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***POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AS A QUALITY: A CRITICAL STUDY OF JOHN GARANG  
IN PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH SUDAN***

**By**

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## DECLARATION

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I, SYDNEY SHUPING MODISE, declare that this dissertation:

**POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AS A QUALITY: A CRITICAL STUDY OF JOHN GARANG  
IN PROMOTING PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH SUDAN,**

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



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SIGNATURE  
(S.S. MODISE)

January 2022

DATE

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this study to my late father Pogisho Joseph Modise who always encouraged and believed in me and has been a source of constant inspiration. I wish he was here to witness this moment, may his soul rest in peace. This also goes to my wife, Mmantwa, who has struggled with me throughout this journey; and my children, Ofentse and Olebogeng. They understood that I could not always be with them; however, I hope that they will be inspired to do whatever it takes to build a better future.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this research is to look into John Garang's political leadership qualities and his role in promoting peace and reconciliation in South Sudan. The research argues that he used his vision and inspiration to rally his followers towards their common enemy, Khartoum. He always strived for the unity of the Sudan's Peoples Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) having examined the warring parties' perpetually failing peace treaties. Ethnic tension changed political rivalry into toxic ethnic conflict through brutal mobilisation and rhetoric. The research findings indicated that Garang was an inclusionist political leader that embodied the struggle and aspirations of all people irrespective of identity-based differences. He fought against any attempt to divide and separate the Sudan. Though he did not achieve his objective in his lifetime, Garang advocated for a united 'New Sudan' free from injustices of the past, where everyone had a sense of belonging and could function in a democratic and pluralistic society. His biggest achievement was the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Thereafter, a comprehensive all-inclusive South Sudanese peace process was formulated to address the political aspects of the conflicts. South Sudan was administered by a pro-Khartoum grouping before the referendum for self-determination. This grouping used the divide and rule principle to create mistrust and hostilities among the ethnic groups. Garang's vision for the liberation of South Sudan underpinned some of the key aspects captured within the CPA, which made unity attractive and separation the last resort. This aspect demonstrated his maturity as a political leader and served as a model for contemporary leaders to embrace all Sudanese ethnic and religious groups. Garang ensured that the CPA laid the foundation for effective governance in South Sudan, to address social, economic and political challenges. This included establishing power sharing tools that were aimed at ensuring equitable distribution of power and just representation for the different ethnic and religious groups in governance. Rotberg's theory of transformative political leadership, specifically the Mandela model of transformative political leadership, was employed as a theoretical frame of reference because of its contextual relevance. Given the normative nature of the study, a qualitative methodology was adopted.

Interviews with individuals and key role players that worked closely with the research subject constituted the primary sources of data used for the study. This contributed immensely to achieving the objective of the research which was to investigate the political leadership qualities of Garang and his role in establishing peace and advancing reconciliation in South Sudan.

**Keywords:** Political leadership, Transformational political leadership, Transactional Political Leadership, Peace, Ethics, Reconciliation, Nation building.

### **Kakaretso**

Sepheo sa patlisiso ena ke ho shebisisa makhabane a boetapele ba lipolotiki ba John Garang le karolo ea hae ho khothaletseng khotso le poelano naheng ea Sudan Boroa. Patlisiso e bolela hore o sebelisitse pono ea hae le ts'usumetso ho bokella balateli ba hae ho sera sa bona se tloaelehileng, Khartoum. O ne a lula a hahamalla bonngoe ba Sudan's Peoples Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) kaha a hlahlobile litumellano tsa khotso tse sa feleng tsa mekha e loanang. Khohlano ea merabe e ile ea fetola tlhōlisano ea lipolotiki hore e be khohlano e kotsi ea merabe ka ho bokellana ho sehlōhō le lipuo tse ngata. Liphuputso tsa lipatlisiso li bonts'itse hore Garang e ne e le moeta-pele oa lipolotiki ea kenyelletsang ea kenyelletsang ntoa le litabatabelo tsa batho bohle ho sa natsoe liphapang tse ipapisitseng le boitsebahatso. O ile a loantša boiteko leha e le bofe ba ho arola le ho arola Sudan. Le hoja a sa ka a finyella sepheo sa hae bophelong ba hae, Garang o ile a buella 'Sudan e Ncha' e kopaneng e se nang ho hloka toka nakong e fetileng, moo motho e mong le e mong a neng a e-na le boikutlo ba ho ba oa hae 'me a ka sebetsa sechabeng sa demokrasi le se nang le mekhoa e mengata. Phihlello e kgolo ya hae e bile ho tekena Tumellano e Akaretsang ya Kagiso (CPA). Kamora moo, ts'ebetso e felletseng ea khotso ea Sudan Boroa e ile ea etsoa ho rarolla likarolo tsa lipolotiki tsa likhohlano. Sudan Borwa e ne e laolwa ke sehlopha sa pro-Khartoum pele ho referendum bakeng sa ho ikemela. Sehlopha sena se sebelisitse molao-motheo oa ho arola le ho laola ho theha ho se tšepane le bora har'a lihlopha tsa merabe. Pono ea Garang bakeng sa tokoloho ea Sudan Boroa e tšehelitse tse ling tsa lintlha tsa bohlokoa tse hapiloeng ka har'a CPA, tse entseng hore bonngoe bo khahle le karohano e le khetho ea ho qetela.

Taba ena e bonts'itse kholo ea hae joalo ka moetapele oa lipolotiki mme e bile mohlala bakeng sa baetapele ba mehleng ea ho amohela merabe le bolumeli ba Sudan. Garang e netefalitse hore CPA e ralile motheo oa puso e sebetsang hantle naheng ea Sudan Boroa, ho rarolla mathata a sechaba, moruo le lipolotiki. Sena se ne se kenyelletsa ho theha lisebelisoa tsa ho arolelana matla tse neng li reretsoe ho netefatsa kabo e lekanang ea matla le boemeli bo nepahetseng bakeng sa merabe e fapaneng le lihlopha tsa bolumeli pusong. Khopolo ea Rotberg ea boetapele ba lipolotiki bo feto-fetohang, haholo-holo mohlala oa Mandela oa boetapele ba lipolotiki ba phetoho, e ile ea sebelisoa e le moralo oa boithuto ka lebaka la bohlokoa ba eona. Ho latela boemo bo tloaelehileng ba thuto, ho ile ha amoheloa mokhoa oa boleng. Lipuisano le batho ka bomong le bankakarolo ba ka sehloohong ba sebelitseng haufi-ufi le taba ea lipatlisiso e bile mehloli ea mantlha ea data e sebelisitsoeng thutong. Sena se ile sa kenya letsoho haholo ho fihlelleng sepheo sa lipatlisiso e neng e le ho batlisisa makhabane a boetapele ba lipolotiki ba Garang le karolo ea hae ho theheng khotso le ho ntšetsa pele poelano Sudan Boroa.

**Mantsoe a Bohlokoa:** Boetapele ba dipolotiki, Boetapele ba dipolotiki bo tlisang phetoho, Boetapele ba dipolotiki ba Phapanyetsano, Kgotso, Boitsoaro, Poelano, Kaho ya setjhaba

## **List of Acronyms**

AGI:	Africa Governance Initiative
ANC:	African National Congress
AU:	African Union
CPA:	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
GNPOC:	Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Corporation
GNU:	Government of National Unity
IFP:	Inkatha Freedom Party
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
JEM:	Justice and Equality Movement
MEC:	Military Economic Corporation
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NIF:	National Islamic Front
NPG:	Nile Provincial Government
NSV:	New Sudan Vision
RPF:	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SACP:	South African Communist Party
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SPLM:	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SPLA:	Sudan People's Liberation Army



SSCC: South Sudan Council of Churches  
SSIM: South Sudan Independence Movement  
SSLM: South Sudan Liberation Movement  
TMC: Transitional Military Council  
TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission  
UN: United Nations  
UNSAP: United Sudanese African Parties

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
Abstract.....	v
List of Acronyms.....	viii
CHAPTER 1 .....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Research Background.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement.....	2
1.3 The Research Objectives.....	3
1.3.1 General Objective .....	3
1.3.2 Specific Objectives .....	3
1.4 Research Rationale .....	3
1.5. Key Concepts.....	4
1.6. Theoretical Framework.....	6
1.7 Methodology.....	7
1.8 Research design .....	9
1.9 Data Sources .....	11
1.10 Data Collection Techniques .....	11
1.11 Data Analysis and Interpretation.....	12
1.12 Limitations.....	15
1.13 Ethical Consideration .....	15
1.14. Conclusion.....	16
CHAPTER 2 .....	17
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA AND SUDAN: DISCOURSE AND APPLICATION.....	17
2.1 Introduction .....	17
2.2 Political Leadership in Post-colonial Africa .....	19
2.3 Conflict and Political Leadership in Post-colonial Sudan .....	31
2.4 Conclusion.....	43
CHAPTER 3 .....	45
ROTBERG’S MANDELA MODEL OF TRANSFORMATIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND MORAL DISCOURSE AS A POLITICAL APPROACH.....	45
3.1 Introduction .....	45
3.2 Theories of Political Leadership .....	46

3.3	Other Leadership Theories.....	51
3.4	Purpose of Transformational Leadership in Society .....	53
3.5	Rotberg’s Mandela Model of Political Leadership .....	56
3.6	Rotberg’s Core Competencies of Transformative Political Leadership .....	66
	Figure 01: Schematic Diagram of Political Leadership Competencies.....	68
3.6.1	Vision.....	68
3.6.2	Mobilisation Momentum .....	69
3.6.3	Legitimacy .....	70
3.6.4	Trust .....	71
3.6.5	Enlarged Enterprise.....	72
3.7	Conclusion.....	73
CHAPTER 4 .....		75
UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF JOHN GARANG THROUGH THE LENS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES.....		75
4.1	Introduction .....	75
4.2	Garang’s political leadership qualities .....	75
4.3	Garang’s attitude towards reconciliation and issues of ethnicity .....	78
4.4	Garang’s vision of a united Sudan and his views on secession.....	81
4.5	Garang’s inclusionist value system .....	84
4.6	Conclusion.....	86
CHAPTER 5 .....		87
GARANG THE TRANSFORMATIONAL POLITICAL LEADER .....		87
5.1	Introduction .....	87
5.2	The Visionary.....	87
5.3	The Mobilization Momentum .....	91
5.4	Legitimacy .....	94
5.5	Trust .....	96
5.6	The Enlarged Enterprise.....	99
5.7	The Imperative of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation.....	100
5.8	Challenges encountered by Garang in the implementation of peace and reconciliation .....	102
5.9	Conclusion.....	103
CHAPTER 6 .....		105
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....		105
6.1	Conclusions .....	105
6.2	Critical Findings .....	105

6.3	Recommendations .....	110
6.4	Future research .....	111
	Bibliography .....	112

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Research Background

This is an exploratory research into the normative dimension of the political leadership of John Garang. Through interviews conducted with individuals that were followers in the lower ranks of the Sudan People's Liberation Army and Movement (SPLA/M), and officials and associates that worked closely with Garang and who had a first-hand experience of his personal ideas, beliefs and actions, it attempts to establish what qualities Garang espoused as a political leader in healing the tribal, ethnic, religious, and regional divides between the Sudanese people and how it subsequently influenced the promotion of peace and reconciliation in South Sudan. The significance of examining Garang's political leadership qualities is particularly relevant in the current political context. Since gaining its independence in 2011, the Republic of South Sudan has confronted ongoing conflict. This brutal conflict has claimed the lives of an estimated 400,000 people including women, children, and the elderly, and displaced millions since the start of the civil war (Checchi et al, 2018: 23). This is interesting considering that the country showed signs of unity and political stability after former leader John Garang successfully negotiated a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with Khartoum in 2005 which paved the way to independence on 9 July 2011. Unlike the current tussle for political power between Riek Machar and Salva Kiir which is underpinned by ethno-factionalism, Garang's political leadership style appeared to advocate a sense of inclusivity that transcended ethnic and religious differences (Katongana, 2014).

Given the current ethnic conflict ravaging South Sudan and considering what John Garang did in the build-up to the CPA, it could be argued that he espoused certain qualities conducive to peace and reconciliation, which is why he was possibly seen as a nation builder. For those directly involved in brokering peace as well as ordinary citizens, he was viewed as an ethical leader who displayed courage and had the ability to do the right thing even when it meant risking rejection and loss (Achua and Lusser, 2013: 348). Garang's personal experiences of brutalities from Khartoum and the sufferings of his

people shaped his initial political outlook that enabled him to take the lead in the fight for the emancipation of the people of South Sudan. He rose through the ranks from the Anyanya combatants to ultimately become the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). His vision was for a secular united Sudan which he did not achieve due to his people voting to secede from Sudan. His untimely death could also have contributed to his vision not being realised. Garang was known as a leader who was tolerant and embracing, even to his opponents. For the sake of the unity of the SPLA, he was always ready to reach out to all the different ethnic groups in South Sudan, including giving them senior positions in the party. This leadership portrayal was consistent with the Mandela model especially in terms of his outreach and reconciliation. His discourse was influenced by African leaders such as Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanzania and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

Despite all the persecution his people in the South suffered under the rule of Khartoum, he was dedicated to fulfilling his vision of a secular and united Sudan. He chose reconciliation over revenge, all the while being astutely aware of what ethnic conflict could do to a nation as seen by the Rwandan genocide. By doing so, he appeared to exude a kind of leadership that mirrored that of Nelson Mandela in South Africa. The current lack of leadership in South Sudan that threatens to derail the gains of independence requires that we understand what Garang did differently. His ability to galvanise people across tribal, ethnic, religious, and cultural divides was reflected in his popular sentiment. Thus, a deeper investigation of the nature and form of Garang's leadership is necessary (Buyoya, 2017 Addis Ababa Conference).

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The purpose of this research is to better understand the nature and role of John Garang's political leadership and the extent to which it contributed to the promotion of peace and reconciliation in South Sudan.

## **1.3 The Research Objectives**

### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to investigate how, and the extent to which, the particular qualities of John Garang's political leadership contributed to peace and reconciliation in South Sudan.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

#### **1.3.2.1 The study's specific goals are as follows:**

- To determine the role Garang played in promoting the peace and reconciliation processes in Sudan and South Sudan.
- To identify the challenges encountered by Garang in the implementation of peace and reconciliation and establish what he did to address them.
- To determine if he did embody and espouse qualities as a political leader that aided the process of promoting peace and reconciliation.
- To make a general contribution to the general literature on political leadership in Africa of which there is a dearth, and to challenge pejorative notions where leadership on the continent is seen almost exclusively as synonymous with kleptocracy, corruption, clientelism and ethnic violence.

## **1.4 Research Rationale**

There is currently very little documented literature about the political leadership qualities of John Garang and the specific contribution he made to promoting peace and reconciliation. The study would make a general contribution to the general literature on political leadership in Africa of which there is a dearth of knowledge on the subject. There is currently no study that deals specifically with the political leadership qualities of Garang that has been undertaken, thus this research will concentrate on that. Such a study is especially pertinent in the present context of South Sudan where political leadership struggles have exacerbated ethnic tensions, conflict and instability, which serve to vindicate conventional pejorative narratives on African leadership. Unresolved disputes

between various ethnic groups over ownership and accessibility to land and natural resources in contested areas like Abyei, the Blue Nile and Nuba Mountains threaten to be undermined even further by the fractured leadership in South Sudan. The dire situation has provoked increased murmurings amongst key stakeholders involved in the peace process in South Sudan to reflect positively on Garang's leadership in creating solidarity and establishing a sense of nationhood. Given the central role Garang played in the CPA; the landmark achievement in the peace and reconciliation process in Sudan and the positive perception around his leadership, it is necessary to engage in a systematic study outlining the specific nature and form of his political leadership during his tenure. This research will serve a dual purpose. Firstly, it will provide insightful information that can be used by leaders and key stakeholders who are directly involved in the peace process in South Sudan, to mitigate conflict. Secondly, it will add to the existing body of knowledge on peace and reconciliation in similar conflict situations and contribute to the broader understanding and significance of an organic form of political leadership in Africa.

### **1.5. Key Concepts**

The following key preliminary concepts were identified and will be defined here to provide the necessary elucidation:

#### Political Leadership

According to Bennis (2004: 1947), political leadership is a process that occurs between a leader and his/her followers. The result of this process is a condition for effective and authentic leadership, which will lead to empowered followers with good moral outcomes.

#### Transformational Political Leadership

Transformational political leadership is often associated with the establishment of knowledge and creativity. According to Vera and Crossan (2004: 222 – 240), transformational political leadership is about empowering followers and striving towards societal change. Transformational political leadership puts emphasis on the empowerment of followers as societal engines of change. The research will conform to



this definition of transformational political leadership because it will be the crux of this research.

### Transactional Political Leadership

Transactional political leadership is a leadership style that emphasise the importance procedures and tends to create frameworks for rules and structures. It is normally regarded as inflexible and usually opposes change. These types of leaders focus mostly on short-term goals for their success and performance is reliant on rewards. They use reward and punishments to gain compliance from followers (Hargis, 2001).

### Peace

Peace, according to Johan Galtung (1967: 12), is a predictable social order even if this order is brought about by means of force and the threat of force is the absence of violence and should be used as the social goal. Peace does not exclude violence, because in most cases before its achieved, lives are lost. The social context is the freedom from fear of violence, thus, in this context; peace must include justice and the absence of retribution and hostilities. This definition of peace is vital in this research as it will be demonstrated how Garang strived to quell dissidence and eliminate ethnic tension and conflict in his struggle for the South Sudanese through the SPLA/M.

### Reconciliation

This entails a long and painful journey of addressing victims' pain and suffering, understanding offenders' motivations, reuniting estranged communities and attempting to find a path to justice, truth, and, ultimately, peace (Tutu, 2013:1 – 823). This definition is relevant in this study because it denotes the struggle of the Sudanese people, especially those in the South, with striking similarities in terms of their experience of segregation, discrimination, humiliation and dispossession at the hands of other ethnic groups and their general quest for peace.

### Nation Building

It is about constructing a political entity that corresponds to a specific territory based on some generally accepted rules, norms, principles and shared citizenship. It is also about

developing a shared sense of purpose, a shared destiny and a collective sense of belonging (Gambari, 2008). The South Sudanese did not have nation-building. However, Garang was able to create an ethos and practical conditions for nation building given the absence of it at the time. He also strived to harness these values to establish nation-building in an independent South Sudan.

## **1.6. Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework used for this study deals with political leadership since the intention is to elucidate the political role played by Garang in uniting the South Sudanese people. The researcher employed Robert Rotberg's theory of transformative political leadership, specifically the Mandela model of transformational leadership. The author makes interesting assumptions about how leadership can promote good governance, peaceful transformation, and ethical politics in Africa to bring about much-needed change (Rotberg, 2012: 6 – 13). It is demonstrated in the study how Garang fits the Mandela model of transformational political leadership through reconciling and forgiving his opponents in the SPLA/M. This model was chosen because it serves as a foundation for democracy and lays the basis for reconciliation and forgiveness which is in line with the objective that Garang sought to achieve. This is unlike the autocratic model of political leadership that is prevalent on the continent and contributes hugely towards undermining good governance and democracy. The Mandela model of transformational political leadership can be used as a yard stick to address most of the political leadership problems that bedeviled the continent, leading to military take overs.

This model of transformational political leadership entails the analyses of the leader-follower interaction. The model will be employed to evaluate the political leadership qualities of Garang, especially in motivating his followers and inspiring them towards achieving a common vision. The model entails creative leadership in resolving conflict. Conflict precipitated by racial discrimination and inequality was rife in South Africa but through Mandela's role as a political leader in the struggle and his political qualities, he managed to avoid a civil war. Garang's characteristics as a political leader and how he engaged with followers will also be investigated (Northouse, 2012: 186). His ability as an

inclusive charismatic political leader and his interaction with multiple stakeholders in the struggle against the government of Sudan will also be evaluated (Northouse, 2012: 197).

Mandela was ready to compromise in order to gain more in future. He was inclusive in his approach to the extent of appointing his former foes in his cabinet (Mandela: 1994: 94). For example, as Rotberg suggests, Mandela was able to become a source of inspiration to all South Africans by bridging the colour line and establishing racial harmony in the early phase of the negotiated transition which had been marred by political violence. In fact, the political climate remained volatile during the initial period of his tenure as president of a newly democratic South Africa. Both leaders faced challenges because of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity and cleavages while opposing an oppressive regime. It should also be noted that to some extent there was a contradiction in the leadership style of both. Both were leaders of liberation movements in an armed struggle, yet both aimed to establish a peaceful settlement. As a result, there appears to be stark similarities between these two African leaders in terms of their values, vision, actions, as well as the political contexts they found themselves in. Since the political leadership of Mandela has already been theoretically developed by Rotberg, it serves as model against which Garang's political leadership qualities will be evaluated. It must also be emphasized that Rotberg also singled out other political leaders who contributed towards transformational political leadership (see discussion in 3.4) that talks about Rotberg's "Core Competencies of Transformative Political Leadership".

## **1.7 Methodology**

The researcher managed to evaluate the qualities of Dr John Garang through the description and explanations that were provided during the interviews. Interviews were conducted with people who worked with Garang, regional stakeholder bodies such as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) who facilitated the negotiations, and relevant specialists such as academics, to obtain insight into Garang's leadership style from varying perspectives. A set of questions were prepared for the interviews that were undertaken during the field work (see Annexure C). These questions were aimed at his close associates and people that had intimate knowledge of him, including people that belonged to the IGAD secretariat, as they were involved in the South Sudanese

peace process that culminated in the CPA and other relevant bodies (Bernard, 1988). The interviews were conducted in English and all the participants were fluent in the language. Participants were allowed to ask questions for clarity during the interviews. Relevant literature in the form of books, journal articles, and a variety of other documents were also consulted in order to identify key descriptions and experiences including the behavior and beliefs of Garang.

The researcher further developed two streams (or themes) that emanated from the interviews conducted. These themes are derived from the members of the armed forces and politicians in the SPLA/M and IGAD regarding their opinions on Garang's leadership qualities. This approach was important to distinguish between responses of serving members of the South Sudanese Armed Forces and political officials. The two groups shared different views based on their proximity to Garang and their involvement in the peace process. The members of the armed forces were not in senior leadership positions during the struggle, thus can be regarded as members of the SPLA/M and followers. The political officials were in senior positions and were close associates and joint stakeholders that had first-hand knowledge and experience of working with Garang. The findings are also organised into themes which will help make the analysis easier. Themes also make it easier to identify relevant information that will be integrated into the analysis.

The researcher used a semi-structured approach to setting interview questions in order to obtain the necessary information that laid the basis for his findings. This method was chosen because it allowed for open-ended questions to be formulated, thus allowing extended probing by the interviewer. This method created a relaxed atmosphere and conversation with respondents and was often accompanied by follow-up questions. To avoid fatigue, one hour was the maximum period allocated for interviews (Galletta, 2013).

Semi-structured interviews are generally time-consuming. Therefore, preparing for the interviews required extensive planning on the part of the interviewer. Furthermore, the interviewer needed to be knowledgeable about the relevant substantive issues in order to maintain a focus during interviews and extract the most lucrative information. Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, a considerable amount of time had to be set aside to transcribe audio recordings and organise volumes of information that had to be

analysed. The semi-structured method was useful to the researcher because it helped in the selection and recruitment of the participants. Most of the participants knew the subject very well and had worked closely with him. The method also made it easier for the development of follow-up questions for the interviews and analysis of information obtained. The interviews helped the researcher explore participants' thoughts, their feelings and beliefs about Garang and the cause that he was leading (Dexter, 1970: 205).

## **1.8 Research design**

A research design constitutes the measures and processes put in place to collect, analyse and interpret data in a research set-up. It is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems with the empirical research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007: 58). The research design employed for this research was exploratory given the limitation of formal literature that is available on the specific nature and form of Garang's political leadership. This type of research design helped to set procedures for the necessary data needed. The approaches that the researcher applied during the collection and analysis of data helped in achieving the main objective of the research (Grey, 2014).

Exploratory research was conducted because there was not enough known about Garang's political leadership in the SPLA/M. According to Saunders et al (2007), exploratory research is effective and normally used when a phenomenon or a problem has not been clearly defined. According to him, the objective of such research is not to offer final and conclusive responses to the research questions, but only to explore the research subject. Thus, the focus will be on confronting the emerging problems identified in an area of research where little or no previous research has been conducted (Brown, 2006). To achieve this, the Mandela model of transformative political leadership will be used to guide and structure this research. Garang will be evaluated on his performance on forgiveness and his willingness to engage in reconciliation. His political leadership qualities and his overall contribution to peace will be some of the aspects that will be assessed.

There were benefits to the exploratory research model as it granted the researcher a lot of flexibility and he could adapt to changes as the research progressed, especially in

terms of adjusting the scheduling and venue of interviews to accommodate the participants. Participants were not solicited to be part of this research through unethical means such as the promise of financial incentives and political bargaining.

This exploratory model created a foundation for further research in the same field. The research also laid the basis for other researchers to pursue this study further. However, exploratory research also had its limitations. For example, even though the answers during interviews pointed in a certain direction, they were usually inconclusive. Most of the members interviewed were members of the SPLA/M and thus the information they provided tended to be slightly biased or positive towards Garang. Most of them believe that alleged abuses that took place under his leadership were in the context of the struggle, and not directed at a particular ethnic group. Exploratory research normally involves a small sample group; hence it would be difficult to accurately interpret and apply the research findings to a generalised population. The researcher could not identify or get individuals from the opposition to participate in the research which could have differed with the mainstream SPLA/M views on Garang. These views could, possibly, have added a different dimension and further substance to the research.

It became clear during the interviews with the respondents that Garang put his charisma to good use by mobilising the South Sudanese masses around his vision of a New Sudan. This mobilisation led to the swelling of the SPLA/M ranks by people from all walks of life irrespective of their ethnicity. Neighbouring countries and international support was also solicited by Garang for material and financial assistance. These competencies were tested during the interviews to determine if Garang espoused the all-embracing approach of the transformative model of Mandela. This demonstrated that despite his vision of a united Sudan free from ethnic divisions, he was ready to listen to his people who subsequently, and overwhelmingly, voted for the secession of South Sudan in a referendum.

## **1.9 Data Sources**

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with certain key members of the SPLA/M including three military generals of the South Sudanese Armed Forces. A wide array of literature, ranging from relevant books, articles, reports and memoranda available and pertaining to the research subject was also used as secondary sources of information. The research did not rely solely on interviews for data, but on a variety of newspaper articles and magazine editorials because the interviews mainly focused on Garang's activities in the bush and not much on his international engagements.

## **1.10 Data Collection Techniques**

The data collection technique used in this research was through the utilisation of interviews. Data was captured during interviews using a tape recorder as well as handwritten notes which served as back up. During the interviews the researcher was mindful of the impact his questioning could have on participants, especially those who were vulnerable (Clarke, 2006: 19 – 29).

After the interviews, data was transcribed, and print versions of the interview transcriptions were photocopied and filed in a folder for safe keeping. Copies of the audio were stored in the C-drive of the researcher's computer, which is password protected, as back-up. The audio recorder was kept in a locked-up safe. The researcher also used the verbatim transcription of data that emanated from interviews. This mode has emerged as a common data management strategy in research and is widely regarded as essential to the analysis and interpretation of verbal data. The benefits are that it ensures accuracy and authenticity in terms of the conveyance of information, which minimises potential misrepresentation of the ideas/views of interviewees (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006: 38 - 42).

Data management, which includes data protection, confidentiality, data storage and record keeping, data ownership, and data sharing, is an important process in qualitative research that requires the attention of researchers. The management of data was important during the research period because it ensured the truthfulness of the data and

protected research participants (Lin, 2009).

The researcher visited South Sudan after being granted permission to conduct interviews. The first person to be interviewed was the Secretary General of the SPLA/M who also gave the researcher access to the party's library and assisted to identify relevant material that would be useful and compliment the research. Online platforms including relevant literature such as books, periodicals, magazines and newspapers were also used extensively. The UNISA library was also used during the research process to obtain relevant books.

The approach to conducting interviews did not change. The researcher generally stuck to the prepared questions, however, respondents who shared additional information deemed useful to the research were considered.

### **1.11 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

After the completion of the interviews, the data was analysed by means of comparing available literature and other sources of information like newspapers, online books and magazines. It was during this process that the researcher looked for patterns and trends in the responses from the interviews on certain key aspects of Garang's leadership and whether they were reflected in existing literature and other mainstream sources of information. This process also helped to identify Garang's political leadership skills and his limitations. Transformational political leadership criteria were used during the research. These criteria looked at the honesty, trust, inclusivity, vision, legitimacy, mobilisation momentum, enlarged enterprise and charisma of the political leader and how these were executed in his daily duties and dealings with followers. The criteria also helped the researcher in the formulation of interview questions. The information was organised into themes which helped to make analysis easier. The respondents were asked about Garang's leadership in terms of inclusiveness of other ethnic groups in his political leadership and reconciliation with his enemies. Respondents also spoke about how he used his charisma to inspire his followers. He mobilised his supporters and other stakeholders around his vision of a New Sudan.



Thematic analysis is an important tool the researcher used. It is a method for analysing qualitative data that entails searching across a data set for, and reporting on, repeated patterns. This method was used effectively in the interpretation and the construction of themes. The advantage of thematic analysis is that it is a flexible technique which the researcher used during his research for exploratory purposes (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 77 – 102). The most important thing is to reflect the truth in your analysis by respecting and reflecting the data obtained during the interviews as honestly as possible. The thematic analysis revealed the values and beliefs of Garang, which helped in understanding why he decided to form the SPLA/M to fight the injustices of the Sudanese government. The people interviewed described him as a passionate and forgiving political leader who always lent an ear to his followers. Saturation was reached after interviewing seven of the 12 planned interviewees identified for the study. There was a realisation that participants were repeating the same information and no new additional information was emerging from the developed themes. Thus, it was concluded that further data collection on the subject was unnecessary because the research questions were satisfactorily formulated (Given, 2016: 135). According to Kerr et al (2010: 269 – 281), saturation is a point in data collection when there is no new information being provided by the participants. The redundancy started to show because data collected began to resurface. At this point data collection must stop in order to start with the analysis of what has been collected.

The researcher was more interested in getting the views of participants regarding the political leadership qualities of Garang and what they experienced through his leadership that indicated that he was an advocate for reconciliation. This helped the researcher determine whether the views of the participants corresponded with the values reflected in the Mandela model of political leadership. The participants were all asked the same questions because it is vital to explore different views on the same subject, since the respondents will tell their own stories about the phenomenon. There was a lot of value in allowing the participants to speak with their own voices and in their own terms to express their feelings. It enabled participants to capture the unique challenges and complex situations under which Garang and his followers operated and where difficult decisions

had to be taken for the sake of the struggle (Alshenqeeti, 2014: 39). This approach added further insight into how Garang's specific qualities and values influenced his political actions.

The thematic analysis was informed by the characteristics of transformational political leadership, as outlined by Rotberg. These include the vision which the political leader creates for his/her followers and how he/she motivates and inspires them through their charisma in order to gain legitimacy. Other characteristics are the idealised influence and intellectual ability that are unparalleled when compared to other ordinary political leaders. The Mandela model of transformative political leadership puts emphasis on the political leader's consummate inclusionist qualities which were emphasised by the respondents during the interview about Garang (Rotberg, 2012: 40). These characteristics served as a conceptual framework that gave direction to the identification of themes. These themes helped structure the information gathered because patterns and similarities could be identified during analysis. Thereafter, it became easier to utilise the themes from the primary data for analysis through the application of the competencies in a more systematic manner.

These themes were used as a frame of reference to assist in thematising the core elements of Garang's political leadership. Themes helped with limiting overlaps and boundary management in terms of focusing the research (Tesch, 1990: 35). The researcher through his interaction with participants managed to experience them in a social, cultural and structural setting, which helped in his observation of their habits and behaviour. It is during this time that the participants were free to talk, and they did not feel pressured or persuaded to express views they did not agree with. This was important for the researcher because undocumented knowledge did not exist and would now be available to be accessed through these interviews. This helped with the construction and development of knowledge which was in line with the objective of the research. Thematic analysis strives to search for common and shared meaning (Braun & Clark, 2006: 77 – 101).

### **1.12 Limitations**

The limitations of the study were that the bulk of the participants interviewed were members of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A). It was unfortunate that members of the opposition could not be interviewed to obtain their views regarding Garang's political leadership. Thus, the biasness of the SPLM/A members cannot be ruled out. Time constraints due to travel arrangements made also affected the researcher from seeing other people that he hoped to interview in Juba. The limited number of interviews conducted is a limitation; however, because the study is an exploratory research, further research can be conducted in future. The fact that participants were interviewed many years after the death of Garang is also a limitation because people's memories do fade, and research has found that memories do get filtered over time. There is limited literature and documented information about the contribution made by Garang to peace and reconciliation in South Sudan. Thus, for one to have an accurate and decent knowledge about the political life and history of Garang and how he influenced and shaped initial stages of the peace and reconciliation process in South Sudan, it was imperative to speak with those who had a direct role in the process and who worked closely with him.

### **1.13 Ethical Consideration**

There were no issues encountered during the planning and execution of the research, especially for the interviews. For the interviews, the researcher expected the participants to be sensitive on matters of ethnicity particularly relating to the Dinka and the Nuer, the two dominant and competing ethnic groups that are widely represented within the SPLA/M (and are currently in conflict with one another), but this was not the case as they were open and ready to answer questions. Most of the participants had no issues with confidentiality and expressed excitement at being consulted about the history of their leader. The participants were told that the information gathered during interviews would be kept strictly confidential and used only for the purposes of this study. The researcher also accorded the respective participants pseudonyms as an extra measure to ensure their protection. The participants were given numbers 1,2,3,4 etc. to ensure that their

individual identities were not revealed given the sensitive nature of the situation in South Sudan. Written permission will be sought from the participants should the information be made public.

The participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and about the importance of the research. The researcher provided the participants with an opportunity to remain anonymous; however, all of them indicated that there was no need to be anonymous. Despite the assurances from the participants, the researcher decided to accord them pseudonyms for their own safety. The researcher will seek professional assistance to remove the participants' names from both the transcripts and the audio tapes before they are handed over to the university. Consent forms were signed by all the participants before the interviews. The consent forms cannot be attached to this dissertation in order to protect the participants. The researcher was granted permission by the SPLA/M to conduct the interviews with political officers of the SPLA/M and serving members of the South Sudanese Defence Force. The principles of protection, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality to fair treatment were adhered to by the researcher (Miller et al, 2012: 1 – 13). This was important because ethical research depends on the integrity of the research. It is also important to indicate that ethical clearance was obtained from Unisa (*refer to Annexure E for confirmation*).

#### **1.14. Conclusion**

This chapter provided context for the study and articulated the problem statement, followed by a list of the study's research objectives. The study's rationale, theoretical framework, ethical considerations and limitations were also discussed. The chapter went on to sketch the study's research design and methodology in an attempt to achieve the study's objectives.

## CHAPTER 2

### POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA AND SUDAN: DISCOURSE AND APPLICATION

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first examines the available literature on political leadership in the context of Africa, engaging relevant discourses on the subject and revealing significant oversights and limitations. It infers that mainstream discourses focused predominantly on the patrimonial nature of political leadership on the continent and how it led to unethical and poor governance, especially in the early post-colonial era. Political leadership in Africa has, therefore, frequently been associated with, among other things, human rights violations, patronage politics, corruption, and dysfunctional state institutions. In fact, it is considered as one of the primary causes of underdevelopment and insecurity, which threatens to undermine efforts at democratisation on the continent.

Because political leaders within a democratic dispensation should be elected rather than appointed, and govern as representatives, they must obtain the consent of those who elected them to power. They must serve all their constituents and protect the interests of future generations, not just those who voted for them (Morrell & Hartley, 2006: 483 – 504). Many leaders on the African continent came to power through undemocratic means like *coup d'états* and election fraud. The continent needs credible, legitimate, and transformative political leadership that can serve as role models for future generations. However, transformative governance in the context of establishing peace, stability, and democracy has been structurally oriented. This is aimed at creating relevant institutions and processes with lesser focus on the type of political leadership required to realise a particular vision for a truly liberated and progressive African society geared towards independent thought and action. Former South African president Thabo Mbeki once said; “we need sound, committed, and compassionate leadership as we strive for Africa's renaissance, leadership based on an authentic understanding of our history, culture, and contemporary challenges” (cited in Khoza, 2005: 26). Currently, however, there is a disjuncture between many African leaders and their followers. A significant portion of

African leaders are not in touch with the day-to-day challenges confronting their people. However, there have been leaders throughout the post-colonial period who subverted the pejorative stereotypical views of African political leadership. Hence, this initial phase of the chapter explores an alternative narrative. It posits that these leaders exuded the qualities identified by Thabo Mbeki, which was conducive to the promotion of a kind of transformative political leadership that is grounded in African socio-economic, cultural, and political realities. This was a deviation from the type of political leadership entrenched in a western secular conception of liberal democracy that developed countries tried to advance in post-colonial Africa through conditionalities attached to donor aid, as part of the larger modernisation (and democratisation) agenda.

The second part of the chapter attempts to locate the protracted conflict in Sudan since its independence within the broader discourse of political leadership in Africa that was discussed earlier in the chapter. It postulates that the conflict was influenced by a myriad of external and internal factors similarly experienced by other countries on the continent during the post-colonial era that had significant implications for political leadership in the Sudan. The effects of colonial rule led to an overconcentration of power among the Northern Muslim Afro-Arab elites, which ostracised the predominantly Afro-Christian South and fueled ethno-religious factionalism. The failure to deal with long-standing issues including uncertainty over the federal structure, competing views over whether Sudan should be an Islamic or secular state, and conflict between major ethnic groups over the control of oil and contestation over the regional affiliation of tribes in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile which are disputed regions along the border separating the North and South, were key drivers of both civil wars. The trajectory of political governance and leadership in Sudan from the early post-colonial period to the second civil war in 1983 was shaped by these dynamics. The North, which ruled the entire country, was politically volatile. Power oscillated between military and civilian governments that were influenced by conflicting communist and Islamist ideologies. The relationship between the Northern and Southern regions, therefore, was subjected to the revolving interests of the US and Soviet Union during the Cold War, as well the geopolitical influences of both the Middle East and East Africa. The South of Sudan, on the other hand, mostly resented the dominance of the North which restricted political, social, and economic autonomy. Even

though the South was also deeply divided, particularly along ethnic, tribal, and factional lines, these divisions were systematically exploited by the governments of Sudan to weaken the Southern rebel movements even further. Whilst the signing of the CPA marked an end of the Sudanese civil war by addressing these issues and later laid the foundation for South Sudan's independence, these elements continue to hinder the realisation of peace in the newly formed state. Political leaders in the Sudan (including within the ranks of SPLM/A in the South) were mainly authoritarian. This reinforced the conventional discourse of political leadership on the continent by subscribing to patronage politics, authoritarianism, and corruption which perpetuated political disunity and violence (Ampratwum, 2011). Consequently, political leadership until Garang became the leader of the SPLM/A assumed a similar trajectory defined by ethnocentrism, power-mongering, and a deepening of military control of the economy, state, and society.

## **2.2 Political Leadership in Post-colonial Africa**

In the 1960s African political leaders were more driven by the nationalistic goals of liberating their countries from their colonial masters. However, 50 years after independence, the continent still battles with issues of democratisation. Ake (2003) argues that democracy has ended in ritualistic multi-party elections that are often manipulated in favour of the incumbent. He further asked; is democracy feasible in Africa, can it be practicably applied on the continent taking into consideration the challenges of development? (Ake, 2003: 151)

The post-colonial states are still struggling with socio-political and economic crises. The persistent interference by major powers and their influence on African political leaders is also a major factor due to their economic interests on the continent. The new generation of political leaders is confronted with challenges of power and freedom such as human rights, education, gender equality and health. While there is significant change in terms of political leadership, the African continent still has a long way to go before it can realise sustainable democracy and governance (Gisselquist, 2012).

The actions of political leaders are normally influenced by these normative elements, especially when it comes to creating a national identity and realising a larger political objective. Not only do African governance structures promote a winner-takes-all approach to political power, but, by definition, electoral processes foster a culture of entitlement that is difficult to address through proportional representation practices. Modernists prescribed liberal democracy as the ideal model of governance for Africa. They further assumed that the nature of political leadership in Africa is predisposed to authoritarianism and is, therefore, exclusive, which leads to social cleavages and political conflict and instability. Therefore, modernist thinkers posit that if democratisation is going to be successful, political leaders must be inclusive and accommodate the opposition (Fitzduff, 2007).

African political leaders do not need to be different from political leaders from other continents in their outlook and approach to tackling issues that require leadership. The only difference is that they will be influenced by their own unique historical, cultural, and socio-political contexts when dealing with domestic matters. According to Adejumbi (2004: 74), Sudanese millionaire Mo Ibrahim launched an initiative and an index project aimed at rewarding African leaders who practice good governance. The prize is a worthy incentive that, for the first time, drew strong attention to the importance of political leadership and governance for Africa's future (Adejumbi, 2004: 74). Only political leaders with the greatest empathy for the people are relevant to Africa's qualitative development. Supposedly, everywhere in Africa today, governments are held accountable for uplifting, not oppressing, their people. Few Africans accept dictatorship, while the majority prefers what Botswana, Mauritius and now Ghana and Senegal have accomplished through good governance (Asefa and Huang, 2015: 131). Africans now recognise that the path to prosperity and social improvement is through strengthened governance. Africans are demanding more from their governments, with civil society in many countries at the forefront of change movements (Chazan, 1992: 122).

Post-colonial political leadership was characterised by leaders like former presidents Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, among others, who had charismatic attributes. Their purpose at the time was to build their nations from



colonialism to democracy. During that time there were many practical interventions implemented by the developed world to influence the then political leadership in decision making. This influence was done under the guise of modernisation, which in most cases was not compatible with African history, culture, and social realities. Political leaders in Africa were not predisposed to dictatorship by design, but by the realisation of opportunities and privileges that come with the office and fear of losing them, and this influenced their behaviour. Thus, most of them clung to power through corrupt activities such as election rigging, threatening direct and indirect violence against political opposition, manipulating the judiciary, and enforcing constitutional reforms to extend their terms of office and enhance their powers over key institutions of the state. The patrimonial nature of cultural systems based on chieftaincy, however, do not necessarily lead to ethnocentrism, authoritarianism and patronage that undermine democracy (Thomas,1987). However, African leaders were “made” to fit a particular mould aligned to establishing democratic policies on the continent. There is room for an alternative organic leader that is culturally, socially, and politically relevant to chart an autonomous path to democracy, consistent with the needs of their own societies rather than an outside conception of what it ought to be.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) achieved its main goal of freeing Africa from the yoke of colonialism and apartheid. However, it also showed signs of weakness in terms of facilitating the quality of political leadership required to drive nation building on the continent. The limitations of the OAU in addressing political leadership on the continent during this era were clear in the rampant military take overs and rigging of elections. Initially, there were no mechanisms political leaders could use to caution each other against such unacceptable behaviours. The African Union (AU) was founded on 9 July 2002, in Durban, South Africa, to promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance on the continent. The dream of Africa becoming a continent of peace – prosperous and united towards a common vision with a powerful voice in global affairs – appears to still be a struggle that all African leaders must strive to achieve. The slogan of seeking ‘*an African solution to African problems*’ is not bearing the necessary desired fruits. Even though this vision is noble, it requires brave, independent and insightful leadership predicated on endogenous value systems, processes and ideas.

Despite some challenges, there is growing evidence that Africa continues to have pockets of excellence in terms of democratic rule, especially in parts of Southern Africa. The continent continues to develop responsible leaders with vision, clarity of purpose, honesty of intent and respect for people's rights. Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, founder and patron of the Africa Governance Initiative (AGI) has stated that Africa can become a powerful engine of prosperity in the 21st century, comparable to Asia. However, it will only become a reality if African leaders are able to drive the necessary reforms in their respective countries. He went on to say that for a new generation of African leaders, having a clear vision for their country isn't enough unless they put it into action. Finally, Africa's future is determined by the decisions made by African political leaders (Blair, 2017: 29).

Following the attainment of independence by most African countries in the 1960's, regarded as the golden years for Africa, a breakdown of leader-follower dynamics and poor performance in almost all national sectors started to develop. Most political leaders, by virtue of their position, started to be attracted to big multinational companies who influenced these leaders for their own selfish interests for purposes of rent-seeking. In return, these multi-national companies' actions indirectly enhanced the reproduction of poverty and increased inequality on the continent resulting in a drop in living standards and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. The multinational corporations also created a dependency syndrome in which a certain number of countries' economies were conditioned by the development and expansion of another, putting the dependent countries in a position to be exploited by the dominant countries (Santos, 1970: 180). Ake (2003: 152) also alluded to the fact that this system slowly started to corrupt the ruling elite who controlled state power for their self-enrichment.

The dream of nation building was deferred, and all the promises made during the struggle were never fulfilled. Apart from the first generation of post-colonial African leaders such as Nkrumah and Nyerere, who demonstrated greater foresight, autonomy and pragmatism, the majority faced serious problems in leadership. Visionaries like Nkrumah and Nyerere exemplified a participative leadership style. For example, Nkrumah (1973:13) was a leader who, despite his impatience, always relied on the combined efforts

of all stakeholders to achieve his leadership ambitions. He was adamant about involving all of Africa in the fight against imperialism, believing that the continent needed the combined efforts of all countries to achieve liberation. The vision of Nkrumah and Nyerere dominated post-colonial political leadership. They shared a vision of liberating Africa from ideological, cultural, political and economic oppression. They were tenacious in their pursuit of an African cultural agenda that cultivated continental traditions and institutions to get rid of the continent's colonial mentality (Asamoah, 2005: 37 – 88).

Mangu (2008: 1 – 24) contends that Africa's development crisis is primarily a matter of state capacity and political leadership legitimacy. For the longest time within political development and modernisation theory, emphasis was placed almost exclusively on state capacity with lesser emphasis on political leadership. Things like attitude, cultural relevance, and strength of character, as well as morals, values, and ideology were not as significant. These elements were crucial in the rise of leaders like Nkrumah, Nyerere, former Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo Patrice Lumumba, and former Mozambican President Samora Machel. Except that their leadership was within the context of decolonisation, and their views and ideologies did not fit into the archetype of democracy espoused by the west and modernisation thinkers. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, liberal democracy is the accepted political order and leaders have to subscribe to these ideals (Fukuyama, 1992: 3 – 18). Leaders must be strong but aligned to democratic principles and values: for example, commitment to secularism, constitutionalism, pluralism, and human rights as distinguishing elements of effective political leadership (Asefa & Huang, 2015: 131 – 133).

Because leadership is promoted by constitutionalism and democracy, which require free and fair elections, there should be a symbiotic relationship between these elements.

Mangu (2008: 1-24) goes on to argue that state incapacity is caused by a lack of legitimate, democratically elected leaders in a state where constitutionalism and the rule of law reign supreme. There is an acknowledgement that democracy is required to ensure legitimate political leaders. This naturally raises questions about how to appropriate democracy in Africa and in what form it should be appropriated (Mangu, 2008:1 –24).

Kebonang (2005: 3 - 13) alludes to the fact that democratic ideals must also be reflected in the leadership of regional governance structures and programs, for example, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Former NEPAD CEO Wiseman Nkuhlu believes that for Africa to claim the 21st century, it must improve its political leadership across the board. Thabo Mbeki warned against complacency in Africa's leadership development, which he identified as a gap. He proposed that an African Leadership Academy (ALA) be established under the auspices of the AU and civil society (Kebonang, 2005: 3 – 13).

Egyptian politician and former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali regarded political leadership as a quality that may be innate rather than learned. During complex and difficult times, such as the present, some qualities and characteristics can be identified and consciously brought to bear. He further stated that political leadership is much more about collective than individual decisions and acts (Boutros-Ghali, 1999). Ideas, beliefs, and vision that are aligned with political leadership mobilise and galvanise people to join an action for the common good or the potential impact it could have on their lives. These concepts must be intertwined in order to form a viable and coherent strategy. Boutros-Ghali (1999) went on to say that political leaders should be able to think of new and innovative ways to make progress.

Amilcar Cabral, who led the nationalist movement of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands and the ensuing war of independence in Guinea-Bissau, is singled out by Finstein (2014: 44 – 56) as a shining example of modern African leadership. He was a political leader who embraced collective decision making in his day-to-day activities. He was lauded as a visionary and an excellent leader who was always among his people. He was a political leader who embraced the entire political class and had the ability to influence government and people structures. Aside from contemporaries, he continues to inspire African political leadership scholars to this day. Cabral, like Nkrumah and Nyerere, possessed the characteristics of an inclusionist who sought extensive consultation before enacting any legislation. Cabral was described by Finstein (2014: 44 – 56) as a source of inspiration for progressive forces of meaningful change not only in Guinea-Bissau, but throughout the African continent. By mobilising and leading the ethnically diverse people

of Guinea-Bissau to nationhood and independence, he was able to restore traditional or communal democratic practices. Cabral was a strong African political leader whose values were inclusionist in character compared to other leaders who were just anti-colonial. He was charismatic with the right attributes for a transformative leader (Finstein, 2014: 44 - 56). According to Rotberg (2009: 113 – 126), good political leadership is exercised in the public interest rather than in the self-interest of the leaders. Finstein (2014: 44 - 56), further indicated that Cabral managed to build schools, hospitals and provide medical supplies. He provided building material and lobbied for humanitarian assistance for his people. He managed against all odds to achieve beneficial relations with a variety of countries that in turn helped the livelihood of his countrymen.

Empirical data on the nature of political leadership in Africa is fairly limited. The literature that is unfortunately readily available generalises, and portrays the corruption, dictatorship, propensity for military coups, rebelliousness, greed, misuse of power, incompetence, political volatility, ineffectiveness, and suspicious nature of leaders who undermine their own democracies, which plagues the African continent. Because its structures are judged by Western standards, African leadership concepts are frequently regarded as barbaric and uncultured (Nahavandi, 2000: 73 – 89). African heritage is important and must take its cue from its cultural and traditional beginnings when developing its concepts on African political leadership. Though not uniform, the African continent has a rich history of leadership. There are many similarities and differences in African political leadership owing primarily to the introduction of the Christian and Muslim faiths to the continent.

The community will have a hierarchical structure that is formal and well defined. The leader assists the community in setting goals and guiding them through the entire process of becoming more effective as a community. It is hoped that the new emergent leadership would pay attention to the needs of the people by addressing the issues that they face. This will help the community's leader maintain his or her integrity. Nelson (1993: 35) argues that integrity builds trust, and that while it impacts others, it also facilitates high standards and builds a solid reputation rather than just an image because authenticity, rather than cleverness, develops credibility. To put it another way, leadership is gained

through constant service to the people. South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu reminded us that African leadership should promote love, truth, freedom, peace, reconciliation, justice and good relationships (Reamonn, 1994: 12).

The formation of the African Union signaled a shift in Africa's political leadership, encouraging leaders to concentrate more on development. According to Mugambi (1997), Africa's growth has been biased towards urban development that excludes rural areas. If Africa is to confront the future with realism, the concept of development must be reconsidered, and the cultural components of life must be emphasised far more than in the past. The inputs of traditional leaders must be sought to address the development of rural areas because they know the immediate needs of their subjects. When these needs are identified, NEPAD can be approached to address some of these projects like the provision of water and construction of roads in rural areas. This organisation is not a panacea, but it is a step in the right direction. It encourages all Africans to take part in shaping their future by holding their leaders accountable (Mugambi, 1997: 24).

To resolve developmental issues, we need to build a new leader infrastructure in which older leaders share their wisdom and pass on good African values to the next generation. A good leader in Africa always shares their life experiences with others (Mbiti, 1977: 207 - 208). The sharing of knowledge confers power not only on those who know, but also on those who receive. The best leaders are those who share their knowledge with the villagers or community. For Africa to prosper it must produce leaders who are honest, competent and committed; the continent must engage in an educational process that will develop its leaders.

It can be argued that a leader should be measured by the extent to which the world is improved and by the way in which they conduct themselves. Viewing the leadership traits in Mandela is an exercise that can yield useful insights into what desirable leadership constitutes (Kuzwayo, 2013: 2). One of the current challenges is that African political leadership is primarily parochial rather than national; it corruptly converts national resources into its project of primitive accumulation (Agbaje & Roberts, 2002: 154; Ake, 1996). Most of Africa's political formations are based on tribal and ethnic aggregations. Africa needs political leadership that has the mental magnitude to deal

with crises, as well as the ideological commitment to raising the material and cultural aspirations of a broad range of people. There is generally a lack of ethical political leadership in Africa which has led to social and structural injustices. Strengthening ethical political leadership will deeply benefit the general populace of the continent and reduce the persistent bad governance, human rights violations, dysfunctional institutions, electoral fraud and patronage (Mayanja, 2013).

Nelson Mandela defied the odds and set a good example for African political leadership that is based on Ubuntu, which means that people are people through others (Khoza, 2005: 25). His emotional fortitude and profound capacity for reflection exemplified everything that is best about leadership. His long journey to freedom, as well as many years of introspection while imprisoned, led him to seek national reconciliation rather than vengeance. Mandela's leadership style is an example for many leaders to take note of, learn from and preserve what he accomplished and bestowed upon humanity (Khoza, 2005: 25).

In Africa's multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies, political leadership should adopt secularism as its worldview, because it is only through this approach that tolerance levels of religion and ethnicity can be achieved. Secularism can work together with the advancement of cultural norms and values because African cultural legacy encompasses all areas of African life, including science and technology, in its different manifestations. African political leadership is culturally relevant to African societies because its values have inspired and moulded their world views. Therefore, there is space and place for traditional African values to co-exist in modern Africa (Awoniyi, 2015:4 –11). This would provide the political leadership with the necessary legitimacy to inspire and win the trust of the entire society. The Mo Ibrahim index project which is aimed at rewarding African leaders that practice good governance is a good step in the right direction in terms of the importance of political leadership and governance in Africa's future (Rotberg, 2009,113 – - 126).

Through the African Union, the continent has already formed common ideals that are important for the governance of African societies (AU). This is based on the principles of

cooperation, tolerance and compliance with constitutional regulations and processes (Obasanjo, 1993: 10 – 12). Current African leaders bear a specific duty for grooming a new generation of political leaders who will be put to the test dealing with the continent's peace and security challenges. They must provide the required steps for Africa's future and that will ensure the continent's stability and prosperity. This new generation of political leaders should not be perceived as overly committed to any one religion or ethnic group. This will provide them with the necessary legitimacy to inspire trust (Kamuntu, 1993: 103). What is required is a commitment to an endogenous and inclusive conception of transformation in post-conflict, post-colonial African societies.

Transformative political leadership is, therefore, something the African continental leadership should strive towards in order to develop and rid the continent of conflict. Good political leadership should dominate the political discourse especially at the African Union and sub-region organisational level like the Southern African Development Community (SADC). South Africa is a good example where peaceful transition in 1994 took place under the leadership of Mandela. Ghana and Senegal are examples of countries that transitioned from a military dictatorship and Senegal had an oppressive incumbent who was in power for many years. These two countries had successful elections and political leaders that were ready to vacate power without any resistance. However, a political leader like President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, who runs a façade democracy, is known to eliminate political opponents who question his leadership. His political leadership is considered a benevolent dictatorship and is supported and celebrated by Western nations as a beacon of freedom because his statesmanship has translated into economic gains demonstrating the effectiveness of foreign aid, gender equality with higher levels of female representation in cabinet and strict measures to stamp out corruption. Therefore, the dominant narrative is that Rwanda is a success story. However, the reality is that the Rwandan President's strong-arm tactics against political opposition emphasised that he is less inclined to accommodate differing or competing perspectives to his own. It can therefore be argued that there is a false commitment to democratic governance in that country because of the suppression of the media and civil society (Bekken, 2011). Kagame continues to drive the re-Tutsification of government demanding less



accountability on the part of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) members for atrocities committed against Hutus during the 1994 genocide in the country. Thus, undermining the objective of the traditional Gacaca courts, which were designed to promote restorative justice and Hutu-Tutsi reconciliation. Privileging economic growth over creating social conditions through effective leadership for sustainable peace leads to a situation where ethnic tensions are bound to resurface (Mamdani, 2001: 272). Such an approach is highly problematic in a context where liberal democracy (in an organic sense) remains the ideal that countries should strive for.

Consequently, transformational political leadership in Africa remains a crucial element, especially in countries still experiencing political conflict or dealing with the legacy of it. A good political leader must have attributes that are democratic with virtues focusing on inclusivity, plurality, trust, and ethics. The Mo Ibrahim Index project may help to transform Africa beneficially. It rewards political leaders financially for meeting the democratic deliverables of regular elections, inclusion of the broad opinions of civil society and the rule of law. It also encourages African leaders to open their countries to be peer reviewed in terms of governance. This may enable Africans to join the rest of the world's citizens in their economic, social and political advancements and achievements (Ampratwum, 2011: 6).

It is vital to emphasise that without good leadership, an African country cannot achieve substantial social, political or economic growth (Obasola, 2002: 10). As a result, the concept of political leadership and governance has sparked considerable attention in contemporary discourse, as it serves as the essential path on which social, political, and economic structures are built. African political leaders should concern themselves with developing long-term and sustainable solutions to problems associated with ethnic and religious conflicts that have the potential of becoming a breeding ground for terrorism. Obasola (2002: 12) acknowledges that Africa has experienced apparent political leadership and governance issues. In Africa, effective political leadership and governance have been a challenge for the past two decades.

In an attempt to address Africa's political leadership and governance concerns, Ackerman (2004) indicates that the Mo Ibrahim Foundation was established as a means of incentivising African political leaders to improve their performance. The index does not necessarily distinguish between a transformational political leader and an ordinary political leader, its emphasis is more on good governance and rule of law. However, political leaders that display characteristics of a transformational leader and deliver on material and service-based deliverables are recognized by the index. An example was the Liberian leader Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The country had challenges to democracy for quite a while, but Sirleaf managed to turn things around, cementing her legitimacy in the process (Jalloh and Topona, 2018). The Foundation also aims to promote positive discourse about politicians and government in Africa in order to foster effective leadership throughout the continent. It accomplishes this goal through four primary programs. Each year, the Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership is given to the best leader in Africa. It ranks Africa's governance concerns, promotes good governance through the Ibrahim debate forum and works diligently to achieve the goals by creating capacity (Ampratwum, 2011: 6).

Former South African President Thabo Mbeki, on the other hand, spearheaded the African Renaissance, which calls for the continent's political, economic, and social rejuvenation. He also pushed African political leaders to develop a feeling of self-confidence rather than relying solely on handouts. For a few years, the African Union and its New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) have been working on identifying and applying African leadership philosophy, especially at the University of South Africa's (UNISA) Thabo Mbeki Leadership Academy (Landsberg, 2003: 1 - 3). This initiative was important for developing future African political leaders who will transform their societies to compete in the global arena as equals and not as junior partners. Many initiatives have been launched on the continent and around the world in an attempt to address the difficulties that African countries face. As previously mentioned, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance, the African Peer Review Mechanism, and the Mo Ibrahim Foundation are instances of African and donor-promoted concepts and activities. Nonetheless, the African continent is progressively making progress in

addressing the lack of political leadership. The next step for the continent's political leadership, however, must be a genuine commitment to these kinds of programs.

Transformative political leadership can therefore be regarded as relevant to Africa because it heralds fresh ideas to ensure that partnerships that are initiated are sustained by everyone based on a common vision. According to Burns (1978: 530), transformational leadership makes leaders who are agents of change who transform their followers through their influence. This is what a contemporary African political leader must possess; traits that are able to make a change in the lives of the people.

### **2.3 Conflict and Political Leadership in Post-colonial Sudan**

For much of its post-colonial history, transformative political leadership of the kind expressed by the likes of Nkrumah, Nyerere, Cabral, and more recently, Nelson Mandela, largely eluded the Sudan, at least – as argued in this dissertation – the emergence of John Garang. The ongoing conflict since its independence (including South Sudan at present) reflects many of the generic external and internal factors that influenced the trajectory of political leadership in post-colonial states in the rest of Africa, which hindered reconstruction and development. The legacy of colonisation and subsequent influence of the Cold War comprise two of the most significant external factors. Sudan was ruled by an Anglo-Egyptian condominium from 1899 until its independence in 1955 (Sharkey, 2003: 11). As a result, the changing dynamics between Britain and Egypt and their respective interests had a direct bearing on political governance and economic development that led to the 'North-South' divide (Akol, 1994: 183). While Sudan was under joint rule, it was administered as a colony of the British crown. Britain assumed control of the administrative affairs of the Sudan following Egypt reneging on its loan repayments for the construction of the Suez Canal. Egypt's profligate expenditure on maintaining a high military presence in Sudan to quell growing dissidence in the wake of the Mahdist rebellion in the late nineteenth century and extreme levels of corruption on the part of Egyptian governors, placed a major strain on the Egyptian fiscus, which threatened Britain redeeming the value of its loans (Fradin, 2003: 26). British administrative control over the Sudan subscribed to the same policy of indirect colonial rule that it applied

in other colonies on the continent. The British administered both regions separately due to their historical, cultural and political differences, thus perpetuating the 'North-South' division initially imposed by Egypt. This arrangement heavily favored the Muslim Afro-Arab North where power was centralized within tribal structures, which made it easier for the British to impose colonial policy. Whereas in the multiethnic South, which was predominantly African and Christian, as well as traditional, the dynamics of traditional authority structures were more complex and fluid. On one hand, while the British found "kingship" structures among the Shilluk and Azande, and "chiefdoms" in others, political structures amongst the larger Nilotic ethnic groups such as the Dinka and the Nuer were absent (Delmet, 2013: 84). This made the implementation of local administration, law, and tax collection in the rural South extremely difficult. The outcome was that government institutions and economic development was increasingly concentrated in the Arab dominated North, which generated resentment among ethnic groups in the ostracized and socially fragmented South. The British strategy in the Sudan only served to exacerbate the geopolitical divide.

Leading up to independence in the early 1950s, the rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser resulted in the anti-colonial movement taking root and spreading in North Africa and the Middle East. Nasser's support for Sudan's independence coincided with his broader vision for establishing the Arab League and promoting an Arab socialist nationalism across these two regions (Jankowski, 2002: 42). This had major implications for an independent, and what was meant to be, a united Sudan. The drive towards Arabization reinforced the grip on administrative power that the Arab Muslim elite in the North had over the South. At the same time, Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company in 1956 was a threat to the economic security of western powers (mainly, the United States, Britain and France), which viewed the freedom of navigation of the Suez as central to consolidating their business interests in the East (Smolansky, 1965: 582). Perhaps the most notable impact that Nasser's rise had on Sudanese politics, was his close alliance with the Soviet Union and his proclivity towards embracing socialist ideology. Communism soon took root within the Sudanese military and the Sudan became embroiled in the geopolitical tug-of-war between the US and the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War. This worsened the volatility within Sudan in the early independence period. Sudan's first Prime Minister,

Ismail al Azhari, was heavily supported by the Qadis (i.e., Muslim judges advancing Sharia Law) and ensured that they enjoyed equalizing judicial status with civil judges (Warburg, 2013: 23). In line with this influence, he first censured, and then later banned, the Communist party from the parliament. This led to growing opposition by Marxists within the military. At the same time, Azhari was being met with greater resistance by Muslim opposition parties with more reformist leanings that advanced a pragmatic approach to governance.

By 1965, growing protests against the Azhari-led North, manifested in a *coup* leading to Mohamed Ahmad Mahgoub, an Oxford trained Arab literary writer and political reformer that enjoyed major backing from the reformist Muslim opposition, assuming the role of Prime minister over a civilian-led coalition government (*Time Magazine*, 25 June 1965). Mahgoub was backed by the US and its western allies during this brief period, which was marred by political tension, as it represented a push-back against the growing Pan-Arabist and socialist sentiment in the region. However, the anti-Marxist sentiment of government remained and Marxist factions within the military started gaining momentum. This eventually culminated in a Soviet backed *military coup* in 1969 that resulted in Gen. Jaafar Nimeiry ascension to power (Joffe, 2009). Nimeiry was initially a strong advocate of Pan-Arabism and socialism. This was reflected in the close ties he forged with Libya and Syria and the reinstatement of Sudan's relationship with its former colonizer, Egypt, which came under threat during Azhari's and Mahgoub's leadership tenures. Nimeiry disbanded parliament, banned all opposition parties, and consolidated military control of the Sudanese government.

This brief period until the failed insurrection of 1971 instigated by the Communist faction within the military that aimed to topple him from power, saw Nimeiry enjoy increasing influence with strong military and advisory support from the Soviet Union (Rothchild and Hartzell, 1993). However, he viewed the insurrection as a betrayal by the Soviet Union. In retaliation, towards the late 1970s Nimeiry shifted allegiance to the US and forged closer ties with Oil Producing Economic Countries (OPEC) in the Middle East (Berry and Geistfeld, 1983: 25). This resulted in him mutating from a Pan-Arabist and socialist into a staunch advocate for free market enterprise, privatization, and foreign direct investment. In

exchange for advancing the US's modernizing and broader geopolitical agenda, the Sudan under Nimeiry's leadership became one of the highest beneficiaries of military and financial aid from the west in the world (Connell, 1997). Such support was aimed at enhancing the financial, munitions, and skills capacity of the Sudanese army. This was in keeping with view that the disciplined nature and expanded labour potential of the military could play a pivotal role in building infrastructure, establishing order, and maintaining state institutions. The outcome, however, was that the military became an instrument of patronage. Nimeiry utilized the extension of greater functions and business opportunities through the creation of Military Economic Corporations (MEC's) to the military to consolidate his power and establish loyalty within the army (Bienen and Moore, 1987: 495). These benefits were concentrated among soldiers from the North, which further alienated members of the Sudanese army from the West and South. Nimeiry's relations with international superpowers and across the region served to maintain his stranglehold on power rather than a genuine commitment to post-colonial reconstruction aimed at promoting broad-based development and nation building in a highly fragmented society.

The "revolving-door superpower" policy did not evade the South either. In fact, both the US and the Soviet Union along with their respective allies shifted their support between the North and the South during the height of Anya-Nya I (i.e., the first Sudanese civil war between 1955 and 1972), as well as different political and tribal factions within the South (Connell, 1997). This contributed further to instability until the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972 (aka the Addis Ababa Accord). The Addis Ababa Agreement established a constitutional framework for establishing a federal system that would advance regional autonomy and independence for the South (Shinn, 2004). It also set terms to absorb Anya-Nya insurgents within local police force to maintain peace and order. Leading up to the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement, however, there was increasing wrangling and shifts in political leadership in the South influenced by ethnic tensions exacerbated by Cold War geopolitical interests. For example, Joseph Lagu's mobilization of other tribal and ethnic groups against what they perceived to be ethnic dominance by the majority Dinka within the Nile Provincial Government (NPG) under the leadership of Gordon Muortat Mayen was heavily backed by Israel. This was a direct outcome of the Arab-Israeli war and the Norths' support of the Arab League. Lagu was

considered a more committed advocate of non-Arab resistance (Howell, 1978). Therefore, Israel cut their shipment of the vast arms cache to the NPG, which led to its dissolution in 1970. Instead, this shipment was diverted to Lagu and his allies. The failed coup to topple Nimeiry in 1971 which led to his profound distrust of the left and turn to the West, further weakened Muortat Mayen's more militant stance towards the North and push for establishing a unified and independent Southern Sudan (Poggo, 2009). With Lagu coming under the influence of Israel and Nimeiry also shifting allegiances to the Western alliance, there was a drive towards peace negotiations with the North. Following the successful coup attempt to dethrone Muortat Mayen in 1971, and his establishment of the Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement (SSLM) that was presented as being more equally representative of the various ethnic and tribal groups in the South, Lagu was able to establish himself as the *de facto* leader of the South (Shinn, 2004: 241).

External factors had a direct bearing on the legitimacy, ideological fickleness, and vision of political leaders in the Sudan (i.e., North and South). In this regard, the dynamics of political leadership in the Sudan seemed no different to the rest of the continent. However, outside forces and interests simply exploited a range of internal political, economic, religious, and socio-cultural factors that divided the Sudan. These internal factors exposed the fundamental problems that existed between these two regions and among the people of the South and North. As discussed above, this included the North which ruled the entire country was extremely unstable politically because power swapped back and forth between the military and civilian governments. Political fluctuations were dominated by the left and those with an Islamist orientation. The South was generally aggrieved of the dominant North but also deeply divided in their approach that was plagued along tribal lines. The government of Sudan exploited these divisions to weaken the Southern rebel movements like the Anya-Nya in the early years (Jendia 2002: 5 – 8).

Whilst political leadership remained relatively stable following the end of the first civil war, internal factors – some long established and others new – contributed to the start of the second civil war (Anya-Nya II) in 1983. Political self-preservation, a lack of trust, and corruption represented the most significant internal political factors. Although Nimeiry included Southern leaders within central government structures and incorporated them

within the Sudanese army following the Addis Accords, this proved to be counterintuitive. While he gained some popularity in the South following the constitutional reforms that resulted in the election of a Southern Regional Assembly and High Executive Council with a leader that was appointed by the president and would also serve as Vice President of the country (Joseph Lagu being a case in point), his position in the North came under fire (Atlas and Licklider, 1999: 38). Internal economic problems triggered another failed coup attempt to depose Nimeiry in 1976. Growing dissatisfaction among his main constituency in the North due to waning economic development programmes and infrastructure, and close alliances with the US and the IMF, weakened his political leadership status considerably. In response, Nimeiry shifted allegiance to staunchly Islamic political parties in the Sudan. Besides appointing advisors from the Muslim brotherhood, Nimeiry managed to secure financial assistance from Islamic banks to revive economic development programmes. The consequence of this was that Nimeiry reneged against the Addis Accords that undermined the working relationship forged with the South (ibid, 39). This was especially the case regarding the 'Agreement on Wealth Sharing' from oil revenues in the contested 'North-South' boundary.

A key component of the wealth sharing agreement was that the South would have the authority to generate revenue through a variety of taxes, receipt of foreign aid, and by instituting service charges on oil producing companies. All the revenue would be collected by National government in a National Reserve Fund with the South having access to 50% of it to drive development projects in the region (Shinn, 2004: 248). Whilst oil did not pose a serious issue during the signing of the Accords in 1972, there was an implicit clause within the Agreement that reserved oil rights exclusively to the Central Government in Khartoum. Nimeiry exploited this loophole by issuing exploration rights to Chevron in 1974 for a period of 4 years in the Western/Upper Nile which formed part of the demarcation of the border and was home to majority Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups (Human Rights Watch, 2003). These areas turned out to be rich in oil, making it a vital resource for both sides. Oil in commercial quantities was subsequently discovered in 1978 by Chevron near the towns of Bentiu and Heglig, close to the 'North-South' boundary. The oil Heglig discovery created an especially volatile situation because it was in an area where the boundary was particularly ill-defined and was thus claimed, then and now, by both North



and South (Prendergast et al. 2002: 99 -106). The re-assertion of the dominance of the North and retracting of the economic autonomy enjoyed by the South over oil, exacerbated the growing resentment towards Nimeiry. Thus, culminating in the formation of Anya-Nya II in 1978.

By 1980, Nimeiry began to systematically dismantle the Addis Agreements. He granted yet another oil exploration license to Total – a French multinational – in the Southern districts (Shinn, 2004: 248). Under the influence of Islamic advisors in Khartoum, he decreed that all oil revenue should accrue to central government, and all decisions pertaining to the granting of exploration concessions would not involve any consultation with the government in the South. This inadvertently meant that natural resources and investment opportunities were redirected and re-concentrated in the North, which contributed further to uneven development (Madut 200: 88 – 104). Coupled with authoritarian economic policy, Nimeiry enforced draconian political reforms that marked a return to the pre-Addis arrangement. He unilaterally abolished the South's elected assembly and divided the region into three separate provinces; something that was a blatant divide-and-rule maneuver (Prendergast et al. 2002: 93 - 99).

Nimeiry's claim was that a decentralized approach would enable effective development, which was strongly supported by Lagu much to the chagrin of those in the South championing the cause of independence. The turning point came in 1983 with Nimeiry decreeing that the Sudan will be ruled by Sharia law creating further resentment and fear among the country's large non-Muslim population, especially in the South (Voll, 1986: 214). By 1985, with the second war in motion, Nimeiry confronted a double-barreled problem. On one hand, there was growing famine in the Darfur, infrastructure projects were halted, there were frequent power cuts, prices soared, and doctors, rail workers, and students went on strike. And on the other hand, he was confronting a formidable foe in the form of John Garang, the new leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). Facing mounting pressure from within his own ranks and outside, Nimeiry called for the execution of the popular Islamic reformer Mahmoud Taha in 1985. Economic and political turmoil resulted in Nimeiry's defense minister usurping power from him in the same year (ibid).

The post-Nimeiry era at the height of the second civil war, rendered much of the same in terms of the internal factors that hindered unity in the Sudan. Fratricidal competition between power hungry leaders that formed the Transitional Military Council (TMC) and dissenting voices among civilian political leaders that belonged to striking unions and Islamic parties that were incorporated in the new cabinet was the source of growing instability in the North (ibid, 213). Fluctuations in power between the military and civilian governments was a feature of Sudanese politics until a *coup d'état* in 1989 brought Omar al-Bashir to power. Under Bashir, religion once again became a primary catalyst for political conflict. Bashir formed a strong alliance with Islamic extremists. He established an Islamic dictatorship that was strongly influenced by Hassan al-Turabi – a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood – and the National Islamic Front (NIF). The policy of the Islamist regime in the early 1990s was one of systematic destruction of native rule (Daly and Holt, 1988). The NIF tried hard to undermine the unity of major ethnic and tribal groupings by calling people to transcend parochial loyalties and subscribe to Islam. The implementation of sharia law contributed directly to the further polarisation of 'North-South' relations in several ways, like the increased number of conversions to Christianity as Muslim Southerners sought to avoid being prosecuted by Islamic law. These laws also contributed to the increase of the youth swelling the ranks of the SPLM as the war took on greater significance in terms of defending national and African identity (especially, for Christians and African traditionalists in the South).

By 1993, Bashir had banned political opposition parties, including those belonging to other non-Arab Islamic sects, and purged civil servants from government departments and replaced them with members of the NIF, especially in senior position (Human Rights Watch World Report, 1994). This precipitated anarchy and violence with egregious human rights violations perpetrated by the military in the center of Sudan. At the same time, government insurgency in the South fueled long-standing socio-cultural divisions that fomented tribal clashes and massacres. One such example was the Bor massacre that resulted in the death of an estimated 2,000 Dinka at the hands of Nuer fighters from the SPLA-Nasir under the leadership of Riek Machar who defected from the SPLA.

The contestation over oil fields in the South, around this period (i.e., by the early 1990s) once again served as an incendiary factor that exacerbated conflict in the Sudan. In 1992 Chevron sold its concession due to expatriate workers being killed in the conflict in the South. By 1993 the Canadian petroleum company Arakis purchased the oil concessions in the Upper Nile and formed a partnership with China National Petroleum Company (CNPC) and Petronas of Malaysia, which were state-owned companies. Between them, these three companies owned 95% of the oil industry with remaining 5% owned by the Sudanese central government. These companies together with the Sudan government formed the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Corporation (GNPOC) (Rone, 2003: 504). This partnership only managed to yield enough oil for local consumption and most of the country's petroleum needs still came from imports. The introduction of Talisman Energy Inc. which was Canada's largest independent oil and gas producer and that had taken over Arakis, transformed Sudan into an oil exporting country. Within a year of joining the consortium, Talisman enhanced development of the oil fields. It constructed a new marine terminal for supertankers needed to pump and export the first crude oil out of the country (Kobrin, 2004). More crucially, it also generated much needed revenue for the cash strapped Sudanese government, especially the Islamic forces advising Bashir who saw this as an opportunity to consolidate their religious agenda. This change in oil fortune made control over the oil fields in the contested 'North-South' border, which was predominantly Nuer territory, even more important. In fact, it literally fueled the civil war.

In 1999 allegations were made against Talisman for being directly complicit in egregious human rights violations perpetrated by the Sudanese government in the South by non-governmental organisations within Sudan such as the United Sudanese African Parties (USAP) situated in the North and from Canada (Carmody, 2016). The improved infrastructure was not only designed to ensure efficient transportation of crude but enabled quick access to surrounding villages that Sudanese armed forces exploited to carry out surprise attacks on villages in the South. In response to growing accounts of atrocities against civilians in the South at the hands of oil interests, the Canadian government sent a special human rights delegation to investigate. In 2000, they discovered that Sudanese government Antonov bombers and helicopter gunships had taken off from the Heglig oil field owned run by Talisman.

Furthermore, this consortium began employing the same divide and rule tactics by providing financial and military support to Nuer-led faction led by Riek Machar. Since most of the oil fields were in Nuer territory, it was prudent to forge closer ties with this faction, which further destabilized the objective of the SPLA/M to establish a united front against Khartoum. With mounting pressure from human rights groups in Canada, Talisman eventually agreed to pull out from Sudan and sold-off its interests to India's national oil company. The intense fighting precipitated by the discovery of larger oil reserves in the 1990s and the complicity of foreign oil companies exacerbated the long-standing ethnic divisions and political jostling for power that plagued the Sudan for much of its existence.

The vacuum left by Talisman was soon filled by Chinese, Malaysian, and Indian companies in 2003. However, the shift from western interests to those from the "developing Global South" did not change the trajectory of the conflict. This was followed by the war that was brewing in the western Darfur region between the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) – rebel groups fighting for non-Arab Muslims and non-Muslims who were marginalised and suffered extreme brutality at the hands of the Sudanese government and the Janjaweed armed militia group. China's growing interest in the region was epitomized by its increased dependence on oil imports from Sudan – in 2007 alone, China imported almost USD 7.3 billion worth of oil from Sudan. In fact, it was responsible for importing between 65 to 82 per cent of all the oil that was produced in Sudan (Shinn, 2009: 88). The uprising of rebel movements in Darfur, therefore, posed a major threat to China's energy security, which was crucial to consolidating its position as rising global economic power. China supported the Sudanese government to set-up and expand its own military arms industry, in addition it supplied the Beshir regime with a vast cache of military vehicles, combat aircraft, and ammunition that was used to inflict severe losses on human life, including women and children. China, like Talisman, was therefore directly complicit in human rights violations.

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 put an end to open 'North-South' warfare, especially in Darfur but other long-standing problems continued to simmer. Tribal conflicts over territory for cattle grazing and access to water increased due to scarcity following long periods of drought starting in the mid-1980s and early 2000s.

Cattle thefts and cattle related killings proliferated in this period. The absence of an effective judicial administrative system and security infrastructure made it impossible task to mitigate against such conflict.

Unfortunately, the signing of the CPA did not bring peace to the greater Sudan. This was despite efforts to build solidarity. For example, there were initiatives to encourage religious tolerance promoted by many within both the Islamic and Christian communities. The South Sudan Council of Churches, Muslim leaders, and the Inter-Religious council played a critical role in confidence-building among the young nation (Madut, 2007). However, the transition from greater Sudan to the Republics of Sudan and South Sudan, with the latter obtaining its independence in 2011, did not mark an end to the conflict, but rather the beginning of multiple new ones (Ottaway and El-Sadany 2012: 3 – 15). At the same time, old problems continue to hinder South Sudan's efforts to consolidate its newfound independence. Tribal authorities across the South still dominate; this is seen in many Southern states that are witnessing significant levels of violence and continued instability, much of it caused by competition for the control of natural resources like land, grazing rights, water, and even oil. These conflicts are inevitable in a new country where there are weak government institutions. Attempts to establish a modern state system is complicated by the fact that society is still heavily reliant on existing social organisations and tribal structures that are reluctant to concede some of their power and to work with other groups. Establishing a balance between secularisation and maintaining tradition and culture is proving to be a difficult task. Ethnic factionalism continues to be a catalyst for contestation over political leadership, which exacerbates underlying tensions between traditional authorities representing the various ethnicities.

In addition, the infrastructure in South Sudan is dismal, as is clear by the absence of paved roads outside of Juba. The South has little experience in terms of governance and administration, and its education and health institutions are rudimentary. This is despite the South having a considerable revenue that comes predominantly from oil (Ottaway and El-Sadany 2012: 13 – 15). The political and tribal divisions have distracted the country from state building efforts and plunged it into internal conflict, adding further to the misery left by the North. The population of the South is diverse, with the Dinka accounting for an

estimated 40 percent, the Lou Nuer an additional 20 percent, and the remaining 40 percent representing a large majority of much smaller tribes. The Dinka's have been major players in the SPLM/A, while the Nuer were more closely associated with the earlier separatist movement, the Anya-Nya. The Dinka have enjoyed a dominant presence within the SPLM/A, despite the organisation making considerable efforts to integrate other groups by even appointing them to leadership positions. The South Sudanese president, Salva Kiir is Dinka, and vice president Riek Machar, is Nuer. Their relations have been far from stable with Machar moving in and out of the SPLM/A, establishing a separate organisation in the form of the South Sudan Independence Movement (SSIM) that sought to negotiate directly with the government of Sudan and even signed an agreement in 1997, and setting up a military force that sought to compete with the SPLM/A before returning to the SPLM/A in 2002 (Mareng, 2009).

The socioeconomic discontentment is high and bound to increase as political instability continues to depress the economy of South Sudan. The government of Sudan also continues to experience growing protests from civil society over rising food prices, protracted water cuts, and other problems affecting daily life. In a country where popular insurrections have periodically toppled the regime long before the term "Arab Spring" was coined, resentment should not be easily dismissed. The government of Sudan does not take small protests lightly; they are usually met with a swift crackdown by riot police and the army. The actions of the Sudanese government on its people thus far, indicates that it is unwilling to respond to popular demands for economic and political reform, an attitude that can only promise continued instability and chaos in the post Arab Spring region (Al Jazeera, 9 October 2013).

The tribal, ethnic, sectarian, and regional interests and identifications are preserved and manipulated by political leadership who consolidate their narrow interests and political power through the art of managing patron-client relationships. The reality is that both the Sudan, and now the newly independent South Sudan, have not evolved an effective political answer to the problem of ethnic, religious, and social diversity. Political pluralism and inclusivity continue to be elusive goals.

In many ways, post-colonial Sudan mirrors the experiences of other post-conflict states in the African continent. It succumbed to foreign political and economic actors that were looking to advance their geopolitical interests, whilst capitalising on the country's natural oil wealth. They were able to advance their interests through clientelism by exploiting long-standing internal problems from ethnic rivalries and religious divisions to the lust for political power by most political leaders. Whilst Sudanese people, especially those in the Southern parts, were also concerned with political freedom, associating with a broader African identity, and creating economic opportunities, these esoteric objectives were waylaid by internal factors (Wai, 1981). If anything, the post-CPA era has seen both Sudanese republics continue in a downward trajectory. Consequently, the possibility of arresting the situation seems far-fetched when compared to success stories of other post-colonial African states.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

This chapter highlighted the historical, political, and economic dynamics underpinning political leadership in post-colonial Africa and in the Sudan. The first part of the chapter explored the mainstream discourse surrounding political leadership on the continent that is commonly associated with patrimonialism and political and economic underdevelopment. At the same time, it identified a few examples of transformative political leadership in post-colonial Africa that bucked the trend by forging an independent path to political and economic development shaped by their own realities. The second half of the chapter homes in on the external and internal factors illustrating how they coalesced to determine the trajectory of political leadership in the Sudan. The main objective was to explore why, and to what extent, political leadership in Sudan – save for John Garang whose leadership qualities will be evaluated in later chapters – succumbed to similar problems that perpetuated conflict in other post-colonial African states. Crucially, it was this form of leadership that played to the rhetoric of ethnocentrism, clientelism, and power-mongering that undermined successful and sustained transformation in post-colonial Sudan. In fact, later chapters would argue that the momentary success of the signing of CPA that brought relative peace to the Sudanese people was due to the special qualities espoused by John Garang, which was an

exception to the nature and form of political leadership experienced in Sudan in the post-colonial era.



## CHAPTER 3

### ROTBURG'S MANDELA MODEL OF TRANSFORMATIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND MORAL DISCOURSE AS A POLITICAL APPROACH

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce, explain, develop, and rationalise the various leadership theories including transformative political leadership, which serves as the main analytical framework employed in this research.

Leadership theories have progressed from the belief that leaders are born to a reflection that a leader must possess certain inherent traits to be successful. In terms of the latter, the situation determines the prevalence of one trait over another. A leader must have the essential traits that must help him/her to be a successful leader, such as articulating a vision, role modelling, and setting goals. The transformational leaders are considered by their capability to identify the need for change and gain the confidence and commitment of followers to create a vision that guides change. Therefore, Rotberg's model informed by Nelson Mandela's political leadership constitutes a framework for analysis that will be explored with specific emphasis on its relevance to this research. Rotberg stresses the importance of a transformational leader as custodians of society, especially in changing the lives of the people for the better. He also believes that political leadership, particularly in developing countries, should be considered as a service rather than a means to pursue personal gain (Rotberg, 2003: 28 – 32).

The characteristics of good political leadership such as honesty, trust, inclusivity, vision, legitimacy, mobilisation momentum, enlarged enterprise, and charisma in the context of transformation will also be outlined. Each characteristic will be explained in terms of its relevance to this research. In unpacking the characteristics of a good political leader, focus will also be drawn to the qualities that are reflective of a transformational political leader.

### **3.2 Theories of Political Leadership**

Political leadership theories are generally leader focused and concentrate on aspects such as what characterises good leadership. This includes how charisma, reflected through personal traits like cultural relevance, ability to solve problems, and ethical consciousness and practice can be attributed to their success as leaders. Scholars such as Mann (1959: 241 – 270), reinforce the view that transformational leadership necessitates a high level of charisma. This political leadership style is proactive and very potent in relation to a weak, greedy, and corrupt leader. The emergence of transformational political leadership shifted focus to the normative elements and characteristics of a political leader who aims to achieve political change that is in the interest of the majority. Transformational political leadership emerges in moments of political crisis and change. The rationale for a transformational political leader is the ability to transform their society and to effect change in uplifting the lives of the people. This leader must have a clear strategy and vision that will turn weak institutions into capable and efficient state machineries. As a result, it is critical that political leaders understand how they are legitimised and must also reflect the collective aspirations of the broader constituency. This is mainly because leadership does not exist in a vacuum. Contrary to the conventions of public choice theory, a successful political leader, especially in a context of larger processes of political change, does not only make decisions that advance their own interests and those of their followers. Instead, a leader should be able to establish trust and support from her/his detractors as well. There are strong leaders that are willing to take unpopular decisions in order to realise a much bigger political objective that may create conditions for a transition to peace and stability in the short term and establish a fully functional democracy in the long run. The theory of a transformational political leader is distinct from other leadership theories, as it has positivist overtones that are underpinned by social justice, equity and inclusion.

Rotberg (2012: 67) clearly indicated that political leadership is a social construction; meaning societies act and react to their environments depending on their shared experience, and this forms the basis for societal cooperation. The context can be a conflict situation or a cultural setting, as long as it is aimed at changing the lives of the people for

the better. Burns (1978: 530) indicates that transformative political leadership must be able to impact the lives of followers and make a meaningful contribution that will inspire them to achieve positive change in their environment. If correctly used, this theory can be a good tool for political leaders to successfully manage conflicts in unstable and uncertain situations. If a leader wants to remain relevant and legitimate, to cease the moment and make a constructive contribution to the community, he/she must inspire confidence. Thus, it can be said that transformational leadership is a visionary and value-based approach that inspires action and is based on the leader's symbolic charisma (Bass, 1985: 191). Rotberg (2012: 67) further indicates that political leadership is about choices that leaders make or fail to make. As a result, political leadership is about decision making or lack thereof.

We are reminded by Kellerman (2004: 36) that leaders cannot exist without followers. Followers wield power because if they stop following, the leader will be unable to achieve his/her desired goals, including securing his/her position in the community. Contemporary politics dictates that leaders should renew their mandate by building consent across factions. This is a crucial aspect of a leader-servant type of leadership. Leaders should always place the collective ahead of themselves by using coercion where necessary, remaining relevant to the masses and doing what is ethical instead of what is politically prudent. He/she represents various elements that can establish a followership to legitimise his/her actions. In this situation, leaders flourish and become more innovative to retain their followers. The challenge for political leaders is that the actions and decisions they make may necessitate the mobilisation of various groups in order to gain consent. In this sense, the goal of politicians is to achieve some level of agreement across the entire domain of a problem (Thompson, 1967: 211). As a result, they may believe they must act in the best interests of all stakeholders including those who oppose their appointment. According to Grind (2000: 270 – 285), the media, opposition parties, political colleagues, constituents, and activists all construct “truths” about political leadership and leader effectiveness. These “truths” have the power to make or break political leaders, particularly in terms of legitimacy. People are elected to represent them and speak on

their behalf. Political leaders, in this way, embody the beliefs, desires and will of their followers and must act as people's representatives.

However, there appears to be a crisis of confidence and trust between citizens and their political leaders today. Political leadership through representation necessitates the ability of leaders to demonstrate their authenticity to their constituents. The authenticity aspect underpins a leader's position in a political system. Indeed, being elected as a representative implies the ability to show one's true self because he/she represents the values and desires of the people. Furthermore, authenticity is a necessary condition and a critical point in establishing trust between leaders and followers. Trust is likely the most important issue in relationships between leaders and followers, particularly in non-direct interactions such as political systems (Ladkin & Taylor, 2010: 64 – 74). There are differences in the types of behaviour that are required for the various roles that leaders play (Stewart, 2003).

All political leaders must act as representatives, which necessitates empathy, willingness, and the ability to listen. This is because leadership is a function of interrelationships between various actors who rely on one another for legitimacy. According to Hersey and Blanchard (1988: 169-201), leaders should adapt their styles to their followers' readiness to perform. Political leaders are expected by society to consider the impact of their decisions on every group within their constituency, and sometimes beyond. The emphasis on power relations is relevant to understanding political leadership because, in democracies, political leaders' authority is constantly scrutinised to determine whether they are accountable to their constituencies. Political leaders must form coalitions to address complex issues because their authority is based on consent and is vulnerable to being challenged from a variety of sources (Heifetz, 1994: 298 – 348).

Transformational leadership, according to Burn (1978: 530), is a moral process in which leaders engage with followers based on shared motives, values and goals. This contrasts with transactional leadership in which they are limited to appealing to followers' emotions. Transactional political leadership tends to be inflexible and is usually opposed to change. Under this political leadership type, leaders emphasise the importance procedures and

normally strive to implement a framework of rules and favour structured policies. These types of leaders focus on short-term goals for their success and performance is dependent on rewards. They use reward and punishment to gain compliance from followers (Hargis, 2001). Thus, only followers can ultimately define their own needs. On the other hand, qualitative principles of justice, equality, human rights, and respect for individual dignity guide transformational leadership. Political leaders can detect signs of dissatisfaction among followers and take the initiative to connect with them right away. They can also recognise the needs and motivations of their followers and elevate them above personal interests (Burn, 1978: 530). Transformational leaders according to Bass (1985: 191), can accomplish three things:

- making followers aware of the importance of task outcomes;
- involving followers in transcending personal interests for the sake of the team;
- and moving followers toward higher order needs.

He concludes by saying the transformational leader's behaviour comprises of idealised influence, personalised consideration, inspiring motivation, and intellectual stimulation (Bass, 1997: 130 – 139). This encourages followers to have more faith in their leader. It also fosters greater trust, admiration, loyalty and respect, especially when they are motivated to go above and beyond what was initially expected. Therefore, transformational leaders evoke enthusiasm and commitment rather than compliance.

There are few regions more in need of transformational political leaders than post-colonial Africa. Social, political, and economic cleavages which are historically produced, is the source of an ongoing conflict of values and interests that threatens the consolidation of peace. Many African leaders face the challenge of developing the capacity to strike a balance between the values of African societies and the governance that modern nations must adhere to. However, rather than treating the two as mutually exclusive, the aim must be to blend them. According to Kamuntu (1993: 103), it is unfortunate that African political leaders do not see a pressing need to articulate their macro vision for the continent. Africa requires political leadership with the mental fortitude to deal with the crisis as well as the ideological commitment to uplifting the material and cultural aspirations of a broad range of people (Kamuntu, 1993: 103).

Whilst this study is limited in terms of availability of literature on African political leadership, previous research has focused predominantly on pejorative conceptions. Political leadership was framed in terms of the modernisation theory that assumed prominence in the 1950s and 60s which imposed a sequential order to Weber's typology of political leadership in the context of Africa.

Modernist scholars argued that political leadership in African societies were mainly traditional, which made them predisposed to authoritarianism. In other words, leadership was hereditary and based on kinship ideology whereas in developed western societies it was based on legitimacy, obtained through a free and fair electoral process and democratic representation. Therefore, political leadership in Africa was characterised by kleptocracy and patronage (Garang, 2019: 72 - 76). Leaders made decisions based on personal interest and that of a narrow constituency determined by political, cultural, ethnic, and religious affiliation instead of what was in the best interest of the collective based on principles of fairness and justice. Modernists argued that if African countries were going to achieve political development (i.e., an established democracy) and economic development (i.e., capitalist growth), political leadership should follow a linear path (Ake, 2003).

While leadership in pre-colonial and colonial Africa was patrimonial which proved useful to the divide and rule principle that exploited ethnic cleavages, once African countries gained their independence, charismatic leadership was required. In other words, modernists recognised that in order to achieve successful transformation to an independent democratic society, a special kind of political leadership was necessary. A leader with a clear vision for the country, a unifying ideology, a strong character, and ethical disposition was needed to build trust and galvanise a fractured society towards this shared ideal and goal. Once the transition is complete and democracy is attained, a more rational form of political leadership based on realising pragmatic organisational and bureaucratic objectives takes prominence. This does not mean that charisma plays a less prominent role in political leadership at this point on the continuum of political development, but it has a different purpose and function.

This modernist conception and approach to transformational political leadership, however, is fundamentally flawed. It failed to recognise that African societies were shaped by unique histories, culture, and social and political dynamics in contradistinction to the western world. In other words, for a theory of political leadership to be effective, it must satisfy two important criteria that are interrelated: i) traditional values, norms and knowledge must function in tandem and influence modern (predominantly westernised) state systems and, ii) traditional approaches to leadership need to be developed to give acknowledgment to the rich diversity of cultures and values within communities. This is important because many societies in Africa still practice indigenous customary laws that are applicable to most of the population. This can be done through the inclusion of traditional leadership approaches, principles and processes that are recognised within legal and constitutional frameworks and serve as a key component of political decision-making.

### **3.3 Other Leadership Theories**

However, there are other leadership theories that have been refined and adjusted with the passage of time; none of these theories are completely irrelevant. However, the relevance depends on the context in which the theories are applied. The type of leadership theory to be applied will depend largely on the means, the situations, contexts, culture, working environment, regulations, and organisational complexities. The application of leadership theories also depend on the impact the leaders want to make at that particular time (Dess, & Picken, 2000). These leadership theories include among others but are not limited to the following:

- Contingency Theory: The contingency theory is incident driven; this theory is closely link with the situational theory. The theory further emphasises that there is no clear-cut leadership style or a stand-alone leadership style because these theories are reliant upon the factors such as the quality, situation of the followers, or a number of other variables. The theories of contingency are a category of behavioural theory that contests that there is no one best way of leading and that

the style of leadership that is operative in some circumstances may not be effective in others (Greenleaf, 1977).

- Situational Leadership Theory: This leadership theory assumed that there is no single right way to lead because the internal and external factors will directly influence the style of that leader coupled with the existing situation and environmental dynamics. All these conditions will require the leader to adapt to those particular situations. The situational leaders also pronounced that the followers play an important role in defining the follower/leader relationship. This type of leadership is also dependent on the maturity of the followers (Bass, 1997). Situational leaders according to Bass (1997) must be able to adapt to the situation and transform their leadership style between task-oriented and relationship-oriented objectives. This is mainly because each individual has a distinct style of leadership with which he/she feels most content.
- Great Man Theory of Leadership: Carlyle claimed in his “great man theory” that leaders are born and that only those men who are endowed with heroic potentials could ever become the leaders. He opined that great men were born, not made. It was also determined that, “a person does not become a leader merely by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits” (Samad, 2012). The activities of the great man normally influenced the course of events, which could have been much different, had he not been involved in that process. The great man is reliant on his or her outstanding capacities, intelligence, will and character.
- Trait Theory of Leadership: The trait theory of leadership moves with the assumption that these leaders are endowed with certain physical traits and personality characteristics which distinguished them from other leaders. The trait theories of leadership also focus on intellectual, physical and personality traits (Ekvall & Arvonon, 1991).

These theories are too general and are primarily leader focused. They pay less attention to kind of qualities a leader who confronts a unique set of social, political, and economic dynamics must possess in order to obtain a larger political goal. As a result, this study



does not dwell or employ any of the other theories of political leadership. The mere mentioning of them is just to indicate that there are many theories of political leadership that do exist. Transformational leadership theory that will be investigated in this research has distinguished itself from the rest of the previous and contemporary leadership theories. It focuses on the kind of qualities (or traits) a political leader requires to mobilise broader society towards the realisation of sustained transformation.

### **3.4 Purpose of Transformational Leadership in Society**

Burns (1978: 530) defines transformational leadership as a strategy for bringing change to individuals and societal systems. It promotes valuable and good change in followers in its ideal form, with the eventual goal of growing followers into leaders (Burns, 1978: 490 - 530). These leaders are aware of their followers' strengths and weaknesses, and they align their vision so that their followers can complete the tasks set. According to Bass (1985: 191), followers of transformative leaders have admiration, loyalty, trust, and respect for them. In his work, Rotberg advocated that a leader is supposed to give his people a sense of pride and destiny which translates into a profound sense of belonging to a transcending, exciting and worthy cause. Leaders must be visionary and have the ability to articulate transformational visions in order to mobilise their followers. He further stated that legitimacy, trust, and integrity must be an integral embodiment of a leader (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39). Transformational leadership articulates a vision of the future of society and provides models that are consistent with the vision and, in turn, fosters the acceptance of goals and provides support (Podsakoff et al., 1966: 259 –298). Transformational leaders influence their followers' beliefs and attitudes, allowing them to perform at higher levels beyond the bare minimum.

The above is a result of a hypothetical social contract that is between followers and their leaders, in which they accept their leader's authority in exchange for services from the leader. This is very common in many African states where leaders promise followers all sorts of things when soliciting for votes and fail to deliver. This necessitates a high-quality relationship between the leader and the citizens, as well as the protection of the leader's integrity. The political leader must be able to wield authority, exert influence and manage

the country's social and economic resources in order for the country to progress (Sahni, 2003: 1 – 2). Theories under this new leadership paradigm focus on the traits and behaviors of leaders, as well as relationships between and among leaders and followers in a given circumstance (Sashkin, 2004: 171 – 196).

Transformational leadership is complicated, and it isn't always as straightforward as the current analysis suggests. In order to be successful as a politician, a balance of humility and professionalism is required. Political leaders must be viewed solely in terms of their ability to solve problems and guide people to their intended destination and national purpose. Even though a leader's reasons for taking office appear to be patriotic at first glance, the actual implementation frequently reveals all their underlying motives (Isekhure, 1995: 141).

It should be mentioned that a country's success is determined by the efficacy or ineffectiveness of its political leaders. For the general growth of their society, there is an urgent need for capable, true and efficient leadership who are qualified, competent, enlightened, and honest personalities. Leadership is moral in the sense that it raises human behaviour and ethical goals, impacting people's actions directly. As a result, transformational leadership should be viewed as a process of forming communities of morally conscious individuals who become self-motivated to effect change through collaborative action based on shared values (Burns, 1978: 20).

Charisma, on the other hand, is a vital attribute of transformative leadership and is found in a leader with extraordinary characteristics who inspires people with his or her mission and vision. As a result, any social or political movement sees this charismatic leader as its leader. The factors that motivate and aid to establish the link between leaders and their followers are prioritised in charismatic leadership (Weber, 1977: 114 – 173; Bass, 1985: 191 – 196). The charismatic leadership type was tied to the transformative phase because they had an impact in the lives of their followers. They used the power of persuasion to work on the emotions of the followers. Thus, transformative leadership was required to help societies move from a traditional leadership system that was seen as backward and undermining modernisation in both political and economic terms, to a fully-fledged liberal

democracy. Charisma is a key attribute because it is through it that leaders can bring about much needed social change in societies (Burn, 1978). Leaders in the transformative phase could not only espouse a caregiving function, but had to be strong when necessary and demonstrate intuition in order to exert influence over followers.

There are very few known leadership models developed on the African continent that can assist scholars to explore the theory of African political leadership further, thus the over reliance on Euro-centric models. These models have their limitations because they have not evolved enough to appreciate leadership and governance dynamics on the African continent like the influence of cultural values such as Ubuntu and how it can form the basis for an organic leadership model. The dogmatic use of transformational models as yard sticks to measure the continent's political leaders is sometimes misplaced. The African continent's cultural, religious and educational realities as they apply in practical reality must be taken into consideration when trying to apply these models. Political leadership and governance go hand in hand with structural institutions which are not in place in many African countries.

Despite all this, transformational political leadership is still a crucial model that many African political leaders must pursue and adapt to the conditions of the continent. The developing world is still struggling with basic governance and systemic issues that are embedded within their political cultures, thus a comparison between the developing and developed world will be unfair and incongruent. The orientation of the political leaders from these two worlds is always influenced by their socio-political, historical, developmental and cultural context. Thus, Rotberg proposed a Mandela model which identifies integrity, trust, legitimacy, vision and honesty as its main characteristics, among others, for the developing world. This model is intertwined with the transformative political leadership and can be applied globally; it is not necessarily reserved for the African continent. Former Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, for instance, can be considered a charismatic leader in terms of his anti-imperial stance and advocacy for an independent Africa, but it did not translate into political and economic development. He was a transactional political leader that favoured structured policies and procedures and thrived on following strict rules. This was important for him because rules helped keep a

tight grip on his country. These types of leaders tend to be inflexible and oppose any change, especially change that threatens their power or existence. They will strive to work towards maintaining the status quo because that favours their leadership style (Bass, 1990).

This clearly shows the difference in leadership styles and the method used between transformational political leaders' ability to influence and inspire followers in the execution of their vision and transactional political leaders when pursuing political goals. So, charisma can be dangerous or useful depending on the political context. Modernist interpretations of Weber's model of political leadership tried to focus on charisma in the context of transformative political leadership in a positive sense. A strong leader equipped with all the tools in terms of personality traits and competencies, facilitates a positive transition towards a long-term vision that is grounded in life experiences, material needs and the cultural values of their respective societies. It is necessary to state that transformational leaders are devoted to ongoing societal change processes. They are about encouraging followers to become collaborative participants who, by calling one another for shared leadership, give voice to the nature of their realities. The challenge for transformative leaders is to strike a balance between individual liberty and social duty, as well as to find new common ground in an increasingly diverse multicultural society (Tierney & Foster, 1989: 39 – 62). Knowledge production, organisational performance, follower self-concordance, job alienation, creativity and higher order motives are all linked to transformational leadership (Vera & Crossan, 2004: 222 – 240).

### **3.5 Rotberg's Mandela Model of Political Leadership**

Rotberg (2012: 10 – 12) contends that good political leaders may promote good governance, transformational leadership and ethical politics in Africa, poor countries, and the rest of the world, bringing much-needed change. The basis for Rotberg's claim emanates from his observation of the collapse of political institutions, rampant corruption, evidence of nepotism and maladministration on the continent. He made a conscious effort to highlight that it is only through good leadership that governance issues can be overcome. Thus, a Mandela model which had integrity, trust, legitimacy, vision and

honesty as its core characteristics for the developing world has been proposed by Rotberg. He also worked tirelessly to assist in the development of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation that assists African political leaders to implement ethical political and governance legislation.

When African countries gained their independence between the late 1950s and 1960s, there was excitement that the ruthless colonial exploitation and political repression had finally come to an end. Many people only imagined a better life, peace and stability which included exemplary political leadership. There was a sense of euphoria in many post-colonial states and those in power participated honestly in the national discourse. Nobody thought that the new rulers would be the next political oppressors. The euphoria did not last long as it was followed by military take overs in many newly independent countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, etc. Once in power, political leaders became ruthless against their people, with no regard for democratic processes as promised. Instead, they opted to become dictators and presidents for life.

The short-lived feeling of freedom and economic prosperity was met with hardship and worse forms of violence, which was a betrayal of all the promises of hope. The horrendous forms of misrule and plunder on the continent were followed by kleptocratic dictators which became the new form of political leadership. The same cannot be said about other developing countries elsewhere, especially in terms of economic prosperity. The so-called Asian tigers adopted ruthless governance methods to ensure their stability and prosperity. Through a form of authoritarian pragmatism, former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, was able to obtain collective legitimacy in a highly cosmopolitan and deeply divided society in which material inequalities reflected social cleavages. He used his legitimacy, which was tied to his authority, as a right to rule the Singaporean society. Lee exerted his command style of rule through coercion, which arguably constitutes an inherent trait of power to fight corruption (Peter, 2017). He ensured through his People's Action Party policies that there was balance and fairness across the Singaporean society. He nurtured a Singaporean identity to achieve parity in a culturally, ethnically and religiously diverse country.

However, Lee also invested quite heavily in education, which paid dividends in the long run. He made certain that the workforce's technical education was improved. This education sparked the growth of enterprises based on high-value-added technology and human capital (Martin-Jones, 1997; 122 – 126). This investment in education guaranteed efficiency and the expansion of the robust economy in fields requiring high-order technical expertise including retail, electronics, finance and tourism. Lee also tightened supply and demand to build an international city of distinction (Martin-Jones, 1997 126 – 127). Many African countries are lagging behind in the educational investment of their own people; this has resulted in the continent becoming a net exporter of raw materials and importer of finished basic goods. Political leadership is a technique for bringing ideas to life, defining a path to a brighter future, gaining access to better opportunities and assuring economic prosperity (Rotberg, 2012: 10-12).

After observing the ruthlessness experienced by many Africans in their countries of birth under their political leaders, Rotberg developed a Mandela model that he advocated as an example of an effective leader in developing societies undergoing significant political transformation. This was aimed more especially at countries confronted with peacebuilding in the context of shifting to democratic governance. The rationale for this model, which is the transformative political leadership, was based on its humanistic values, which put the people right at the centre of its evolution. It also emphasises morality as its cornerstone. The political leadership of Mandela (Mandela and Langa, 2017: 231 – 256) was characterised as that of service to the people. This concept of service to the people implies that leaders are expected to empower, defend and fend for their followers. This constitutes a 'servant-leader' who identifies broader normative goals such as social justice, equity, service, fairness, collective participation and leadership as core pillars of political leadership. In contrast, transactional political leadership uses disciplinary measures and an array of incentives to motivate followers to perform at their best. Transformational political leadership which uses the servant-leader as its main pillar emphasises collective responsibility by motivating their followers through setting goals and creating opportunities for their personal development. Rotberg draws on Mandela's legendary leadership characteristics, which he attributes to the "inclusionist" idea, to make his case about a transformational leader that consults widely before making a

decision. Mandela also possessed an aura of vast legitimacy, as he knew that it was his to lose (Rotberg, 2003: 28-32).

Nelson Mandela as a transformational political leader employed the enlarged enterprise trait as a leadership competency by depending on the skills and talent of others and allowing them opportunities to gain recognition. He would on many occasions say that it was better to lead from behind and to put others in front. This competency was demonstrated through his authority, authenticity, commitment and mastery of communication and his consistency of messages to his followers. He extended an olive branch to adversaries like the symbolic visit to Orania to meet Betsie Verwoerd, the wife of the architect of Apartheid Hendrik Verwoerd (Mandela, 1994: 217 – 277). Mandela also started the national healing process through the creation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a means of also reaching out to the victims of apartheid. The TRC was an important endeavor in the reinvention of a nation and an attempt at restorative justice. This process was important to address the wrongs of the past and get closure for many families that were wounded by the atrocities of apartheid. This was in line with Mandela's vision of reconciliation and building a non-racial and multicultural South Africa where all citizens live as equals. This was a demonstration of the creativity and the genuine originality of the man who involved stakeholders to accomplish his vision.

Mandela recognised that society is made up of many different stakeholders, and that in order to realize this larger vision, an inclusive and engaged environment was required. Stakeholders are "social architects," according to Northouse (2013:197), who employ successful communication methods by participating in group initiatives, promoting involvement and being openly supportive and attentive to conflicts. Mandela was a perfect inclusionist as a transformational leader, making use of the country's love of sports to promote reconciliation efforts by attending major sporting events. He demonstrated this in 1995 during the Rugby World Cup hosted by South Africa by donning the Springbok rugby jersey. This gesture brought a sense of unity and pride to the citizens (Mandela, 1994: 217—282). He also performed small, seemingly random, acts of goodwill for others. Mandela was a role model for both his subordinates and other leaders. He was the leader

of the whole nation who empathised with all South Africans including those who considered him their enemy.

Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39) goes on to say that in the developing world, political leaders are more responsible for societal outcomes than in the industrialised world. Due to lack of established institutions people tend to follow what leaders say as though it is policy. Thus, in developing countries political leaders influence how governments perform and how they serve or abuse their citizens. Transformational political leaders must have competencies that include, among others, abundant analytical, contextual, political and emotional intelligence, compassion, tolerance and integrity as determinants to serve their followers efficiently and successfully (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39).

Mandela believed in majority rule even though he always emphasized the principle of consensus and inclusivity. He was a transformational leader who had the ability to inspire his supporters to follow his vision of an inclusive society. He strongly believed in consultation and collective leadership while his decision-making processes were influenced by his cultural values (Bass, 1985: 191-198). His relationship with his followers was based on trust and integrity. As a charismatic leader, his followers used to listen to him even though sometimes disagreed with him. This was demonstrated after the brutal assassination of Chris Hani, the leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1993. Mandela called for calm and managed to avoid a civil war in the country. Mandela's statesmanship was validated and unquestionable even before he took office as the first black president of South Africa in 1994. He always strived for consensus during the Government of National Unity (GNU) which was a power sharing arrangement. There was deep distrust between the main parties like the ANC, National Party (NP) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) that were part of the GNU. Leaders of the respective political parties were allocated cabinet posts and appointed ministers to the GNU. They also set up mechanisms for dispute resolutions that adjudicated over disagreements. Mandela had an option to adopt the winner takes all mentality by excluding opposition parties from his cabinet and enforce majority ANC rule. However, he chose the reconciliatory route even though some of his party members were firmly opposed to it and was even able to find



common ground for all to understand his vision of inclusivity (Mandela & Langa, 2017: 209 – 230).

He was different from his fellow African political leaders because he did not believe in the winner takes all mentality prevalent on the continent. Winner takes all is an electoral system where the winning party appoints members to the cabinet to the exclusion of smaller parties. This system is in sharp contrast to the proportional representation that allocates seats according to the number of votes garnered during the elections. Some of the political leadership challenges in the continent are accountability, honesty and commitment to the aspirations of the people. These gaps and limitations are closely linked with incumbency which creates a serious problem on the continent. Mandela was arguably the only African political leader who voluntarily ceded power to another leader when his term of office was officially over without any coercion (Mugambi, 1997: 24 - 29).

The political leadership maturity of Mandela did not need any incentive for good governance because at the core of his then vision was his commitment to unity and reconciliation within the South African society. He stated that he did not depend on enforced coalitions among parties but close cooperation. He further affirmed that he had chosen to pursue the interest of the country with more vigour through reconciliation rather than follow divisive policies that would not benefit anybody (Mandela & Langa, 2017: 209 – 221). There was a sense of forgiveness and reconciliation that dominated the country at the time. The ANC government led by Mandela was committed to reconciliation despite the many years of brutality to which black people were subjected to from successive white minority regimes.

Mandela believed that reconciliation and national unity were significant to heal the wounds and the broken relationship among black and white South Africans as a result of the past apartheid atrocities. The reconstruction project was therefore vital to spearhead development for the new South Africa. This was important to avoid retributions as there was fear of vengeance and violence that could be meted out against whites to rectify the wrongs of the past (Mandela & Langa, 2017: 209 – 221). Mandela had to demonstrate to black people that he was the suitable political leader for the task at hand. He had to inspire

hope that generated momentum, especially during the crucial period of transition. Though national unity and reconciliation were not accompanied by immediate or sustained economic benefits for most of the people, freedom brought about peace and stability. These were the transformational abilities of Mandela that brought hope to the hopeless. Reconciliation, according to him, could be arrived at through a process of reciprocity, in which everyone should be part, and seen to be part, of the task of reconstruction and transformation of South Africa.

A good leader, according to Rotberg (2012: 41 – 59), distinguishes between successful and unsuccessful undertakings. Imaginative political leadership is especially important and has often been lacking in the developing world in recent decades. The daunting task that remained was the socio- economic conditions of the black people which Mandela did not adequately address because his five years in power concentrated more on reconciliation and healing the wounds of racially divisive past. Thus, the effective statecraft that Rotberg refers to, could be construed to mean the incomparable positive advances and contribution that Mandela made by using his power to usher the country into a new era of political socialisation epitomised by social cohesion, political stability and trust (Rotberg, 2012: 41 – 59).

When Mandela handed over power to Thabo Mbeki a great deal of work, even though imperfect, had been done in terms of calming racial tensions in South Africa. The transition was not all smooth sailing as there were hostilities in KwaZulu-Natal; relations between the IFP and ANC were tense. There were a series of meetings that took place to mediate between the parties because there was a realisation that peace and stability was crucial for the new South Africa. Mandela's commitment to forgiveness during those trying times of the transition was crucial for the post conflict order. Rotberg (2012: 41 – 59) indicates that Mandela, as an inclusive leader, was able to demonstrate to his followers that he had their best interests at heart and was driven to fulfil their aspirations. Mandela was able to metaphorically embrace his followers through his political leadership skills that included among others, his inclusiveness and generosity that conveyed moral character. Mandela was a political leader whose vision had a positive and inspiring effect

on his followers. He managed to sustain and project a vision to his people which was central in his effective leadership.

The political vision of Mandela's nation-building endeavor demanded that the many segments of South African society live in harmony. This harmony could only be achieved if those who had benefited from the exploitation of the apartheid era understood that it was now time to share their resources for the benefit of all. Only then, according to him, would South Africa have a chance of shaping an equitable future. In the spirit of Ubuntu, Mandela wanted an inclusive society as envisaged in the ANC's Freedom Charter, which declared that South Africa belonged to all who lived in it and all national groups shall have equal rights. He was ready to reach out to the white people and assure them of the future in a new South Africa by addressing their fears. In his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, we clearly see how Mandela was groomed as a leader and the responsibilities that were given to him which prepared him for future and bigger roles. Initial traditional settings shaped his childhood value systems as a traditional Thembu man and community leader and created the foundations that enhanced his appreciation for pursuing consensus rather than conflict (Mandela, 1994: 24 – 33). These values of consensus-based decision-making were demonstrated in front of him as a child growing up in a traditional environment where tribal councils were convened to discuss local issues. He was exposed to dispute resolution mechanisms that were exercised through traditional courts at an early age. He observed and learned that it is only through consultation and transparent decision-making that lasting solutions can be found. All these prepared him for his future roles as leader of his tribe and eventually the country. They contributed to making him a strong, ethical and visionary political leader. These attributes helped him to earn legitimacy across three spheres; within his party by managing dissenting voices, winning favour with opposition parties and groups, and galvanising a diverse and fractured civil society.

Rotberg (2012: 41 - 59) asserts that citizens are followers, but followers need leaders who highlight common and collective goals that go beyond narrow group, ethnic or sectarian interests and identification. Leaders should be able to develop reciprocal dependencies with followers. Mandela was an inspirational and visionary leader who

appealed emotionally to citizens and was able to sense what people were feeling. Followers must believe that a leader is trustworthy and has integrity and is not dishonest. This means that the social contract between the ruler and the ruled must be based on trust and must not be abused by either party (Rotberg, 2012: 41 – 59). Thus, Mandela targeted white Afrikaners with his reconciliation project since he knew that blacks shared a history of poverty with Afrikaners who both suffered under British colonial rule, especially during the Anglo Boer wars. Mandela knew that if the Afrikaners accepted the change to democracy, they would form the backbone of its defence. He spared no effort in his determination to avoid anything that would destabilise the country. However, he also remained firm in his commitment to the principles of democracy, non-racialism and equality (Mandela & Langa, 2017: 87 – 91)

This displayed Mandela's commitment to his vision of reconciliation and inclusion which was a key driver of his leadership. This was to ensure that the country moved forward since he had realised that without this, the country might be confronted with a civil war. He cautioned against populist politics, especially among his party leaders. As a leader, he had to find his inner reserves of strength and skill and his power of persuasion to deal with the rising concerns from the black community. No one had prepared the masses for the fact that their march onward would be rerouted towards reconciliation. Mandela found himself increasingly having to defend the charge that his brand of reconciliation meant addressing white fears at the expense of black needs. Mandela tried to explain the dialectical connection between reconstruction and development on the one hand and nation building and reconciliation on the other (Rhodie & Liebenberg, 1994).

Rotberg (2012: 41 - 59) emphasises the importance of an effective political leader's ability to clarify his vision so that his supporters can understand, embrace, and incorporate it into newly articulated national goals. He goes on to say that the leader's identification and dedication, as well as the efforts made to realize the ideal and shared goal, serve as a model for followers to undergo inner self-transformation in line with the vision. This is exactly what Mandela did to his followers because the end result was paramount whereas immediate gains were unsustainable. As a transformational leader, Mandela challenged existing processes and took risks. These kinds of leaders are open to new ideas; they

inspire shared visions, promote collaboration and establish trust among their followers. Rotberg regarded Mandela as a conscious motivator of followers and an ultimate nation builder who truly transformed his country and his broad constituency by decisive actions and forceful articulations of an esteem-building design (Rotberg, 2012: 41 – 59). A leader who is inclusive and all-embracing strengthens his ability to empower his followers and Mandela was a leader whose vision was national, not personal or clannish. His vision transcended limited conceptions of high office and gave all people in South Africa the important feeling that they belonged to the whole and were an integral part of the nation that was being built. Mandela's symbolic gestures of taking tea with the widow of his key oppressor and the donning of the South Africa rugby jersey were important to connect South Africans to each other and transcended racial barriers. These gestures by Mandela were genuine and were important for reconciliation in action, and not just paying lip-service, to bring the people together

Mandela tapped into the authentic needs of his followers and constituents by persuading them, raising their esteem, and inspiring them in whatever they do, and by creating an environment of inclusiveness and belonging. With his charisma, he created a sense of solidarity for the plight of the people and in return the people embraced him. The use of charisma as a concept helped Mandela to be unusually magnetic, to be larger than life and to be personally and spiritually attractive to both black and white communities of South Africa (Ryan, 2004: 44 – 58). This also exemplifies him as a transformational political leader who transcended time and culture, in terms of how he acted responsibly and effectively to deal with difficult national challenges.

Finally, Rotberg stated that Mandela was more than a leader who sprang from a societal necessity to coordinate the energies of his people and nation. He developed into a messiah as time went on, especially in the way he conducted himself after his release from prison and the messages of reconciliation that he preached. He emphasized to his followers that they must not treat each other as victors and the vanquished as that would cause animosity among those who felt defeated and excluded. Rotberg concludes that Mandela embodied qualities that included among others, legitimacy, integrity, self-

mastery and prudence, all of which are essential values of a visionary political leader (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39).

### **3.6 Rotberg's Core Competencies of Transformative Political Leadership**

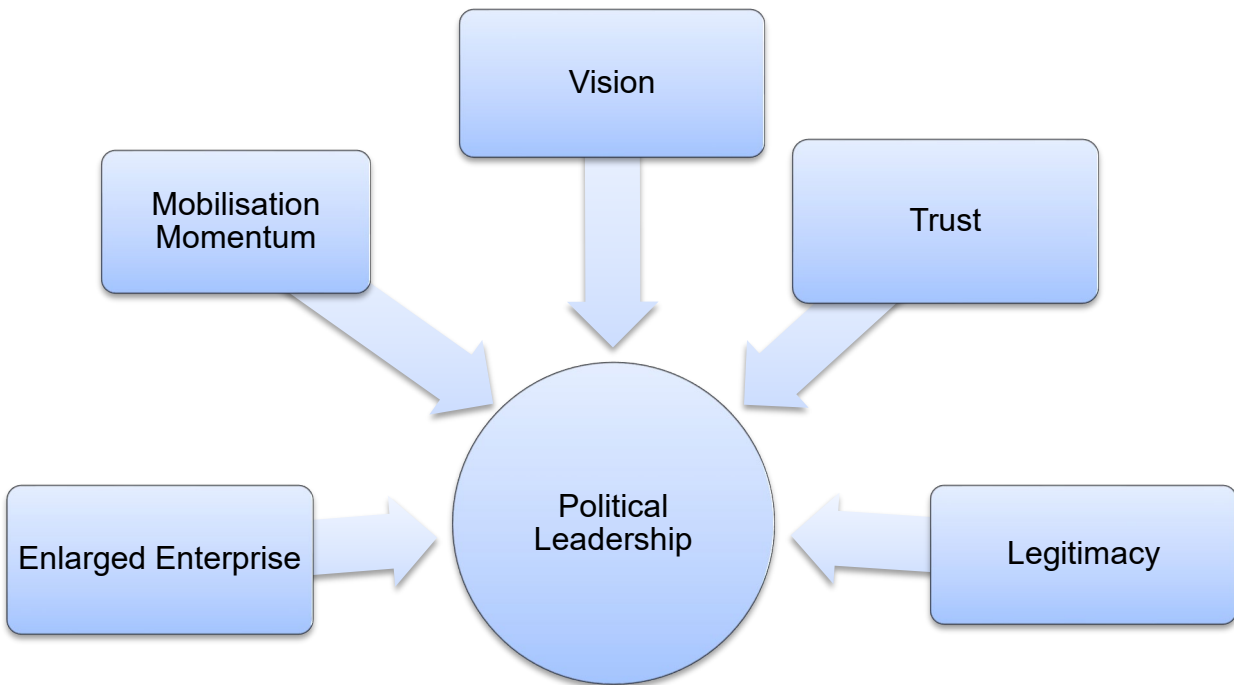
Rotberg made an immense contribution to political leadership literature in developing countries especially in Africa by influencing the practice of political leadership on the continent. Some of the characteristics that he identifies as being central to good leadership are the moral and ethical behaviour of leaders which are underpinned by trust, honesty, legitimacy and a clear vision among others. According to him, a political leader must be able to provide clear direction to his followers who in turn are expected to share in their leader's vision or purpose. His work on *Transformative Political Leadership: Making a Difference in the Developing World* attempted to emulate the rare achievements of Mandela, whose characteristics included inclusiveness, fairness, love, compassion, humility, forgiveness, selflessness, tolerance and fairness. Mandela was also known to be a champion of human rights. Ian Serêtsê Khama, the former President of Botswana, on the other hand, was an accomplished political leader with a clear vision for his country. He managed to put democratic institutions in place and turned his country's economic fortunes around. Lee is credited with the transformation of Singapore and turning its economy into a developed one. He was a charismatic and visionary leader who transformed his country from an underdeveloped third world country into an industrialised developed nation. These leaders were role models for the developing world to follow. Rotberg also made an intense study of post-colonial African leaders' behaviour in power. These great leaders started developing despotic tendencies, became ruthless against opposition, and had no regard for democratic politics. There was general misrule and plundering of their countries' resources. The liberators of Africa became the kleptocratic dictators who represented Africa's backwardness in leadership. After a thorough study of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa, Rotberg tapped into good lessons from the Western based models of political leadership such as their value system of democracy, which he says were fully rooted and their political legislatures and judiciaries that are developed and independent. He also identified competencies that were good yard sticks for a good and moral political leader who would be dedicated to positive transformation.

A leader must possess certain individual characteristics to be a good leader, these include honesty, trust, integrity, legitimacy, inclusivity, charisma, and being a visionary. Rotberg translated these characteristics into a list of competencies for any political leader to be a good and moral leader. However, it must also be indicated that Rotberg identified only five competencies that is; vision, momentum mobilisation, legitimacy, trust and enlarged enterprise.

The above competencies are important for leaders to possess. Followers expect their leaders to be visionary and be able to articulate their vision for the people to act on it. The mobilisation momentum is the ability of a political leader to rally his followers to support his vision. This concept is closely linked to inclusivity, which will be the ability of the leader to bring together all marginalised groupings into the mainstream of national politics. While legitimacy, on the other hand, is the ability of the political leader to eliminate or allay doubt in the mind of the people. Lastly, enlarged enterprise is the ability of a political leader to create a mutual responsibility and be able to persuade his followers to believe in his vision. This is a partnership that is underpinned by a sense of belonging for nation building. Charismatic leaders normally perform this task very easily because of their ability to rally people for a common cause.

These competencies which are transformative in nature will form the main analytical framework of this study which will determine whether Garang had the characteristics of a transformative political leader. Rotberg (2012: 16 - 39) stated that a transformational leader must have identifiable competencies that their followers will be looking out for in order to make their own judgement of the kind, and nature, of that leader (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39).

**Figure 01: Schematic Diagram of Political Leadership Competencies**



*Extracted from Rotberg's Transformative Political Leadership: Making a Difference in the Developing World. 2012, 16 - 39.*

The above schematic diagram is a combination of political leadership competencies as identified by Rotberg and as briefly discussed below:

### **3.6.1 Vision**

Bennis and Nanus (2012: 80 - 99) provide a vast input to the leadership literature by explaining the role of leaders as architects of a vision for the society through the outlining of their objectives. This drives the direction in which the leader wants to take the society. Thus, political leaders must be visionary and should navigate courses that other people dare not take. Their role is to articulate why and in what direction the society needs to be transformed, and how followers will be enriched spiritually and materially. Therefore, leaders should not impose a vision but share it with followers. A successful vision is a



simple one that provides a framework to unite the masses; thus, a successful leader will normally incorporate the followers' sense of self into the goals of his views. The vision legitimises the role of the leader which allows him to motivate the society, which in turn, leads them to participation in the vision (Bennis & Nanus, 2012: 80 - 99).

Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39), on the other hand, emphasises that visionary leaders must have the ability to articulate and translate their ideas into workable, resilient and resourceful programmes of action. It is the responsibility of such leaders to raise the consciousness of their followers to the value of the outcomes expected to be achieved. Ethical and transformational leaders will influence their followers to internalize their vision in a sustained manner. These political leaders can generate awareness and acceptance from their followers on their purposes and duties, and to look beyond their own self-interest (Bass, 1990:20). When we take a close look at transformational political leaders, they have the ability to transmit ideas clearly, enabling followers to support them.

### **3.6.2 Mobilisation Momentum**

Mobilisation momentum is the ability of a political leader to use their charisma to get people to rally behind their vision. These leaders use their influence to exert social change through the mass mobilisation of society that is complementary for their goals. Good leaders always ensure that their citizens have a feeling of belonging and a sense of purpose and self-worth in society by inspiring and uplifting them. Gardner (1990: 35), states that such leaders who express these competencies or values that hold society together are normally referred to as transformational leaders. While Rotberg, on the other hand, says that such leaders conceive and articulate goals in order to lift people out of their petty preoccupation and unite them towards higher ends. These leaders, he continues, can form partnerships with their followers to improve their livelihood and create mutual responsibility through their incredible ability to influence them. Kellerman (2004: 36 – 51) agrees that charismatic leaders provide more than purpose and meaning to their followers; they also provide excitement. Charisma directly affects and translates into mobilisation and enables leaders to use it to bring hope for a perfect world, which captures the hearts of the society.

According to Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39), leaders use their charisma for mobilisation, thus they bring inspiration through emotional expressions and build the confidence of their followers. They often have little self-doubt and are morally righteous. These types of leaders are motivating to their followers who crave morally enriching authority figures for consistent and collective vision. It must also be considered that responsible leaders need not be charismatic to succeed. Weber (1977: 114 – 173) defines charismatic leadership as a form of authority, which is an extraordinary individual that prioritises the factors that motivate and help to develop the bond between leaders and the society. Leaders, according to Nahavandi (2009: 103 – 104), employ mobilisation to challenge for power. In this instance, charismatic leaders with high levels of energy and excitement, as well as strong principles and exceptional communication abilities, would inspire followers to be loyal, dedicated and committed to achieving this goal. According to Weber (1977: 114 – 173), charisma is a unique feature of an individual that connects to authority and control over others, the governed accept because they have faith in that someone's extraordinary quality. In other words, situations in which a leader exerts tremendous influence over his or her followers by outstanding features, behaviour, and talents affect charismatic leadership. This partnership normally leads to leaders persuading the followers to believe in their vision. Mobilisation momentum, according to Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39), brings both the aggrieved and the satisfied to an understanding by providing respect to those who previously felt rejected or marginalised. This inclusion of competing value perception is important according to Rotberg because it is critical for a leader's adaptive success. Leaders who consult their followers are instinctively democratic in their approach and understand the importance of gaining trust and winning legitimacy. In most cases, they listen rather than talk or order people around (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39).

### **3.6.3 Legitimacy**

Rotberg contends that without legitimacy, effective leadership is impossible. Legitimacy can be lost overnight if not properly harnessed. Therefore, credibility and respect will go a long way for the success of any political leader. Remaining legitimate in the eyes of followers could never be assumed, if a leader forfeits the measure of legitimacy, all could be lost. Legitimacy in most cases is hard earned and takes time to build; however, it is

easily lost due to its short-lived essence. It can also be subjective and judgmental; thus, the public's acceptance of a leader is never eternal and should not be taken for granted. Legitimacy is not an entitlement but something that leaders must strive for because when it wanes or is threatened, they often resort to coercion, corrupt practices and sometimes electoral rigging. For example, Ghana under Nkrumah inspired many before liberation; however, when he was in power, this great liberator revealed his despotic streak. He was ruthless against his people and had no regard for democratic politics. He immediately lost legitimacy and was overthrown by the military. Examples of such political leaders in Africa are endless; they started as darlings of the nation but ended up betraying the trust and hope of their people. Thus, it is imperative for legitimate leaders to always display integrity and remain principled to their political vision. Political leaders should always strive to be ethical and moral in their engagements with their followers as this will help them to enhance their legitimacy (Nkrumah, 1973: 13 – 21).

#### **3.6.4 Trust**

Rotberg (2012: 174) indicates that trust depends on the reliance and credibility of the followers to their leader. For a social contract between ruled and ruler to be successful, trust must be established between the two parties. A leader must be able to build trust by dedicating himself to the vision through democratic consultation and an ethically authentic manner. Self-sacrifice and serving the needs of followers are the embodiment of a leader. Without trust, the society's capacity to act towards a common purpose will be defeated. Bennis (1989: 266 – 295) refers to trust as a passionate state that binds followers and leaders together for a good cause. He further said that trust prompts loyalty and enhances legitimacy, thus when there is no trust between the leaders and followers, the legitimacy of those who govern become superficial. Fukuyama (1995: 163 – 166) supports this view and refers to trust as the solidifier and thread that holds society together, it forms the pillar to which institutions that regulate political behavior are anchored. He states that high trust societies tend to be more reliable than low trust societies which are normally corrupt. Thus, according to him, trust helps to build certainty. Trust, like honesty, is important and must be at the heart of an authentic political leader. It means the leader must take his followers into his confidence with his plans because

those plans are about the betterment of the lives of the followers (Fukuyama, 1995: 163 – 166). This means that a leader should possess a certain level of emotional intelligence, be empathetic and must also be able to reach out to his followers. This behavioural skill strengthens the political leader's legitimacy, his ability to project leadership and his credibility to the society. To execute their mandates political leaders', need to have these social skills to help them persuade, motivate, and lead their followers (Rotberg, 2012: 147 – 173).

Developing countries such as South Africa require greater integrity from political leaders than developed countries with solid institutions that depend less on individual politicians to facilitate social development. Political institutions should be re-established to get rid of incompetency related to political leaders. The fragility of institutions in developing countries depends on whether their political leaders are transactional political leaders who concentrate on short-term goals. The followers of a political transactional leader often lack moral convictions. They will only follow a leader who promises greater rewards, and they will not hesitate to forsake their previous leader (Bass, 1990: 20). Transformational political leaders have a clear vision for their societies and are adaptive to the conditions they find themselves in. This type of leader must have integrity and be able to inspire his followers. Depending on the type of leader at that particular time, this can make or break these societies (Popper, 2002: 60).

### **3.6.5 Enlarged Enterprise**

Enlarged enterprise is the ability of a leader to make their followers have a sense of belonging. Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39), just like Bass and Burns (1978: 411 – 530) and Foster (1989), emphasises that political leadership is a social construction that acts within a particular political context. In a conflict situation, for example, it is influenced by the impact of individual style and creativity of a leader and how he or she addresses challenges and opportunities alike. Political leaders must provide a feeling of self-worth and purpose among followers by uplifting and inspiring them. Political leaders must employ informal means to induce followers to achieve mutual goals and purpose through persuasions; thus, leaders cannot exist without followers. Burns (1978: 411 - 530) purports that transformational leadership is a moral process, since leaders engage based on shared

motives, values and goals. Political leader's engagement with followers is more than just compliance; it is the leader's ability to influence the belief and value system of their followers. Kellerman (2004: 36), on the other hand, underscores the importance of followers by saying that leaders cannot exist without followers and vice versa. Leaders must have the ability to use their vision to reach out to their followers through interactive engagements to generate a feeling of belonging in the enlarged enterprise. Political leaders must be able to understand their followers and provide them with a sense of worth, which will ensure that their contribution is valuable to the greater objective. Gardner (1990: 45) argues that leaders must make followers believe that they have a stake in the enlarged enterprise and are part of the integral process taking place. He further suggests that if people believe they are stakeholders and their opinions matter, they will be loyal to the leadership, since they feel that it is a partnership with mutual responsibility (*ibid*). Effective political leaders should be able to inspire their followers spiritually and express values that are able to hold a larger enterprise. According to Rotberg (2012: 16 – 39), leadership qualities matter severely, especially if they are used to transform societies. He believes who leads matters because that would make a difference in the fractured, scrabbling nation state. He strongly believes in decision-making processes that are driven by consultation and collective leadership to arrive at a consensus. The genuineness of a leader's consultation, especially with opponents, would ultimately pay dividends as it helps to build legitimacy. Lack of consultation and feedback with the followers may result in trust being eroded. Political leaders should build relationships with the people as it results in gaining trust and winning legitimacy without using force. The followers must feel that they are an integral part of their society, thus leaders must be able to express values that hold their society together and avoid divisive language. They must be able to form partnerships with their followers that are informed by the vision of the leader and must be embraced by all. The followers must have a sense of purpose and meaning to their lives for the enlarged enterprise to prosper (Rotberg, 2012: 16 – 39).

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter explored some of the myriad of theories on political leadership. However, it placed particular emphasis on theoretical aspects of transformational political leadership

in society and its associated characteristics. Rotberg's model informed by Nelson Mandela's political leadership, which serves as a primary frame of reference for this research, was also discussed to put into perspective the transformational characteristics required from a good political leader. This model which is based on South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy is especially pertinent as it is underpinned by forgiveness, reconciliation, and peace-building efforts, which were major requirements to halt decades of conflict in the Sudan – the major backdrop against which John Garang's political leadership qualities will be evaluated. It also emphasises inclusivity and consensus as a principle. The core competencies of transformative political leadership as introduced by Rotberg were also adumbrated as this serves as the theoretical framework employed in this research.

## CHAPTER 4

### UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF JOHN GARANG THROUGH THE LENS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings. The collection of data was mainly based on purposive sampling. The information was collected through interviews conducted with members of the SPLA/M, South Sudanese Armed Forces and politicians. The research followed a qualitative approach which allowed for in-depth and insightful interviews.

The information is organised into key themes to make it easier to identify relevant information from the findings that will be integrated into the analysis. The purpose of this chapter is to decide emanating from interviews conducted on the political leadership qualities of Dr John Garang. The significant role he played to foster peace and reconciliation in South Sudan will also be mapped out, especially given that there is a dearth in literature on this leader of the SPLA/M.

#### 4.2 Garang's political leadership qualities

The study will try to establish whether the individuals interviewed have an understanding of the political qualities of Garang. All the members were asked the same question during the interviews; it became clear that most of the interviewees had high regard for their former leader. The respondents were asked to express their views on the political leadership qualities of Dr John Garang:

Participant No. 1 was a representative of the African Union to Sudan. His task was to mediate between the government of Khartoum and the SPLA/M. He knew the inner workings of both the Sudanese government and the functioning of the SPLA/M under the leadership of Garang.

*“...I think what I can say is that first, he was a strong leader for a long time, and the people of South Sudan did not have a leader of his character as someone of*

*knowledge. Militarily and also intellectually, he was different from many leaders we have had...*

*“...Second, what I have heard is that he was not so democratic a leader. I think the reason some say this is because his behaviour was like a dictatorship. The war that he fought against Khartoum made him take decisions that seemed undemocratic, especially in attacking towns that were inhabited by civilians. Some commanders felt that Garang was not listening to their grievances that included logistical supplies.*

*“...Third, they were accusing him of not being accountable enough socially when it comes to the management of the resources...”*

Participant No.2 was a brigadier general and the South Sudanese Defence Attaché to Ethiopia and the African Union. Regarding the first question he responded as follows:

*“... Garang was a leader who had a leadership style that is not easily found in any other leaders. The way he dealt with the war of liberation of Sudan, the way he deals with all leaders of successive regimes of Khartoum gives you the inner part of what John Garang was.”*

Participant No.2 further alluded to how Garang forgave enemies from within his own ranks that were being funded by Khartoum to derail his attempts to galvanise people.

*“...These enemies included those within the SPLA/M who rebelled against his political leadership. These rebels were led by Dr Riek Machar and a group of leaders who were pushing a narrow nationalist agenda of the Nuer ethnic group.*

Participant No.3 is a retired general who was in the leadership of the SPLA/M during the struggle for the liberation of South Sudan. He worked very closely with Garang. He was also a professor at the University of South Sudan before being exiled to Kenya by the current government of President Salva Kiir to Kenya. He responded to the first question as follows...

*“...I think John Garang was a strategic person, who was able to read the mood of his followers. He knew how to convince people and get the best out of them. Garang was*



*a charismatic leader who inspired confidence to his followers, he was surrounded by very tough guys... he was really a very good diplomat for the struggle of South Sudan to the world.”*

Participant No.4 is a major general in the South Sudanese Armed Forces, he was recruited into the struggle by Garang. He grew up in the same village as the SPLA/M leader and was in the same class as Garang’s wife. He fondly remembers their childhood stories as cattle herders. He responded to the first question as follows:

*“...John Garang’s leadership could be described as inspirational and dedicated to the cause of the people of South Sudan...he was able to spread the struggle gospel to the rest of the Sudanese people as a whole before the separation of South Sudan...”*

Participant No.5 was the secretary for political affairs for the SPLA/M. His relationship with Garang started during the struggle for the liberation of South Sudan even though he confessed that he was far younger than Garang. He was also recruited into the struggle by SPLA/M elders from his village. He responded as follows:

*“...Dr John Garang was the people's leader. I can flip back to his childhood, he was a village boy rearing goats and livestock like Nelson Mandela, and they had the same characteristics. So, he was a visionary leader who possessed very rare charismatic qualities that inspired many of us to join the struggle...”*

Participant No.6 was the Minister of Labour; he was part of the leadership of the SPLA/M and was also in Garang’s inner circle. A member of the Nuer ethnic group, he was trusted by Garang during the struggle and was appointed as his personal intelligence advisor. He knew the ins and outs of his party. He responded:

*“...He was so charismatic in such a manner that he was able to mobilise the people of South Sudan to fight in both rural and urban areas. The second thing is he also use to bring the people from the North that was marginalised. So, he was able to also mobilise even the Arab to join the SPLA...”*

After interviewing the participants, it became evident on the question relating to Garang's leadership qualities that there was an overwhelming agreement from the interviewees that he was a people's leader. It was their opinion that he was a strong leader who possessed intellectual capabilities. Garang, according to most participants, was merciful and forgiving to his enemies. They even compared him with Nelson Mandela. Some of the interviewees also describe him as a strategic, charismatic and diplomatic leader. Few participants mentioned that Garang was not a democratic leader, and his behaviour was like that of a dictator. This was in the context of the struggle for the liberation of South Sudan where decisions would not satisfy all the members. However, participant No.1 who was the AU representative was also of the opinion that Garang was not that democratic. His opinion was based on encounters he had with Sudanese government officials, the SPLA/M, opposition parties and the broader civil society that he engaged with.

Almost all the participants acknowledge that Garang's political leadership was displayed in his ability to bring people from all walks of life together including religious and ethnic groups. He insisted that the South Sudanese cease seeing the North's Islamic-Arab culture as a danger and instead embrace it as an important feature of Sudanese civilization, if all Sudanese cultures and faiths were given equal importance. Garang also believed that the adversary was not North Sudan or Northerners, but rather the country's governmental system which entrenched and thrived on ethnic and religious divisions, leading to factionalism. However, through his political leadership, he was also able to dispatch expeditions to the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile, Darfur and other regions of North Sudan to promote the SPLM message of independence in the South and his vision of a New Sudan. Volunteers from these areas flocked to the South to obtain military training and the war eventually progressed North.

#### **4.3 Garang's attitude towards reconciliation and issues of ethnicity**

The researcher wanted to get insight from the participants regarding their knowledge and views on Garang's position on reconciliation and ethnic conflict. The question to all participants was what were Garang's views on forgiveness and reconciliation, especially with Khartoum, and they responded as follows:

Participant No.1

*“...ethnic tensions were a problem between the “Nuer” and “Dinka” people this problem was there at that time of the liberation struggle for the emancipation of South Sudan. It is known that Riek Machar was leading the dissidence group against Garang. He even went to Khartoum and worked with the Khartoum government which was fighting with the SPLM/A...”*

*“...However, Garang surely had the capacity to bring people of all religious and ethnic groups together. He had the capacity to forgive even those people whose behaviour brought divisions to the SPLA/M during the struggle...”*

Participant No.2

*“...Garang believed in the peaceful transition of power to democracy, even though he took up arms which were a last resort to force the Khartoum government to negotiate the South Sudan issue. He always insisted that if you want to be a leader, you should not approach things by force but allow consensus which is a form of democracy. He was always ready to enter into negotiation with all the successive governments of Khartoum to peacefully resolve the issue of South Sudan...”*

Participant No.3

*“...Garang was a person who went out of his way to ensure reconciliation exists among the ranks of the SPLA/M by approaching his opponents within his party. He will even make efforts to send traditional village elders including leaders of religious groups to mediate against himself and Riek Machar who was leading a rebellion against him. The participant further alluded that if you are not a peacemaker, you will not bring them back...”*

Participant No.4

*“...Garang was in a position to bring his opponents into the leadership of the SPLA/M despite their opposition to his leadership. He managed to inform them about the*

*divide and rule tactics that Khartoum was employing to bring disunity in the ranks of the SPLA/M. Tribalism was used as a metaphor to dismantle the movement...*

*“...The movement was particularised as a Dinka movement instead of being a Sudanese movement. So, he was able to bring all these groups together up until the signing of the CPA...”*

*“... John Garang created a regional consideration within the ranks of the SPLA/M, whereby he ensured that all the regions are represented within the ranks of the SPLA/M. He promoted junior officers from the different regions to senior positions of the Army to ensure stability in the ranks of the army. Garang tried to guaranty that ethnic affiliation will not be the deciding factor for promotion. This brought harmony within the ranks of the SPLA/M ...”*

Participant No.5

*“... His power was based on the will of the people to have peace and the ability to negotiate at the national level. He involved everybody and it was by the will of the people. We had to be inclusive and emphasised that Sudan belongs to all of us...”*

*“... Garang further indicated that what brought about separation of South Sudan from the rest of the Sudan was forced on us by the dictator in Khartoum. Otherwise, the land is part of us. It is our land...”*

Participant No.6

*“...he was able to bring in most of the oppositions groups to come together and join the SPLA/M. So, he was flexible because he knew when to use force and when to use diplomacy to those who want to divide the movement...”*

*“...Garang was a nationalist and not a tribalist as he is always portrayed by Khartoum and his opponents. He has interacted with many nationalities throughout his lifetime that helped shaped his outlook of the world. He would not have introduced a regional balance in the leadership of the SPLA/M if he was a tribalist...”*

It is clear from the participants' responses that Garang was a considerate political leader who prioritised reconciliation of the SPLA/M as one of his main objectives to defeat the Khartoum government. He did this despite the attempts from Khartoum to infiltrate and divide his party.

#### **4.4 Garang's vision of a united Sudan and his views on secession**

Garang's vision was the creation of a new, united and secular Sudan. This was a contribution that he made to the debate by the leadership of the SPLA/M. The essence of the debate was to bring unity in diversity to the Sudan. The vision sought to embrace social justice and democracy in a new political dispensation in which all Sudanese were equal stakeholders irrespective of their race, ethnic affiliation and gender. However, this vision was not implemented. The interviews sought to find reasons for why this was the case. The participants responded as follows:

Participant No.1

*"...Garang was not a separatist and people knew that, he fought all his life for a secular state that will be inclusive of all the ethnic groups that are found within the Sudan. He wanted a country that will be tolerant to all the religious groups of the country. He indicated that he was ready to fight for that until it is achieved..."*

*"... The Sudanese leaders in Khartoum used religion to legitimise their continued rule of the country. They promoted Islam as a superior religion against other forms of religion that are practiced in Sudan. They also played on the fear of the people that the SPLA/M will enforce Christianity over the rest of Sudan. Thus, it can be said that they obtained their legitimacy of power from their religion. If they agreed to a secular state, they will lose the legitimacy and those people in power in Khartoum are the minority, but the legitimacy is the religion..."*

*"...The CPA called on all political groups to make unity attractive for the sake of establishing a unitary state. However, Garang also indicated that if unity is not attractive, we will separate from the Sudan. Fundamentally Garang was not for the fragmentation or break-up of the country.*

*“... After the death of Garang, those advocating for unity became isolated and were regarded as orphans and those advocating for secession were encouraged by the prevailing situation that nothing was done to make unity attractive. This continued to inspire them; thus, they supported the call for an independent South Sudan. So many of them voted for independence and those who were for unity were marginalized through time...”*

Participant No.2

*“... Garang insisted that this is not a South Sudan liberation movement but the movement to liberate the whole Sudan...”*

*“...He once called that the war must not only concentrated in the geographical South but it must be taken to all corners of Sudan so that Khartoum could feel the heat...”*

Participant No.3

*“... You know some people were accusing him that he is a person that wanted unity of Sudan. But he was putting everything there very carefully. Yes, we were fighting for the whole Sudan, but for a new Sudan. If they don't put Sharia Law aside, the two countries have to separate; he put it very clearly...”*

*“... He did not say 'I want Sudan that is unitary'. He put those options that if this did not work then we will separate from this country. The Northerners were predominantly Muslim and did not want to leave their Sharia Law. Garang insisted that all signatories to the CPA must go to their followers to preach unity of the Sudan and discourage any talk of secession. This was one of the main conditions of the CPA to make unity attractive...”*

Participant No.4

*“... John Garang's vision for the new Sudan, according to SPLA/M objective, is a united, democratic Socialist Sudan. This vision attracted a lot of support from people in the Blue Nile, Nuba Mountain and those in Eastern Sudan who decided to put their weight and energy behind the SPLA/M cause. So, the SPLA/M was hoping that Khartoum would be supporting this idea...”*

The participant also alluded to the fact that Garang's opponents within the SPLA/M especially those who were used by Khartoum were in support of separation. Khartoum on the other hand also supported the separationist than the unionist because they knew that if Garang was to overthrow the central government and transform it into a unitary state they will lose all their power. Thus, they used different methods that will ensure that Southerners fight against each other, like the 1991 breakaway faction from SPLM/A led by Riek Machar was engineered from Khartoum in order to divide the SPLM/A. The whole intention of this tactic by Khartoum was to ensure that once Garang is defeated Riek Machar will be given South Sudan to rule in alliance with Sudan

Participant No.5

*"...we voted for separation, even though Dr John wanted a united Sudan. So, it is yes, we have achieved what we wanted to, that is self-determination..."*

Participant No.6

*"...his vision was for a united Sudan. I think he was reconciliatory because one of his explanations was that when we are divided, we are weak and at a certain level he asked for secession and at another level he talked of working for the creation of a united, democratic, secular Sudan. Garang never ruled out the possibility of seceding from the North to create a new, independent state. But nor did he advocate for it. For him, secession was a last resort, an option to be taken only if everything else had failed ..."*

During the interviews with the participants it emerged that Garang wanted a united, secular state in Sudan. He did not espouse a fragmented Sudan. It is the opinion of the participants that unity was not made attractive by those that were entrusted to do so, especially after the death of Garang. Salva Kiir, the current President of South Sudan, preferred secession because it brought about status and other immediate benefits that go with the incumbency. Thus, some leaders led by President Salva Kiir as indicated above said that they voted for separation. While those opposed to secession felt that this vote was a betrayal of the ideals and vision that Garang stood for. Garang and the SPLM represented an existential threat to the dominance of the Arab tribes for Khartoum, thus his death brought great relief to them.

#### 4.5 Garang's inclusionist value system

Garang's value system was espoused in his vision for a united democratic Sudan based on equality and non-racialism. He also envisioned a unique Sudanese identity – a Sudan that takes the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of its people into consideration (Delaney, 2010: 3). The responses by the participants were as follows:

Participant No.1

*"...Garang was a political leader who had the capacity to bring people together through the use of traditional peace-building efforts. His intense use of traditional leaders paid dividends through his recruitment drive for the SPLA/M support. He also took advantage of the church's fear that South Sudan will be turned into a Muslim area and Sharia law. Through these methods the Southerners swell the ranks of the SPLA/M..."*

Participant No.2

*"... He was not only the leader of South Sudan for that matter; people assume that he was the leader of Africa. If he was alive maybe Africa would have changed. You know he believes in the peaceful transition of power to democracy..."*

Participant No.3

*"...Garang was a sort of political leader that always consults with his colleagues before a serious decision could be taken. He believes that this was important for building trust among the SPLA/M political leadership. In an effort for inclusivity Garang arranged for peace meeting led by traditional chiefs. The use of traditional peace-building techniques proved to be useful because they managed to significantly reduce conflicts and restored peace even though temporarily among the Dinka and the Nuer. The participant also indicated that the traditional Chiefs pride themselves for being capable of reconciling Garang and Machar including their followers..."*



Participant No.4

*“...When the dissident Anyanya II group refused to accept the formation of SPLA/M in 1983 and they decided to fight and joined Khartoum and SPLA-Nasir that was a break-away group from the SPLA/M. This group attempted to oust Garang in a coup led by Machar and Akol both from the Nuer community in 1991. This attempted coup exposed the deep ethnic divisions that existed within the SPLA/M. Garang was able to bring them back to the movement through his strong advocacy for national unity especially in the party...He indicated to them that it is only through our conviction that we can fight this just cause against Khartoum...”*

Participant No.5

*“...the first objective of the movement is to provide the system of governance that is inclusive of all nationalities and religion... We are all Sudanese... John Garang was inclusive of all nationalities in Sudan. What brought about separation was forced on us by the dictator in Khartoum...”*

Participant No.6

*“...He was very inclusive. The reason I say he was inclusive is because he introduced a regional balance in the leadership. So, we could say if asked he was a very unique person to me because he promoted people from other nationalities because of this issue of bringing balance. So, you could say he was very inclusive and he's the one who brought 25% women representation in the whole movement...”*

In light of the above remarks made by the participants, Garang can be said to be a unique and excellent inclusionist political leader. It is the testimony of the participants that he created regional balance in the leadership of the SPLA/M and allowed pluralistic views even if he had an opinion on a matter. He accommodated even those that wronged him and betrayed the struggle by joining forces with Khartoum. To him, Sudan belonged to all those that live in it, Arabs, blacks, Muslims and Christians.

## **4.6 Conclusion**

This chapter presented data collected from various members of the South Sudanese Armed Forces, the SPLA/M and politicians. There were several themes identified and discussed. The majority of the participants had a high regard for Garang as an inclusionist political leader. The interview reached saturation after the realisation that most of the participants were repeating the same facts and there was redundancy in this data because no new insights were emerging from the participants. The next chapter will provide a systematic analysis of Garang's leadership in terms of the competencies developed by Rotberg.

## CHAPTER 5

### GARANG THE TRANSFORMATIONAL POLITICAL LEADER

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will interpret and discuss the findings of the collected data with the aim of answering the objective of the study. The analysed data will endeavor to make sense of the interpreted facts in order to determine their importance or implications. Various themes were identified in the previous chapter that originated from the collected data which was based on semi-structured interviews conducted with the participants. These themes will be grouped and discussed contextually in this chapter to denote the true reflections of the participants in order to provide critical insights into Garang's political leadership. The analysis will be conducted in terms of the key competencies identified by Rotberg. This will help determine whether Garang represented the qualities befitting a transformative political leader like Nelson Mandela.

#### 5.2 The Visionary

In his commitment to the SPLM/A vision, Garang advocated for a united New Sudan free from the injustices of the past where all people have a sense of belonging. The diversities of the Sudanese need not be a source of conflict, and he made strong arguments in favour of unity in diversity. However, Garang declared that the unity of Sudan could only be attained and sustained if all stakeholders accepted that all Sudanese were equal owners of the country. He therefore challenged the government of Sudan to choose between Arabism and the unity of the country by saying that they cannot have both. Garang considered a united democratic secular Sudan as sacrosanct and that without a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious system, unity was impossible (Wondu, 2011: 137 - 144).

The participants attested to Garang's conviction for his vision of a united New Sudan by saying that this vision sought to embrace social justice and democracy in a new political dispensation in which all Sudanese were equal stakeholders irrespective of their race, ethnic affiliation and gender. They indicated that he wanted a secular state and

emphasised that if this would be accepted by the government of Sudan, there would be no reason to continue fighting. The request was rejected by Sudanese leaders whose legitimacy of power was through their religion. If they agreed to a secular state, they would lose the legitimacy and ultimately power.

According to Waihenya (2006: 25), the CPA was a result of a protracted and complicated peace process that took place between 2002 and 2004, led by Ali Osman Taha for the North and Garang for the South. The Western Troika consisting of Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development and Cooperation (IGAD). The Machakos Protocol, which outlined the fundamental principles of the peace deal, was announced on 2 July 2002, and marked a turning point in the discussions.

Garang's shrewdness was credited by Waihenya (2006: 25) by transforming Taha's hard stance into a genuine and loving connection. He had previously stated that he supported a constructive relationship with Sudan. There were three things that Garang insisted on during the negotiations, which he believed were non-negotiable provisions before the signing the CPA. The first was the continuation of the SPLA as an independent fighting force, as well as foreign support for its modernisation. The second was a vote on Southern independence, and the third was the oil revenue share. He argued that these three elements would determine whether the South had enough political strength and resources to protect itself from Northern pressure and force the CPA's implementation.

He was also compared to Kwame Nkrumah who was a brilliant politician and as a clever negotiator with an easygoing demeanor that made him a natural and popular leader. His political leadership is best exemplified by his role in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which served as a light of hope for the people of South Sudan. The CPA was the first document that was comprehensive consensus driven and had the buy-in from most of the stakeholders during the negotiations. Garang stuck largely to the agreements of the peace process. He never revealed in public information that was shared in confidence with him during the negotiating process. This information had the

potential to derail or threaten the peace process, especially regarding the security arrangement agreed during the talks that ultimately led to the signing of the CPA.

Garang was that leader who managed to seize the opportunity when it prevailed to champion the negotiation between the SPLA/M and Khartoum that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Some of the concessions made during the signing of the agreement included the question of the oil fields, the sharing of oil revenue and the border demarcation between 'North and South' Sudan including the Abyei region. His critics claim that the CPA was a badly negotiated document with many flaws, thus the current political situation (Natsios, 2012: 80 - 120).

It was also indicated that the fundamentals of the CPA were to make unity attractive, but if all else failed, then separation would be an option. They also acknowledged that they were not just fighting for the whole Sudan, but for a new Sudan. They indicated that Khartoum was warned by Garang that if they did not put Sharia Law aside, the two regions, 'North and South' had to separate. Garang put options forward for Khartoum in the CPA, he did not just demand a united Sudan. He indicated that if these options did not work then the SPLA/M would vote to separate from Sudan. For decades, the SPLM/A advocated for a New Sudan. The declared ideology of the SPLM/A was socialism; even though it was not included in the Movement's founding statement until 2008, when it was revised and included.

In a statement made in 2004 in the US, Garang indicated that he was aware that the New Sudan had been criticised by some people in the past as idealistic. He further said that the New Sudan had several dimensions that could address the fears of all the people of the Sudan (Johnson, 2003). He was aware of the deep-seated separatist sentiment among the SPLM/A, but he also knew that making secession the focal point for the Southern Sudanese would not get the SPLM/A backing, especially from Ethiopia whose leader Haile Mariam Mengistu was against separation (Nyaba, 1997). Thus, the vision had to also appeal to Northerners, the sub-region, Africa, and the world. This strategy or vision was important for the SPLM/A's global legitimacy to the international world. However, most importantly, the strategy had to appeal to the Southern Sudanese

because without them the SPLM/A fighting force would mean nothing, they had endured the brutality and marginalisation of successive Sudanese governments.

This vision found favour with the Southerners who felt that the government of Sudan was too authoritarian, too discriminative and too Islamic, and they gave the SPLA/M much support. It brought about a new sense of nationalism among the Southerners. It was Garang's belief that self-determination would address the central problem of inter-ethnic relations, inequalities of power, economic and political rights and the right to express and live one's faith. He seriously challenged the idea that one group's values be subjected to others, like those of the North who considered their values superior; he called for respect for the values of Southerners. This vision later formed an integral part of their SPLA/M destiny. He avoided fighting a war on religious grounds; instead, he concentrated on the Southern Sudanese's rights that had been trampled upon (Wondu, 2011: 137 - 144).

In his commitment to the vision, Garang would say that they are fighting for the whole Sudan because all Sudanese were marginalised including the North. He would also say that they had to be concerned with the whole Sudan because the marginalised people should not be used by Khartoum against them. The participants further highlighted that Garang's vision was for a democratic and pluralistic society where freedom and liberty were guaranteed to all regardless of race, gender, political affiliation, tribe, religion or region (Participant No.4. Interview. By Modise, SS. 28 April 2019).

Bennis and Nanus (2012: 175 - 187) once said that leaders do not impose a vision but share it with followers. Garang argued that past injustices would be addressed with the implementation of this vision, which catered for everyone. He criticised those opposed to this vision that he sometimes referred to as the New Sudan approach as a tactical manoeuvre to advocate for secession. He further contended that Sudan's unity could only be sustained when the country was united. Garang contested that the rulers of Sudan should not be allowed to choose Arabism over the unity of the country. The Sudanese National Islamic Front (NIF) hinted on several occasions that they were ready to allow the South to break-way if Garang abandoned the call for the New Sudan. Garang explained

to his followers that the mere fact that the NIF detested the concept of a New Sudan confirmed that they had touched the right button.

The government of Sudan worked very hard to ensure that the New Sudan vision did not get the necessary support by backing the separation of Sudan through the funding of Garang's opponents, led by Machar, within the SPLM/A. The Sudanese government's legitimacy was dependant on its religious onslaught on the rest of the Sudan. A united Sudan under the political leadership of the SPLM/A with their vision of the New Sudan would make Sudan lose its grip and legitimacy. Thus, they spent all their energies to ensure that unity was not attractive.

Garang did not espouse a fragmented Sudan. According to participant No.6, unity was not made attractive by those entrusted to promote it, especially after Garang's death. His accommodating vision recognised diversity and embraced social justice and democracy which are dearly needed, more than ever before, in Africa today. This vision addressed the questions of nationality and religion currently bedeviling the continent. It placed the socio-economic and political dispensation at the center, especially as it pertained to the interests of the poor and marginalised. According to Deng (1995: 515), Garang's nationalist ideology arose in response to Arab and Islamic nationalist agendas in Sudan. His approach promoted social togetherness among Sudanese while discouraging ethnic divisions. Garang went on to say that no single culture, area or ethnicity, should be used to define Sudan. His desire was for all Sudanese citizens to embrace all the country's cultures and unify under the common bond of being Sudanese.

### **5.3 The Mobilization Momentum**

Garang utilised charisma as a political leader to rally his followers behind their cause of defeating the mighty Sudanese government. He also ensured that his followers had a sense of belonging that enlarged the enterprise of the SPLA/M. As identified by Rotberg, these are crucial transformational competencies for political leaders to possess in order for them to be good leaders.

Garang was committed to the unity, and territorial and political integrity of the Sudan. He had the capacity to forgive and bring warring factions together. Even though he took up arms to fight the government of Sudan through the SPLA/M, he always trusted in the power of negotiations. He believed in the politics of consensus as a means to build trust and confidence. Garang relied on reconciliation as a method to bring about peace. He managed to bring his opponents into his leadership fold by creating regional representations. This helped him to cement his legitimacy among his followers. This was a consideration that gained admiration for him among both the Dinka and the Nuer. This is despite the propaganda that the government of Sudan used to discredit him and his movement as a Dinka movement (Participant No. 6. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

Garang's commitment and compassion was demonstrated when he took care of all ethnic groups in the SPLA, despite his movement being particularised as a Dinka movement, instead of being a Sudanese movement. His power was based on the will of the people to have peace. They believe that Sudan belongs to all Sudanese. He was also of the opinion that they had to be inclusive because separation was forced on them by Khartoum. Garang was able to bring in most of the opposition and get them to join the SPLA/M. Thus, they regarded him as a flexible political leader because he knew when to use pressure and when to use diplomacy on those who wanted to divide the movement. It is clear from the responses from the participants that Garang was a considerate political leader who prioritised reconciliation of the SPLA/M as one of his main objectives to defeat the government of Sudan.

Garang was a leader that was amenable to change and to accommodating others. This was demonstrated many a times when he reached out to Riek Machar who drove a wedge between himself and the national leadership of the SPLA/M and who also joined forces with Khartoum.

Given the history of the SPLA/M and their internal political rivalries along ethnic lines, Garang managed to turn cultural diversity into a national asset. He said in the past the South Sudanese had demonstrated their ability to unite around a single purpose, which was to defeat the Sudanese government. Therefore, according to him, the threats that



would derail their cause were tribalism and ensuing nepotism, corruption, and exclusion on ethnic grounds. He emphasized that the ethnic nations of South Sudan must be celebrated as a combination of symbols that bind the people of South Sudan together, making them both unique and related to the rest of black Africa or political groups. He introduced literacy classes in their military camps to teach cadres how to read and write. English and Arabic were the *lingua franca* used across the SPLM/A military camps as mediums of instruction. He advocated for servant leadership, or service to the people, as well as a leader's responsibility to empower, defend, and protect his subordinates. However, he failed to persuade the Darfuri rebels, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), to join under the SPLM umbrella and negotiate with the government of Sudan as a unified body. This initiative failed because it was not in the interest of Sudan to see the two movements unite, fearing that Sudan would lose a lot of ground if the two come together.

Thus, the North worked tirelessly to ensure that this did not happen by infiltrating the leadership of JEM to oppose any move aimed towards unity. In 2001, Garang and Machar resolved their differences, thus reuniting the two largest Southern warrior tribes in the SPLA. Garang offered his opponent the opportunity to be his second in charge. This happened after a brutal ethnic clash in the Upper Nile and the Bor areas. Many people saw Riek Machar as a Nuer tribal leader whose negotiations for peace would bear no fruit. (Participant No 4. Interview. By Modise, SS. 28 April 2019). Despite all this, Garang still apologised and took full responsibility for all the mistakes committed during the years of the national liberation struggle. This exudes a characteristic of a good and moral leader that people can trust, a vital competency identified by Rotberg for any political leader to possess. It must be indicated that very few leaders would take full responsibility for such actions and are more inclined to blame others – a prime example being Rwanda's incumbent president, Paul Kagame, alluded to in chapter two.

Garang would not want to be lauded for any achievement without recognising his comrades in the liberation struggle who are from all corners of the marginalized regions. This is because he knew that without their material and moral support, the SPLM/A could not have realised their freedom. Garang never took political differences personally. He

took strength from the deaths of his comrades, letting it deepen his determination to carry on with the struggle, lest the blood already spilt be in vain.

However, he relentlessly called on the Southerners to be masters of their own destiny, rather than being bystanders and mere spectators. Participant No 1 believed that Garang was skillful in holding the disparate factions of the SPLA together despite a few challenges posed by some leaders like Machar who always tried to break away from the party through the influence of Khartoum. This is a clear indication that Garang was committed to his enlarged vision that was the guiding principle for the struggle against the Sudanese government. He never deserted his people, he ensured that he always provided a sense of belonging and purpose for them to realise their full self-worth.

Garang did not betray the aspirations of the people of South Sudan; rather he fulfilled them through the independence of South Sudan. He compelled the South Sudanese to envision themselves in him, their grievances and aspirations in his speeches and writings. He also molded their devotion and dedication through his vision of a New Sudan which made them take up arms against Khartoum. He relentlessly called on the Southerners to be masters of their own destiny rather than being mere spectators of life. This call swelled the ranks of the SPLA as people sought to become their own liberators (PaanLuel, 2013: 11 - 27)

#### **5.4 Legitimacy**

Garang was a legitimate leader of the people of South Sudan and certainly a product of Southern nationalism, and indeed a veteran of the Anyanya One War that championed the independence of South Sudan. In 1992 Garang had a conversation with Steven Wondu, a Sudanese diplomat and patriot, about the concerns of his followers who wanted Southerners to seek independence. Garang indicated that the Southerners must remove emotions from the practical realities of the time, which demands war. Garang further pointed out to Wondu that he knew that the Southerners had a valid reason for their wish, but the strength of passion was not the same as the practicality that the SPLA had to first defeat the government of Sudan before entertaining the proposition of creating an independent and inclusive democratic Sudan. He was, however, loyal to the core ideals

of the pioneers of the South Sudanese Liberation Movement insofar as the goal was the liberation of the oppressed people of the South (Wondu, 2011: 137 - 144).

According to PaanLuel (2013: 11 - 27), Garang was the embodiment of a model of patriotism and nationalism, which were the first tiers of SPLM/A. These tiers were led by a group of committed, credible, complex, and energetic men and women who came to know the people of Sudan in their distinctive diversities that included ethnic, cultural, and religious groups. They were empathetic revolutionaries who understood love in terms of active, virile service to their own people in their suffering. Therefore, the aim of asking the participants' views on Garang's contribution to issues of reconciliation and ethnicity was to get an insight on their thoughts in these matters. It was their singular view that Garang was invigorated and empowered by the belief that those with whom he struggled with until the end, were solidly behind him. In him they saw the embodiment of their resolve and quest for freedom. He was like a messiah to the marginalised. South Sudanese and like the Biblical Moses; he has led them away from the bondage of Khartoum's discriminatory government (Baldo, 2017).

Garang's resolve, courage and tolerance were displayed when he decided to join his forces on the frontline rather than enjoy luxuries somewhere else. This deed raised his credibility and integrity among his followers, who were delighted to see him joining them at the front during the Bor Mutiny of 1983 that led to the formation of the SPLM/A. He was already a colonel in the Sudanese army along with other members of his underground movement that operated within the Sudan. He was in constant contact with his subordinates and did not hesitate to go into the trenches with them. He told Arop Madut-Arop, the former editor of the Heritage Newspaper based in Khartoum, that they were active from 1972 to 1982, strategising the formation and launch of the Peoples Revolution (Madut-Arop, 1987). Garang further indicated to Madut-Arop (1987) that their immediate task after the formation of the SPLM/A was to try and reorganise the scattered fighting forces and politicise and win their confidence in order to make them organic to the SPLA (Madut-Arop, 1987). Most of these scattered fighting forces were guerrilla units in the bush of Southern Sudan and insurgent forces of 104 and 105 Battalions who mutinied and deserted the Sudanese Army (Garang, 1994: 21). According to Garang, the

Khartoum regime attempted to create a monolithic Arab-Islamic state to the exclusion of various other Sudanese groups, this formed Sudan's core dilemma and defined the Sudanese conflict (Garang, 1994). He further emphasised that they took up arms to fight for equality. In line with his vision, Garang refused to allow the North to impose their cultures and Arab values that exclude African Sudanese from governance and marginalises them politically, economically and socially (Aleng, 2009).

The participants also indicated that it was only through the dedicated political leadership of Garang that they succeeded in effectively fighting the war of liberation. He also managed to skillfully negotiate the peace agreement with Khartoum that resulted in the signing of the CPA. His persistent bravery and strong vision for a New Sudan propelled him to give hope to the marginalised Sudanese for a brighter tomorrow (Participant No. 7. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

Garang cemented his legitimacy when he started to address his followers in their local languages and embraced their cultural diversity by wearing cultural attire when celebrating important events. This boosted his integrity because people started identifying him as one of them, thus reducing levels of suspicion that contributed to ethnic based political rivalry. Garang had vast knowledge and understanding of his people's cultures, languages and history. South Sudan has more than 60 cultural and linguistic groups, each of which has a stronger sense of their tribes than in their nation. Garang used this knowledge of the history of his people in his mobilisation momentum to ensure that the glue that binds them together is the history of their struggle for freedom and their collective opposition to the rule by Khartoum (Participant No. 6. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

## **5.5 Trust**

There was sincere trust and appreciation from his followers who had the conviction to follow and believe in him. Garang dedicated his entire life to opposing injustices from the time he burst on the South Sudanese political scene in 1972 (PaanLuel, 2013: 11 - 27). He was committed to the ongoing processes of societal change and focused on the

empowerment of his followers to become collaborative participants and embrace shared leadership. He managed to strike a balance between individual liberty and social duty, and to find new common ground in an increasingly diverse multicultural society. These values and goals were some of the challenges and dilemmas that Garang's leadership of the SPLA/M had to navigate in order to gain the trust of all the Southerners, especially while they were still in the bush (Participant No. 5. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

The SPLM/A always strived for an inclusive and transformative movement that focused on changing the political power structure in Sudan. Their fight also endeavoured for the creation of a united but transformed Sudan in which all religious and racial groups were equal in the country. The trust that Garang had among his followers made him call for an inclusive Sudan and this appealed to marginalised Sudanese in Northern Sudan and to some Arab intellectuals. He was aware of his people's aspirations for freedom and democracy.

His supporters believed that his beliefs and vision was the key to ending the country's long history of bigotry. They had a great desire to meet their self-actualisation requirements, which included being free of years of segregation and discrimination. Garang had the ability as a leader to translate his ideas into resilient and workable programmes of action. Thus, he transcended ethnic differences in the South that reinforced his vision for a unified Sudan by introducing inter-ethnic programmes that were aimed at directly initiating a healing process for both South Sudan and the SPLA/M.

The SPLM/A was founded by Southern Sudanese fighting against the Sudanese government's social, religious, economic and political discrimination, it expanded and changed itself into an inclusive and transformative movement with the purpose of changing the political power structure in Sudan. The strategy of the SPLM/A was to reposition itself as a nationalist movement rather than a regional movement. In 2002, Garang called for a complete overhaul of the Sudanese political dispensation, the restructuring of the government and the establishment of the New Sudan (Askou, 2014). This could not have happened if he did not have the trust of his followers.

Garang was the embodiment of the people of South Sudan's opposition and struggles against Khartoum and was the inspiration for their envisaged future. He was intrinsically opposed to divisiveness and secession, preferring togetherness, which he called Sudanism, in which no one is prized over the other. He also presented Sudan with a new identity that discouraged the mistreatment and abuse of people of all races, nationalities, and religions. According to Garang, secessionism is the outward manifestation of rulers' inherent divide and rule methods. It stalls the people's quest for peace and prosperity, weakening their fight by extending their pain (Garang, 1992:41).

It must also be indicated that Garang lived in a time that demanded martyrs who did not only offer their own blood but laid down their precious lives to pursue the freedom that is currently being enjoyed. In the process of pursuing his objectives, human rights violations were committed. However, Garang apologised for the mistakes committed during the liberation struggle and took full responsibility for the actions of his forces (Participant No. 4. Interview. By Modise, SS. 28 April 2019).

However, he also acknowledged his inability to persuade many Southern nationalists to join the struggle in solidarity with the SPLM/A across tribal lines. Rotberg indicates that trust depends on the reliance and credibility of the followers to their leader. While Benis (1989: 266 - 295), on the other hand, indicates that trust engenders loyalty and enhances legitimacy. Thus, when there is no trust between the leaders and followers, the legitimacy of those who govern become shallow. The religious and ethnic divisions in which people in the South of Sudan were socialized led to serious mistrust between tribal groupings that hampered the speed of their struggle. It required Garang to work harder to mobilise the masses and gain their trust. He managed to convey to the people that conflict was not between 'North and South', Africans and Arabs, Christians and Muslims. It was rather a conflict between the marginalised people of Sudan against the ruling clique in Khartoum that misused religious and racial instruments to advance and maintain their hold on power. According to the participants, to triumph in a protracted war against a vicious enemy like the "fascist Arab Islamist", Khartoum needed a person like Salva Kiir who exuded loyalty, determination, and sacrifice for the cause of the oppressed people of South Sudan and who was a natural and befitting successor to Garang to carry on where

he left off, to liberate the people (Participant No. 6. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

## **5.6 The Enlarged Enterprise**

Garang, just like Nelson Mandela, was a transformational political leader who used consensus-based decision-making to bring back and unite dissenting voices and opposition to buy into his idea of the New Sudan. He used his authority, authenticity, commitment, and mastery of communication to convey his consistent messages of unity to his followers and opposition. He advocated a united and pluralistic Sudan where everyone lives in harmony. The SPLA leader reiterated that he was fighting for the greater autonomy for all regions in Sudan and to end national Islamic laws in a country dominated by religion-based political parties. He further emphasised that these diversities need not be a source of conflict to disintegrate Sudan (Hoile, 2002: 88 - 98).

The interviewees also confirmed that Garang was resolute in his fight against tribalism in the ranks of the SPLA/M and regarded it as the enemy of the people. He was a consultative political leader who believed in consensus politics aimed at bringing people together irrespective of their nationalities. To address some of the problems of inclusivity, Garang urged Sudanese churches to play an active role in the peace process, as well as in their ministry of reconciliation and healing of the land, in their pastoral and ethical roles. He used his great business skill to bring the leaders and elders of the Dinka and Nuer communities together to discuss intercommunal conflicts. Meetings of traditional chiefs, church leaders and the broader society also facilitated and called on Garang and Machar, who were at loggerheads, to make peace and unite.

Garang was also not afraid to voice his disappointment to leaders like Machar, whom he termed regressive and self-serving, especially when they decided to collaborate with Khartoum when the SPLA was on the verge of capturing Juba in 1991. He condemned their actions as merchants of escapism and opportunism that stabbed the people's movement in the back. These leaders involved themselves in divisive and destructive politics at the expense of the people of South Sudan's freedom. The actions of these leaders frustrated Garang, and he despised them for valuing political positions and money

over the aspirations of the marginalised. Despite his criticism of these leaders, Garang never gave up on them, he always ensured that they were brought back to the SPLM/A. In a South-South reconciliation conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, he called on them to come back to the SPLM/A which he said was their home (Participant No. 5. Interview. By Modise, SS. 26 April 2019).

## **5.7 The Imperative of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation**

The CPA served as the basis for peace and reconciliation that recommended the formation of Peace Councils which were to be supervised by the international community and composed of all the stakeholders. These Councils reported on peace violations and sanctioned the violators and were relatively successful. The peace dividend, which was intended to be given by international partners, was, however, a glaring omission.

The agreement provided for the formation of community policing organisations, as well as the provision of radios for communication and humanitarian assistance. Displaced people began to return to their former residences. To replace what had been destroyed during hostilities, water sources, shelter, schools, and clinics were required. Food was required to assist people to settle in and for the host communities who shared what they had with the returnees. To escape the cycle of reliance on aid; food, seeds and tools were required. The international community provided only a small amount of aid. They failed to seize the opportunity to make peace attractive and provide basic necessities that were essential for the Southern Sudanese at that time (Ashworth, 2013).

In today's South Sudan, Garang is considered the country's founding father and a symbol of unification. He was a key figure in his people's battle, which culminated in the signing of the CPA through the SPLA/M. Even during his swearing-in ceremony, he did not accept all the accolades, instead congratulating the Sudanese people, emphasising that it was not his or el-Bashir's peace, but the Sudanese people's peace that was at stake. He was Sudan's first vice president for three weeks before dying in a helicopter crash on 30 July 2005.



The peace agreement called for a six-year transitional administration led by a government of national unity (GNU). He believed that for the people of Sudan to live together in harmony, social cohesion projects needed to be established to encourage people-to-people interaction in order to eliminate ethnic factions. Garang encouraged people to renounce the discriminatory practices that falsely define their characteristics into Arabs, black Africans, Islam or Christianity. He wished for residents to embrace all of Sudan's cultures and to unite under the banner of being Sudanese.

However, it should be noted that in 1991 and 2003, key SPLA commanders such as Riek Machar and Lam Akol attempted to depose Garang from the SPLA/M leadership. Because these two leaders were from the Nuer ethnic group, this exposed the SPLA's deep ethnic divisions. The administration in Khartoum used purposeful divide and rule strategies to maintain control over the Southern Sudanese peoples, exacerbating the organic divisions among the Southern Sudanese communities. The fundamental difference between these political leaders centered on separating from Sudan or forming a united secular state, the latter was espoused by Garang. Following the signing of the CPA, Kiir was reported to be unhappy with the amnesty granted to Machar and Akol following their coup attempts against Garang. Kiir was displeased with Garang's choice to appoint Machar as his deputy. As a result, Kiir threatened to lead an armed rebellion against South Sudan's government. (Participant No. 3. Interview. By Modise, SS. 27 April 2019).

The contribution of Garang in terms of his vision according to the participants will not go unnoticed in the political leadership of the continent. Like many political leaders in Africa, Garang could have opted to secede, or he could have followed the path of his predecessor, Joseph Lagu, who opted to head a puppet regime in the South in order to secure the benefits that come with political high office. Instead, he promoted a nationalist philosophy that resisted secession with the same zeal with which he attacked Khartoum's minority regimes. The African Union (AU) is opposed to the fragmentation of countries. It is the AU's belief that this phenomenon should always be discouraged, and unity should be made attractive. He made this obvious when he said that if someone wants to split up the Sudan, even in the North, he would battle them because the Sudan must remain

united and cannot be allowed to fall apart. According to him, Sudanese unity must be achieved no matter what (Participant No. 4. Interview. By Modise, SS. 28 April 2019).

## **5.8 Challenges encountered by Garang in the implementation of peace and reconciliation**

During his time as the political leader of the SPLA/M Garang dedicated a lot of time to keeping the SPLA/M together and building trust among communities. However, he recognised that dialogue is not monologue and that in order to achieve peace one must deal with individuals with whom one disagrees. He also acknowledged that the unity of purpose that kept the SPLM/A together as a political entity was driven more by its opposition to the North, despite political disagreements with opponents within the party.

Ethnicity was a factor in the division of the SPLA/M which resulted in the slaughter of thousands of people of the two main ethnic groups, the Dinka of Garang and the Nuer of Machar. Garang was considered as the face of moderation in Sudan, advocating for the country's unification unlike Machar, his opponent, who was always known to be a supporter of secession. Kiir did not express his secessionist views which could be regarded as a betrayal of trust by a comrade. Garang, of course, knew the deep-seated separatist sentiment among Southern Sudanese. However, he also knew that making separatism the rallying cry for the rights of Southern Sudanese would not win the SPLM/A support.

Despite the disagreement on the SPLA/M's vision, Garang also had a major task of reuniting the two main factions in the party. This drastically decreased people's suffering on the ground and accelerated an end to the civil war. The change of political leadership in Ethiopia in 1991, which led to the loss of support for the SPLA/M, did not help the situation either. The splinter group led by Machar was then supported by Khartoum to overthrow Garang, which led to traditional and church leaders calling for a conference for the two leaders to sign a cease fire. The underlying message from the conference to both Garang and Machar was to warn them that continuing conflicts among themselves, and their factions was unacceptable (Eisman, 2011). They further encouraged them to find a

common ground and unite for the benefit of the party and the people of Sudan. Thus, the unity of purpose, effort and ideals was the central message that was conveyed to the leaders at the conference (Ashworth, 2013: 63). The conference called all movements to immediately suspend hostilities and agree to open conversation in order to overcome political differences. They promoted self-determination as the key goal of the people's struggle for liberation. Uniting the Southern forces against Khartoum was a priority for Garang who subsequently signed a peace agreement with Machar's SPDF on 6 January 2002.

The conference also opened the way for the IGAD (the African regional grouping) sponsored negotiations which culminated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in January 2005. (CPA). This eventually led to a referendum in January 2011 and South Sudan's independence in July 2011. It should be noted, however, that the SPLM/A never created an ideology that was coherent and acceptable to its supporters because it was always beholden to Garang's needs (Young, 2005: 539).

## **5.9 Conclusion**

This chapter provided critical insights into Garang's political leadership through the application of key competencies identified by Rotberg. This helped the researcher to determine what Garang really fared well in with respect to each competency. The participants' responses and comments revealed the overwhelming leadership traits that Garang represented and his unique brand of political leadership. His leadership was not perfect; however, it could still be concluded that he was more than a consummate inclusionist who was accommodating and reconciliatory by nature. He advocated for a regional representation in the leadership of his party to ensure that all ethnic groups were represented in the SPLA/M which reflected a consummate inclusionist approach to political leadership. He introduced a culture of criticism and self-criticism at the military bases of the SPLA with the purpose of self-correction. All these were done with the utmost respect. Garang used to involve religious and traditional leaders in participating in conflict resolution mechanisms that involved himself and his opponents. Garang's political

leadership cannot necessarily be compared with that of Nelson Mandela because of the contrasting conditions in which they led their liberation movements. The latter led under conditions of constitutionality, rule of law and regular elections, while the former was leading an armed liberation movement who was pursuing political and economic goals with not much international support or institutions in place.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Conclusions**

This chapter gives an overview of all chapters and offers a conclusion to the dissertation in terms of whether it met the aim and objectives of the study. The study has investigated the extent to which Dr John Garang's political leadership contributed to peace and reconciliation in South Sudan. The signing of the CPA was a milestone that changed the lives of the people of South Sudan and led to a referendum and ultimately independence. The research makes a general contribution to the literature on political leadership in Africa. It advances and contributes to the understanding of an organic example of political leadership aligned to the five key competencies that Robert Rotberg identifies as crucial to positive transformation of state and society in the developing world. The study highlights the specific characteristics espoused by Garang that contributed to peacebuilding and reconciliation in South Sudan. Thus, cementing Garang as a consummate inclusionist similar to Nelson Mandela who was able to transcend cultural, religious, ethnic and regional differences. This particular quality as a political leader enabled Garang to influence members of the SPLM/A, warring ethnics groups, marginalised peoples from the North and South and various stakeholders towards realising a common vision.

#### **6.2 Critical Findings**

Trust was one of the political leadership qualities Garang possessed that he managed to use to convince participating stakeholders during negotiations for the signing of the CPA. This was vital during the conflict resolution process for all stakeholders to have buy-in for the success of the peace process. Trust between all the parties involved was often hard to come by, thus he used his charm to overcome the regular challenges that were encountered with his approach that peace-making was not for them, but for the ordinary people that paid the heavy price during the struggle. He once remarked that dialogue is a useful tool in resolving conflicts while reconciling groups and building confidence and trust among opponents. This is what he instituted in the SPLM/A when he was faced with

internal opposition and members who left the party to form a break-away group. He managed to lure them back by listening to their grievances and making concessions in the process.

Garang's approach to peacebuilding was always premised on the viewpoint that a lasting solution to a conflict must be deliberated, established and executed locally to fit the relevant environment. He believed that solutions to problems must be home-grown and should not be prescribed by external actors. Garang's view was that a local stakeholder approach offered a greater opportunity for sustainable peace because they would take ownership of the process. He emphasised that each conflict has its own unique context, thus a home-grown solution and mechanism had to be developed and agreed upon by local stakeholders. He consistently applied the principles of trust, inclusivity and ownership which stemmed from the lessons he learned as the political leader of the SPLM/A during the struggle against Khartoum. Garang successfully engaged with members of South Sudan's civil society, traditional and religious leaders to strengthen his legitimacy as a leader of society, moving beyond party politics. His mobilisation abilities inspired many and himself to be accepted by many organisations during the peace process and national dialogue.

This research also brought to light Garang's effective political leadership qualities that are crucial for a good political leader to possess like ensuring that members and followers have a sense of belonging to the national enterprise, in this case the SPLM/A. Ensuring that discrimination against anyone based on their region, ethnic group, religion, gender or any other bias whatsoever are not tolerated. The following critical findings also came to the fore during the study:

- Garang was regarded as a strong, inspirational, charismatic and visionary leader by his followers. He was a leader who insisted on the unity of the SPLA/M and strived towards reconciliation with dissidents in the party.

- He was completely dedicated to the fight for justice, peace and dignity for the Sudanese people. It was a fight to which he had dedicated his life and was willing to die for.
- His desire and vision were mostly realised with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which saw him being appointed first vice-president of Sudan and president of South Sudan under the new political order.
- He was a selfless and dedicated nationalist leader who dedicated his life to fighting for his people. As a result of his personal experiences and sacrifices, his ascension in the SPLM/A was shaped by his political worldview.
- He always maintained that the adversary was not North Sudan or Northerners, but the country's existing political system, which was slanted in favour of Arabs. Garang was an intuitive political leader who was in close contact with his followers and had the ability to gauge their political fatigue. Thus, he knew when to negotiate with the enemy.
- He understood his people's desire for freedom and democracy; thus, the South Sudanese came to regard him as the father of the nation and their symbol of opposition and protest against the North. Garang was the embodiment of the struggle of the South Sudanese and recognised the distinctive racial, cultural and religious diversities in his country. He always strived for the inclusion and full equality of all Southerners in the party. He conceded that the unity of South Sudan can only be attained and sustained if everyone accepted that all South Sudanese are equal owners of the country.
- His vision recognised diversity and embraced social justice and democracy which are dearly needed on the continent today. He opposed secession with the same zeal as he opposed the minority regimes of Sudan.
- He would never accept the sole credit for the liberation of South Sudan or for the signing of the CPA. Garang once said that making a lasting impact on people's lives must start at the surface level, but that true effectiveness requires

transcending all narrow and personal beliefs. Garang always conceded that he was not perfect or a superhuman. There is evidence that suggests that there were some intermittent clashes amongst factions within the SPLM/A that led to human rights violations. These clashes and squabbles did not impede them from reconciling their differences for the common goal of the liberation of South Sudan. He would apologise for the mistakes made and took full responsibility for all the mistakes committed during all the years of the national liberation struggle under his political leadership. This exudes a characteristic of good and moral leadership that people can trust which is a vital competency for a political leader to possess.

- For Garang, the unity of the SPLM/A was sacrosanct to his vision of a united secular state free from tribalism and based on trust, credibility and reliance. Thus, the creation of a South Sudan free from ethnic, cultural and religious discrimination was crucial for him. He insisted that divisions would only serve to destroy and weaken the just struggle of the people. He further said that the foundations of the SPLM/A were anchored on democratic principles in which equality, freedom, economic, social justice and respect for human rights are at the core. Garang's views on secession are clearly documented; he believed that secession was the perpetuation of the division of the people of the Sudan. He regarded secession as a mere manifestation of the inherent divide and rule tactics of the oppressor.
- Garang was unapologetic about his unity stance for Sudan; however there was overwhelming unanimity that Southern sentiment was towards secession. It was the view of the participants and literature reviewed that the majority of Southerners favoured secession over a united Sudan. This was mainly informed by their mistrust of the North and the suffering that they endured under Northern rule.
- Garang was consistent and persistent with his goals for a united New Sudan, despite some opposition from factions within the SPLA/M who collaborated with Khartoum from time to time.
- There was unanimity regarding the political leadership played by Garang in the SPLA/M and in South Sudan in general. The recognition for the role played by



Garang was also overwhelming among key international stakeholders who were involved in the initial stages of the transformation of South Sudan.

- Participants indicated that Garang was a leader that made sure that the views of the minority were included in the broader discourse. He even went to the extent of creating regional representation for the sake of inclusivity in the SPLM/A. Garang addressed the subject of South Sudan's self-determination, which is outlined in the CPA, by saying that he hopes it would be based on the people's free will. He also wished for Sudan's voluntary unity, which would preserve the dignity of all residents, regardless of ethnicity or religion. Garang's signing of the CPA in 2005 signaled the possibility of South Sudan's independence from the government of Sudan. The CPA was a comprehensive all-inclusive peace process that attempted to address the concerns of the South Sudanese.

Garang's political leadership qualities helped to bring peace and reconciliation to South Sudan in an inclusive manner, even though for just a short period of time. His qualities will surely be missed by the SPLA/M. During his leadership of the SPLA/M he managed to achieve relative success in achieving peace through his vision, actions and unique qualities. His influence in the rest of South Sudan inspired hope for the hopeless, especially his peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts. He commanded respect beyond the border of South Sudan. However, South Sudan's independence has opened opportunities for the South Sudanese to thrive and prosper, even though the current leadership is struggling to address the persistent inherent ethnic divisiveness that is deposing the unity of the country. Efforts are underway to establish mechanisms that will lead to a national dialogue for lasting peace. The post conflict Government of South Sudan initiated a process to establish the South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission to provide a framework for the implementation of reconciliation activities. The move was aimed at healing the country and establishing restorative justice for victims of the conflict. South Sudan has great potential to become a formidable country if they can overcome and harness their ethnic diversity and unite as they did during their vote for complete independence in January 2011.

### 6.3 Recommendations

It is therefore recommended that the following measures be implemented for lasting peace to be achieved:

- A fresh peace initiative, stimulated and guided by the South Sudanese with the assistance from the African Union and Inter-Governmental Authority on Development is needed.
- The international community can play an important role by leveraging on incentives relating to political support, economic and military assistance to those parties involved by encouraging them to reach a comprehensive political settlement that is viable for peace.
- That a time-specific cessation of hostilities could be tied directly to peace talks among the contending parties.
- The restoration of democracy must be an integral component of the comprehensive peace, because functioning democratic institutions are vital for lasting peace.
- High priority should be given to government institutions for assistance in capacity building and to political parties cooperating for the return to democracy including civil society groupings that demonstrate tolerance for diversity and respect for basic freedoms.
- The SPLA should be encouraged especially through the international community to democratise itself as a governing party and move away from military to civilian rule.
- The civil war has led to gross human rights abuses from all groupings and this constitutes hindrances to peace and reconciliation, thus the resolution to the conflict is important.
- The creation of an inter-ethnic mechanism to stop the fighting in the South and establish a Southern Sudan Peace Fund to encourage local peace agreements between the Dinka and Baggara communities in Bahr al-Ghazal and between Dinka and Nuer and within Nuer communities in the Upper Nile.

- Some of the worthwhile efforts would be to encourage support for independent media and providing radio broadcasting and Television equipment including the training thereof.

The most important assistance now for South Sudan is not arms transfers but the establishment of a semblance of the rule of law in its territories and build a civil administrative capacity. The restoration of democracy needs to be an integral component of any comprehensive peace for a functioning democracy.

#### **6.4 Future research**

Future research can explore this topic further by increasing the number of participants and by also obtaining the views of the opposition on the political leadership qualities of Garang. This will lead to a better understanding of political leadership qualities which could be valuable for the African continent. Rotberg's theories form a good foundation that can be developed further for political leadership for Africa. Therefore, further studies are needed in patterns on how state, culture, and governance traditions in Africa have an influence on political leadership styles. The research on the political leadership style and characteristics of Garang are needed to encourage future scholarly innovation. The five competencies of Rotberg can be explored further to determine further if Garang embodied all of them. A methodological perspective to the study should be conducted to find more generalised traits to the political leader that can add value to political leadership to the African continent.

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