

# Making Sense of Internal Divisions within the African National Congress and Democratic Alliance on the Eve of the 2024 South African General Election

There are many reasons why internal divisions exist within political parties. One of the most well-known is party conflict. Among other things, it can arise from changes in party size, fiscal stress, social fragmentation, and party contestation.<sup>1</sup> In the case of South Africa, there is strong evidence to suggest that the major political parties have been exposed to one or more of these stressors over the past decade. The African National Congress (ANC) is a good example. Recall the famous warning that the ANC was “hemorrhaging members,”<sup>2</sup> the recent raid on ANC headquarters over outstanding debts,<sup>3</sup> and the political contestation that has occurred within the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC).<sup>4</sup> In such an extremely stressful environment, it is not surprising that there is so much conflict and such strong internal divisions within the ANC.<sup>5</sup>

## *Contextual Environments*

When it comes to making sense of the internal divisions within a particular political party, one needs to understand the environments in which that political party is enmeshed.<sup>6</sup> This not only includes the internal transactional environment. It also includes the external transactional environment, internal contextual environment, and external contextual environment. The internal transactional environment is the set of its own actors and their relationships. In the case of the ANC, examples include Cyril Ramaphosa and Naledi Pandor. The external environment is the set of actors with whom its own actors interact and their relationships. In the case of the ANC, examples include Julius Malema and John Steenhuisen. They also include South African voters. The internal contextual environment are the internal factors that its own actors’ cannot easily influence. For a political party, an example would be the party’s history. The external contextual environment would be the external factors that its own actors’ cannot easily influence.<sup>7</sup> For a South African political party, an example would be Apartheid. Another would be South African demographics. Serious problems occur whenever one tries to make sense of internal divisions

<sup>1</sup> <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0263395716678878?journalCode=pola>

<sup>2</sup>

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-10-09/south-africa-s-anc-sheds-members-as-disillusionment-mounts>

<sup>3</sup>

<https://www.theafricareport.com/330222/south-africa-cash-scandal-dents-ancs-reputation-ahead-of-election/>

<sup>4</sup>

<https://theconversation.com/zuma-lives-to-fight-another-day-but-fallout-from-latest-revolt-will-live-on-69587>

<sup>7</sup>

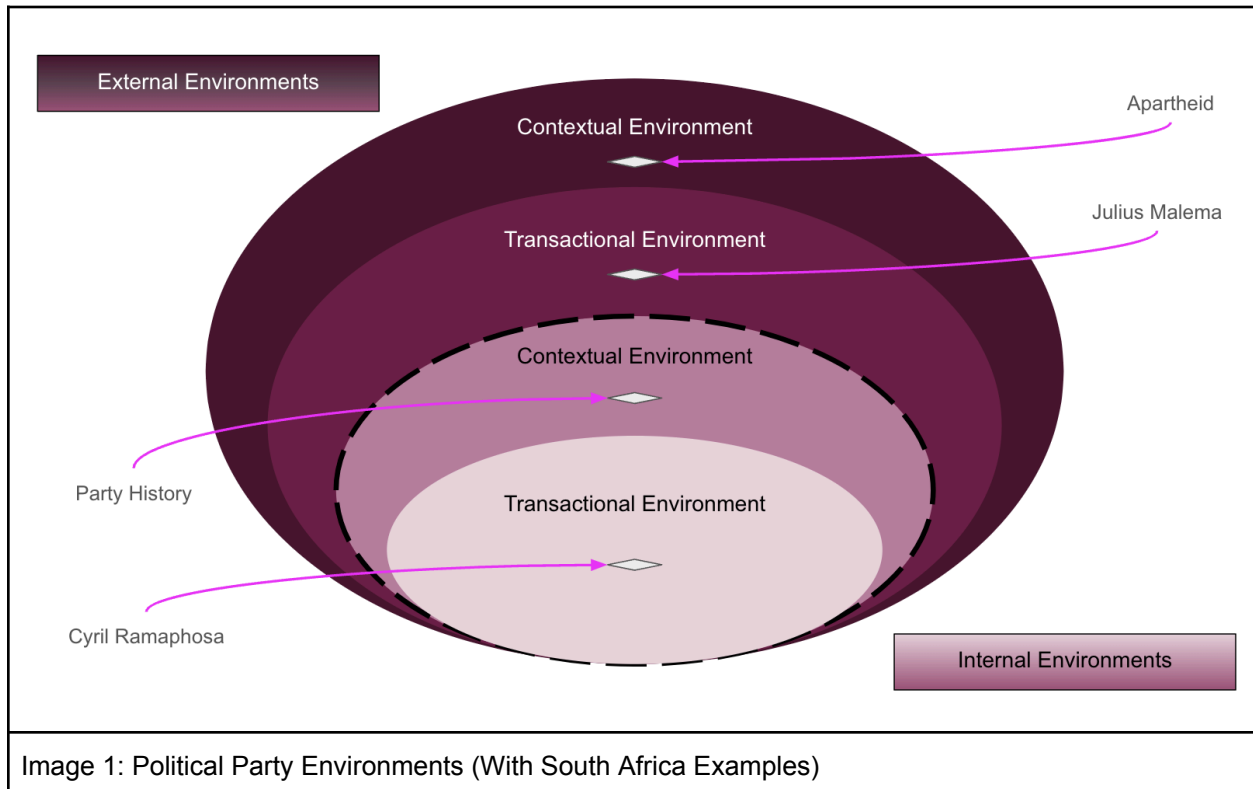
<sup>5</sup> <https://www.theafricareport.com/330827/south-africa-zumas-rebellion-threatens-ramaphosas-campaign/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://academic.oup.com/book/9616/chapter-abstract/156667475?redirectedFrom=fulltext>

<sup>7</sup>

[https://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/using-scenario-planning-to-reshape-strategy/?social\\_token=fb720ec066f422c14ece521622105c2f&utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_campaign=sm-direct](https://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/using-scenario-planning-to-reshape-strategy/?social_token=fb720ec066f422c14ece521622105c2f&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=sm-direct)

of a political party solely or disproportionately on the basis of an understanding of its transactional environments. The contextual environments also matter.



### *External Contextual Environment*

In the case of South Africa, the external contextual environment is particularly relevant to the internal divisions that exist within political parties. Apartheid was a wickedly divisive one-party dominant system. Through its control of the government, the National Party not only established an institutionalized system of segregation that was based on race. It used divide and rule and state-sponsored violence to sustain that system. By the end of Apartheid, the National Party had effectively splintered the various liberation movements into: 1) exiled members; 2) imprisoned members; 3) formerly imprisoned members; 4) underground members; 5) victims of assassination.<sup>8</sup> It also had subdivided the political system through the creation of “homelands” that were drawn along cultural and linguistic hard lines.<sup>9</sup> These were known as *bantustans* and they served what many would consider to be an evil purpose. They were an “administrative mechanism for removing blacks from the South African political system.”<sup>10</sup> For our present

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/hrvtrans/submit/anc2.htm#Appendix%201>

<sup>9</sup>

<https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/07/28/the-future-of-south-africa/in-south-african-geography-echoes-of-apartheid#:~:text=Apartheid%20geography%20was%20so%20finely,the%20prime%20ministe,r%20until%201966.>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48718238>

purposes, these divisions are relevant because they promoted extreme social fragmentation that continues to have an impact on post-Apartheid politics in South Africa.

### *Internal Contextual Environment - African National Congress*

In South Africa, the internal contextual environment is also particularly relevant to the internal divisions that exist within political parties. Consider the ANC. As I have argued elsewhere, there have been internal divisions within the ANC for a very long time. In other words, there have long been “camps within camps within camps.”<sup>11</sup> In the early years, there was disagreement over whether non-violent means could be used to achieve the desired end states of ANC members. Eventually, the ANC Youth League prosecuted a successful campaign that set the ANC on the path to transforming into a militant liberation movement.<sup>12</sup> Initially, the members were guided by the ANC Program of Action of 1949. However, that program was soon shelved in favor of the Freedom Charter. African nationalists opposed that move. Ultimately, this resulted in an institutional rupture. Some left the ANC and established the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

Internal divisions multiplied in the aftermath of the infamous Sharpeville Massacre. Under the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960, the Apartheid government banned the ANC and PAC. With little to no political space left to maneuver, many ANC and PAC leaders fled into exile, and the parties turned to armed struggle to advance their causes. Paramilitary wings were soon established. For example, the ANC established uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK). At the time, not everyone<sup>13,14</sup> agreed that “armed struggle was indispensable as part of the strategy for liberation.”<sup>15</sup> The Soweto Uprising Massacre of 1976 helped shift those perceptions.<sup>16</sup> Afterward, there was a significant escalation in the use of violence. That gave rise to further internal divisions. For example, there were internal disagreements over bombings and necklacings involving ANC / MK members.<sup>17</sup> There were also mutinies within the MK training camps in Angola. These were suppressed with extreme violence by the party.<sup>18</sup>

As the end of Apartheid neared, a policy window opened for transforming the ANC into a moderate political organization.<sup>19</sup> In 1994, the ANC achieved a landslide victory in the first democratic elections under universal suffrage. This was a remarkable achievement when you

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.fpri.org/article/2023/05/democracy-at-stake-in-south-africa/>

<sup>12</sup>

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/08/31/anc-accepts-blame-apologizes-for-torture-kill-ings-of-members/7fd2bb-13ee-4bc3-ad8f-24410ec5a02d/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://academic.oup.com/past/article/245/1/221/5580560>

<sup>14</sup>

[https://www.google.com/books/edition/Young\\_Mandela/JtUrG7W9jUYC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22There+is+still+room+for+the+old+methods+if+we+are+imaginative+and+determined+enough%22+kotane&pg=PT278&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Young_Mandela/JtUrG7W9jUYC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22There+is+still+room+for+the+old+methods+if+we+are+imaginative+and+determined+enough%22+kotane&pg=PT278&printsec=frontcover)

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.anc1912.org.za/defiance-campaign-1952-the-defiance-campaign-in-south-africa-recalled/#>

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.anc1912.org.za/defiance-campaign-1952-the-defiance-campaign-in-south-africa-recalled/#>

<sup>17</sup> <https://projects.kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/210-808-4551/SAR13-4opt.pdf#page=16>

<sup>18</sup> [https://sabctr.saha.org.za/glossary/anc\\_camps.htm](https://sabctr.saha.org.za/glossary/anc_camps.htm)

<sup>19</sup>

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1993/08/31/anc-accepts-blame-apologizes-for-torture-kill-ings-of-members/7fd2bb-13ee-4bc3-ad8f-24410ec5a02d/>

consider the deep social, political, and economic divisions that existed across the South African electorate and the internal divisions that existed within the ANC. For the next decade, Nelson Mandela provided the “glue” that held this deeply divided political institution together.<sup>20</sup> This was another remarkable achievement. The ANC was already political parties within political parties within a political party. Without Mandela’s leadership, it is difficult to imagine a single party dominant state emerging under the ANC. Look at how quickly serious infighting emerged once Mandela left office. If Mandela was glue, those who followed were rubbing alcohol.

By 2008, the ANC was facing the first of a series of post-Apartheid existential crises. Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma were locked in a longstanding power struggle for control of the party. Zuma famously prevailed. It helped that he had the support of the ANC Youth League. Facing purge, Mbeki loyalists left the ANC and founded the Congress of the People. Soon thereafter, the relationship between Zuma and the leader of the ANC Youth League, Julius Malema, soured. This gave rise to another power struggle for control of the party. Again, Zuma famously prevailed. Malema was expelled on the grounds that he had brought “the party in disrepute” and caused “rifts in the group.”<sup>21</sup> In response, he founded the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).

In 2016, Zuma faced a serious challenge. A complaint was lodged by the then leader of the Democratic Alliance, Mmusi Maimane, and others. In response, the Public Protector, Thuli Madonsela, launched an investigation into state capture by Zuma and the Guptas.<sup>22</sup> The public report revealed “alleged corruption and peddling of political influence”<sup>23</sup> by Zuma and his family.<sup>24</sup> This paved the way for Cyril Ramaphosa to be elected as the President of the ANC, which set the stage for yet another power struggle for control of the party. This time, Zuma did not prevail. At least in the short term. Zuma was recalled by the party.<sup>25</sup> Eventually, he resigned. In a plot twist worthy of Shakespeare, Zuma was replaced by Ramaphosa.

Following the Madonsela investigation, “internal bickering” seems to have increased within the ANC,<sup>26</sup> and more power struggles involving its senior leadership figures have emerged. One involved the ANC Secretary General, Ace Magashule, a supporter of Zuma. At the time, there were rumors that he was linked to the African Transformation Movement (ATM), which was

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<sup>20</sup>

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/08/nelson-mandela-death-anc-south-african-democracy>

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSJOE81303B/>

<sup>22</sup>

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-03-18/south-africa-s-opposition-da-seeks-zuma-graft-probe-over-guptas>

<sup>23</sup> alleged corruption and peddling of political influence in Zuma's government

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.france24.com/en/20160405-south-africa-zuma-survives-impeachment-vote>

<sup>25</sup>

<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/02/13/585285126/ruling-party-votes-to-recall-south-african-president-jacob-zuma#:~:text=Hourly%20News-,Ruling%20Party%20Votes%20To%20Recall%20South%20African%20President%20Jacob%20Zuma,he%20will%20cede%20power%20now.>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/10/31/us/ramaphosa-anc-south-africa.html>

described by some as “an alternative party to compete with the Cyril Ramaphosa-led ANC.”<sup>27,28</sup> Like Zuma, Magashule did not prevail. He was suspended and then expelled from the party over allegations of corruption, money laundering, and fraud.<sup>29,30</sup> In response, he founded the African Congress for Transformation (ACT).<sup>31</sup> Another targeted Ramaphosa. He was accused of corruption and money laundering by Arthur Fraser, a close associate of Zuma.<sup>32</sup> Ramaphosa survived this political proxy war. However, he was wounded in the process.<sup>33</sup> And that further weakened the ANC.

By the end of 2023, it was becoming clear that the ANC would struggle to win the upcoming general election outright.<sup>34</sup> Zuma may have many demerits. But lack of foresight is not one of them. Zuma sensed an opening and seized it. In December 2023, Zuma announced that he would not be campaigning for the ANC in the upcoming general election on the grounds that “[i]t would be a betrayal to campaign for the ANC of Ramaphosa.”<sup>35</sup> Instead, he declared that he would be backing the upstart uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) party. At the same time, he indicated that he would “die a member of the ANC.”<sup>36</sup> This announcement was the South African political equivalent of the shot heard round the world.<sup>37</sup> Almost overnight, it forced a total reassessment of the political fortunes of the ANC and Ramaphosa.<sup>38</sup> In response, the ANC suspended the party membership of Zuma, but it did not immediately expel him.<sup>39</sup> This played right into the

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<https://www.news24.com/news24/anc-expected-zuma-magashule-link-to-formation-of-opposition-party-at-m-20190505>

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<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2019-06-20-atm-president-denies-jacob-zuma-ace-magashule-had-a-hand-in-the-partys-formation/>

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<https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/south-africas-anc-suspends-secretary-general-magashule-eyewitness-news-2021-05-05/>

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<https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/south-africas-governing-anc-party-expels-former-top-official-2023-06-12/>

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<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2024-04-17-no-aces-to-play-magashules-party-among-five-to-lose-critical-candidate-lists-court-bid/>

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<https://www.theafricareport.com/246259/south-africas-president-cyril-ramaphosa-his-cows-and-the-case-of-the-hidden-millions/>

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<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/12/12/analysis-countdown-to-perdition-for-sas-ramaphosa-or-2nd-term>

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<https://www.ft.com/content/f6f12247-46fb-4fa6-bae2-b84d95fde830>

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<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/dec/16/jacob-zuma-withdraws-support-for-anc-in-run-up-to-2024-south-african-election#:~:text=The%20ANC%2C%20which%20led%20the,read%20at%20a%20press%20conference.>

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<https://www.polity.org.za/article/the-battle-for-the-soul-of-umkhonto-wesizwe-2023-12-18>

37

<https://www.history.com/news/what-was-the-shot-heard-round-the-world>

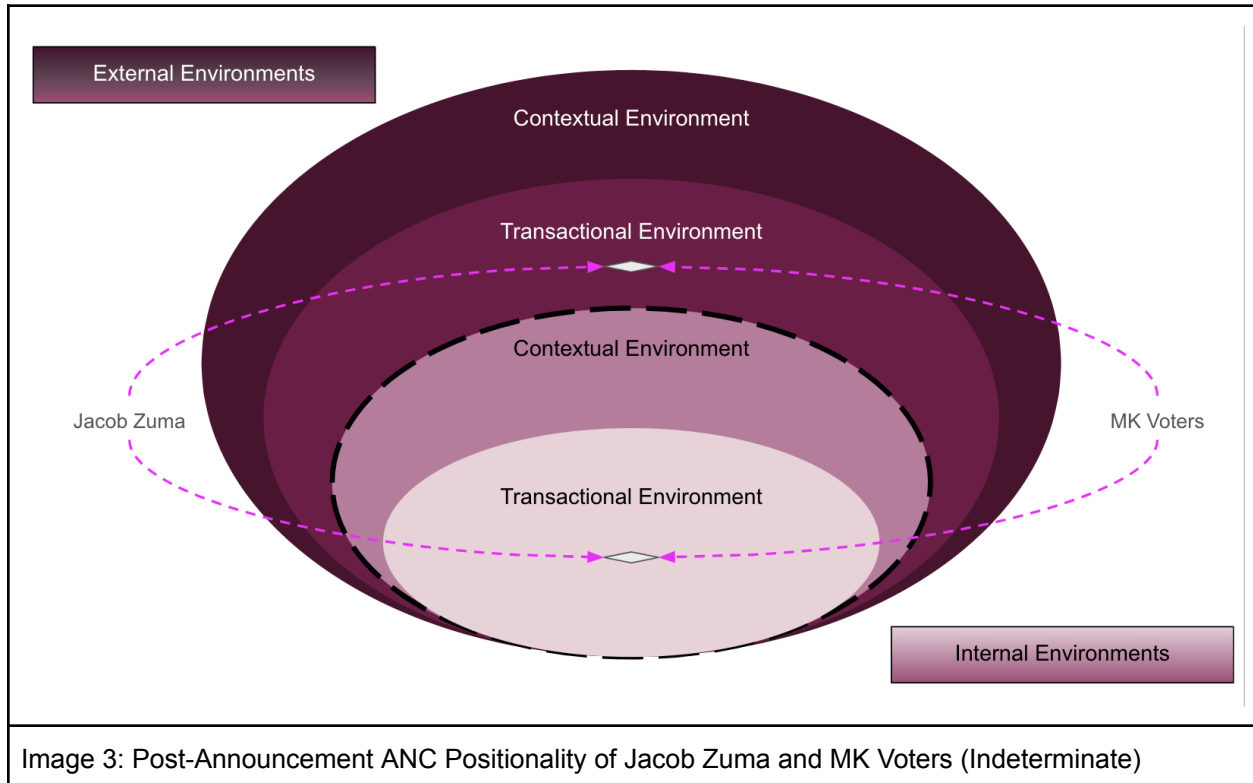
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<https://www.ft.com/content/5396ae18-9d00-48fc-939b-b160ee4d1296>

39

<https://apnews.com/article/south-africa-anc-zuma-suspended-7a0b25099fd7778a057f2b8fc52fefdf>

hands of Zuma. The failure to expel sent mixed signals to ANC members.<sup>40</sup> It sowed further divisions among ANC leaders.<sup>41</sup> And, it blurred the line between the ANC and MK party. Perhaps this was a strategic move by the party. An attempt to hedge between two factions? An attempt to leave the door open to post-election reconciliation? Either way, this decision was a game changer. The MK was not your standard opposition party. It was a party that would provide ANC members with an option to vote “for an ANC-derivative party against the ANC.”<sup>42</sup>



### *Internal Contextual Environment - Democratic Alliance*

The internal contextual environment is also relevant to the internal divisions that exist within other South African political parties. Consider the Democratic Alliance (DA), the official opposition party to the ANC.<sup>43</sup> There have been internal divisions within the DA from the very beginning. In 2000, the DA was effectively brought into existence through the merger of the Democratic Party (DP), Federal Alliance, and New National Party (NNP).<sup>44</sup> A year later, that

<sup>40</sup>

<https://www.theafricareport.com/342300/south-africa-despite-legal-challenges-zumas-mk-party-attracts-supporters/>

<sup>41</sup>

<https://www.news24.com/news24/politics/political-parties/jacob-zuma-should-have-been-expelled-says-anc-youth-league-20240131>

<sup>42</sup>

<https://theconversation.com/the-two-faces-of-jacob-zuma-former-south-african-president-campaigns-to-unseat-the-anc-he-once-led-who-supports-him-and-why-221505>

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Democratic-Alliance-political-party-South-Africa>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.da.org.za/why-the-da/history>



merger broke down when the NNP “left the alliance” in pursuit of “co-operative governance”<sup>45</sup> with the ANC across “all three spheres of government.”<sup>46</sup> In spite of this setback, the DA soon emerged as “the only viable alternative to the ANC.”<sup>47</sup> Under the leadership of Tony Leon, the party prosecuted a “fight back” campaign.<sup>48</sup> This was a controversial campaign. Some pundits have argued that it created the perception that the party “stood against social change.”<sup>49</sup> This made it difficult for the party to make “inroads into the black electorate.”<sup>50</sup>

In 2007, Leon stepped down. He was replaced by Helen Zille.<sup>51</sup> Under her leadership, the DA more “actively sought to attract black supporters.”<sup>52</sup> She even made a public commitment to making the party “more reflective of our rich racial, linguistic and cultural heritage.”<sup>53</sup> However, she simultaneously stirred controversy<sup>54</sup> with comments that many felt carried racist undertones<sup>55</sup> and disparagements of non-white leaders in the party,<sup>56</sup> including Lindiwe Mazibuko, once heralded as her protege.<sup>57</sup> These actions not only undermined the party’s ability to contest elections with multiracial party politics.<sup>58</sup> They provided fodder to opponents who “routinely” alleged that the party “was run by ‘racists’ and ‘fascists’ who wanted to bring back apartheid.”<sup>59</sup> Not surprisingly, political party affiliation continued to fall “mostly along racial lines,” with the DA being “supported primarily by white and mixed-race voters.”<sup>60</sup>

In 2015, Zille stepped down.<sup>61</sup> She was replaced by Maimane, the first and only black leader in the history of the party.<sup>62</sup> Within a year, there were signs of trouble. Kohler Barnard, a shadow minister, caused a major scandal by sharing a social media post that “praised apartheid President PW Botha.”<sup>63</sup> There were internal divisions on how to respond. In 2017, Zille added fuel to the fire when she published a series of social media posts that suggested “that not all

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Democratic-Alliance-political-party-South-Africa>

<sup>46</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/anc-nnp-coalition-on-the-cards-75920>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.da.org.za/why-the-da/history>

<sup>48</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2006-12-04-the-failures-of-tony-leon/>

<sup>49</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2006-12-04-the-failures-of-tony-leon/>

<sup>50</sup>

<https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2006-11-27-leon-to-step-down-saying-one-person-as-leader-for-too-long-unhealthy/>

<sup>51</sup> <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA500945.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/06/think-again-nelson-mandela/>

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/rss-news/zille-relaunching-the-da-as-the-party-of-governmen>

<sup>54</sup> <https://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-28-das-black-leaders-live-with-racism/>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/29/south-africa-racism-row-twitter>

<sup>56</sup> <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/06/think-again-nelson-mandela/>

<sup>57</sup> <https://www.iol.co.za/news/zilles-protege-aims-for-the-top-1145739>

<sup>58</sup> <https://foreignpolicy.com/2013/12/06/think-again-nelson-mandela/>

<sup>59</sup>

<https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/files/case-study-competition/20130322-The-Emergence-of-Racial-Politics-in-South-Africa.pdf>

<sup>60</sup> <https://theworld.org/stories/2013/08/15/race-divides-south-african-politics>

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.rappler.com/world/africa/89696-south-africa-opposition-leader-steps-down/>

<sup>62</sup>

<https://www.voanews.com/a/first-black-leader-elected-for-south-africas-main-opposition-party/2762660.html>

<sup>63</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34443820>

aspects of colonialism were bad.”<sup>64</sup> There were more internal divisions over how to respond. There was also political contestation. Maimane said that Zille “should have been removed from decision-making structures after she stepped down as party leader.”<sup>65</sup> These controversies should have shaken the DA to its core. They inflicted significant reputational harm on the party.<sup>66</sup> They also deepened internal divisions that already existed between the white and non-white members of the party.<sup>67</sup>

In 2016, Mazibudo pulled back the curtains on the internal divisions that exist in the DA. She went public with claims that the DA was infused with a “culture that isolates black members and leaders” and a system that ensures “the almost exclusive dominance of white males within the party’s ‘brains trust.’”<sup>68</sup> Her remarks put tremendous pressure on Maimane to address structural issues that promoted racial inequalities within the party.<sup>69</sup> For his part, Maimae spoke out against white privilege.<sup>70</sup> This was an incredibly risky move. In the short-term, it was bound to only deepen internal divisions within the party. Unsurprisingly, it led to strong blowback from senior party leaders, including those in the brain trust.<sup>71</sup> Maimae reportedly also “went to great lengths to weaken Helen Zille and Tony Leon’s perceived influence in the party.”<sup>72</sup> This included bringing in foreign external actors to try to change the culture and strategy of the organization.

In 2019, Maimane faced a major setback. The DA fared poorly in the general elections. It achieved only “one of four targets set in the run-up to the elections.”<sup>73</sup> These results provided an opportunity for his opponents to attack and remise. According to Zille, the root cause of these

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<sup>64</sup>

<https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/da-caucus-about-zille-tweets-tense-and-emotional-20170324-2>

<sup>65</sup>

<https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/news/2018-06-02-it-was-a-mistake-to-keep-zille-mmusi-maimane/>

<sup>66</sup>

<http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/PW-Botha-Facebook-post-caused-DA-massive-damage-20151102>

<sup>67</sup>

<https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/news/2018-06-02-it-was-a-mistake-to-keep-zille-mmusi-maimane/>

<sup>68</sup>

<https://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-28-das-black-leaders-live-with-racism/>

<sup>69</sup>

<https://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-28-das-black-leaders-live-with-racism/>

<sup>70</sup>

<https://www.news24.com/News24/mmusi-maimane-feels-pressure-as-white-privilege-race-row-rocks-da-20180506>

<sup>71</sup>

<https://www.news24.com/News24/mmusi-maimane-feels-pressure-as-white-privilege-race-row-rocks-da-20180506>

<sup>72</sup>

<https://mg.co.za/politics/2023-02-19-the-usa-maimane-and-the-da-how-mmusi-maimanes-plan-to-change-the-da-fell-apart/>

<sup>73</sup>

<https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/politics/2019-05-12-da-has-much-to-ponder-at-federal-executive-meeting-after-losing-support/>



stunning results<sup>74</sup> was that Maimane and his advisors “tried to turn the DA ‘Woke’ based on race essentialism and the politics of racial division.”<sup>75</sup> This glossed over the negative impact of the “outrage” caused by her own social media posts.<sup>76</sup> In the aftermath of the general elections, a three-person review panel was convened to “determine” what went wrong. Leon sat on the panel. In the eyes of his supporters, the cards were stacked against Maimane. Either way, the panel’s findings placed much of the blame on the shoulders of Maimane, who they described as “indecisive, inconsistent and conflict averse.”<sup>77</sup> They also recommended that the party “take urgent steps to re-engage disillusioned Afrikaans voters in an effort to win back their trust.”<sup>78</sup> This suggested that the party was less interested in challenging the ANC for an outright win in general elections and more interested in remaining the dominant party for white voters.

As one might expect, the report’s findings were the last straw for some high-level black leaders in the party. The mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba, was the first shoe to drop. He left the DA and founded ActionSA.<sup>79</sup> In his words, he could no longer reconcile himself “with a group of people who believe that race is irrelevant in the discussion of inequality and poverty in South Africa.”<sup>80</sup> In quick succession, Maimane was the second. He left the DA and founded Build One South Africa.<sup>81</sup> In his words, “it has become more and more clear to me that there exists those in the DA who do not see eye-to-eye with me, who do not share the vision for the party and the direction it was taking.”<sup>82</sup> Reflecting on these resignations, Mazibuko observed that “[i]t is quite clear that there’s quite an exodus of some of the most talented people in that organisation.”<sup>83</sup> She then provided her root cause assessment. In her words, the DA had been “captured by a

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<sup>74</sup>

<https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/politics/2019-05-12-da-has-much-to-ponder-at-federal-executive-meeting-after-losing-support/>

<sup>75</sup>

<https://mg.co.za/politics/2023-02-19-the-usa-maimane-and-the-da-how-mmusi-maimanes-plan-to-change-the-da-fell-apart/>

<sup>76</sup> <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/3/16/outrage-over-helen-zilles-colonialism-tweets>

<sup>77</sup> <https://cdn.da.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/29170634/Review-Panel-Report.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> <https://cdn.da.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/29170634/Review-Panel-Report.pdf>

<sup>79</sup>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/21/johannesburg-mayor-quits-over-das-stance-on-racial-inequality>

<sup>80</sup>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/21/johannesburg-mayor-quits-over-das-stance-on-racial-inequality>

<sup>81</sup>

<https://mg.co.za/politics/2022-09-24-mmusi-maimane-says-he-is-ready-to-be-south-africas-next-president/>

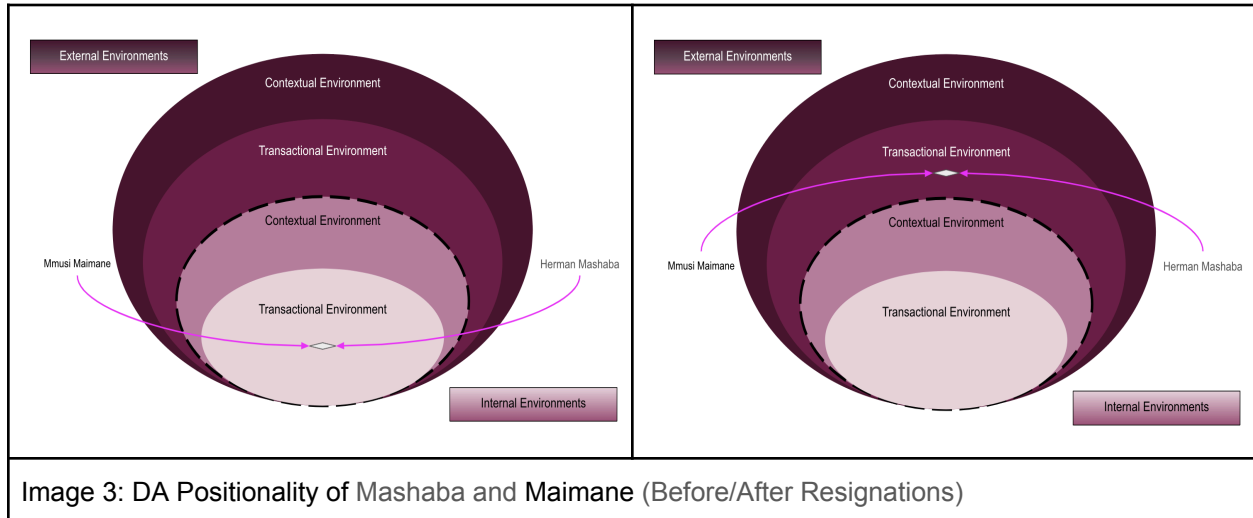
<sup>82</sup>

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/23/south-africas-mmusi-maimane-quits-as-democratic-alliance-leader>

<sup>83</sup>

<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2020-03-04-da-is-captured-by-a-certain-faction-and-i-wont-go-back-lindiwe-mazibuko/>

certain faction.”<sup>84</sup> That assessment suggests that Leon and Zille had achieved something that Zuma could not. They had re-captured the party from within.

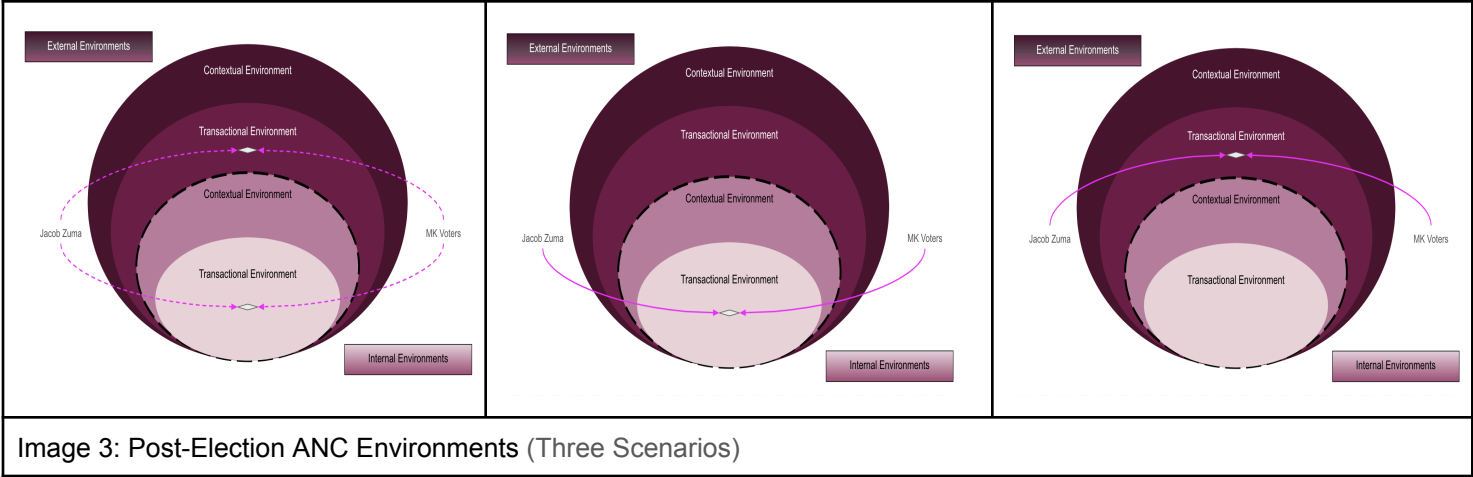


### *Upcoming General Elections*

The upcoming South African general election is likely to lead to significant changes in the transactional and contextual environments of South African political parties. The ANC is a good example. It remains to be seen if Zuma can recapture the ANC from Ramaphosa or if he will be permanently expelled from the party for his support of the MK party. Either way, it seems reasonable to expect that there will be much greater clarity around whether Zuma counts as an internal or external actor in the aftermath of the election. At a minimum, that would have a significant impact on the internal transactional environment of the ANC, which, in turn, would carry significant knock-on effects for the external transactional environments of the other South African political parties. The upcoming general election is therefore setting-up to become a world changer for South African politics. Whatever happens, it seems very unlikely that the internal divisions that currently exist within the ANC and other South African political parties will remain the same in the aftermath of the upcoming general election. New internal divisions are likely to be drawn. Others are likely to collapse. Still others are likely to harden/soften.

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<https://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2020-03-04-da-is-captured-by-a-certain-faction-and-i-wont-go-back-lin-diwe-mazibuko/>



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