parties and movements played the role of the devil, leaving the public to choose who to side with (in most cases siding with the ruling party). Since the independence of Zimbabwe and rise of ZANU-PF to power, "the press was coerced to support the government" (Mukasa 2003: 171) despite the party during its campaigns promising free press and expression. This swiftly changed once ZANU-PF came into power, with independent press also being abolished. Suddenly, the government introduced two laws: The Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) and the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) (Mukasa 2003: 171). These laws looked to protect the image of the party through whatever information is published by the media which speaks against the party. Such restrictions would become vital for pushing propaganda by the government and using the media to convey policies and ideas which speak to the party, shaping public opinion. Often the news that were published were one sided, not giving much room to debate, especially citizens knowing going against Mugabe would lead to punishment. The informational theory of authoritarianism helps to understand that the use of propaganda is very important in shaping public opinion and advancing the views of the leader. The information always projects views of competency from the leader.



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Robert Mugabe and his party would go on to exert their control of the media in Zimbabwe, by buying the then Zimbabwe Newspaper and creating a Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust to promote the interests of ordinary citizens (Mukasa 2003: 174). It is obvious that this Trust was government funded, therefore, government had the biggest influence and control. Government could decide on the kind of news to be publicised and who was at the helm of these media houses, radio, television, and print. The government was aware during the rise of Mugabe, of the power of the media. Hence the need to control it. Even during his time as President, they wanted to ensure they keep control of the media and independent press has little to no voice in Zimbabwe. These limitations were because media is a primary source of information in modern democracy and democracy requires citizens to be informed for them to be participatory in the system (Moyo 2004: 12). Having well informed citizens would threaten the longevity of the government and Mugabe's position in power. This is because the public would see the leader for who he truly is, be aware of the sufferings and abusive nature of the leader and his government, mobilise and take a stand to remove the leader. If the public can distinguish between right and wrong, this puts the leader at risk of being held accountable of their actions as citizens are aware of all government processes and everything going on around them. This would have made Mugabe appear weak especially if crucial information ends up in the public's eyes and ears.

For Robert Mugabe, the press has also been crucial for political campaigns. It has given him a platform to perpetuate his ideas and mobilise votes towards presidential elections. "Political party access to broadcasting facilities,

particularly in the run-up to key polls such as the parliamentary and presidential elections, has always been grossly skewed in favour of the ruling parties”

(Moyo 2004: 12). More often, the ruling party enjoys more publicity during elections and can use those platforms to host debates, advertise or make speeches which rally citizens to go vote for them. The media also becomes a platform to attack oppositions, knowing they will have no access to the same media platforms to respond to such attacks. “State radio and television have dominated the landscape, filling airtime with propaganda supporting the ruling party and vilifying the opposition” (Kwenda 2009: 106). The lack of publicity for opposition parties means they are unable to influence the public on revolting or voting against the ruling party (Zanu-PF in the case of Zimbabwe). They are unable to gather support to remove the ruling party, therefore already trail the leading party when it comes to being the favoured party in the ballot box.



3.2.1.6 Protection from the Political and Military elites’ coalition

According to Masunungure (2011: 47), “authoritarianism in Zimbabwe survives because a coalition of political and military elites stands ready to employ violence to execute the Machiavellian vision of President Robert Mugabe and perpetuate his control of the state.” The relationship between the military and political elites is one which has been integral in protecting Robert Mugabe’s power and presidency. Under a democratic state, the two would exist separately, autonomously, and independent without influencing one another’s roles. However, under a dictatorship, they become one, with the military becoming a shield for the political party against all those that oppose it or the President.

Robert Mugabe was able to use his power and control to glue the party and military together, to ensure the survival of his regime (Masunungure 2011: 47).

This was also down to the fact that some of those in the military had previous ties with the ZANU-PF, fighting for it during Zimbabwe's independence. Through such ties, Mugabe had protection of his presidency by keeping relations with military generals. "The military establishment remained one of the main pillars of Mugabe's rule" (Ahmed 2017: 5). The military played a vital role by providing Mugabe with crucial intelligence and defence. Intelligence which came in handy for Mugabe to use against his opposition and to exert his control over Zimbabwe. The military provided defence for Mugabe against attack from organisations, opposition parties and citizens. It was also used to ensure order and compliance in Zimbabwe. According to Ahmed (2017: 5) "Media reports indicate that these agencies share the country's resources." This justifies why there were strong ties between Mugabe and the military/police leaders. This is no new trend in politics as the other agencies always have interests which the president must fulfil to protect his presidency.

The relation between ZANU-PF, Zimbabwe Defence Force and Zimbabwe Republic Police became evident even to the opposition, to such an extent that opposition parties noticed the security forces have been politicised. Morgan Tsvangarai pointed out in his letter (28 November 2005) to Mugabe the "Politicisation of the armed forces" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007: 1). Strong ties between the party and these national institutions have been there since

independence, however, Mugabe also pounced at the opportunity of ensuring these institutions remain by his side. Having these institutions guarantees support and defence for the President. Robert Mugabe had these two institutions at his disposal should there be any threats towards his power. The army also assured Mugabe their support for him, when then General Vitalis Zvinavashe in 2001, stated that they would threaten a military takeover if another party would win the presidential elections (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007: 52).

It is quite evident the importance of the military in the rule of Mugabe, as he could use it to defend himself in times of need. Having the military on his side strengthened his influence and power over the political sphere of Zimbabwe. It created an image of Mugabe being a feared leader, allowing him to use that to his advantage in crushing his opponents. The support of the military also gave him the upper hand with getting intel before it gets to the media or other parties. The military in return were willing to go the extra mile for Mugabe as they had a coalition with the ZANU-PF, technically they were in bed with those in power. In Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007: 52-53) the actions of the military convinced people that there was an unbreakable umbilical cord between ZANU-PF and the military, furthermore, the military had dedicated itself into a willing instrument of a particular party and president. The military would go on to rally support for Robert Mugabe, sounding threatening statements to those who wish to overthrow the president, cementing the fearful image of Robert Mugabe to the public of Zimbabwe. This coalition proved fruitful for Mugabe as he enjoyed a prolonged stay in power, allowing him to abuse power countless times without any

repercussions. It further proved how influential and strong Mugabe was in mobilising key role players that helped him in his quest of accumulating power.

This he did successfully by having the Zimbabwe Defence Force and Zimbabwe Republic Police on his side to fight for him and serve him well.

3.3.1 What constitutes Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe to be called dictators

It is of high importance to observe and understand why Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe are labelled as dictators. This can be done through looking at what makes a dictator and comparing these to the two leaders. It is no secret how these two African leaders acquired and maintained power, however, that alone cannot justify why they are called dictators. One thing both leaders have in common with what a dictator is, is the use of force in the ways they acquired power. Kawayla-Tendo (2020: 4) states that a dictator is one with total power over the country, and typically obtaining it through forceful and unconventional means. Both Gaddafi and Mugabe rose to power through being involved in the military, using their power and influence to remove those who occupied the leadership seat at the time of their rise into power. Another character of a dictator is someone who has allies which work with the leader to ensure their influence does not diminish. Kawayla-Tendo (2020: 4) "Modern dictators have survived by surrounding themselves with elite groups that are composed mainly of allies that were involved in the initial struggle for power."

Allies ensure protection and support for a leader and are pivotal in the stronghold of power. Allies can be in the form of the military, ruling party and ethnic groups.

These three factors are clearly stated and studied in this chapter and how they played a key role in supporting the stay in power of the two leaders. Mugabe was largely supported by ZANU-PF and Gaddafi received backing from the Qadhadhfah tribe. These pillars of support go through immeasurable lengths to prove their loyalty to the dictator as they rely on the dictator's survival to have any kind of power. Allies are regarded as loyalists to the leader and will prove their support for the dictator even when the dictator is bad. "Moreover, autocracies often control the media (Neundorf & Pop-Eleches 2020: 9). This is common amongst dictators as maintaining control over information is key for brainwashing citizens. This is purely propaganda. This control is exercised over print media, radio, and televisions, sometimes even the internet. Mugabe banished all other media except *The Herald* in Zimbabwe. Dictators understand the impact and power of media and how it can influence citizens. They counter this by banishing all opposing media and maintain those that support and speak positive of their rule. They are used to brainwash the minds of individuals into believing the leader is competent even in the time of a crisis. These factors support the claims about Mugabe and Gaddafi being named as dictators. Supporting literature has indicated some of the characteristics that make a dictator, which both Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe clearly fit the descriptions.

3.3.2 Comparison of the rise to power between Gaddafi and Mugabe

Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe were known to be close to each other as heads of states during their respective reigns. Their relationship was no secret as they shared similar values when it came to Africa. This relationship is also

evident in the ways in which they ruled in their countries. There are similarities which can be drawn in this study between Gaddafi and Mugabe, in the ways which they consolidated power. Force stands out as the first similarity which both leaders shared or had in common. (Mantzikos 2011: 1) states that Robert Mugabe has taken a forceful approach in even trying to win elections by having supporters beaten up to vote for ZANU-PF. Supporters of opposition parties faced brute force for defying the ruling party. Such an act showed that Mugabe is not reluctant on using aggression to keep a stronghold on power. The use of force in these two leaders was quite evident during their reign, especially through the military and police force.

Both leaders have been able to position themselves very well in their positions of power through having trusted men around them. Allies have played a crucial part in supporting these leaders. According to Mantzikos (2022: 1) “When you achieve power, you bring your own people into government – and even more important.” Mugabe kept strong, loyal, and long serving members in the ZANU-PF, while Gaddafi ruled within ethnic lines. Muammar Gaddafi relied on people whom he shares religious and cultural values with. Mugabe on the other hand ruled with people who had loyalty to the party, bought into his ideas and who wanted total rule of Zimbabwe. This simply made it easier for these leaders to have their laws carried out and executed, as they fell on the ears of their own servants. Ruling with the support of allies has also ensured that these leaders spend longer time in power. In 1975, some members of the Revolutionary Command Council tried to overthrow Muammar Gaddafi, but failed leading to the RCC being reduced to 5 loyalists of Gaddafi (Abba, 2019: 1152). This proves the

importance of ruling with close trusted individuals to ensure a stronghold on power.

Despite the use of force and abuse of power these leaders had in common, they also did some good in their states. Mugabe was key in promoting high quality of education in Zimbabwe. Muammar Gaddafi looked after the welfare of Libyans. “Gaddafi promoted economic democracy and used the nationalized oil wealth to sustain progressive social welfare programs for all Libyans” (Abba 2019: 1157). This is an indication that the public was well provided for during Gaddafi’s tenure. As stated in this paper, women also became literate and employable. The general lives of Libyans were improved by Gaddafi. Mugabe did the same in ensuring that children went to school to become the beacon of hope for their families. Access of welfare programs meant that these leaders wanted to ensure their followers had the opportunity to improve their lives and contribute to the country’s economy.



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3.3.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter indicates how Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe rose to power. Methods of good governance and economic progress led to them gaining popularity in their respective countries. Furthermore, it is clearly discussed on how they have used these strategies to monopolize power whilst manipulating the public. Gaddafi established himself as a figure through distribution of wealth to buy loyalty, whilst political power worked in his favour. Robert Mugabe on the other hand had the large support of the ZANU-PF which was always armed to protect itself and its leader. Mugabe thrived by being flexible using force

against his enemies diluting it with is the practise of democratic principles. The consolidation of these strategies by these two leaders faired out well for them as they were able to manoeuvre the possibilities of losing power. They also strengthened their regimes, exercising their power freely and whenever they please.



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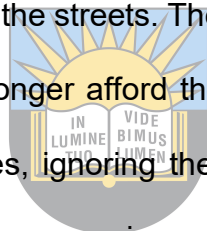
CHAPTER FOUR: Factors that led to the demise of both Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe

4.1 Introduction

There are many factors which contributed to the survival of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe. It is the same with losing power, many factors come at play when leaders lose power. Some of these reasons are out of their control and others the leaders create themselves. This has been the trend with long-serving leaders in Africa. “In the past four years, 26 African countries have had transfers of power – a level of political turnover unseen since the 1990s” (Allen & Noyes 2019). This goes to show how politics in Africa have changed, proving that there are evident issues that weaken a leaders’ power, as pointed out in this study. This chapter looks particularly at Gaddafi and Mugabe and how their power declined, leading to them eventually being ousted. In their lengthy rule in their respective countries, (Gaddafi 42 years and Mugabe 30 years) they both had their weak spots which eventually lead to them losing power. It cannot be denied that both leaders had enemies both in domestic politics and at international level. Many actions by democratic institutions have resulted in the decline of dictators since “the international community has increased its commitment to prosecute malevolent dictators by establishing the International Criminal Court” (Larcom, Sarr & Willems 2014: 1). This court has been established to protect the rights of civilians against vicious leaders who kill masses to either send a message or protect their power.

4.1.1 Muammar Gaddafi

Many may have not predicted that after 4 decades of rule, the demise of Gaddafi would be something the world would witness. However, it can also be argued that he may have been the master of his own downfall. “Several antecedents have led to the protests, including factors like authoritarianism, violations of inalienable rights of citizens, political mismanagement, economic downturn, unemployment, acute poverty, and a number of demographic structural aspects like a considerable percentage of educated but disgruntled youth within the population” (Abdelsalam 2015: 123). The state in which the citizens found themselves it was one that was intolerable, sparking protests through social media and eventually leading to the streets. The state of living deteriorated to a point where civilians could no longer afford the basics needed to survive. The elites were enriching themselves, ignoring the needs of the public and letting them suffer. “Corruption, nepotism, cronyism, and injustice had been the targets of mass protests” (Abdelsalam 2015: 125).



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4.1.1.2 Breach of the Social Contract leading to protests

The Arab Spring broke out due to large protests which spread across Libya, sparked by the economic and social challenges which citizens were faced against. When society at large is not pleased in the way in which is governed, it is bound to make its voice heard to those in power. These issues had occurred due to the Gaddafi regime ignoring the social contract and rather using Libya's resources to enrich themselves. The social contract in Libya was upheld for so many years by Muammar Gaddafi, ensuring Libyan citizens were well taken care

of and had the basic needs. Libyans had access to healthcare, education amongst other benefits. Eventually, the social contract broke down due to

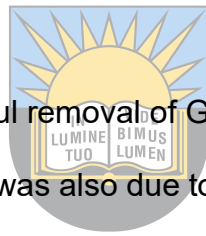
Gaddafi's regime wanting to enrich itself using Libyan resources, followed by a continuous abuse of power. The basic economic needs of the Libyan people were met despite the political situation being unstable as Gaddafi maintained Libya's traditional political-cultural structure that has been entrenched throughout the centuries (Aghayev 2013: 194). Gaddafi maintained ruling through keeping alliance with tribes that played a crucial role with the political structures of the country as they were largely dominated by them. However, such a setup became unfair for those who were not gaining from it, as they felt Gaddafi utilised his power for personal benefit. This was mainly "rival governments in the east and west, and among multiple armed groups competing for quotas of power, control of the country and its wealth" (Telesur 2020). The theory of revolution justifies the why Libyans turned on Gaddafi. It advances the understanding that a revolution is a result if expectations of people not being met by the government, they then opt to protest those in power. This then led to conditions in Libya deteriorating rapidly, becoming unbearable for citizens.

4.1.3 The involvement of NATO in Libyan affairs

For many years, Africa has been clouded with violence to such an extent that external bodies have been needed to mediate the transition to peace. Whitfield (2010: 5) "Various external actors – understood as those foreign to the conflict theatre – play a central role in the course and conclusion of peace negotiations." These actors have taken matters into their own hands since states across the

world have the R2P. There are obvious motivating factors that would require external actors to act as mediators in another state's affairs.

This is also because according to democratic principles, states have sovereignty and this needs to be respected. However, the involvement of external actors has not always been as sweet as honey. "In some instances, external actors may have been involved in fuelling the conflict, especially if rooted in issues such as access to trade and resources" (Whitfield 2010: 5). This clearly explains the involvement of NATO in Libya as it was partly motivated by humanitarian duties but also the gain that they saw from the oil in Libya.



It is not secret that the successful removal of Gaddafi was not solely because of the revolt of Libyan citizens but was also due to the interference of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. "Following a preliminary American-led military intervention, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation sponsored a seven-month campaign, 'Operation Unified Protector'" (Wedgwood & Dorn 2015). The campaign was targeted at removing Gaddafi from power, this was just after the United Nations Security Council had declared that all measures should be used to protect civilians in Libya. This fell in line with the 'Right to Protect' idea which the Security Council has preached and continues to priorities with all its member states. The sanctions put in place by the United Nations Security Council were not enough to weaken the regime of Muammar Gaddafi. This led to NATO bombing Libya despite the African Union having proposed for mediation mandate from the Constitutive Act and UN Charter (Gebremichael,

Kifle, Kidane, Wendyam, Fitiwi and Shariff 2018: 3).

The military might of NATO proved too tough for Gaddafi who was eventually killed and there was a regime change. NATO operated mainly with air strikes in Libya with no soldiers on the ground. It formed allies with ground forces who wanted to see the removal of Muammar Gaddafi. “Just as air power works best when integrated with land forces, NATO’s operation was, in part, decided by those forces engaged with the Libyan regime’s forces” (Gaub 2013: 8). Even though the two forces were not a single unit, they acted with similar intent of ousting Gaddafi. The presence of NATO in the battle to remove Gaddafi proved to be a huge advantage given the strength and natural operation of NATO in situations of conflict.



The intervention of NATO in Libya was supported by the new objectives it had undertaken from 1992. Those objectives being “supporting peacekeeping operations, collective defence responsibility and global crisis management” (Leblond 2017: 1). The intervention of NATO in Libya was also looked at as a humanitarian intervention, given the gruesome actions of Gaddafi on Libyan citizens. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation acted based on the Responsibility to Protect which many global or international communities and organisations have adopted. It can be said that international organisations act or intervene “where a state is failing to protect its own citizens from systematic violations of international humanitarian and human rights law” (Humanitarian Policy Group 2011: 1). Despite the tension and debates around why NATO was

in Libya, it can be said they were successful in removing Muammar Gaddafi and protecting civilians against the gruesome rule of the former Libyan dictator.

NATO can be argued for to have successfully protected civilians and ensured they accessed life-saving assistance (Humanitarian Policy Group 2011: 2).

4.1.4 The Rise and Embrace of Democracy by the Libyan Youth

The role of the youth in Libya during the Arab Spring cannot go unnoticed and unmentioned. For many years the Libyan youth watched and experienced gruesome torture and living conditions under Muammar Gaddafi. The theory of revolution explains and outlines clearly why the youth of Libya turned on Gaddafi. It states that economic factors can push citizens to revolt against those in power. They witnessed the country's economy and social standards deteriorate into the hands of a leader which only cared about self-enrichment.

According to Schwartz (2011) "For years, scholars have been warning about the youth bulge – that the disproportionately large population of young men in the Arab world is a ticking time bomb." It became noticeable to possibility of the Arab youth, which is consumed by anger, could have the potential to spark a revolution. The youth of Libya for many years had been consumed by frustration and anger over the rule of Muammar Gaddafi.

There are many reasons which sparked the Arab Spring in 2011, especially with the youth being at the forefront of things. Amongst other things, the youth had been experienced low wages, high unemployment, and extremely high food prices. "Just as significant, this generation's global interconnectedness through

media and technology has exposed them to images of possibilities besides their current governments” (Schwartz 2011). These possibilities pointed straight to democracy, an ideology Muammar Gaddafi did not abide by and worked tirelessly to ensure Libyans did not follow. The theory of revolutions motivates that when people see a need for society to evolve, they will carry out such intentions. However, with modernity and the youth being interconnected through social media, it became a matter of time as to when a revolution will breakout. Throughout the Arab Spring there were mass movements against the leadership of Gaddafi, showing signs of democracy. Access to the internet and ‘posting’ about the movement of removing Gaddafi is a clear trait of Freedom of Speech and Expression. This was a clear indication that the new generation was starting to embrace Democracy as a form of rule which speaks to the kind of life they intend to live. One of peace and opportunities. How these youth movements came about was through “widespread, decentralized grassroots participation” (Schwartz 2011), showing another aspect of democracy, also indicating that the youth wanted inclusion and representation in the political system. The embrace of democracy by the youth opened a gap of weakness in Muammar Gaddafi’s power, creating an opportunity not for only the youth but everyone else that had been wanting him to be removed from power.

Even though the power of the youth may not be much for them to cause a change in Libya, they sure had a significant role to play in the rise of the Arab Spring, through embracing various democratic principles. Schwartz (2011) pointed out that the youth usually have less power compared to adults in politics. This argument is further argued and explained in (Luhmann 2015: 27)

“Youth tend to be active on the streets but continue to be marginalized in formal decision-making bodies.” Even though this may be true, it does not take away the efforts the Libyan youth took in starting the ousting of Gaddafi. The quick embrace of democracy by the youth proved a defiance of Muammar Gaddafi’s ideas and power. It showed resistance and retaliation, causing suspicions of a weakened leader. The ‘Messiah’ image no longer resonated with Libyans, instead they started seeing ‘Lucifer’ in Gaddafi. The rise of democracy through the youth also showed that dictatorship had run its course and was not feasible to the people of Libya any longer. Through adopting and executing these democratic principles, Gaddafi and his counterparts were ousted by the citizens through serious mobilisation with a common purpose of toppling the regime and transition to a Libya which is kind to its people.



4.1.5 The mobilisation and uprising of Anti-Gaddafi forces

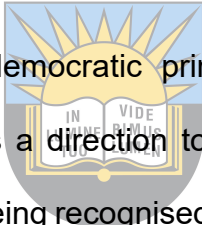
It is evident that by the time the Arab Spring broke out, many alliances started forming up to play a role in removing Gaddafi. Many militia groups and organisations started forming, such as, **National Transitional Council, Libyan Youth Movement**. This chapter will briefly dissect and discuss the role played by each institution or organisation in helping remove Muammar Gaddafi during the Arab Spring

4.1.5.1 National Transitional Council

According to Nesi (2011: 45) this council was established on 27 February 2011, announcing itself as the only body legitimate enough to lead the Libyan people.

Formulated at the beginning of the Arab Spring, the main aim of this council was to remove Muammar Gaddafi from power. The National Transitional Council (NTC) received great support from global bodies such as the Human Rights Council, UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, all three labelling Gaddafi as a threat to civilians, calling for swift action to remove him.

“As of 30 November 2011, more than one hundred United Nations Member States had announced their recognition of the NTC as the sole legitimate representative body of Libya” (Nesi 2011: 47). The NTC was a clear example of democracy, receiving backing from other democratic bodies who were fighting against an authoritarian rule.



The term of legitimacy is a democratic principle and the talk of being a representative body also shows a direction towards democracy in Libya. The NTC received its legitimacy by being recognised by global democratic bodies and Libyan citizens. The NTC became a democratic aspiration for Libyan civilians. Given the fact that the NTC was prodemocracy, Nigeria and South Africa gave support to the Council on the basis human rights and the NTC being a sovereign government (Minteh 2013: 1). The NTC overall served as a symbol of transition for Libyans. It was viewed as a beacon of hope postGaddafi. For international and global powers, it symbolised the progression of Democracy in Africa and in contemporary politics.

4.1.5.2 Libyan Youth Movement

The Libyan Youth Movement was made up of Libyan youth in Libya and in the diaspora, who described themselves as a group that has a shared desire, with

the help of Allah, aiming to return their country to prosperity (Sommer & Run 2013: 1). The role played by the youth of Libya during this revolution cannot go unapplaud. With little power to no power in the Libyan political sphere, they managed to be at the forefront of this revolution. Mobilising on the ground and using 'hashtags' on social media to create awareness of what was happening in their country. "During the civil war, youth took vital roles in the armed militias, media and online activism as well as in humanitarian aid work" (Schafer 2015: 28).

With the use of media, there was high awareness of the war that it reached countries in Africa and across Europe. It also got the full attention and involvement of different age groups across social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. The killing of Fathi Terbil, who was the only political youth representative, caused the youth to react with even more anger towards the government. Further fury was being added by the mere fact that the youth was being side lined in decision-making processes during the revolt (Schafer 2015: 28). What was key about the Libyan youth movement was its ability to mobilise in numbers and take to the streets to fight against Gaddafi's government. Those numbers are what crippled his regime. It can be also argued that his inability to work with the youth and address its issues, may have led to his downfall. Therefore, they ended up adopting democratic principles, utilizing them in the process to bring an end to authoritarianism.

4.1.5.3 Libyan Islamic Movement

The Libyan Islamic Movement is another institution which played a crucial role in toppling Gaddafi as an armed force, being assisted by NATO (Ashour 2015: 1).

They also formed part of the discussions of democratizing Libya, moving away from authoritarian rule. They supported ideas of “electoral competition, constitutional crafting and civil society activities” (Ashour 2015: 2). This goes to show this Islamic movement was fixed towards moving into contemporary ideas and politics, instead of dwelling any longer on ideas of the past. It made easier for them to oppose Gaddafi, adding more fuel which was being prepared for Gaddafi to be ‘baptised’ in. According to Feliu & Aarab (2017: 162) “Islamists in Libya and abroad participated actively in the uprisings, but without leading them.” They supported these movements because of the situation Libya was in.

This also goes to show the ethnic differences that existed within Gaddafi’s rule, showing a sense of factionalism/division even in the *Brotherhood* he cherished so much. This kind of division will have created cracks in his cabinet, with some supporting the regime and others calling for the axing of Muammar Gaddafi. The fight against Gaddafi was not only limited to Libyan Islamists from Libya, but also those in the diaspora as whatever was happening in Libya was affecting them indirectly (some through their families and others being purely patriotic) and felt they had to act.” The Islamist diaspora in countries like the UK, France, Egypt, and Qatar played a decisive role as rear-guard actors pressing Gaddafi regime” (Feliu & Aarab 2017: 163).

4.1.2 Robert Mugabe

For many months before the stepping down of Mugabe, Zimbabweans had shown frustrations with the government of former President Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe as a country and nation had been dealing with the abuse of power,

poor governance, poverty, a deteriorated economy, and social unrest amongst other issues. In 2017, the Zimbabwean military “launched ‘Operation Restore Legacy’ in a bid to force President Robert Mugabe out of office and facilitate a transfer of power to his former Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa”

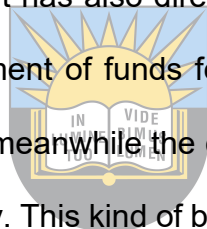
(Beardsworth, Cheeseman & Tinhu 2019). Mugabe built up so much tension towards him through constant violence, abuse of power and pushing away his allies. This opened gaps and an opportunity in his power to oust him.

4.1.2.1 Poor Governance

Zimbabwe over the years since it gained independence, has experienced an economy that performs poorly. Its economy has been one that has been supportive of the government and not its citizens. “Under the oppressive reign of President Robert Mugabe, Zimbabweans have been subject to gross violations of property rights, including state-sponsored expropriation and vandalism, corrupt politicians, restrictive business regulations, and an abysmal monetary policy” (Cain 2015: 1). These violations went on to affect the welfare of the state and overall performance of Zimbabwe’s economy. The constant violations by Mugabe pushed away potential investors. From its independence and during the 1970s Zimbabwe had a well-built infrastructure, good mining, agriculture with plenty of food, manufacturing and it had an enviable financial sector with local businesses selling supplementary goods (Cain 2015: 1).

The constant unrest affected operation of businesses as they had to regularly close during strikes or ended up being affected through looting. These violations

had a direct impact on the citizens in the sense that they lost jobs, homes, and affected their overall well-being. According to Cain (2015: 2) in May 2005 Mugabe went on a “*Operation Murambatsvina*” which was aimed at removing informal settlements leaving 700 000 people homeless. This was Mugabe exercising his power unfairly as people lost homes and were stripped their dignity. This further created chaos in Zimbabwe as people were suffering under the rule of Robert Mugabe. Poor governance under Mugabe took place until he left his position, most notably through corruption. The misuse of funds deprived Zimbabweans a chance to have access to good quality services. “Not only has corruption led to the funnelling of government funds away from providing public goods and services, but it has also directly prevented economic growth” (Cain 2015: 3). The embezzlement of funds for personal gain was a constant feature of Zimbabwean politics meanwhile the citizens watched as the elites get richer while they swim in poverty. This kind of behaviour also affected the flow of income for government, where funds were meant to be used to improve infrastructure and overall well-being of the people of Zimbabwe. Mugabe during his reign constantly displayed ignorance of the needs of his people, rather focusing on filling up his pocket.



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4.1.2.2 Abuse of Power Leading to Social Unrest & Mobilisation

Chiweshe (2015) “Zimbabwe since 2000 has been dominated by violence, political intolerance and intimidation deeply rooted in the Zanu-PF often ruthless struggle to retain power.” The Zanu-PF has taken any measure to retain power even attacking the citizens of Zimbabwe who oppose the party,

silencing the media and pushing back against oppositions. This kind of behaviour is a clear indication of human rights violation and abuse of power. It decreases the popularity of the form of rule as well as the president. When this behaviour is repetitive it then leads to unrest in society, where people start establishing movements and organisations to revolt against the government. People end up also arming up with the little they must fight against armed forces of the government, which was the reality of many Zimbabweans. The constant abuse of power by Mugabe and his police force led to many clashes between citizens and the police and many lives have been lost while some have been arrested. "The political elite has thus developed an elaborate system to protect their power and access to resource through an elaborate security state as well as passing legislation such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) to protect themselves from public scrutiny and control the masses" (Human Rights Watch, 2012) in (Chiweshe 2015). Such legislations go unchallenged because of the authority of Mugabe, along with oppositions being aware of the consequences of questioning Mugabe.

The constant abuse of power by Robert Mugabe led to Zimbabweans mobilising together to oust him. "Young activists expressed their displeasure with the government by mobilising protests via social media platforms throughout the country, especially in Harare, Bulawayo, Beitbridge and the Midlands province" (Hove & Chenzi 2020: 2). Platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp & YouTube allowed Zimbabweans to voice out how they felt about Mugabe and why they needed him to step down as President. Typical Mugabe reacted to

these calls by arresting and beating those who took part in these protests. “The marginalised subaltern underbellies of society often tend to turn to, and utilise, alternative media platforms to create counter-hegemonic cyber-communities to challenge the state and the political elites in power” (Hove & Chenzi 2020: 2). The power of social media in contemporary times has proven vital for many corners of society when they are oppressed. It has proven to be a mechanism of freedom, expressing how people feel about their government. Even in this revolt against Mugabe it assisted citizens in spreading the message about what was happening in Zimbabwe and allowing different corners of Zimbabwe to come together and protest the rule of Mugabe. These reactions by Zimbabweans were fuelled by the gross violations and years of suffering under Mugabe, having put up with a government that caters for its own needs and leaves its people to suffer. There was a clear indication even at his old age that the abuse of power was not going to come to an end. Zimbabweans constantly retaliated against the brute force of the police showing that they were ready to go through all strides for their voices to be heard. This was also a clear resistance of Mugabe’s power and an indication of citizens who were tired of living under poor conditions. With all these factors building up, it presented Zimbabweans an opportunity to fight for the removal of President Mugabe.

4.1.2.3 Loss of Control over The Military

The tension between Robert Mugabe and his military generals may have been the final nail on his coffin. Mugabe start to side-line his generals, namely army chief Constantino Chiwenga and Mnangagwa, as he felt they were plotting him and undermining his authority (Beardsworth, Cheeseman & Tinhu 2019: 1). This was the first sign that Mugabe had started to lose his close grip on the military,

by pushing out of the most influential individuals in the military. The ideas of plotting against Mugabe were no surprise given the fact that there was high social unrest and social media was picking up in terms of conversating about Mugabe stepping down. Usually in such situations would step in to support and defend the leader, however, this was not the case for Robert

Mugabe.

“Toward the end of 2017 Robert Mugabe was convinced by members of his own party and leaders of the military to retire from his thirty-seven-year presidency of Zimbabwe” (Moore 2017: 1). This is very much unusual but does occur in a dictatorship. Authoritarian rule has always been fixed around brute force and removal of leaders, with the military at the forefront of defending the leader. However, in this case, the coup was peaceful, and Robert Mugabe received no help from the military. Losing the support of the military proved detrimental on the quest of keeping a grip on power much longer, leaving him very vulnerable to being easily ousted by those who had been calling for his head. The tension meant that Mugabe could not call on the military like in previous cases, to handle his dirty laundry. This is down to how he may have handled his relations with Mnangagwa and the military generals, who may have been his closest allies.

The success of this coup was down to the fact that “successful protagonists are usually rooted in the military” (Moore 2017: 1). The strength of the military is undeniable great and is a vital gateway to acquiring and maintaining power. The military can support a leader even when they are violating human rights if the control of the leader is firm. However, it can also turn on a leader if they are weak

or may no longer have the same interests in mind. The military is also important for when a leader wants to exercise control or show off his might on his oppositions, in a quest to be feared. Without the military Robert Mugabe appeared weak and vulnerable. He went from predator to prey. For many years Mugabe was surrounded by his army such as in in 2008 when Robert Mugabe lost elections to the late Morgan Tsvangirai and the army stepped in to prevent Tsvangirai from getting into power and killing hundreds of his supporters (Moyo: 2018: 112). With now the tables turned, it became a clear indication that without the military, Mugabe could not exert his control like he would normally.

4.1.2.4 Involvement of External Actors to Weaken Mugabe

For the longest time, former President Mugabe has had a distaste of the West, the same way he has come under much attack and criticism from the international community. The US is one country that has not been secretive about its fight against Mugabe's totalitarian rule, to such an extent it started to cripple his power through attacking the countries welfare. "In February 2002, the United States government imposed "smart sanctions" against the Zimbabwean government that included a travel ban on government officials and a freezing of their assets" (United State Institute of Peace 2003: 11). In the same year, Europe followed similar steps as the US, to show their own disapproval of Mugabe's rule. "Similar sanctions were imposed by the European Union in March 2002 with the Commonwealth suspended Zimbabwe in 2002, immediately following the March presidential elections" (United State Institute of Peace 2002: 11).

The United States and Europe have continued to isolate and weaken Zimbabwe – Mugabe’s power, with the hope of Zimbabwe becoming fully a democratic country. Zimbabwe under Mugabe was only practising democracy to legitimise his power and to appeal to the international community. However, with the way Mugabe was ruling, Europe constantly pushed against Mugabe and his government. Zimbabwe became isolated and not eligible for several EU funding instruments, with the EU pursuing a regime change agenda, by supporting the opposition and civil society (European Partnership for Democracy 2019: 19). By depriving Zimbabwe funding, they were limiting Mugabe availability of resources. Lack of resources means that he will be unable to exercise his power. These kinds of funds could have mainly assisted with food aids, military equipment, and funding to keep government afloat to run its day-to-day business. Depriving the Mugabe administration such funds limits what he can do, creates more social unrest due to economic strains, which eventually led to revolts against Mugabe. This kind of tactic was a setup to weaken Mugabe for the entry of democratic influence in Zimbabwe. Such contribution by the US and Europe paved a way for civil organisation to protests the leadership of Mugabe.

The aid given to Zimbabwe by the US focuses more on civil organisations that have been fighting against Mugabe’s rule to try an establish democracy in Zimbabwe. The aid by the US is aimed at supporting “human rights, equitable economic growth, political and electoral reform, leading to transparent, accountable, and effective political and economic governance” (Cook 2016: 1). These are clear democratic principles which the US and many western countries abides by. This gives a clear indication that the US have had an agenda of

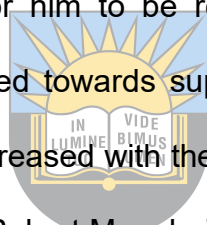
wanting to topple the regime of Mugabe. The support for these principles by superpowers makes the calls for regime change louder, the adoption of democracy gains momentum and civil organising becomes more and more popular amongst the Zimbabwean community. The west has given obvious support for democracy in Zimbabwe, posing a constant threat to Robert Mugabe's power.

4.1.2.5 Divisions Within the Ruling ZANU-PF Party

Factionalism in contemporary politics has grown to be a decisive factor for the direction a party goes in. Factions affect operations of the party, supporter's behaviour and distribution of power and resources. In the Zanu-PF, Mugabe facilitated a lot of promotions and countervailing appointments and dismissals, giving preference to individuals closer to him and who would guarantee their support for him (Cook 2019: 6). Appointments based on favouritism tend not to go down well with other members of the party causing them to contest those at the helm, with hopes of acquiring power for themselves. Within the ZANU-PF names of succeeding Mugabe started to rise, after certain members of the party were no longer willing to tolerate Mugabe's abuse any longer.

According to Cook (2019: 7) "Until late 2014, the main reported ZANU-PF rivals to succeed Mugabe—as both head of state and of ZANU-PF—were two long time top officials, Emmerson Mnangagwa and Joice Mujuru." These started to come up when Mugabe's power was starting to decline. Instead of showing full support for Mugabe, people started pointing out potential replacements. The naming of potential replacements showed that the party was starting to have

cracks within its leadership and entire system. For many years, ZANU PF has always been united and showed to be a strong union which protects its leader. The factionalism within showed that Mugabe was no longer as strong as before, people no longer feared him. Certain groups within ZANU-PF took advantage of this chance. Factionalism in the ZANU-PF has crippled Mugabe, giving opposing voices a chance to be heard and endorse the arrival of a replacement. This faction being supported by the military veterans gave Mugabe little advantage over Mnangagwa, Grace Mugabe and various politicians made public comments belittling the political roles and influence of independence war veterans (Cook 2019: 10). This took away more support from Mugabe, increasing the call for him to be removed. War veterans stopped supporting 'the party' and leaned towards supporting individuals in the party. Mugabe's popularity rapidly decreased with the public and party members. This also showed a rapid decline of Robert Mugabe's influence over Zimbabweans.



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4.1.2.6 The Rise of Grace Mugabe into Politics

Towards the last days of Robert Mugabe's presidency, there were emerging talks of his wife potentially entering politics and taking over the reigns. This became a surprise for the male dominated ZANU-PF; however, it also presents deep fractures in the party (Dendere 2018). This emergence of Grace Mugabe has become a factor of the demise of Robert Mugabe on the basis that it presented no solution to Zimbabwean problems, but rather a continuation of his rule within the family. The rise of Grace created tension within the party and fuelled the factionalism which had already existed towards the waning of

Robert's power. "Since Vice President Joice Mujuru's unceremonious removal from office in late 2014, there has been a debilitating factional battle within ZANU-PF over who would succeed the aging president" (Pigou 2017). Emerson Mnangagwa, who was then Vice President to Robert Mugabe, was pitted as the obvious candidate to take over the seat of presidency. However, the name of first lady Grace Mugabe started to gain momentum within the ranks of ZANU-PF. She had the obvious support of her husband as power would have remained withing arms reach to him and ensure a continuous rule of the Mugabe name. Mugabe's faction started to rally around First Lady Grace Mugabe and by mid-2016 it was evident Mugabe tacitly favoured his wife's associates, who dominated ZANU-PF's Youth and Women's Leagues (Pigou 2017).



However, with the momentum of removing Robert Mugabe already picking up, social unrest at a rise, the announcement of Grace stepping in to succeed her husband added fuel to the fire. Those who were anti-Mugabe started to announce their support for Mnangagwa to take over. Despite him having been an ally of Mugabe, Mnangagwa became the immediate solution for Zimbabweans. Robert Mugabe started to lose support of key allies who had been backing him in his stay in power. "Veterans of the liberation war, a key pillar of Mugabe's support, broke ranks and fell behind Mnangagwa" (Pigou 2017). The rise of Grace Mugabe and the possibility of her stepping into presidency created a division between Robert Mugabe and important stakeholders of his dictatorship, who had started to lose trust in his leadership. This gave a clear indication that Mugabe only had his interests to protect and

those of the ZANU-PF no longer mattered. Grace Mugabe becoming a successor to her husband can be explained in Pigou (2017) to be such a blatant dynastic move which disgruntled certain elements within ZANU-PF. Those disgruntled elements are the ones which took a stand to ensure Robert Mugabe was removed from power to bring the turmoil in the state to an end.

4.1.2.7 Comparison of the similarities in the demise of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe

Despite the decades shared between these two leaders in power, their demise for many was unexpected but for others, long overdue. There were various but similar factors that contribute to Gaddafi and Mugabe losing power. The kind of rule these leaders were known for had no longer served the interests of certain groups in society and the world. These groups being the citizens themselves, opposing parties, external countries/groups, and human rights groups.

In recent years, interest towards democracy has spiked up, particularly from the African continent. The continent has a history of being ruled by the military, monarchists, and dictators. However, in contemporary politics, these forms of rules have lost relevance. Democracy has started to speak to the interests of citizens as they have rights under this new form of rule. With the rise in democracy came the establishments of democratic organisations such as NEPAD. “New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was established to promote democracy in Africa and increase economic integration and peace and security among African countries” (Elvy 2013: 80). Such establishments spoke to contemporary politics, giving rise to revolutions and protests like the Arab Spring which saw the removal of Muammar Gaddafi. The revolution theory in this paper has spoken clearly on why such uprisings occur, driven mostly by

when citizens no longer find comfort in their situations. Mugabe faced the same repercussions when the people of Zimbabwe protested calling for him to step down. The rise of democracy in Africa and the inability for these leaders to adapt to this western idea meant that they lost popularity with citizens and became misfits in international politics. Therefore, the support from external organisations was crucial in ousting them.

What is clear about the demise of these leaders is that mass mobilisation was instrumental in the change of power that took place in Libya and Zimbabwe. This was driven by issues of Human Rights violations, especially in Zimbabwe. The livelihoods of Zimbabweans had heavily deteriorated to such an extent they were no longer bearable. The establishment and function of the AU may not be to the standards of Africans; however, it has been created to prevent or stop the human rights violations committed by abusive African states (Elvy 2013: 82). This has made people aware that they have rights, and these rights need to be upheld even by the state. In the case where it fails to do so, people end up taking that action into their hands to look after themselves. Mugabe's failure to protect Zimbabweans led to them protesting him. This is the similar nature with the Arab Spring which ended Gaddafi's stay in power. These two ousting were obvious indications of leaders that had failed to care for their citizens. They are also a clear indication of citizens who are well informed of their rights, who are aware of when they are violated and the failure of the state in ensuring human rights are upheld.

4.2 Chapter Summary

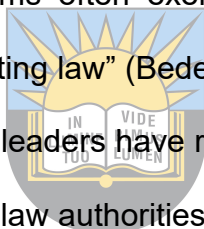
This chapter has presented the various factors that led to the demise of both Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe in their respective regimes. Their regimes resisted many potential ousting but remained stronger. However, in recent years this changed, where a decline and demise of their power began. Issues of neglecting basic service delivery led to frustrations of the public, leading them to protest their government. Civil organisations constantly showed disapproval of this kind of behaviour by leaders and had mass organising with the hope of removing the government. In these demonstrations democratic principles were adopted and utilised, showing contemporary society had embraced democracy as a way of life and the kind of future they see themselves living. Through these different periods, weaknesses of these leaders were also exposed such as their inability to adapt to contemporary politics and divisions around them that exposed cracks in their power. For many decades authoritarian rule was popular in Africa and went uncontested. Modern era has proven a different atmosphere, with democratic principles taking the forefront especially amongst the youth. It has been clear that these factors played a vital role in ending the long rule of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. They are factors which continue to shape each countries politics today as they started a revolution to a new era in their countries. They have also shown how a ruthless leader is dealt with when they have no respect for human rights and rules according to their own will.

Chapter Five: Summary of Findings, Conclusion, Contribution to Literature and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Findings

5.1.1 Conclusion

African citizens have experienced many years of authoritarian rule to such an extent that it became a norm. With that came the exploit from leaders to keep a stronghold of power for many years. Having assumed power from the independence of their countries, these leaders start to develop a big man syndrome where they seem themselves as the biggest individual in society. “Leaders in authoritarian systems often exercise their power arbitrarily and consider themselves above existing law” (Bedeski 1994). This is something that continues till today where many leaders have ruled for years, committed crimes but have not been dealt with by law authorities. This is also difficult as dictators have control over all aspects of government, more especially law enforcement.

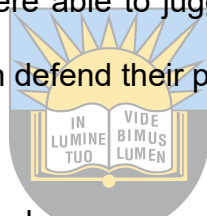


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It has been clear through this study that these leaders have not survived virtually on their own. There have been certain actors and tools which have been used to consolidate power, such as use of force, exploiting the media and using it for propaganda, having allies and the support of the ruling party. These have proved a success as both Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe have enjoyed lengthy stays in power. “All these tactics serve to exploit the discontent in their societies” (Kawayla-Tendo 2020: 30). The use of force has been quite visible using armed forces to fight opposing parties or factions of society that retaliate or disobey the leader. Force has been used to achieve order. Less violent means to consolidate

power have included propaganda and the preaching of theories and ideologies. Gaddafi preached Jamahiriya in Libya based on his ethnicity and beliefs. Mugabe in Zimbabwe used *The Herald* to prove to the public he is still competent to lead the country. Kawayla-Tendo

(2020: 32) “The use of propaganda describes actions that are undertaken by the government to echo the message that the sovereign is competent, more convincing to the public.” The informational theory of authoritarianism clearly states how leaders have opted for less violent means in contemporary politics, as means of gripping hold of power. The theory also points out how tactical leaders become in their quest to hold onto power. Through their years of reign, Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe were able to juggle around with the strategies at their disposal to ensure they can defend their power.



It cannot be argued that either leader possessed qualities to lead their respective countries. Having played a key role in the independence of their countries, Gaddafi and Mugabe displayed the kind of leadership their citizens believed in to lead their Libya and Zimbabwe into a new era. Muammar Gaddafi displayed qualities of good governance through providing for the basic needs of society and ensuring that citizens had access to the wealth of the country. For Gaddafi, “the establishment of public welfare and concerns for the public interest are among the most important functions of good governance” (Akhmetova 2014: 337). This grew the numbers in support for Gaddafi to remain in power as people were taken care of and respected him for that.

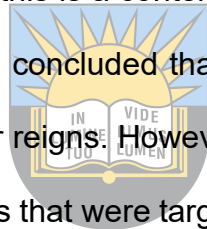
Mugabe was no different on public welfare as he invested heavily on the quality of education in Zimbabwe. He saw the importance of educations as a tool to fight

colonial rule but mainly as a way of achieving a better quality of life in the new Zimbabwe. He created a system which was inclusive of the marginalised groups in Zimbabwe, ensuring access for all. "The expansion of the education system during the 1980s led to many qualified graduates supplied onto the job market" (Kanyongo 2005: 72).

However, despite their rise to power and consolidation of power, the whole world witnessed what many may have not predicted, which is the downfall of both Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. This study clearly outlined factors of the rise of democracy, fallouts with the army, the involvement of social groups and external actors as results of how Gaddafi and Mugabe lost power. Some people may argue that they mastered their own downfalls given how they mistreated their citizens, including the state in which their countries were in. Both leaders abused state resources for their own gain and jailed or punished anyone that spoke against them. Those ill treatments sparked a revolution from either country. The theory of revolution has explained clearly that revolutions start because societies are not provided with the necessities of life but rather there is suppression of their rights and dignity (Gebil 1990: 3). The abuse of state resources, lack of economic growth and use of force by police sparked the mobilisation of citizens into large masses and some into social groups that protested their governments. In Libya that was the Arab Spring. Along with the wave of democracy in Africa, these processes were also used in removing Mugabe in Zimbabwe. This gave clear sight of how Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe lost power, also showing that in as much as they were viewed

as strong men, they did have weaknesses which were exploited by those who wanted them removed.

This study has carried out an exploration of the various methods used by Gaddafi and Mugabe to consolidate power in their countries. It detailed out through theories how these methods were effective to ensure both leaders were achieving their goals. What is clear is that a leader cannot stand on their own, hence they have allies and support of armed forces. Through this study, it is also clear that leaders are not bigger than the public. Through mobilisation citizens can dethrone a leader that no longer serves their interest. This study proves relevant to this topic, given that this is a contemporary issue which continues to shape African politics. It can be concluded that Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe were successful in their reigns. However, due to negligence and abuse of power, they fuelled revolutions that were targeted at getting rid of them, which both succeeded. The stay and removal of these two leaders from power should be a learning case study for remaining long serving leaders in Africa, to ensure they consolidate power accordingly to ensure they do not face the same fate as Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe did.



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5.1.2 Contributions to Literature

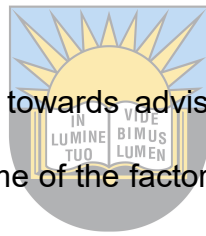
The reign of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe has taught us a lot about leadership and African politics. Their leaderships have provided different views about dictatorship and the ways in which leaders navigate their tenure to survive being recalled from government. This study has brought out the various strategies used by these two leaders to consolidate their stay in power. Some similar in nature, others differed but all proved to be effective to some extent.

Given that both leaders had ruled for decades, it may have been surprising to see how well their strategies constantly worked to their benefit, with each threat to power needing them to be creative or pragmatic in their approach to stay in power. The most common strategies like the use of force and violence, elections rigging, and propaganda have remained relevant for these two leaders along with other African leaders.

The constant juggle of strategies by Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe was very important for them to remain relevant in their respective country's political atmosphere. Despite the changes that have been taking place globally (the wave of democracy) in politics, Gaddafi and Mugabe ensured they survived this wave of democracy, and not only survive it but also be able to exist and remain relevant within it. It is no secret that dictatorship is no longer a much-discussed ideology anywhere in the world, but it is still relevant as we still have remaining dictators/long-serving leaders in Africa particularly. Democracy has become a focus point, with the aim of replacing these autocratic states. Some regimes have not been able to withstand the rise of democracy and eventually toppled and became democratic states. After the 2011 Arab Spring, Tunisia became stable and has constantly held elections since the rise of democracy in the country.

The wave of dethroning long serving African leaders, accounted for many leaders in Africa, namely the two mentioned in this case study, Omar Al Bashir (Sudan), Yahya Jammeh (Gambia), and Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria) to name a few. With this wave of dethroning of long serving leaders, this means that existing long-serving leaders have a lot to learn from the counterparts,

specifically what led to their demise. This study has pointed out the strategies well used to consolidate power, as well as the factors that led to the demise of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. For the remaining leaders to keep a grip in power, it is important for them to monitor and be wise in how they consolidate their power. There are various ways, brought out in this study, in which these leaders can avoid mass mobilizations against them or possible coups. The use of these tactics or avoiding making the same mistakes as Gaddafi and Mugabe could potentially lead to them remaining in power for much longer years. However, it cannot be overlooked that nothing lasts forever, as seen with Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe, eventually the fairy tale will have an ending.



This study seeks to contribute towards advising and educating existing long serving leaders on what are some of the factors to look out for should they look to continue being in power. It has clearly shown how to adapt in contemporary politics, whilst being fully aware of what is no longer relevant in modern politics. This paper seeks to drive the narrative that even though dictatorship may no longer be relevant in contemporary politics, leaders who seek to keep a stronghold in power can do so in various pointed out in this study. What is clear is that dictatorship has waned down in recent years due to the wave of dethroning long serving leaders. This wave has not completely swept every dictator away and those that remain can be able to survive this wave should they avoid conceding similar mistakes as those of Gaddafi and Mugabe. This paper serves as a guide on how existing long serving leaders can conduct themselves to ensure they are not ousted from power.

5.1.3 Recommendations

There are lessons which current long serving leaders in Africa need to note from the demise of Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. The continuous recycle of old strategies will eventually fade them out and they become unfavourable to continue at the helm. The remaining long serving leaders need to rethink the way in which they lead, ensure that it speaks to the needs of society at large, while they maintain a stronghold on power.

5.1.3.1 The importance of existing and being relevant through democracy

Contemporary African politics have transitioned massively where many states subscribe to the idea of democracy. Some dictators have been ousted and replaced by democratic processes, while other leaders have held on to power. The rise of democracy unsettled and threatened many long-serving leaders of their power. What excited many is the aspect of democracy where leaders must attract the majority coalition of citizens to gain political power (Justesen 2010: 376).

The first lesson these leaders should take note of is the direction the world is moving towards. Simply put, they must be able to exist and be relevant for the right reasons in contemporary global and African politics. The rise of democracy means that these remaining leaders need to start embracing democratic principles and start utilizing them in their advantage. The practice of democracy will also lead to them appealing to the global community, even though they would be manipulating these principles. Leaders need to start embracing and

respecting citizen rights and afford them such. They must get citizens (specifically the youth) involved in political processes through working hand in hand to ensure new ideas are generated in their regime, gaining trust and loyalty of citizens in the process. The moment people feel part of the government and can influence policies, they will feel obligated to trust and be loyal towards the leader. This will give them the idea that they are able to influence, with the support of government, the kind of lifestyle they aim to live.

5.1.2.2 Leaders Need to Respect Human Rights

Through the reign of Robert Mugabe, Zimbabweans experienced quite several human rights violations under the watch of their government. Many people suffered injuries and arrests from the police for having defied the leader. These atrocities have counted against Mugabe as international humanitarian organizations such as the UN Human Rights Commission have spoken against these violations, widening awareness to the whole world about the situation in Zimbabwe. People of Zimbabwe have also retaliated on many occasions when it comes to their rights being violated. Existing dictators need to be very cautious when it comes to protecting and respecting human rights. “Since the end of World War II, the core importance of human rights has been universally acknowledged” (United Nations Human Rights 2016: 8). This clearly outlines those Human rights are an important aspect of society at large and an individual. With human rights has come the Right to Protect (R2P) citizens and their wellbeing. This is something Libyans and Zimbabweans did not experience. Their governments overlooked the importance of people’s rights, the need to protect them and often acted at the interest of protecting their power even if it meant stripping an individual of their right to life.



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Existing dictators/long serving leaders need to be wary of the importance of these rights. They must respect human rights as it will protect them against being protested by national and international human rights bodies. Guaranteeing citizens safety against police brutality creates a safe and stable society, where citizens will less likely resort to violence and protest when against the government. Long serving leaders must recognize their R2P as set out by the UN Security Council that a state must meet its responsibility to protect its population (UN Human Rights 2016: 9). Provision of safety for citizens also restores their dignity, in return they have respect for the government as it recognizes their rights. They feel safe under the watch of the government. Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe did not hesitate to deploy armed forces when their rule was at threat, or felt they were being defied. It is important that existing leaders safeguard the population and ensure they meet their right to protect. Their exercise of power must not threaten the safety of people.



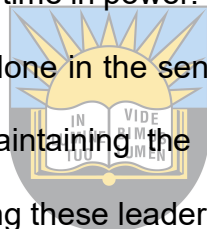
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5.1.2.3 Prioritizing the Social and Economic Welfare of Citizens

Issues of poverty, high unemployment and an economy that is underperforming have become a trend within African countries, one which African politicians at large have not been complacent in address. These factors create frustrations within citizens as they expect the government to address these issues. Muammar Gaddafi excelled in taking care of his people at the beginning of his reign, however, towards the end the country started to deteriorate with the youth facing high unemployment rates. The neglect of the social and economic aspects creates frustrations which lead to citizens mobilizing and protesting the government. "Socio-economic rights provide protection for the dignity, freedom

and well-being of individuals by guaranteeing state-supported entitlements to education, public health care, housing, a living wage, decent working conditions and other social goods” (Ahmed & Bulmer 2017: 3).

Provision of these basics increases the credibility and reliability of the leader. It increases the chances of stability in the country with people playing a role in growing their countries economy at the same time improving for their own wellbeing. The stability is important for these existing leaders to reduce any chance of any revolutions taking place against them. Providing for the citizens needs is very vital, in the current democratic climate, to secure votes in the ballot box. In return, they secure more time in power. It is quite important these leaders ensure resource distribution is done in the sense that citizens also benefit from what the country produces. Maintaining the social and economic welfare of citizens will lead to them repaying these leaders with loyalty and votes.



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5.1.2.4 Maintaining a Solid Relationship with The Military

The military in both Libya and Zimbabwe played a key role in the demise of both Gaddafi and Mugabe respectively. Both leaders had lost the respect and protection of their arms which eventually turned against them supporting the removal of either leader. The influence and power of the military cannot be denied especially in support of a leader who aims to stay in power for a long period. The military can fend off any opposition of the leader and can also ensure compliance of the people to what the leader dictates. The history of African dictatorship shows a strong relationship between the army and the government/dictator. This relationship has always been beneficial to either party either through political and economic benefits (for the army) and

protection (for the leader).

This relationship still exists; however, some leaders have failed in maintaining this relationship which is mainly beneficial to the leader. Feaver (1999) in Bruneau & Croissant (2019: 1) “the fundamental issue in civil-military relations is how to create and preserve a military that is subordinate to political control but is also effective and efficient.” This is core for any existing leaders’ quest for a longer stay in power. There needs to be a solid relationship between the military and the leader, one that has a mutual understanding. The leader must be firm enough for the military to be subordinate to their rule but at the same time need to ensure that the military is effective in carrying out whatever duty it is tasked to do. Bruneau & Croissant (2019: 3) state that an effective military must be able to utilize resources provided to it and carry out tasks the political echelon provides them to do. If political power is provided to the military, dictators need to be prepared to work together with the military in shaping policies and handling of day-to-day state affairs. This ensures that both parties agree and are fulfilling their duties according to what has been agreed. However, should the military be there purely for protection, this must be clearly outlined at the beginning of the relationship.

The military can also play a vital role for the leader in maintaining stability and order in a country. This has been common in Africa where the military is deployed to silence oppositions or protests. Along with providing stability comes nation building. According to Rivkin (1969: 6) in Lamb & Pisani (2018: 13) the military has three principal political advantages over citizens which include organizational

superiority, a symbolic status, and a monopoly on arms. All citizens have attachment and pride about their military and in instances where they defy the leader, they can listen to the military as it is trustworthy and is there to protect them. Existing leaders can use these political principals to their advantage by having military generals preaching their propaganda for them to ensure that citizens buy into their ideology. The military can act as a mediator in situations where citizens are at war with the leader. Through this, the leader gains protection, at the same time has the military mobilizing support for them through their superiority and status. The military will always remain a significant power for dictators to use efficiently and effectively.

It is vital for the existing long serving African leaders to avoid the same mistakes as those made by Muammar Gaddafi and Robert Mugabe. Despite dictatorship slowly fading away and losing relevance, it is still very much a part of African politics. It is important for these leaders to learn from what worked and did not work for Gaddafi and Mugabe. They need make use of these lessons to increase their chances of a longer stay in power. The world is moving towards democracy and these leaders need to find ways to adapt into this new system and be relevant. Human rights remain a high point of focus across the world and humanitarian groups are always prepared to act against states that violate these rights, that is why it is important for these leaders to ensure that human rights are given the respect and recognition they deserve. With these changing times in African politics, we continue to see the importance of the military for rulers. The military is a make-or-break tool, which if used efficiently, it will prove effective. Remaining long serving leaders need to thread carefully in how they deal with

the military and ensure that agreements with the military are well maintained to keep good and solid relations.

The military also protects the interests of the leader by guaranteeing them support whether an action is positive or not. It also acts as a source of key information which dictators can use in their advantage. It is vital that existing dictators establish a working relationship with the military given the amount of benefit it holds for them.

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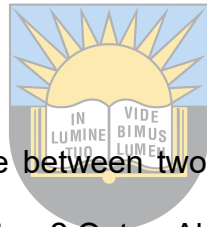
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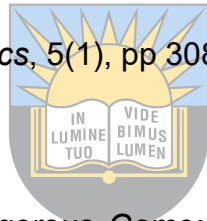
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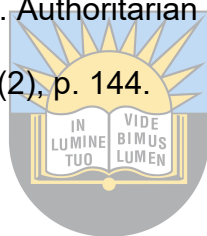
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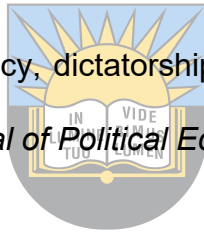
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