

**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

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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.

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**D.N. Mahuku**

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**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                                     |