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Mahuku, Darlington Ngoni

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External Donors, Domestic Political Institutions and Post-Colonial Land Reform: A Comparison of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (International Relations)

By

Darlington Ngoni Mahuku.

University of Witwatersrand

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the Master of Arts degree in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

_____ _____

D.N. Mahuku **Date**

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my mother, Mercy and my late father Victor, Takanyiswa Mahuku, my wife Isabel, my two daughters Gamuchirai and Rufaro. I also want to thank my brother, Dr G.S.Mahuku for the financial support and for giving me the strength and the opportunity to achieve my academic goals. It was because of all of you that this has become a dream come true.

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Abstract

Land reform in Southern Africa has attracted a lot of attention from sovereign third world government and those of developed countries. This followed the invasion of commercial farms in Zimbabwe and has a bearing on Zimbabwe's neighbours especially Namibia and South Africa. This paper examines why governments at times adhere to land reform within the rule of law and at times does not, resulting in strained donor-government relations. A comparison of government-donor relations in Zimbabwe and Namibia is explored. The crux of the argument is that land reform is damaging when the rule of law is flouted by governments. Strained relations are a result of ineffective agencies of restraint, lack of commitment by the governments, external donors and white commercial farmers to correct land injustices that came into existence as a result of settler colonialism.

List of Abbreviations

ACPGC	Africa-Caribbean-Pacific Group of Countries
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IEEPA	International Emergence Economic Powers Act
IF Is	International Financial Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SU	Soviet Union
SWAPO	South West African Peoples' Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPTSU	United Nations Development Programme Technical Support Unit
USA	United States of America
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU PF	Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union
ZWCFU	Zimbabwe White Commercial Farmers Union
ZUD	Zimbabwe Union for Democrats
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement