

The Dearth of Democracy in South Africa: ANC's Factionalism, State Capture Inquiry, and Riots

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Abstract: The 2020 Covid 19 pandemic came with good and bad news across the globe. The South African government had its most challenging moment, which found intra-party elite cohesion over state capture inquiry and corruption triggering riots in Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal. In South Africa whether they will be democratic deepening or decay will be unveiled in the article proffering for alternative solutions to resolve future conflicts in the country. Nevertheless, the article did not dispute the institutional democracy in South Africa as one of the African leading democratic state. The research used the socio-economic and political psychological analysis to unveil the July 2021 riots in South Africa. An ethnographical approach was utilized to enrich the study phenomenon, gathering data through documentary review, and multimedia platforms.

Keywords: Dearth, democracy, factionalism, state capture, riots.

INTRODUCTION

Today's problems facing South Africa might have emanated from the factionalism rifts within the main revolutionary party ANC propagated during the Covid-19 pandemic (see Stiegler and Bouchard, 2020). Although internal party conflicts have a historical origin, the extreme intra-party polarization allegedly intensified during the 2017 -54th National Conference Presidential succession party disputes (The East African News, 2021). With Jacob Zuma's two-year Presidential term ending, there was no clear plan to succeed him. Hence, this created a perfect environment for ANC comrades to be almost equally divided between two giant housing groups. The two main factional groups were between former Zuma's wife, Dlamini Zuma, and Cyril Ramaphosa. The African patriarchal society and political dynamics favor the masculine, completely disregarding female leadership, which found few women participating in electoral party politics (see an online article by Aswath Komath, 2014). However, we have had a history of women African leadership: President Joyce Banda of Malawi from 2012 to 2014 and President-elect Sirleaf Ellen Johnson of Liberia from 2006 to 2018. Thus the conflicts in ANC culminated after the appointment of Ramaphosa as the party President. Recently, they are emerging factional disputes involving state institutions' pressure on ANC party members' corruptive activities and state capture inquiry (Reiersgard, 2021). The former party members Zuma and Magashule authoritarianism populism rhetoric created a perfect opportune for a pariah state-looting of private and public goods. The fear of

investing in the South African economy is still haunting many following the government's late response containing the mass looting in Gauteng and Kwazulu Natal. Furthermore, this involved racial-driven attacks, especially on the Indians, white-owned commercial businesses, and elite businesses linked to the Gupta's. Hence, democracy creates perfect chaos in nations globally. South Africa has found itself on the edge of state anarchism.

This research aims to detail the dynamic nature of the polarity within the South African revolutionary ruling party ANC and its impact on the socio-economic and political aspects of the state. By examining the two competing factions in the ANC between Ace Magashule and Zuma against Cyril Ramaphosa. At the same time, the sporadic mistrust, fear, and future conflicts within the ANC's main ruling party. The party will celebrate its third decade in power since 1994 while contesting for the seventh election in 2024. Argumentatively, most African revolutionary political parties have reached their ceiling of winning elections which factionalism in ANC might breed for a turnaround in the electorate. In this regard, the dynamic, chaotic rifts in the South African ruling party ANC are projected into a future state of mayhem. The 2021 massive mob looting is a true reflection of the future anarchy state of South Africa. The following sections shall detail the factionalism in ANC, state capture and corruption, riots in South Africa, and the projection of future riots.

THEORIZING DEMOCRACY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa was birthed out of democratic elections, which saw the African National Congress (ANC) in power and the end of the Apartheid regime in

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1994 under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. The country is considered among the few African democratic states having upheld human rights, separation of powers, parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, and competitive electoral democracy (Mathonsi and Sithole, 2018). Accordingly, the doctrine of democracy by John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Madison, Locke, and Machiavelli, among other scholars, involves direct or indirect democratic process encapsulated in maximalist and minimalist institutional horizontal and vertical accountability perspective (see, for example, Adam and Dyson 2007; Slater 2013; Slater and Arugay, 2018; McCormick, 2011). In the 1990s, the African continent was hit by the first democratic wave, which found democratic growth in countries adopting human rights and electoral democratic principles.

The separation of powers denotes the independence of the judiciary, legislature, and the executive three arms of government (Montesquieu, 1748; Locke, 1989; Rousseau, 1997). The legislature promulgates the laws, the judiciary acts as the law enforcer, and the executive approves the laws (having the veto powers). In this regard, there is no genuine or pragmatic separation of powers in young and mature democratic states to date globally. However, states are considered more democratic than others. The fusion of power in the arms of government found the executive involvement in the promulgation and approval of the bill of law, policy formulation, and appointment of judges. South Africa government has elements of separation of powers, having the independent judiciary system towards upholding transparency and accountability. The same goes with the promulgation of policies and laws that goes through the parliamentary board procedures. Following the Zuma trial and the land question in South Africa, there have been transparency and accountability in the process. Most African countries seek to emulate the South African typical democratic principles. However, literature hasn't yet justified the level of democracy in South Africa. In this case, South Africa can fall between not being considered a young or mature democratic state.

In an electoral democratic state, political parties play a crucial role in the democratic deepening or decay. The issue of political polarization plays a crucial role in this end, having intra-or inter-party polarization, which can ensure quality policy formulation and law promulgation. Downs (1957) analyzed this in the consensus and dissensus or conflicted analytical, theoretical framework to grasp the nature of polarity in

American politics. The conflicting intra-party politics ensure elite coercion, resulting in a coup or mass rioting turning a state into democratic decay or possibly democratic deepening. The American 2020 elections marked dissensus among the elites and people over the electoral outcome, resulting in riots in the country involving looting and Covid-19 regulation violations. Democracy, according to John Adams, "never, last long, it soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself, there was never a democracy yet that did not commit suicide." His analysis concurs with Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) that "the drift into authoritarianism doesn't always set alarm bells, and citizens are often slow to realize that their democracy is being dismantled even as it happens; before their eyes." The South African Zuma and Magashule's populist rhetoric drove people to yield to an undemocratic revolution against the rule of law following the constitutionality or law-bound riot procedure. The same authoritarian populist rhetoric goes with Donald Trump, who turned the state into mayhem by disputing the 2020 electoral outcomes erupted into riots.

The proponents of republicanism or participatory democracy, including Machiavelli and Madison, made it clear on the involvement of the mass in policy formulation and law-making. In this regard, the masses' active participation in state affairs can guarantee regime stability. The masses' concerns, in this regard, are entertained and embraced in the economic policy formulation. Hence, this ensures horizontal and vertical accountability as the legal institutions are controlled not by elites but the masses exempted from power. In this regard, the mass will guarantee transparency and accountability of public affairs, including government revenue and spending, judiciary system, and human rights promotion and by extension bounding by the rule of law.

In the writings of Henry Thoreau, he pointed out civil disobedience as means of protest in a non-violent way. This concurs with the writings of Gandhi, whose centric theory was on the non-violent protest, which inspired the first failed South African revolution in the colonial era Apartheid regime. None the less, it is not always the case that protests are non-violent. The South African protest have seemingly found violence from institutional to national level. Democracy will birth authoritarianism or democratic deepening in both young and established or mature democratic states (Carothers and O'Donoghue, 2019). Hence, democracy accordingly found itself in the battle of the odds with authoritarianism, which saw the global world

impacted with an autocratic governance system in the Covid-19 era. The shift and turns in the Covid-19 unveiled the undemocratic nature of politics in democratic states.

Adding on the above, the elite politics in democratic states have found business and power in the hands of the few creating an archetype oligarchic regime. In this case, it is towards authoritarianism. The politics of state capture emerges to safeguard the elite party through business enterprise's engagement in state economic affairs. The state capture phenomenon denotes the undemocratic merging of the public business with private individuals to benefit the regime in power or elites in authority. Hence, state capture in South Africa created economic disparities, which Southall (2019) prophesied to lead to democratic deepening or decay. However, Zuma's state capture inquiry yielded the fruits of undemocratic ends in the procedure of adjudicating over the court case.

CHASING/KICKING THE OLD HORSES OUT

The politics of chasing/kicking the old horses are not new, especially when they are found not worth saving the party interest and their masters. Yet, they can be future potential threats to their former elites in power. South African politics is one of that kind in which the kicked-out old comrades might potentially weaken the party from outside through influencing internal party members. Similarly, the Zimbabwean factionalism conflicts are a myriad of suspension and elimination of ZANU-PF party members. In short, this resulted in external Jo'burg Mnangagwa's successive roadmap plan influencing the Chiwenga military coup that disposed of Mugabe. Hence, this found what Southall termed the Croc in Bob out and the exile of the G-40 factional party members (Southall, 2018). Although the South African political system is a different story to tell, the factional rifts in the ANC have weakened the party and further polarized party supporter's relations. Following the corruption allegation and the Zondo Commission of Inquiry, Zuma and Magashule felt abandoned by their fellow comrades (see, for example, Munhuweyi 2022a). They turned the whole state into a thuggery theatre from Zuma's speech on the 5th of July 2021 and his appeal before the court. Both Magashule and Zuma have been involved in scandalous activities.

All over the news, Ace Magashule was suspended from the ANC party following corruption scandals during the first wave Covid-19 pandemic involving

personal protective equipment (PPE) and relief fund fraud allegations. As the ANC secretary-general, Magashule awarded a tender of R2, 7 million to his sons Tshepiso and Thato and his Business associate Isaac "Blacky" Seoe to render Covid-19 goods and services (Eyewitness News, 2020; Myburgh, 2018). The constitutionality challenge of the suspension of Magashule from ANC had repercussions on the stability of the party. Magashule claimed that 'Cyril Ramaphosa, you are corrupt and guilty of corruption (News 365, 2021). In a further statement, he stated that ANC is premised on accepting the theory motivated by anticorruption crusades and evangelism. The suspension was motivated by nothing other than factionalism. Having been known the corruptive activities within the ANC party members, the President's salience was claimed as a crime. Magashule was further charged with a R255-million Free State asbestos removal saga (see Myburgh, 2019). If someone is to coincide the twin brother Magashule and Zuma corrupt scandals, it brings to effect why they were demonstrating against Ramaphosa. On the other hand, Zuma has been blamed for building a heavenly home Nkandla, the Gupta state capture, and illicit business deals (see Myburgh, 2017). In a book, Ganger State, Myburgh revealed amongst the culprits Zuma and Magashule's state capture and corruption scandals. Hence, this alludes to why Magashule and other Zuma loyalist friends rallied for a free Zuma campaign.

With overwhelming evidence on Zuma's allegation, including the Dubai Mansion worth R330-million bought by Gupta's. Detailed Gupta Leaks between 100 000 and 200 000 emails and other documents relating to the state capture of South Africa were revealed by the investigating unit amaBhungane and Daily Maverick (Business Tech 2017). But the fact will remain on the probability of South African authorities dealing with the Gupta family influence and state capture phenomenon. There is a symbiosis among the Gupta family, and ANC party members unveiled, although there is a thin apocalyptic analysis in the literature 12 (see also Munhuweyi, 2022b analysis of the Chinese involvement in Zimbabwe and state capture dynamics).

Jacob Zuma was summoned to appear before the court; knowing that evidence was overwhelming, he failed to appear. With the contempt or defiance of the Constitutional Court, Zuma was supposed to surrender himself to responsible authorities for a 15-months prison sentence. Mpofo Darlington being Zuma's court representative challenged that the matter was

supposed to be heard in the Supreme Court and not the Constitutional Court. Furthermore, he claimed that Zuma had underlying debilitating health conditions and that Chief Judge Zondo was partial over the court case. The court trial presided over Zuma's term of office from 2009 to 2018 and the influence of the Gupta family in the South African socio-economic and political aspects (Wocke *et al.* 2020).

Both Magashule and Zuma claimed that the ANC had sidelined the unity movement and legacies of the party by unconstitutionally suspending party members without following due procedures (SABC News, 2021). The DA opposition party called for Zuma's arrest while the EFF scheduled a tea date in Nkandla, which Zuma receded (IOL News, 2021). Predictably the EFF was speaking that Zuma would be soon out of the quagmire of corruption trials. Having defied the court order, Zuma, sided by Magashule, staged a theatrical state film of chaos erupted into a mayhem looting of private and public goods. The Constitutional Court claimed that;

"It seems that Mr Zuma considers himself to be above the law and the Constitution. The commission reiterates that in terms of the Constitution, everyone is equal before the law. This constitution guarantee must be given effect to" (*ibid*).

The DA opposition members called the police to arrest Jacob Zuma for court defiance supporting the above. In which they noted that;

"Urgent steps also need to be taken by law enforcement agencies now to ensure this complaint is registered and, moreover, that Zuma is compelled to testify during his scheduled appearance for the week of 15-19 February. If Zuma is allowed to continue this contemptuous behavior, it will entrench a perception that he is above the law," said DA spokesperson Glynnis Breyenbach (ILO News, 2021).

Yet Magashule contested the argument from the Constitutional Court and all opposing political parties which he noted that;

"What has Mr. Zuma done now? Why should we suspend a person who believes in what he believes? President Zuma has the right to do whatever he wants to do. So don't make me talk on behalf of President Zuma."

Most autocracies that rule with constitutions have proven to be above the law and constitutions. Executive abuse of power in democratic states has presided as the politics of the day. In this regard, democracy will soon emerge into chaos or a pariah state. The Guptarism or Guptarization of South African politics is a long-standing history. They did not emerge during Zuma's office term but wanted ANC's political backing of their illicit deals. In fear of their machinations, the Gupta family or business cartel elites hand-joined with Zuma, who got trapped in the snare? However, the Gupta did not wake in billions of rands accumulation but had a long history before the independence of South Africa in 1994. The South African economy is clouded with colonial settler race dominance in the economic sector, which drives the politics of the day involving the pre-independence Apartheid regime. The colonial legacies of injustice and racism to date are factors considered influencing the current politics. Thus, although Zuma is the center of Guptarism state capture, it's a historic dynamic process from pre-colonial injustices. Hence, this brought us to conclude that the big men (business elites operations) are the ones who control the economy, yet they are not in power when it comes to South African politics.

The Constitutional Court and State Capture Inquiry turned to be a dramatic event, with Mpfu Dali failing to give substantiative facts in due process and improper questioning. Yet the old man was dying in prison, having been reported to have underlying health conditions. Before then, people were ready to defend the former President from arrest. Similarly to the Donald Trump 2021 American elections scenario in which masses rallied behind the big man. Their (respectively Trump, Zuma, and Magashule) psychological speech effects on the masses contributed to demonstrations in America and looting in South Africa. South Africa, for a moment, froze to be a stateless society that found people looting goods, including electric appliances, food, and liquor, from private and public sector operations. Is it a matter of Guptarism or the socio-economic, psychological inhuman behavior that drove the mob?

THE MOB AND ANIMOSITY BEHAVIOR

In many ways akin to the failing state, the mob has been known to withstand taking matters into their hands. In the context of this study, I defined mob looting as the state's socio-economic and political Covid-19 challenges propagated violence influenced through factionalism rifts and racial inequalities in

South Africa. Southall 2019 precisely observed the polarity along or founded on economic disparities along racial boundaries in South Africa. Hence Mob justice has a diversified examination from cultural, social, political, and historical settings. Traynor *et al.* (2020) analyzed that the mob takes control when the government and law enforcers are ineffective and untrustworthy. However, the case of the South Africa government is not of a falling government but factionalism and racial inequalities. The racial inequalities date back to the bureaucratic authoritarianism governance system of the Apartheid regime (Wintrobe, 1998).

They are theories utilized in analyzing the mob's psychological behavior, including Le Bon's, McDougall's, Freud's, Allport's, and Turner's theories (see, for example, Lama, 2021). In this regard, there is a mob or crowd-driven psychological behavior as proposed by Le Bon. The psychological and sociological analysts posited that in most cases, the mass-driven uprisings or riots are not individualistic but a bonded group ideal (Festinger *et al.*, 1952). The South African 2021 riots took the root of group propagated riots that led to private and public goods looting. Le Bon further examined the crowd's uprisings are further aroused by a common bond, anonymity, verbal, and symbols. Thus people are hypnotized into acting unconsciously (barbaric) of their acts. A clear indication was the photos, which showed inhuman driven eating and drinking of alcohol and cakes and breaking in the shopping malls. Humans and animals are alike; what distinguishes them is reasoning. However, looking at the institutional level uprisings in South Africa, including the University of Fort Hare, University of Witwatersrand, and Water Sisulu University. The projection of future uprisings from a micro (local or university level) to the macro-level (national level) is predictably higher as institutional uprisings or unrest influences the national uprisings.

From the above, the group mind controls the acts of the riots into fulfilling the intentions of their demonstrations independent of their isolated conscience. Hence, Le Bon summed this involving anonymous emergence of the crowds, the contagion of the riots, and the subordination of the individual mind, which is practically similar to McDougall's (1920) theory. In contrast, Allport (1924) criticized the sympathetic induction of emotion and behavior. Humans in groups have the same response heightened through common stimulus and the principle of inner stimulation.

In support of the above, Feud (1959) examined that what keeps the group together is a love relationship or emotional ties in the principle of group psychology. He said that "there is no doubt that something exists in us which, when we became aware of signs of emotion;... how often do we not successfully oppose it, resist the feeling, and react quite the opposite way?" And yet, humans give up on this contagion when they are a group, which can be suppressed or uncontained within a state. In 2012 the South African Police Service (SAPS) opened fire on striking mineworkers, killing 34, arresting 250, and leaving 78 seriously injured. Propagated by the demand for higher wages by the mineworkers, the demonstration was unauthorized by the trade-unionist leader National Union for Miners (NUM). Three thousand workers went on strike without following due procedures. It is proven that the mob can strike outside the ambits of the authorization by governing board or trade union, often leading or tantamount to repressive security action (Tolsi and Botes, 2015).

However, Ralf Turner (1964) has gone beyond the psychological explanation of crowd behavior. In a violent and dangerous crowd behavior, social interaction builds the networking system of that group's behavior. Hence, psychological group behavior has now taken a new stance of explanation involving social constructs group behaviors concurs in the scholarly thought of social group behavior. Although other long factors influenced the occurrence, the state capture inquiry Jacob Zuma case sparked the South African protest. Similarly, in World War 1, the Sarajevo assassination sparked the war, yet they are many causes of the first world war. In France, in the 1970s, mob uprisings under the Directory were silenced by bullets under the command of Napoleon Bonaparte, known as the Whip of Grape Shot. Yet Marie Antonette, before the revolutionary movement in France, promised mass cakes, and mob uprisings were uncontained.

The South African demonstrations of 2021 marked the death of 300 people, which was the worst ever recorded after the 1994 civil unrest. Hence this found a loss of an estimated R50 billion, risking 50 000 jobs (BusinessTech, 2021). Thus the South African civil unrest in 2021 might potentially contribute to future state conflicts. In this regard, we can not undermine the micro-institutional level demonstrations that feed the national furor. Potential threats globally are expected to rise -arising from the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and rise in inflation levels. The next section will analyze

the projection of future conflicts in South Africa in a bid to detail future conflicts prospects.

PROJECTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE RIOTS

The global pandemic covid 19 propagated civil unrest globally due to rising unemployment, retrenchment of workers, food shortages, and inflation. South African has been predicted by 25% to be a failed state following the rand's decline from the perspective of LSD (look, see and decide) (see an online article by Sunter). Similarly, the economy of South Africa is mainly influenced by inequalities consolidating 20% of the richest people controlling 70% of the country's assets and resources, while 10% wealthiest own more than half the national income (Global Citizen, 2021). The economic disparities have worsened due to the Covid-19 pandemic which most South Africans fell under the poverty datum line. Hence, this created a perfect environment for the 10th of July 2021 protests, which escalated into looting shops and malls, destruction of property, and loss of lives in the crossfire. Thus the national cake of South Africa is enjoyed by a few business elites, yet the majority are failing to let ends meet. The situation of racial inequalities stand-alone will breed future riots.

Accordingly, the 2020 United Nations Human Development Report indicated one in five South African lives a day survives on R28 (\$1.90) (Global Citizen, 2021). During the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, more than 2 million people lost their jobs, increasing the rate of inequality in the country (BusinessTech, 2021). Hence the riots were influenced by economic and social disparities more than the political issues of freeing former President Zuma's campaign. On the 13th of July 2021, president Ramaphosa deployed the South African National Defense Force (SANDF). The occurrences resulted in the death of 45 people (Global Citizen, 2021). The looting was intensified in KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng provinces involving, gunfire exchanges between demonstrators and the SANDF.

Under a title, a terrifying vision of South Africa, Niall Reddy (2021) analyzed that "the left can't find a way to channel popular discontentment into the building of progressive mass movements; it will instead morph into anarchy, nativism, and inevitably authoritarianism." A political shockwave that hit South Africa and the globe recently is the Covid-19 pandemic which contributed to the unemployment rate increase in the country rising to 42% (ibid). The third wave was unexpectedly predicted,

which triggered a rise in prices of basic commodities. Yet South Africa's challenges have a long history from state capture, corruption, and mismanagement of government resources from independence 1994.

The link between the Zuma and Gupta family state capture has been outlined as the Zupta's. The Zupta campaign elements during the state capture inquiry and resistance of the mass over Zuma's arrest necessitated state chaos. Yet, they were other people who never had a connection with the Zupta's, amongst the riots securing food and basic necessities-which was termed a bread riot. Riots have been seen taking precedence globally, including France in April 1789, Barcelona -Spain in 2019, and Tunisia in 2011 food riots. Hence, riots across the globe have been triggered by various issues which the main agenda was food, inflation, unemployment, and a rise in prices of basic commodities. In this regard, the general public's failure to purchase basic commodities or live under the poverty line mostly influences civil unrest.

Following the historical violent xenophobic and ethnic attacks in South Africa in the 21st-century, July 2021 took a turning point of violent looting of public and private goods. Yet, some argued that demonstrations have either a silver lining or no silver lining (Daily Malverick, 2020). To do justice on this research, one should look into xenophobic and ethnic conflicts in South Africa. The series of violent attacks in South Africa in the 21st-century only pointed to one way of future looting of resources. Ignoring the imposition of solid security structures in mitigating violence will birth into prickling future riots eruptions. The degree of the orchestrated outbreaks of violence maybe be unforeseen, but strict and repressive measures should be put in place. The government of South Africa's late response to the riots claimed the South African economic stability. In their neighboring country - Zimbabwe, riots have been successfully mitigated through repressive measures under Mugabe and Mnangagwa administrations (see Southall 2018).

To other scholars, the riots were orchestrated by state capture inquiry and corruption allegations, however the interpretations are disputed. There is a contention that they were spontaneous outbursts of distinct organized rioting events. In one of the leaked WhatsApp messages, ANC counsellors incited mob riots looting white-owned shopping businesses (Daily Malverick, 2021). Thus the messages constituted symbols against the "white monopoly capital." The geopolitics of the riots strongly supports the well-oiled

orchestrated or organized riots in both KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng.

The riots in South Africa in August 2021 revolves around the #FreeZuma campaign, which had an overwhelming message inciting riots (ILO, 2021). Yet, others are of the view that the Covid-19 pandemic negatively impacted the economy of South Africa, which the Zuma case triggered the event. We cannot downplay this study's socio-economic and political factors that contributed to and constituted the riots' overall analysis. In a comprehensive examination, as I have noted earlier, Southall (2019) analyzed the economic disparities along the ethnic lines on how it will trigger future conflicts into democratic deepening or decay. Therefore, I concur that the South African future riots erupt as a result of the economic, ethnic inequalities.

The Zupta business elites state capture inquiry, although, allegedly sparked conflicts within South Africa to riots. For decades, the elite white-owned and Indian commercial business has been in control of the riches and wealth. Southall (2018), examined the future South African future challenge emanating from economic inequalities and racial disparities. In the 21st century, South African was seen as a stable country in the continent. However, the majority of the indigenous people are living in poverty (Kangethe and Chivanga, 2014). Contradictorily to most countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique, the economic sector of South Africa is controlled by the white settlers and Indians Gupta's. The research focused on intra-party elites' cohesion or polarization, state capture, and riots in South Africa. As well the research examined beyond, looking at the prospectus projection of future riots.

RESOLVING FUTURE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Having experienced riots in South Africa and its costs, there is a need to put stringent measures or laws to curb or surveil future riots or violent uprisings. The riots in South Africa emanated from Zuma state capture inquiry and ANC factionalism, which was propagated by Covid-19 pandemic-led challenges. It's a great challenge to decimate unconstitutional mass uprisings having mutually assured destruction, as was the case of the exchange gun firing between the SANDF and the demonstrators. It is in this case, to warranty for future containment of the riots that the government should invest and budget for the illegal arms cache. The case of Zimbabwe in the 1980s involved dissidents in Matabeleland possessing illicit arms threatening the

national peace. The Gukurahundi (rain that clears the chaff) operation with the special militia 5th brigade, although unconstitutional, silenced the dissidents (see, for example, Meredith 2009). On the other side of his republican philosophy, in his book the Prince, Machiavelli examined the unconstitutional undertakings of vertical and horizontal authoritarian accountability of repression and restrictions (Slater, 2013). Hence, the South African government should constantly adapt to the ever-changing political environment because human nature can be animalistic and need to be restrained. Madisonian in constitutional vertical and horizontal accountability denotes the rule-bound driven process by governments in dealing with stately affairs.

The parliamentary democratic coalition can pose challenges in decision-making having different ideological representative political parties (see, for example, Downs, 1967 on dissensus and consensus of multi-parties democracy). The South African parliament is dominated by three political parties the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The ideological polarity among the three identified political parties can necessitate democratic deepening or decay (see, for example, Southall 2019; Slater 2013). Yet, we can not downplay the intra-party ANC polarization which triggered riots in Gauteng and Kwazulu Natal. The delay in containing riots using the security forces resulted in massive looting of public and private goods in South Africa. Democracy in South Africa is at the edge of deepening or decay in which the ANC-led government's reluctance can breed future anarchism in the country. The National Disaster Management Act of 1997 of South Africa guarantees the President to declare a state of emergency which could have been the case for the president to declare a state of emergency at the early stage of the riots. There is a gap in the democratic process in South Africa that needs to be addressed to bridge the gap between the economic disparities, which might have been the case that led to riots (see, for example, Southall 2019). The institutions and legal framework in South Africa is an archetype of democracy which needs will enforcement, although others may argue for the deepening of democracy (ibid).

CONCLUSION

Various interpretations have been addressed in analyzing the findings on the dearth of democracy in South Africa, including factionalism, state capture, and riots. The research involved an overall assessment of

the socio-economic and political analysis of future state riots projection emanating from democratic recession. In this regard, today's South African challenges are projected to incite future conflicts into ethnic rioting from mainly economic inequalities. The continuous civil unrest at an institutional level (universities and organizations) or micro level has an impact in influencing national uprisings. Yet, the factionalism in the main ruling party, ANC, triggered the July 2021 riots having two housing between Cyril Ramaphosa vs. Zuma and Magashule on the other side. On the other hand, the Covid 19 pandemic propagated the global challenges leading to a high level of unemployment, retrenchment of workers, and inflation. However, the Covid-19 came as a blessing unveiling the hidden skeletons in the cupboard of ANC party members.

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