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Implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-Track Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the
SADC States

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DEDICATION

To all the people who share in my joy and sorrow; my wife Tsitsidzashe, daughter Dawn Chipochashe, my parents Mr. M. and Mrs. L. Kasirowori, family and friends too many to mention; and you all who continue to inspire me.

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ABSTRACT

The research study sought to analyse the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC states as well as to proffer scholarly and policy recommendations that will lead to sound SADC relations of regional integration. A qualitative approach was adopted, utilising interviews and questionnaires to gather primary data. Secondary data was obtained from several publications, journals and government reports and reputable media publications. The study was prompted by increasing concern over the manner in which the FTLRP was conducted in Zimbabwe as a domestic issue with potential to influence foreign relations, especially with neighboring countries in the SADC region.

The FTLRP followed several attempts to correct the colonial injustices over land access and ownership as the previous arrangement favoured the white, colonial settlers. Several initiatives were contemplated including the passing of the Land Tenure Act of 1978 which repealed the Land Tenure 1969 and the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979 through the 'willing-buyer-willing-seller' arrangement. These initiatives proved too slow, or rather delayed in rectifying the land issue which seemed to be the major concern for the Liberation struggle. Consequently, Zimbabweans engaged in the FTLRP through land invasions by forcibly taking land from whites, a move which has had far reaching implications on Zimbabwe's relations with her neighbours in the SADC. While some SADC member states like Namibia applauded the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, other members like Botswana out rightly differed in opinion. Such a situation suggests divided opinion within the SADC region following the Zimbabwean FTLRP which threatens relations amongst member states.

Zimbabwean exports to SADC countries, mainly in the form of agricultural produce dwindled. Also, there was over supply of labour as previously farm workers were left without employment; hence many people migrated into neighboring countries in search of employment. While other countries like Namibia supported the approach taken by Zimbabwe, others were opposed to this move, especially Botswana. However, despite such differences in ideology and perceptions, the SADC countries continued in their efforts to preserve peace and security in the region. The FTLRP was a domestic policy with the objective of correcting the crooked colonial land discrepancies that led to the subjugation of the majority black population. The FTLRP was a

bilateral issue between Zimbabwe and Britain that influenced political, economic, military/security and social implications on SADC relations. Domestic policy implementation can have regional or international socio-political, economic and security implications; therefore, the objectives of the study were to analyse the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC states; to examine the effects of Zimbabwe's land reform on the political economy of the SADC Member States and to proffer scholarly as well as policy recommendations on how domestic Fast-track Land Reform Programmes can be done in a way that will lead to sound SADC regional integration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL FORM	i
RELEASE FORM.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
ACRONYMS	xii
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the study: An overview of Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Programme	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	4
1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	4
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	5
1.5 HYPOTHESIS	5
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE AND JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY	5
1.7 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW	6
1.7.1 Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Programme	6
1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	8
1.8.1 Introduction	8
1.8.2 Research Design.....	8
1.8.3 Sources of Data	9
1.8.4 Sampling Procedure and Target Population.....	10
1.8.5 Limitations	11
1.8.6 Delimitations	12
1.8.7 Ethical Considerations.....	12
1.9 Definition of key terms	12
1.10 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS.....	14

CHAPTER 2	16
THE TRAJECTORY OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE.....	16
2.0 INTRODUCTION	16
2.1 In Search for Gold: The beginning of Land Expropriation.....	16
2.2 Land and Cattle a Substitute for Gold.....	18
2.3 Colonial Legislation: The Legalisation of Land Expropriation	19
2.4 The Liberation Struggle: A desire to reconnect to the Land.....	21
2.5 From Lancaster to the Fast-track Land Reform Programme	23
2.6 Land Reform: An impediment to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)?.....	24
2.7 Theoretical underpinnings on the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme	26
2.8 Regional Relations: A need for Coalitions	29
2.9 Land Redistribution: A genuine need or political expediency.....	32
2.10 Conclusion	33
CHAPTER 3	35
THE LAND QUESTION AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICS.....	35
3.0 Introduction.....	35
3.1 A Global Quandary: The complexity of the Land question in Zimbabwe	35
3.1.1 The Land Question in Southern Africa.....	37
3.1.2 The Nexus between the Land Question and Politics in South Africa.....	39
3.1.3 The Land Question in the Political Economy of Namibia.....	41
3.1.4 The Politics of Land in Mozambique and Zambia.....	43
3.2 Protocol for Land Reform: A SADC Priority?	46
3.3 Conclusion	48
CHAPTER 4	49
THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE’S LAND REFORM ON ITS SADC RELATIONS.....	49
4.0 Introduction.....	49
4.1 Response rate	49
4.2 Demographics	50
4.2.1 Gender distribution of respondents.....	50
4.2.2 Age of Respondents	51
4.2.3 Highest level of Education.....	52

4.3 Internal domestic policies and their implications on neighboring states	53
4.4 Internal Factors that influence neighboring states	53
4.4.1 Effect of the Legislature.....	53
4.4.2 Influence of the Executive	54
4.4.3 Effect of Bureaucracies.....	55
4.4.4 Effect of Political Parties	55
4.5 Implications of the FTLRP	56
4.5.1 Implications on Zimbabwe	57
4.5.2 Implications on relations with SADC member states	57
4.5.3 Political implications	58
4.5.4 Economic implications.....	60
4.5.5 Social implications.....	61
4.5.6 Security implications	61
4.6 Conclusion	62
CHAPTER 5	63
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION.....	63
5.0 Introduction.....	63
5.2 Conclusion	63
5.3 Recommendations.....	65
5.3.1 Policy Recommendations.....	65
5.3.2 Scholarly Recommendations	66
REFERENCE LIST	67
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE’S LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SADC STATES.....	74

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1: Questionnaire response rate	49
Table 4.2: Highest level of Education.....	52

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Gender distribution of respondents	50
Figure 4.2: Age of respondents	51

ACRONYMS

AU.....African Union

EU.....European Union

FTLRP.....Fast-Track Land Reform Programme

SADC.....Southern African Development Community

UN.....United Nations Organisation

UNSC.....United Nations Security Council

US.....United States of America

ZANU PFZimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The world in general and Africa in particular has gone through different eras of socio-economic and political development necessitated by the growing needs of humankind. The various epochs echo the complex realities of a people's aspirations that may well have been captured at one time leaving the dark traces of anxiety and confusion. The confusion is on which trajectory to pursue in order to achieve self-determination and sovereignty. The Land Reform exercise whose objective was to redress colonial imbalances had far reaching effects within Zimbabwe and outside the country. The implications were on the socio-economic and political realm inside the country and also on Zimbabwe's relations with other states. While the Land Reform Programme was an inside Zimbabwe initiative, its implications on the SADC relations is of much importance in the study of international relations as well as understanding the relations between Zimbabwe and its SADC neighbours. This research analysed the social, economic and political implications of the Land Reform Programme on Zimbabwe's relations with SADC member states.

1.1 Background to the study: An overview of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme

The implications of the Zimbabwean Land Reform Programme on its SADC relations cannot be fully examined and analyzed without looking at the historical background of the land distribution and tenure system in the three historical epochs of present day state of the Republic of Zimbabwe. The periods of interest are especially the pre-colonial period (before 1890), the colonial period (1890-1980) and the post-colonial period (1980 to date). These are important historical periods for the state of Zimbabwe and indeed to the whole African continent as there are many similarities in the changes and developments that have taken place; changes that have a bearing on states' internal developments as well as regional, continental and international relations.

Zimbabwe is the new state born in 1980 after a protracted armed struggle waged against white Rhodesian settlers who had occupied the territory as a British protectorate and later colony since 1890 and then the Rhodesia under Ian Douglas Smith after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1963. Pre-colonial African societies relied on the land

resource for survival; the indigenous peoples derived their livelihood from the land where they tilled the land for agricultural production, practiced animal husbandry of domesticated animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, and fowls. They also mined precious and useful metals such as gold and silver and iron for use in their daily activities. As such, the land was a very important resource in the pre-colonial African society's economy. The scramble and partition of Africa saw the emergence of new colonial states, with new territorial boundaries being set up by the new administration.

The present day Zimbabwean territory became a British South Africa Company administered territory until 1923 when it became a British colony. Between 1890 (beginning of the occupation) and 1980 (independence), a number of laws were enacted to dispossess the original inhabitants of the land in favour of the colonisers. Some of the pieces of legislation that were used to deprive the natives saw the establishment of "Native Reserves" throughout the country with codification in the British Government's Southern Rhodesia Order in Council of 1898 – of the policy of racial segregation; the same instrument provided that "The Company shall from time to time assign to Natives inhabiting Southern Rhodesia, land sufficient for their occupation and suitable for their agricultural or pastoral requirements."

Chitsike (2003) observed that at independence in 1980 Zimbabwe inherited a highly skewed pattern of land distribution. A small minority of white large-scale commercial farmers owned and farmed most of the better agricultural land. The majority of the national population, made up exclusively of black Zimbabweans, farmed in the lower rainfall and poorer soil areas. This dual structure of land ownership was a result of various pieces of legislation introduced during the colonial era, which resulted in mass expropriation of prime agricultural land by the colonial settlers and the subsequent marginalization of black people into reserves now known as communal areas.

The issue of access to land was a major reconvening point that led to the war of liberation which led to protracted negotiations between the liberation armies (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army- ZIPRA and Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army- ZANLA) and the British Conservative Government led by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, culminating into the Lancaster House Agreement. The British South Africa Company (BSAC) had been formed by Cecil John Rhodes to buy concessions from the British Crown and this formed the basis of the subsequent land grabbing by the settlers. As the take-over of land unfolded, white settlers relegated the majority black population to

Native Reserves (known today as communal areas). This marked the beginning of the division of the Africans' land. Africans got small, largely infertile tracts of land while expropriated land in the hands of white farmers was big and fertile. New farms were pegged and the settler white farmers were issued with title deeds.

Subjugation through land grab and livestock seizure by the white settlers brought stiff resistance from the indigenous people. The first major uprising (known as the First Chimurenga/Umvukela) started in 1893 and it was ruthlessly suppressed with the leaders and instigators executed. The land ownership became vastly disproportionate in favour of the white minority settlers. Chitsike (*ibid.*) notes that "just three percent of the population controlled seventy-five percent of the land, while most of the rest were restricted to a mere twenty-three percent of the worst land in designated reserves. There were only 28,000 white settlers to nearly one million Africans in Zimbabwe at that time."

In the subsequent years various pieces of legislation (shown in detail later in this report) were passed in order to protect and strengthen the white settler minority's interest and hold on the land. The black population in the communal areas grew discontented leading to the liberation movement gaining traction and becoming a challenge to the status quo in the early 1960's. The armed struggle commonly referred to as the Second Chimurenga/Umvukela culminated in the Lancaster House conference of 1979, a settlement that ushered in the Republic of Zimbabwe in April 1980.

The period after independence in Zimbabwe saw different phases in the attempt to redress the colonial land ownership imbalance. The 'Willing Seller - Willing Buyer' system of land reform did not yield the desired results. Drinkwater (1991) writes that between April 1980 and September 1987 the acreage of land occupied by white-owned commercial farms was reduced by about 20%. The next phase of land reform, compulsory acquisition, ensued after the expiration of the entrenched constitutional conditions mandated by the Lancaster House Agreement in the early 1990s. Zimbabwe outlined new plans for land reform by having a National Land Policy being formally proposed and enshrined as the Zimbabwean Land Acquisition Act of 1992, which empowered the government to acquire any land as it saw fit, although only after payment of financial compensation. Landowners were permitted to negotiate their compensation amounts with the state.

The Zimbabwe government published a policy framework on the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme Phase II (LRRP II), which envisaged the compulsory purchase of land owned by white commercial farmers, public corporations, churches, non-governmental organisations and multinational companies for redistribution. The policy framework was unanimously endorsed by various local and international stakeholders saying that it was essential for poverty reduction, political stability and economic growth. However, landowners were reluctant to release their land holding for resettlement purposes.

The third phase of the Zimbabwean land reform was the Fast-track land reform programme (whose effects to SADC relations is the subject of this research) in which the land was divided into small-holder production farms called A1 schemes and commercial farms called A2 schemes. This phase resolved the land issue decisively as around eight hundred thousand households were resettled albeit with many disputes that challenged the legality of the exercise as well as having implications on SADC relations as some matters were taken to the regional body or its appendages for determination.

Given the foregoing background to the study, the researcher was determined to unpack the implications of the fast track land reform programme in Zimbabwe on its SADC relations.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The failure of several attempts to address injustices associated with land access and ownership led the Government of Zimbabwe to resort to the FTLRP which has had far reaching implications on Zimbabwe's relations with her neighbors in the SADC. While some SADC member states like Namibia applauded the FTLRP in Zimbabwe, other members like Botswana out rightly differed in opinion. Such a situation suggests divided opinion within the SADC region following the Zimbabwean FTLRP which threatens relations amongst member states. It is against this background that a research was conducted to analyse the implications of the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe on its relations with the SADC member states.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aims of the research study addressed the following specific research objectives so as to present a better appreciation of the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme on its SADC relations as it relates to peace, security and regional integration:

- To analyse the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC states.
- To examine the effects of Zimbabwe's land reform on the political economy of the SADC Member States.
- To proffer scholarly and policy recommendations on how domestic Land Reform Programmes can be done in a way that will lead to sound SADC regional integration.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following were the research questions which helped in meeting the above stated objectives:

- What are the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC member states?
- How does the Zimbabwean Fast-track Land Reform Programme affect the political economy of the SADC member states?
- How can policy makers in SADC member states pursue important national objectives while at the same time fomenting SADC regional integration objectives?

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

The assumptions made in order to carry out this research project were that Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme had social, economic and political implications on its relations with the other SADC states and therefore there is a need for a coherent and comprehensive domestic land policy formulation that take into cogniscence the national interests of other states.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE AND JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The study unpacks the implications of the Fast-track Land Reform Programme on Zimbabwe's relations with other SADC member states; an international relations discourse that helps in the understanding of the political economy in the SADC that shapes intra-regional relations. Secondly, the study informs policy makers on how they can expect intra-regional relations in terms of social, economic and political implications will be affected by inevitable radical policy changes in a bid to empower previously marginalized citizens.

1.7 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

1.7.1 Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme

The indigenous people in the then Rhodesia were alienated from most of productive land into the marginal areas due to colonial land policies that imposed a racially differentiated land tenure system. Such policies include the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and later the Land Tenure Act of 1969 which provided white commercial farmers freehold tenure on land, a privilege that was not accessible to the black indigenous. Ncube (2004) posits that the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930 institutionalized the racial division of all land in the country. Moyana (1984) writes that the LAA divided the country into the Reserves [land exclusively for occupation by Africans]; Alienated Land [land exclusively for White occupation, on which Africans could live only as employees]; and Native Purchase Areas [land where African farmers could gain limited ownership of farms].

The Land Tenure Act of 1969 was enacted with the view to amend the 1930 Act, by providing further guidance to racial division of land culminating into the pushing out of the black people from areas designated for white settlers (Moyo, 1986). Such marginalization in terms of access to and ownership of land was the source of inspiration for the liberation struggle. Expectations for a land reform programme were very high as Zimbabwe approached Independence that was attained in 1980. Prior to the independence, conflicting parties had to debate at a meeting prominently referred to as the Lancaster House Conference. The terms agreed upon on the contentious land issue in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 included the provision for emergency acquisitions, acquisition of derelict land, and special provisions on litigation and arbitration. It listed all the public purposes for which land could be expropriated: defense, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, and town and country planning. Only the under-utilized land could be expropriated for agricultural resettlement, any other land would have to be acquired on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis (Ng'ong'ola, 1992). The willing-buyer-willing-seller provision would remain in place for ten years, after which a two-thirds majority vote in parliament could overturn it. Ng'ong'ola (*ibid.*) adds that the "Willing-buyer-willing-seller" slowed down the process of land transfer from the large-scale commercial farmers to the peasants. Hence, Olsen and Stedman (1994) argue that two important constituencies lost at Lancaster: the landless peasants and the guerillas. As a result, land invasions began in Zimbabwe immediately after independence.

The Lancaster land policy, based on the willing-buyer-willing-seller doctrines, was unsustainable and it legalized the massive expropriations of the colonial period.

At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe embarked on a Land Reform Programme which was targeted at addressing the historical land distribution inequalities. The new government constituted of the Mugabe led ZANU PF, based on socialist principles developed a socialist-oriented development programme in which social justice and equity were fundamentals seeking to relocate the black majority into more productive land. Britain had conceded the need for far-reaching land reform in Zimbabwe with some British and American experts estimating that US \$1.5 to US\$2 billion would be required to buy out the settler farmers. Britain and the United States of America jointly agreed to finance resettlement. British multi-national corporations held vast tracts of land in Rhodesia. The diversified interests of these corporations and individual stakeholders extended all over southern Africa and focused on the exploitation of various natural resources, particularly minerals and the land. The Lancaster settlement perpetuated the British colonial policy since the design of a few ruling many continued in the economic sphere. Moyana (c2002) puts forward that in order to allow for the progress at the Lancaster House discussions, Britain encouraged by U.S. support, promised money and aid that it was both unable and unwilling to give; by so doing, it met the Patriotic Front's minimum expectations while protecting white settler interests.

The new government initially planned to engage in the resettlement of 162 000 small-scale farming families within three years. These were expected to benefit from land purchased from large-scale commercial farmers on a 'willing buyer-willing seller' basis (Moyo et al., 1991). The process was met with several constraints from which Wekwete (1991) cited the fragmented nature of the land that was offered to the government; financial constraints as the British and Americans reneged on the previously agreed Lancaster House Agreement; and poor location of the resettlement land in terms of the agro-ecological quality. Consequently, the initial phase of land redistribution became relatively slowed down. Mutepfa and Cohen (2000) indicate that much of the land made available was not suitable for intensive arable farming. Limited value could be derived from the land as it was mostly in arid or semi-arid natural regions with minimal infrastructure such that little agricultural value could be realised. This was compounded by the limitation in funds for land acquisition given that the land was being purchased at market prices (Government of Zimbabwe, 2001).

The second phase of the programme for land redistribution commence with a donor's conference held in September 1998 with the aim of enlisting more international support and participation. A proposal was developed through which a donor-supported land acquisition programme would assist in transferring ownership of at least four million hectares of land. The programme could not yield the intended results and the slowness associated with this cautious approach, escalated by increasing poverty, and the worsening political scenario triggered the 'Fast Track' phase of the Land Reform Programme (Chaumba et al, 2003). The Fast Track land Reform Programme saw the dispossession of several white settlers of their farms with some resorting to leaving the country while others engaged in scaled down operations. Following the FTLRP, the country has met with economic, political and social challenges and general isolation which many allege are the outcome of the FTLRP. It is yet to be established whether the FTLRP has had significant impacts on the political economy of the SADC Member States.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 Introduction

This research employed the qualitative research methodology which is primarily exploratory in nature. It was used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations of states in being a part of the SADC and why their individual state actions have implications on the relations with the other SADC states. It provided insights into the problem and helped to develop ideas quantitative research. Qualitative research is described as involving "... an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3). The qualitative research paradigm includes the case study, historical research, ethnography, observation, content analysis and comparative analysis.

1.8.2 Research Design

Research design refers to the overall strategy that you choose to integrate the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby ensuring you will effectively address the research problem (De Vaus, 2006). Degu and Yigzaw (2006:25) point out that research design is "the process which guides researchers on how to collect, analyze and interpret observations; or a logical model that guides the investigator in the various stages of

the research”. For this research study, case study was the most ideal as it offered a way of understanding the SADC as an institution of member states and how they have meaning relative to each other with regard to the issue of the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. The case study allowed for an understanding of the SADC in great depth. The focus was on Zimbabwe in particular in relation with other SADC states in their natural setting.

Therefore, together with the descriptive research design, all being qualitative research approaches, the case study and descriptive research designs describe the patterns of the events or phenomena which were the subject of this research. It has to be noted, however, that Tracy Farmer (2006) in Maguire (2009:19) points out that the qualitative researchers are often criticized for lacking a detailed methodological description of how they carry out their research; this is largely because of the dynamic nature of the economic and socio-political properties being investigated. The qualitative research approach adequately address the “why” and “how” questions which are at the centre of this research. It attempts to increase our understanding of why things are the way they are in our social world and why people act the ways they do. The qualitative approach therefore well explains and puts clear how and why the Fast-track Land Reform Programme had implications on Zimbabwe’s SADC relations as explored by this research study.

1.8.3 Sources of Data

The sources of data collection in this qualitative research were interviews, observations, and qualitative data from books, magazines, journal articles and from the Internet. Literature from both the developed and the developing countries was scrutinised. Primary sources provided valuable data that was pertinent in the area that was under study. A questionnaire became a technique for sourcing data from stakeholders. The face-to-face in-depth interviews and questionnaires administered among the respondents included international relations analysts, academics, personnel from the Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and personnel in the diplomatic fraternity in Zimbabwe. Boyce and Neale (2006:3) posit that in-depth interviewing is the conducting of intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspective.

Interviews with key informants were conducted largely targeting government officials, political party officials, civic society, and non-governmental organisation at provincial and national level. At the end of administering the questionnaire and data analysis focus group

discussions were conducted to share the findings and to make some corrections as well as to obtain additional information. The research also relied on secondary sources that included the survey of literature on the subject matter. Triangulation involved using multiple data sources in the investigation to produce understanding and to ensure that the account is rich, robust, comprehensive and well-developed. This research is a product of the fusion of secondary and primary sources so as to fully understand the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its SADC relations.

1.8.4 Sampling Procedure and Target Population

A sample is a smaller collection of units from population used to determine truths about the population (Field, 2005). Sampling is a process by which inference is made to the whole by examining a part. The purpose of sampling is to provide many types of statistical information of a qualitative or quantitative nature about the whole by examining a few selected units. This means that the researcher looked for prospective respondents who are well versed in the matters pertaining Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme as well as SADC relations. Furthermore, a snow-ball sampling method was employed whereby the first respondent would refer the researcher to the next prospective respondent (population of interest) and so on. The researcher interviewed seven (7) respondents drawn from the academics, the diplomatic society and experts in the field of SADC member states relations using purposive/judgmental sampling.

Purposive/judgmental sampling is the process whereby the researcher selects a sample based on experience or knowledge of the group to be sampled (Kumar, 2014). This type gives advantage to the researcher for it based on the judgment of the experienced people. Judgmental sampling may also disadvantage the researcher for it cannot measure the sample's representativeness. Moreover, twenty one (21) questionnaires were distributed to the key respondents drawn from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Liaison officers, embassies of SADC member states, civic society and academics among others. Seventeen (17) questionnaires distributed were returned to the researcher completed and four (4) prospective respondents did not respond by the date set due to their busy work commitments.

Content analysis and textual analysis was used to analyse data. The analysis was based on grounded theory where the task of the researcher was to understand what was happening. This was achieved through observation, conversation and interview. The process involved comparing interview and other forms of data and the comparison was done on theoretical approaches that were employed. The results of this comparison were categorized according to themes or variables and their properties.

The researcher did not find any challenges in obtaining information and administering data collection tools especially on respondents from the ministries of the Government of Zimbabwe mainly due to the fact that the research subject is a matter of high importance to Zimbabwe's domestic and foreign policy and therefore available as the government seeks to be open about the matter. However, the researcher failed to interview some diplomats, attachés or officials from other SADC states stationed in Zimbabwe. While attempts were made to get comment and response on the issues through interviews or questionnaires, they were said to be committed on official business. However, the researcher used the general rule that "when same themes, issues and topics are emerging from the interviewees, then a sufficient sample has been reached" (Boyce and Neale, 2006:3) in administering the research tools.

1.8.5 Limitations

This study employed the review and analysis of the relevant existing literature in textbooks, magazines, government gazettes, newspapers, internet articles, online journals, and broadcast channels. This entails that the researcher did not only rely on interviews and questionnaires to conduct the research. The geographical disparity between the researcher and his proximity to some target SADC states had exorbitant cost implications. However, the gap was bridged as the researcher administered a questionnaire and conducted some interviews with key respondents well versed with the subject matter of this research.

Access to some information particularly from government offices where reliable information, of a nature to do with bilateral or multi-lateral relations between states, may be obtained was paramount. The researcher overcame this challenge by making prior booking for appointment with relevant authorities and by adhering to the issue of confidentiality and anonymity for the interviewees. The other challenge was that of sampling. The selection of a sample can limit the researcher from having accurate information because they may be in a particular office

but may not have access to information pertaining to the subject matter under study. Effort was made to ensure that the sample selected had relative access to the relevant information. Documentary information helped to address the pitfall of failing to conduct some face to face interviews or questionnaire administration.

1.8.6 Delimitations

This research centred on the SADC member states and the researcher looked at Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme as it affects other SADC member states particularly South Africa, Namibia, Botswana and Zambia; states which have seen much of the impact of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform and have been vocal on the matters arising thereof. The criteria for the selection of the countries included in this study was based on the discretion of the researcher reliant on his previous knowledge of matters surrounding the Land occupancy system that was unevenly skewed in favour of the white minority population.

1.8.7 Ethical Considerations

The research ethics were the set of principles that guided and controlled the operations of this research. The researcher did not make deliberate errors of omission and commission in order to misrepresent phenomena. The subjects had the right to accept or reject inclusion into the research sample as well as the freedom to express their views without coercion. Their rights to life, confidentiality of information, privacy and protection from harm was ensured.

1.9 Definition of key terms

1.9.1 National interests

The core values, objectives, goals and aspirations which a nation state seeks to fulfill and protect constitute the basis of what are referred to as national interests (Pham, 2008:257). Values in this case can be culture of country, social, economic and political ideologies. For example, as Zimbabwe embraces the idea of security of its people and the protection of their fundamental human rights. In pursuit of security, land became a resource of national interest within which the livelihood of the people is anchored. Alden (2001:11) advances the view that national interests of a state are usually espoused or contained in a country's foreign policy. Vital national interests are the core interests of a country which when threatened, a nation-state is prepared to defend at all cost as opposed to less vital interests. A country is

even prepared to resort to war against a nation-state or non-state actors like terrorist groups which threaten its national interests.

1.9.2 National objectives

Alden (2010:11) aptly puts national objectives as synonymous to national interests. These are a set of goals usually embraced in a country's foreign policy which a country is dedicated to fulfill or accomplish. National objectives as espoused in a country's foreign policy give the direction in which a country would navigate in the international political system in pursuit of national interests.

1.9.3 Foreign Policy

Hill (2003:285) defines foreign policy as a purposive action with the view towards promoting the interests of a single political community or state. It is a critical political tool in the interaction of nation-states as it prescribes how a nation-state relates to other nation-states or non-state actors in the international political system. Baldwin (2000:171) points out that Foreign Policy is viewed as a nation-state's purposive behavior. In a way, national interests are reflected in a nation's Foreign Policy and this guides the way in which the state relates with others.

1.9.4 Collective security

It is a concept that alliance member states or members of a regional bloc assure the security of a member state. In collective security the basic idea is "one for all and all for one" that means an aggressor against one is an aggressor against all. For example, SADC was formed with collective security in mind and because of the symbiotic relationship between member states; a change or threat in one state affects or threatens the others.

1.9.5 Hegemony

When one state seeks to impose its influence, supremacy and domination over other nations it is a pursuit of self-interests and hegemony. The colonial period saw European countries dominating African countries and spreading their influence over them. Britain is one such state that extended its hegemonic domination of Zimbabwe for close to a century.

1.9.6 Land reform

It is a programme of action to redistribute agricultural land by a government in order to redress anomalies in land ownership and distribution patterns.

1.9.7 State

The territory occupied by one constituent administration of a nation or a politically organized body of people under a single government.

1.10 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

This research project contains five (5) chapters that contribute towards the realization of the objectives set out by the researcher at the commencement of the research exercise.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter encompasses the whole introduction of the study on the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC member states. It constitutes the research's background giving the historical context; statement of the problem; research objectives; research questions; assumptions and the significance of the study. In addition, the issues to do with the research design, population and sampling, data collection and processing, data analysis and interpretation are addressed in the research methodology. This first chapter concludes by looking at the delimitation of the study, limitations of the study and the definition of key terms used in this research.

CHAPTER 2 THE TRAJECTORY OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

Chapter 2 considered the work that has already been done by other scholars relating to understanding how Zimbabwe's Land Reform has had an effect on its relations with other SADC member states. It enabled the researcher to know additional data needed to fill the gap that is being sought by the object of this exercise. A theoretical framework is also included in this chapter in order to address issues to do with the conduct of the research objectives.

CHAPTER 3 THE LAND QUESTION AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICS

The chapter looks at the Land question and Southern African politics. In addition, the methodology used in the study, covering the research design, sampling and methods of collecting data are covered in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 4 THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE'S FAST-TRACK LAND REFORM ON ITS SADC RELATIONS

Chapter 4 is the presentation and analysis of research findings dealing with the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform on its relations with SADC member states.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This last chapter summarises the research findings, gives a conclusion and proffers recommendations to the implications emanating from how Zimbabwe handled its domestic policy on land and how it has implications on her foreign relations. The chapter ends with a list of references and appendices.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRAJECTORY OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The chapter looks at the course which the Zimbabwean Fast-Track Land Reform Programme unfolded. Available literature concerning the subject enabled the researcher to get additional information needed to fill the gap in light of the research objectives. A review of scholarly discussion on the subject was the mainstay of this section. The chapter also analyzes the conceptual framework upon which this research is premised. The research is informed by a realist conceptual framework given that national interests espoused in the research topic are inspired by human nature. Human beings are at the center of the behavior of all states; human nature which seeks domination over others and satisfying personal interests. States also behave in the same manner. Therefore the conceptual framework of realism best explains Zimbabwe's land reform programme as it has implications on its SADC relations. The chapter further discusses the trajectory of land reform in Zimbabwe. This discussion explores the various contributions made on the subject by different scholars and researchers over time.

2.1 In Search for Gold: The beginning of Land Expropriation

Mushimbo (2005) traces the need for a land reform exercise in Zimbabwe from the period when European colonization began as Lobengula, the Ndebele king was hoping to exploit to his own advantage the enmity between Cecil John Rhodes and one Edouard Lippert. Lobengula signed a treaty on April 22, 1891 with Lippert's associate Renny Tailor. The Lippert Concession was a land concession that granted,

“The sole and exclusive right, power, and privilege for the full term of 100 years to lay out, grant, or lease... farms, townships, building plots and grazing areas; to impose and levy rents, licenses and taxes thereon, and to get in, collect and receive the same for his own benefit; to give and grant certificate... for the occupation of any farms, townships, building plots and grazing areas.”

Mushimbo (ibid.) observes that Cecil John Rhodes bought the Lippert Concession and was able to consolidate his control over Mashonaland and Matebeleland. This transaction “legally” transferred thousands of hectares of African land to Rhodes and marked the

beginning of the commodification of land. The Africans remained on the land, but no longer had any legal rights of possession. For Mushimbo, customary law was replaced with a “legal” fact or fiction: a fact for the Europeans, a fiction at this time for the Africans. In 1894 Lobengula unsuccessfully tried to have the treaties revoked by sending a delegation to England seeking Queen Victoria’s intervention. The drama that would lead to the eventual displacement of Africans from their land begun in earnest in 1889 when Rhodes formed the British South Africa Company (BSAC), for the particular purpose of exploiting the lands north of the Limpopo where a “second rand” was believed to be located. The “second rand” was the white settler thinking that they would find a lot of gold north of the Limpopo River just as they had found in South Africa at the Rand.

Palmer (1977) submits that “Gold was the prime motive behind the occupation of Mashonaland, and land was regarded very much as a consolation prize. Rhodes also anticipated that a rich Mashonaland would act as a counterweight to the Transvaal and so reassert British political supremacy in South Africa.” In light of this objective, Palmer adds that the Pioneer Column was a group of diverse personalities including quasi-aristocrats, speculative companies, fortune hunters mostly of British descent, Americans like W.H. Brown, some missionaries, armed policemen, laborers, wagons, and oxen was immediately assembled under the leadership of the “dreamy” Leander Starr Jameson.

The BSAC was lacking financial resources so Cecil Rhodes gave the participants a free reign to seek out their fortunes as they could, and employed them instead of experienced administrators to design and implement policies. Each pioneer was verbally promised BSAC shares at one pound each, United Concessions Company shares at one pound each, cash, and land grants in Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Rhodes did not give them written undertakings; however, the gold claims were the more highly prized. Many pioneers sold their land rights for about 100 pounds to speculators such as Frank Johnson and Sir John Willoughby while still on the march to Salisbury. The BSAC obtained a Royal Charter which gave it a quasi-government role. The British Government hoped to save its over-stretched treasury but giving a Royal Charter to the BSAC which enable them to monitor the company through the British High Commissioner in South Africa, who was also Governor of the Cape.

The Pioneer Column invaded Mashonaland and Matabeleland in June 1890 and on September 13, 1890 the Union Jack was raised at the site that became Salisbury. Palmer (ibid.) states that by 1893 it was clear to both the company and its agents that there was no “second rand.”

In 1892 the Company was on the verge of bankruptcy. However, loans from the De Beers Company, which Rhodes controlled, and a sharp reduction in expenditure by employing settlers as civil servants, i.e. magistrates, policemen, and administrators, who were rewarded with vast lands kept the company afloat. The company then set up a system of spendthrift land concessions, used both to reward companies and individuals for past services and to encourage speculative interest in Mashonaland. Sir Willoughby's defiance of the Portuguese at Beira in 1891 was rewarded with 600000 acres. Huge grants were lavished on Copenhagen (Mashonaland) Company, on Chartered Goldfields Ltd. Some frustrated pioneers returned to South Africa and, as a desperate measure, the BSAC now turned to Matabeleland hoping to find mineral wealth and to loot Ndebele cattle.

2.2 Land and Cattle a Substitute for Gold

Palmer (*ibid.*) adds that the pretext for an invasion of Matabeleland with the Victoria Incident of July 1893, when Ndebele parties raided Shona villages near Fort Victoria causing the few operational mines and farms to shut down as laborers were killed and others fled. The Victoria Incident caused BSAC shares to drop, and hence the need for a war of conquest against the Ndebeles. The settlers followed systematic theft and brutal displacement of the Africans as they sought an alternative source of profit. The raiders seized the farms wherever they wanted them. On September 10, 1894 the British Government appointed a Land Commission to assign land to the Ndebeles, and by October 29 it had created two native reserves namely Gwaai and Shangani. The BSAC chose the Commission's Chairman, Judge J. Vincent, and a second member, Captain H. M. Heyman, while Captain C. F. Lindsell represented the Imperial Government. The Shangani reserve lay squarely in the tsetse fly belt, and both reserves were dry and unsuitable for human habitation. Heyman later became the Managing Director of Willoughby's Consolidated, which owned over one million acres of land in Rhodesia.

The company's position was bolstered by the 1898 Native Reserves Order in Council, which stipulated that "from time to time" the BSAC was to "assign to the natives...land sufficient for their occupation... and suitable for their agricultural and pastoral requirements." The consequence was the creation of more African reserves. By the turn of the century it was clear that in spite of the Imperial Government's intention to "keep an eye" on the BSAC through a Resident Commissioner stationed in Salisbury, the BSAC had the upper hand in

policy making, and subsequently the Imperial government's power diminished to a limited veto over BSAC initiated policies.

2.3 Colonial Legislation: The Legalisation of Land Expropriation

Ncube (2004) posits that the key pieces of legislation that created the land problem in Zimbabwe were the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) of 1930, which institutionalized the racial division of all land in the country. Moyana (1984) writes that the LAA divided the country into the Reserves [land exclusively for occupation by Africans]; Alienated Land [land exclusively for White occupation, on which Africans could live only as employees]; and Native Purchase Areas [land where African farmers could gain limited ownership of farms]. LAA was not implemented on a large scale during the 1930s although a large, exclusively European area was declared which consisted of 49 million acres and comprised over half the total farming land in the country. Africans were given the right to freehold tenure on the newly created Native Purchase Areas, which were located adjacent to the Reserves. Under the LAA 1930, the NPAs covered 7.5 million acres, although some 4 million were of little use because they lay in remote areas of the country and were unsuitable for farming. The Reserves totaled 21.6 million acres.

During the global economic crisis of the 1930s, a period more accurately referred to as the Great Depression of the 1930s, pieces of legislation were enacted; namely, the Maize Control Acts of 1931 and 1934; and the Cattle Levy Acts of 1931 and 1934. These were steps taken to reduce the competitiveness of African agriculture and were implemented through subsidies and encouragement given to settler farmers for example through capturing the African grain market; discrimination against the marketing of African produce and in the allocation of funds to African farmers. All these measures effectively removed the potential competition from African farmers.

After the Second World War there was a surge in European settlers who were ambitious to farm and they were determined to enforce the LAA (1930) by evicting Africans from the whole of the fertile plateau (reserving it for European exploitation) and resettling the Africans in the marginal lowlands. The aftermath of the war, with the return of European ex-servicemen, had brought with it a pressing demand for farmland. The Land Apportionment Amendment Act of 1941; the Land Settlement Act (LSA) of 1944; and the Land Settlement Board which was created by the Land Settlement Act of 1944 were the pieces of legislation

used to alienate the native Africans from their land. The LSA was an attempt by the Southern Rhodesian government to implement an apartheid land policy in a systematic and coordinated fashion.

Ncube (*ibid.*) notes that the Land Settlement Board had as its main responsibility in the immediate post-war years, the implementation of the ex-servicemen's schemes. As a result of this segregatory land policy, European agriculture in the first post-war decade experienced a phenomenal growth, which was largely due to the opening up of new areas to European settlement. Up until the 1940s, African squatters or tenants had merely been given notice as land became alienated. The demand for land grew and in 1950 the decision was taken that all European Crown land should be cleared of Africans within a period of five years. The agrarian boom had made it more profitable for the Europeans to farm or ranch the land they had been allocated under the LAA, than to rent it out to African tenants.

The late 1940s and 1950s witnessed mass relocations of people from the plateau to the lowlands throughout the country, but especially in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. The eviction of the black majority population from the land of their forefathers gave rise to unrest and resentment. As far as Matabeleland was concerned, most of those who were evicted were resettled in the lower-lying lands to the north, particularly in the Gwaai and Shangani reserves, which had been set aside for Ndebele occupation as long ago as 1894, but were still thinly populated. The Gwaai and Shangani reserves had long been intensely unpopular with the Ndebele who had rejected them when they were originally created in 1894, regarding them as 'cemeteries not homes'.

Bhebe (1989) shows the dismal conditions in the Reserves during the colonial period. He reveals that by the 1940s many Reserves were showing signs of human and livestock overcrowding, leading to overgrazing, soil erosion and declining productivity. The Native Commissioners tried to squeeze the evicted black farmers into the already overcrowded Reserves. By 1943 many of the Reserves were in a deplorable state. Some parts of the Reserves could not support people because of the scarcity of water, others were already ruined by overpopulation, overstocking, and by destructive methods of cultivation which actually came about during the colonial period. In the pre-colonial period, African land husbandry was productive largely as a result of the indigenous Africans' knowledge and perceptions about soils, issues of soil fertility and erosion etc. The introduction of the plough and its improper use also contributed to irreparable damage of land resources in the Reserves.

The Tribal Trust Land Act of 1967 replaced the NLHA (1951) as it sought to give authority to administer and allocate land in the Reserves (now renamed Tribal Trust Lands) to the traditional chiefs. Colonial rule had sought to replace the traditional system of rule by chiefs with the direct rule of central government. The chiefs were minor state functionaries appointed by, and answerable to, the Native Administrator, and with no formal authority to allocate land. It was the Native Commissioner (later District Commissioner) who was empowered by the regulations to allocate land for huts, gardens and grazing. The power of the colonial state could thus be used to interfere and reorganize the manner in which Africans occupied and used land. The NLHA (1951) had been introduced to regulate land use and land allocation in the African areas, and to abolish what had the colonial state perceived as the destructive 'communal' land tenure system in the rural areas, and replace it with individual land rights. However, after the failure of the NLHA 1951, and its replacement by the TTLA of 1967, the colonial state began to stress the power of 'communal' land tenure, in part, in order to shift the responsibility for land shortages in rural areas from the state to traditional leaders, but also to ward off the rising tide of African nationalism.

In terms of the TTL Act, the occupation and use of land in the tribal areas vested in tribal land authorities comprising the chief of the area and other 'tribesmen' nominated by him in accordance with 'tribal custom'. The tribal customs referred to were actually a colonial invention of tradition/custom because the idea of 'traditional' land tenure was largely a colonial construction aimed at bolstering the powers of chiefs in order to construct an effective basis for indirect rule and the control of land resources through chiefs. The idea that 'customary' land law in general was created under colonial rule has gained wide currency: both historians and anthropologists have demonstrated how colonial authorities sought to enforce 'custom' rather than current practice, thereby freezing what had been dynamic agrarian systems. The TTLA also gave chiefs the right to supervise cultivation, and the Tribal Courts Act (TCA) of 1969 took the policy of reviving 'traditional' authorities in the TTLs a step further in the invention of tradition by investing chiefs with legal powers. The Land Tenure Act (1969) was passed to divide the land and Europeans exclusively occupied agricultural regions one, two, three and four.

2.4 The Liberation Struggle: A desire to reconnect to the Land

It must be noted that the land issue was the basis upon which the black Africans in Zimbabwe waged a protracted war for independence in order to reclaim and redeem the land that had

been occupied by the white settlers. Herbert Wiltshire Chitepo, the late veteran nationalist of Zimbabwe's liberation Struggle aptly stated that:

“I think everybody who knows about revolution knows that revolution has been about land everywhere in the world. It is about land because land is the thing on which you live. You build your house on it; you get your food from it. Life is sustained on the land, and without it you are really facing death.”

To Chitepo, as representative of the majority of Africans in Zimbabwe, the land was an indispensable facet of their livelihood. Africans who had been alienated from their land collectively rose up in nationalism to reclaim their land through passive and active resistance to colonialism and settler administration. A protracted and bitter war was waged in Zimbabwe from the 1960s till independence in 1980.

Mupfuvi (2014) quotes Alao Abiodun (2007: 63) who writes that:

“Land is the most important resource in Africa. Its importance transcends economics into a breadth of social, spiritual, and political significance. It is considered as a place of birth; the place where the ancestors are laid to rest; the place which the creator has designated to be passed down to successive generations; and the final resting place for every child born on its surface. Every society in Africa sees land as a natural resource that is held in trust for future generations, and the sacredness of this trust lies behind most of the conflicts over land in the continent. Land is the abode of most other natural resources; a characteristic that means the controversies surrounding these resources often manifest through conflicts over ownership, management, and control of land.”

Stedman (1988) highlights that before the 1979 Lancaster House Conference, the land issue re-surfaced during the Muzorewa-Smith era, 1978-9. The Muzorewa-Smith coalition government realized the influence of the land issue in the nationalist cause and initiated some reforms in order to neutralize this grievance. It passed the Land Tenure Act of 1978 in order to remove discrimination in previous land legislation. The Land Tenure Act of 1969 was repealed and the classification of land by race nullified. Africans could now legally buy land in former European areas. This legislation did not change the land distribution patterns because the cost of farms in the former European areas was extremely high. Racial discrimination was banned in hotels, restaurants, cafes, theatres and swimming pools. Other forms of discrimination remained intact in housing, government schools, and hospitals. The

reforms targeted the elites with whom the regime was negotiating. The reforms addressed the racial pattern of land sharing on paper, but not in practice. As a result, the privileged were unimpressed and the peasants continued their support of the guerilla insurgency.

Proctor and Phimister (1991) submit that the Lancaster House Conference held between September - December 1979 had democracy and land as the two main issues. The African nationalists, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, were closely aligned as the Patriotic Front and they had land on their agenda as they needed to fulfill promises made to the peasants during wartime. Land was the most contentious issue at Lancaster, and led to a three week deadlock between the Patriotic Front and the British government. To the nationalists, poverty was closely tied to the issue of land ownership.

2.5 From Lancaster to the Fast-track Land Reform Programme

The terms agreed upon on the contentious land issue in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 included the provision for emergency acquisitions, acquisition of derelict land, and special provisions on litigation and arbitration. It listed all the public purposes for which land could be expropriated: defense, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, and town and country planning. Only the under-utilized land could be expropriated for agricultural resettlement, any other land would have to be acquired on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis (Ng'ong'ola, 1992). The willing-buyer-willing-seller provision would remain in place for ten years, after which a two-thirds majority vote in parliament could overturn it. Ng'ongola (ibid.) adds that the "Willing-buyer-willing-seller" slowed down the process of land transfer from the large scale commercial farmers to the peasants. Hence, Olsen and Stedman (1994) argue that two important constituencies lost at Lancaster: the landless peasants and the guerillas. As a result, land invasions began in Zimbabwe immediately after independence. The Lancaster land policy, based on the willing-buyer-willing-seller doctrines, was unsustainable and it legalized the massive expropriations of the colonial period.

Britain conceded the need for far-reaching land reform in Zimbabwe with some British and American experts estimated that US \$1.5 to US\$2 billion would be required to buy out the settler farmers. Britain and the United States of America jointly agreed to finance resettlement. British multi-national corporations held vast tracts of land in Rhodesia. The diversified interests of these corporations and individual stakeholders extended all over

southern Africa and focused on the exploitation of various natural resources, particularly minerals and the land. The Lancaster settlement perpetuated the British colonial policy since the design of a few ruling many continued in the economic sphere. Moyana (c2002) puts forward that in order to allow for the progress at the Lancaster House discussions, Britain encouraged by U.S. support, promised money and aid that it was both unable and unwilling to give; by so doing, it met the Patriotic Front's minimum expectations while protecting white settler interests.

Mushimbo (2005) concludes that the nationalists agreed to the willing-buyer-willing-seller principle because they assumed that Britain and the USA would make good on their commitments; also, this enabled them to keep, at least in principle, their wartime promises to the peasants. At Lancaster the nationalists gained political power and legitimacy while Ian Smith got a land policy that made land acquisition almost impossible for the new African government. The white minority had economic protections for at least ten years. The land issue was compromised in order to balance the conflicting interests of the various stakeholders in the Rhodesian crisis: Britain, the Rhodesian Front, African nationalists, and the different factions represented in the international community.

The progress in land acquisition by the Government of Zimbabwe in the first decade of independence did not yield the desired results. A total of 10 816 886 hectares were acquired between the year 2000 and 2011 through compulsory acquisition compared to 3 498 44 purchased from voluntary sellers between 1980 and 1998. From the onset, land resettlement was conducted for the following reasons: To decongest the rural areas which had infertile and exhausted land and also to empower the indigenous majority black population that was disenfranchised by the skewed colonial land tenure system.

2.6 Land Reform: An impediment to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)?

The Zimbabwean political and economic instability following the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in the new millennium made the region an unattractive investment destination. Having entered into a Free Trade Area, the region markets itself as a whole, and indeed, happenings in one country will reflect on the other countries. Action in regard of Zimbabwe is necessary if the region wants to be taken seriously and have influence on the global market. The movement towards deeper integration entails the harmonisation of trade and other policies. How this is to be achieved in the case of Zimbabwe is a

million dollar question. The country's inflation level and its financial crisis are extraordinarily at variance with the rest of the region (Raftopoulos, 2003). The Zimbabwean situation has an adverse impact on regional integration and threatens to further drag a process that, at best, is a very slow one. Peace and security are fundamental to regional economic development and integration. Whatever political and economic instability in one country will always spill-over to the neighboring countries and affect the whole region. Raftopoulos (*ibid.*) contends that it was the situation unfolding in the SADC region.

The rampant inflation and literacy levels being threatened by the massive brain drain that has seen professionals leave Zimbabwe for "greener pastures" in foreign lands. Hurusa (2007) posits that unemployment has reached crisis levels and, in general, the standards of living for the people of Zimbabwe have decreased dramatically. In a sense, Zimbabwe is contributing to the exacerbation of the poverty problem in SADC. Adding to that, as people escape Zimbabwe in droves, Zimbabwe has become the source of migrant labour, particularly for Botswana and South Africa which, as the better developed economies, have had to absorb the bulk of Zimbabwe's migration problem. As the other countries grapple with their own domestic problems, particularly unemployment, Zimbabweans contribute to the competition for jobs and opportunities leading to conflict and xenophobia as people fight for scarce resources. Hence, the implications of the land reform programme on SADC relations.

Since the year 2000, the reason for the slow uptake of FDI in Zimbabwe has been the fear that the country does not have protection of private property; a charge that is directly related to matters of human rights and the rule of law. As soon as sentiments for land reform were echoed in other SADC states, there was a loud cry and panic that the same states such as Namibia and South Africa were clamoring for the rectifying of the skewed land ownership structures. Dhewa (2018), in an article in *The Southern Times* weekly newspaper, headlined: "SA Parliament votes for land reform" quotes political analyst Dr. Alphonse Bhere who argues that "Land expropriation is a sensitive issue, which has the potential to shake the economy of a country ... (and indeed its neighbors)".

2.7 Theoretical underpinnings on the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme

The realist theory used as a tool for analysis in this study proposes that the main actors of international relations are nation-states and that the sovereignty of nation states implies the absence of any regulatory authority beyond the boundaries of the state. The behavior of the state on the international arena is driven by the desire to secure national interests. Realists view any attempt to create international legal (and other) institutions that claim to regulate processes in international relations on the basis of norms and values of an international (supra-national) character with skepticism. The realist worldview was shaped by the ancient Greek historian Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli in the 16th century, Thomas Hobbes in the 17th century. E. H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz are some of the major proponents of realism in relatively recent times. They focused on national security and state survival and portrayed international politics as power politics. The realist theory helps in understanding the motive behind nations joining institutions such as the SADC.

The Constructivist theory gives credit to the formation of international institutions such as the SADC and acknowledges the role of these institutions in shaping the behavior of the states within and in the global arena as well as their beliefs on various issues. Constructivism is the philosophical and scientific position that knowledge arises through a process of active construction. This theory is applicable to this study because in order to understand the behavior of states towards each other in their interactions, the previously agreed construction of reality is important to understand. In light of this, institutions such as the SADC have played a huge role in promoting interstate relations of mutual cooperation towards collective interests and co-existence. Nicholas Onuf is usually credited with coining the term "constructivism" to describe theories that stress the socially constructed character of international relations. Contemporary constructivist theory traces its roots to pioneering work not only by Onuf, but also by Richard K. Ashley, Friedrich Kratochwil, John Ruggie, and Christian Reus-Smit. Alexander Wendt is a contemporary proponent of social constructivism in the field of international relations.

While both the realist and the constructivist theories are applicable as theoretical framework for this study, realisms' focus is pessimistic in approach particularly towards moral progress and human possibilities (Gilpin, 1984), and it is this self-interested "reality" that has been accepted by political scientists for centuries that was considered in arguing that states use economics in order to further their national interests in the political field at any cost;

‘...history instructs many...that economic competition is a form of war in which some win and others lose ’ (Fallows, 1994: 231). Economics is essentially just another platform for states to pursue their national interests and further themselves politically; thus member states in the SADC bloc are pursuing national interests first and foremost and any other relationship is secondary to that primary goal.

The realist paradigm upon which this research was premised incorporates three distinct branches of realism: namely, structural realism/neorealism, neoclassical realism and classical realism whose common denominator is the anarchical nature of the international system (absence of a central authority or world government) and the struggle for power and survival among nation-states. Pham (2008:258) writes that Morgenthau considered interests as the forces inherent in human power and that human beings are naturally selfish and evil; hence the nation-states behave in the same manner in pursuing national interests which “are objectives rooted in values in order to determine what is good for a nation as a whole in international affairs” (Shembilku, 2004:11). As such, Morgenthau (1978:4) introduced a critical political tool in international relations which he termed “national objectives” as espoused in a country’s foreign policy. In a way, national interests are embodied in a country’s foreign policy which is a set of objectives which give direction in which a country may pursue in the international system. During the period in which Zimbabwe pursued the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, the terms “national interests” and “sovereignty” became household terms. The purposive action by Zimbabwe was in pursuit of security and national interests. In principle, national interests are pivotal to a nation’s foreign policy.

Morgenthau (1978:9) highlights that the character of a foreign policy can be ascertained only through the examination of the political acts performed and of the foreseeable consequences of these acts. Molly (2004:157) puts forward that interest are synonymous to power. In addition he further argues that interests are at the heart of all politics and thus, at the international stage, each state pursues its interest, generally defined as power. Donnelly (2000:9) observes that realism as a political theory “emphasizes the constraints on politics imposed by human nature and the absence of international government. They make international relations largely a realm of power and interest”. Realism in actual fact subscribes to the notion of man’s control over man and is egocentric (self-centred). This is supported by Morgenthau (1978:9) who points out that human nature in which the laws of politics have their roots has not changed since the classical philosophies of China, India, and

Greece. Realist views trace the role of power claiming that foreign policy is based on the idea of one actor continuously trying to influence or control other actors, so as to get them to behave in ways that are beneficial to it, thus promoting its national interests. This is implicitly reflected in Zimbabwe's implementation of its domestic policy which invariably had a bearing on its foreign policy.

Morgenthau (1978:9) defines national interest as synonymous with power as such it is the proper object of a state's foreign policy and the best measure of its capacity to achieve its aims. When crafting national policies, countries put forward their vital interests for the sake of survival and are prepared to go to war when they feel their vital interests are being threatened. The Zimbabwean Government viewed the land as a strategic resource which had to be in the hands of the natives in order to realize maximum benefit for the majority of the population.

In order to understand the complex realities of the Fast-track Land Reform Programme, in relation to the implications to Zimbabwe's relations with the other SADC states, realism portrays the realities in the international system in an undiluted and uncensored manner and that man is at the center of all states' interactions. Thompson (1985) cited in Donnelly (2000:9) explicitly points out that "human nature has not changed since the days of classical antiquity and that nature is at its core egoistic and inclined towards immorality." Realism argues that human nature is naturally selfish and self-centered therefore states, however big or small, display their power and interests through robust and bold domestic and foreign policies for their quest for power, influence and material resources for the benefit of their economies and citizens. The realists have it that no matter how states create international institutions and laws as advocated by the idealists, the underlining and governing factor is power and material interest. As further reinforced by Slaughter (2011), international law is a symptom of state behavior and not a cause. Realism, thus guides the arguments presented in this thesis.

The dependency theory looks at the Fast-track land reform programme together with the land question in Zimbabwe from the understanding that problems in the Third World (developing) countries have their roots from western ideologies such as slavery, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and capitalism. From the dependency theory point of view, the FTLRP was justified, necessary and inevitable as a way of redressing the skewed land distribution created by colonialism which sought to exploit African natural resources. The South African cable

news channel eNCA reports that on 19 May 2018, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa was discussing land expropriation at the ANC Land Reform Summit in Boksburg, Gauteng; where current South African President Cyril Ramaphosa said “land expropriation without compensation is the only way to deal with inequality and eradicate poverty.” Thus, the land problem in SADC was long overdue and the radical approach in the form of the FTLRP was necessary from a dependency theory point of view.

However, a critique of the dependency theory helps to understand the contrary view to dependency as it does not apportion the blame only on western countries but rather argues that while the role of western countries in the land problems bedeviling African states cannot be absolved, the third world states themselves have a fair amount of responsibility as highlighted by former South African President Kgalema Motlanthe, at the same land expropriation workshop, that African corruption in the administration and implementation of land reform policies presents hurdles for equitable land reform and distribution. The theory is important in understanding the importance of land reform for third world states in order for them to achieve their broad national objectives and aspirations.

2.8 Regional Relations: A need for Coalitions

In pursuit of her national interests, that entailed correcting the land ownership imbalance inherited at independence, Zimbabwe had to engage in the Fast Track Land Reform Programme notwithstanding consequences on the region. Zimbabwe’s bid to control its vast natural resources and moreover ownership of the land resource created a number of challenges in the region particularly as it called on the other SADC states to take positions on the matter. On the one hand was Namibia which openly supported the Zimbabwe move on Land reclamation; South Africa, Zambia, Angola, Malawi and the Democratic Republic of Congo did not clearly show their support and Botswana opposed the move. As such, SADC was divided on how to handle the Zimbabwean situation following the Fast-track Land Reform exercise.

Zimbabwe’s move to assert itself and promote its interests with consistency within the international system proves that a state pursues self-interests and survival. The fact that states within SADC could not come up with an agreeable common position on Zimbabwe’s Land Reform exercise also shows that the various individual states also considered their self-interests and the greater meaning of the move to their own well-being. For some, their own

food security was at stake considering that Zimbabwe was regarded as the breadbasket of the region. A disruption in agricultural production in Zimbabwe invariably affected the commodity available in some countries. However, as the realist perspective holds, states are in direct competition with one another to achieve security and wealth needs, therefore, cooperation between them is ultimately tactical and limited to a series of selective, self-interested alliances.

Chigora (2006) quotes Stan Mudenge, who says “Zimbabwe’s foreign policy objective is fundamentally to help safeguard and enhance the security and prestige of the country. Also it is geared towards the improvement of quality of life of the Zimbabwean people. This is done through interaction with other countries at various levels in order to influence the behavior of other actors so that the international environment is conducive to the attainment of these goals.” Furthermore, Zimbabwe is “guided by an overriding belief in and love for mankind, the sacredness and inviolability of our national sovereignty and the need for freedom, justice and equality for all” (*ibid.*). This is shown by the Zimbabwean belief in themselves as a people in charge of their destiny controlled by no power.

The success of the Fast-track Land Reform exercise was dependent, to a large extent, on successful foreign policy particularly on the ability and willingness to form coalitions and solidarity groups with other correspondingly minded states. Chigora (2006) highlights that this “will bring about critical weight needed at a particular point in order to influence the case and events in a state’s own favor. In the case of Zimbabwe, such coalitions are evident with support from some fellow SADC countries.” He adds that the “shining example is Namibia, as evidenced by then president, Sam Nujoma’s speech at the Earth Summit in Durban 2001 explicitly blaming the British for having caused the problem in Zimbabwe.”

Chari (2013) observes that even though the pledge by the British and the Americans to fund land reform was not inscribed in the Lancaster House constitution, the Patriotic Front was persuaded to accept the compromise after being put under pressure by the Front line States who had been their benefactors. In addition, the Declaration of Rights (Section 16 of the Zimbabwe Constitution) circumscribed the compulsory acquisition of any property, including land, for a period of ten years after the date of independence. Any constitutional amendments during this ten year period needed a 100 per cent majority, something that was impossible given the fact that whites had 20 seats reserved for them under the same constitution for the next seven years. Chari (*ibid.*) quotes Utete (2003:17) who writes that “realising the duplicity

of the deal, the then president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere commented that it would be impossible to:

“...tax Zimbabweans in order to compensate people who took it (land) away from them through the gun. Really the British cannot have it both ways. They made this an issue and they are now making vague remarks mixing rural development with the question of land compensation. The two are separate... The British paid money to Kenya. That the future government of Zimbabwe must pay compensation is a British demand and the British must promise in London to make the money available.”

As a result, white farmers who were reluctant to relinquish their land sold land that was mostly in poor ecological regions through the ‘willing seller-willing buyer’ arrangement, resulting in land reform moving at a very slow pace during the first few years after independence.

To show that SADC member states maintained a keen interest on the developments in Zimbabwe during the life of the Fast-track land reform exercise, Kenneth Kaunda, former Zambian president, noted that both Britain and Zimbabwe can be blamed for failing to discuss the land issue. He noted that both parties remained mute on the matter until 1997. Kaunda said “Certainly, the British and the Zimbabwean Government did not act on time, given the historical significance of land in Zimbabwe. It is true that procedurally, based on the understanding reached at Lancaster, the land issue was to be discussed ten years after independence but it appears no party from either side made serious commitment to follow up on the issue up until the problem got to crisis levels in the second half of the 1990s.”

Chigora (2006) states that Britain feared that her commitment to fund land reform in Zimbabwe would spark a series of demands from former colonies, thus leading to loss of support both at home and externally from other allies who have basically the same obligation as Britain in their former colonies. Following action taken in Zimbabwe, demands for compensation for colonial injustices all emanating from land alienation emerged in Namibia, South Africa, Kenya, Australia and Brazil. An aspect which Chari (2013) suggests was emphasized by the international media as the so-called ‘contagion effect’ of the Zimbabwe land reform. There were concerns about Zimbabwean- style farm invasions spilling into neighboring countries where the land issue had not been resolved, primarily, South Africa and Namibia. “If what was happening in Zimbabwe went unchecked, these countries would

sooner or later catch ‘the Zimbabwean disease’, so went the reasoning. In the news, South Africa and Namibia were ‘warned’ not to emulate the Zimbabwe- style of land reform. Such news headlines include: ‘*Regional concern over land crisis*’ (BBC News, 16 May 2000), ‘*SA land reforms walk uneasy path*’ (Reuters, 28 October 2004) and ‘*Reform to be according to Law*’, Nujoma (AFP, 23 April 2004).

The West has the moral duty to pay not just compensation to white farmers, but also Africans who have for years been deprived of valuable resources through colonialism argues Chigora (2006). He concludes that colonial injustice should be corrected by giving land not only to Zimbabweans whose land was alienated for 110 years, but also to the rest of the countries in Africa and the Third World who went through the grueling colonial process. Chigora (*ibid.*) rightly points out that “foreign policy making in Zimbabwe reveals that the domestic policy plays an important role in shaping its relations amongst other nations. Land and sovereignty are core principles of Zimbabwe’s foreign policymaking and have a bearing on its interaction and actions.” He adds that what emerges from the conflict between two countries is that it has been a result of pursuance of divergent national interest and that conflict is inherent in every society and disagreements always crop up when interest differs.

2.9 Land Redistribution: A genuine need or political expediency

Zimbabwe’s land reform was arguably more of a virtue of necessity than anything else. The view that all the land went to people with access to elite connections benefiting from political patronage is has been called a myth by pro-land reform scholars. Scoones et al (2011) posit that the profile of the new settlers, that is, beneficiaries of the fast-track land reform exercise show that the majority of the new settlers are ordinary people. They conclusively state that about half of all new settler households in farmland were from nearby communal areas and another 18% from urban areas. These were people who had little or very poor land in the communal areas or were unemployed or with poorly-paid jobs and living in town. In their study, Scoones et al (*ibid.*) reveal that the “remaining third of household heads was made up of civil servants (16.5% overall, but increasing to around a quarter of all settlers in A1 self-contained and A2 sites), business people (4.8% overall, but again proportionately higher in the A1 self-contained and A2 sites), security service personnel (3.7% overall) and former farm workers (6.7% overall)”.

Hughes (2010) is of the view that the predominantly white farm owners were forced off their lands along with their workers, who were typically of regional descent, and were excluded from the redistribution, leaving them without employment. He states that a good example of political expediency in the fast-track land reform exercise is the high profile takeover of Alamein Farm by (the late) retired Army General Solomon Mujuru. On 10 June 2004, a spokesperson for the British embassy, Sophie Honey, weighed in by saying that the UK had not reneged on commitments (made) at Lancaster House but rather she remained a strong advocate for effective, well managed and pro-poor land reform. Implying that the Fast-track land reform had not been implemented in line with the principles and therefore they did not support it.

As such, land was shown to be a key socioeconomic resource that has social, economic and political value to those who own, control and use it. For Moyo (2012; Cousins (2005) and Kariuki (2009) those who depend on the land but do not own it or own unproductive land, are vulnerable to poverty and other socioeconomic shocks. The political elite will dangle the land resource for political expediency. Tom and Mutswanga (2015) noted that the extent of redistribution of key land to a large number of land-hungry peasants and the other groups generally improved social cohesion. They write that different groups who were deliberately excluded from owning and using land to improve their lives view the land regime after the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) to be more cohesive than the previous one. Peasants, former farm workers of white commercial farmers, current farm workers, politicians, private sector officials, employed and unemployed urbanites, senior government officials and corporate all benefitted. This plurality shows that the FTLRP benefitted a wider range of people than the willing-buyer willing-seller concept.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter aptly titled *The Trajectory of Land Reform in Zimbabwe* looked at the unfolding events and circumstances that necessitated the implementation of the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. The point of departure is the matters that led to the occupation of Zimbabwean territory and the subsequent expropriation of the land leading to the alienation of the indigenous inhabitants from their source of livelihood. The pretext for journeying northwards by Cecil John Rhodes and his men who are commonly referred to as the Pioneer Column was in search for gold and later as a farming venture. The chapter also looks at land reform as it relates to Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Theoretical

underpinnings on the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme were looked at considering realism, that is the desire and behavior of nation-states to pursue national interests in the international system.

Despite the international laws, it has been observed that nation-states are after the satisfaction of their interests in alliances or partnerships which established or joined are a fulfillment of strategic goals. In addition, foreign policies are crafted in line with national objectives and interests in the anarchic international system. The issue of how regional relations call for the establishment of regional blocs such as SADC was also explored. The view that land reform was not a virtue of necessity but rather more of political expediency was also evaluated on the basis of available evidence. A realistic conceptual frame upon which this research was premised was also looked at.

The following Chapter (Chapter 3) focuses on the Land question and Southern African politics. It also looks at the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER 3

THE LAND QUESTION AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLITICS

3.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter looked at the trajectory of land reform in Zimbabwe and the theoretical framework which informed the study with particular focus on leading to an understanding of how the issue of the land reform had a bearing on SADC relations and Zimbabwe's regional foreign policy implementation. It also considered additional data from available literature that helped fill in the knowledge gap on how Zimbabwe pursued her national interests. This chapter puts the land question and Southern African politics into perspective. The chapter will start by looking at a brief overview of the land question in Southern Africa and the politics of Southern Africa touching on the political economy of the region. It further argues that the land question is central to Southern African politics and indeed much of the developing world. In addition, the methodology used in the study, covering the research design, sampling and methods of collecting data are covered in Chapter 3.

3.1 A Global Quandary: The complexity of the Land question in Zimbabwe

The making of history and development of a people group is anchored on the use and exploitation of what is on the land, above it and beneath it. One of the most prevalent reasons for wars throughout history has been the issue of land; land as understood within the confines of territory. The general understanding of land is that it is the:

“Primary input and factor which is not consumed but without which no production is possible. It is the resource that has no cost of production and, although its usage can be switched from a less to more profitable one, its supply cannot be increased. The term 'land' includes all physical elements in the wealth of a nation bestowed by nature; such as climate, environment, fields, forests, minerals, mountains, lakes, streams, seas, and animals. As an asset, it includes anything on the ground (such as buildings, crops, fences, trees, water), above the ground (air and space rights), and under the ground (mineral rights), down to the center of the Earth. Perhaps the oldest form of collateral, land is still very attractive to lenders because it cannot be destroyed, moved, stolen, or wasted. All a lender needs is the borrower's clear title to it.” (*WebFinance Inc.*, 2018).

Given the significance of land for human beings, it goes without saying that the land resource is at the centre of most conflicts. Guereña (2016) in a report entitled “*Unearthed: land, power and inequality in Latin America*” puts forward that new data reveals that Latin America is the most unequal region of the world in land distribution. The report further states that the struggle for land in Latin America has given rise to internal conflicts, displacements, and human rights violations. Furthermore, most attempts at widespread land reform have failed to yield the desired results vast areas of land grabbed from their legitimate ancestral owners remain in the hands of foreigners.

Van der Molen et al (2008) make comparisons of different states highlighting how they have faced the challenge of land as well their attempt to resolve the conflicts. Kenya has had historical injustices of land which stretch back to colonial land policies and laws (1895-onwards) that resulted in mass disinheritance of communities of their land, and which complaints have not been satisfactorily resolved to date. The grievances remain unsolved because successive post-independence governments have failed to address them in a holistic manner. Furthermore, Van der Molen et al (*ibid.*) argue that colonial policies and laws molded the genesis of the mass disinheritance of various Kenyan communities of their land. Thus, there is the need to establish a suitable legal and administrative framework to resolve the historical injustices through restitution (restoration of land rights to those who have unjustly been deprived of such rights), reparation and compensation for historical injustices or claims.

Land grabbing has occurred across the globe for over many centuries since the period when colonial powers seized control of land on almost every continent. The need for addressing the legacy of unequal land distribution is traced in many countries of the world today; that is the land question that remains unresolved. In order to bring the matter closer to the subject under research, there is need to dwell on the land question and its relation to Southern African politics. Selected country land troubles were considered in this report for the purposes of clarity and filling the knowledge gap in line with the research objectives.

The land question and persistent rural poverty in Africa highlight the neglect of social justice and equity issues which underlie the unequal control and use of land and natural resources proscribe neoliberal development policy agendas and which represent external dominance of African governance reforms”, posits Moyo (2003). He adds that the growth of resource conflicts in Africa reflect inconsistencies immersed in both colonial and post-colonial land

policies and the significance that land concentration takes in contemporary struggles over ‘development’ and accumulation under global capitalism, as well as struggles for democratization. These contradictions question the capacity of neo-liberal market and political regimes to deliver land and economic reforms which can address both inequity and poverty which paradoxically remain unresolved. The general demand for far-reaching reforms in other continents- notably Latin America and Asia- underlines the importance of the wider global level persistence of unequal class and race relations over land and resource control.

3.1.1 The Land Question in Southern Africa

Moyo (2015) writes that the land invasions in Zimbabwe and the fears that were expressed that similar invasions could occur in Southern Africa indicated that the land question in the region must be addressed urgently. This paper discusses the nature of the land problem in the region and tries to situate the general land reform process in Zimbabwe within a regional context. In addition, he contends that the resolution of the land issue is vital for the political, economic and environmental well-being of the Southern African region. Furthermore, Moyo (*ibid.*) argues that the colonial legacy of capital accrual grounded upon uneven landownership arrangements and access to agricultural resources and infrastructure is what underlies the growing conflicts over land in the region.

The land question in Southern Africa dangled on reform programs intended to regain macro-economic balance, improve resource allocation and restore growth for the promoting sustainable land use as well as improving equitable land redistribution for the benefit of the majority. The land question was internationalised, not least because it suggests the incomplete decolonisation processes in ex-settler colonies, but also because the international management of the Zimbabwe land problem has highlighted various longstanding north-south grievances (Moyo, 2003). The African land and agrarian question have specific historical tendencies in comparison to its global incidence and a contemporary expression which has not been adequately explained by the numerous land studies in Africa (Moyo, *ibid*; World Bank, 2002).

“Internal migrations and involuntary settlements, changes in land use and land tenure systems in Africa over the last century, have produced dramatic inequalities in land control and conflicts, albeit in more localized scales than elsewhere. Africa’s land question is defined by

growing struggles for access to land and its secure use, as well as struggles to reclaim alienated land rights” (Moyo, 2015). Same highlights that variegated struggles at varying scales and localities over escalating unequal access to and control of land represent Africa’s real land question. Africa’s land question cannot be understated as the extensive degradation of land resources and elite control of extensive prime lands under conditions of land scarcity all combine to broaden the uneven distribution of land and the resultant contradictions arising from constrained social and technical relations of production.

The Leader editorial comment entitled “*Address land issue once and for all*” of *The Southern Times* newspaper of Friday 02-08 March 2018 poses a question to SADC governments on how those who do not have land can be treated equal to those who have it but did not pay a premium for it. It calls on SADC governments to prioritise addressing the land question before citizens lose faith in their governments’ ability and willingness to peacefully bring about the required change.

Lahiff (2008) advances the view that a “central element of the European colonisation of Africa was the alienation of land from indigenous people. In only a minority of colonies, however, were European settlers established on a significant scale – notably in Algeria and Kenya and across southern Africa, leading to large-scale land dispossession and a range of coercive labour practices.” In Southern Africa demands for land restitution was a central element for anti-colonial struggles. Bruce (1993) agrees with the view that in countries such as Zimbabwe, and Zambia where there was large scale dispossession, there was a need for urgent redress. Lahiff (2008) adds that land reform remains a prominent policy issue across much of Africa, but particularly in southern Africa – including Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. He notes that conditions vary considerably from country to country; but there is a common context for the politics of land across the region starting from the shared history of colonialism, dispossession and impoverishment of indigenes, which continues to shape patterns of landholding.

Ankomah (2018) argues that the land reform processes for African countries have been met with alarmist reactions in a bid to prevent the imperative and inevitable need to address the issue decisively. He adds that Southern African states, namely South Africa and Namibia know too well that the negative impacts of the Zimbabwean fast-track land reform programme are a lie being used by whites with vested interests to dissuade the two states from redressing the very serious land issues in the two states.

Land reform was imperative because “politically it has a sometimes latent, currently more prominent, always potent emotional and symbolic appeal in national debate about the future and the past” submits Walker (2004). There is a nexus between land issues and politics in southern Africa with a narrative that resonates powerfully with those living on the margins of the social strata. It therefore follows that this research report looks at the individual Southern African countries whose experience can help unpack the complex dynamics of the land question in relation to southern African politics.

3.1.2 The Nexus between the Land Question and Politics in South Africa

The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) leader Julius Malema says that with regards to the issue of land redistribution, “the time of reconciliation is over, (and) now is the time for justice”. For South Africa the need to redress the land disparities is unquestioned. The means and the how to get on with the task has been the bone of contention within the corridors of power and influence in South Africa. The manner in which the land issue was handled in neighboring Zimbabwe and the subsequent purported effects of the same on the socio-political and economic spheres have had an influence on which trajectory the South African land reform will take. The land problem in South Africa is perhaps more complex than any other country in the region argues Moyo (2015). He observes that the serious land problem is demonstrated in massive urban slums and marginal rural areas under extreme population pressure; explaining the long political struggle to regain national independence and the complexities of land expropriation and claims’ processes over many centuries in a context of resistance by a white minority population. Debates abound on the most effective means of remedying the injustices and inequities of apartheid-based land distribution.

The Democratic Alliance (DA), a political party that seeks to safeguard the white minority population interests benefited through the apartheid system. The DA criticises the issue of land expropriation without compensation saying ownership of land was fundamental to economic development. They continue to argue that expropriation does not achieve real and meaningful restoration but in fact, results in poverty and economic destruction. Be that as it may, the issue of land has gathered momentum in South Africa. Contrary to the views held by the DA in South Africa, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) concurs with the EFF on the need to correct the land imbalance created by many years of colonialism and apartheid that resulted in separate development. Events in Zimbabwe have had strong resonance for political parties and landless people South Africa where severe racial

inequalities in land holding persist, and struggles over land have become central to external perceptions of the region (Lahiff, 2003).

Bond (2000) posits that at the core of the land dilemma in South Africa is a broad-based agreement between the main political parties (ANC, DA, EFF) together with the smaller parties such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha Freedom Party, the representatives of private capital whose desire is to preserve the essential structure of the capitalist economy, albeit with the addition of new black faces among managers and owners. This is mirrored in the importance given to abstract conceptualisations of markets throughout land reform policy where land for the landless is to be supplied by 'the market', beneficiaries will be selected (largely) on their ability to produce for 'the market' and support services for resettled farmers will be accessed through 'the market'.

The ANC sees the landless majority black population as economically marginal but recognizes that they are a politically significant constituency. Against a background of high unemployment in the towns and cities, the EFF seeks the attention of the landless population by championing supposedly pro-people "fast track" land reform propositions that are brought out at every opportunity to lash out at the ruling ANC for lack of haste in resolving the land question in South Africa. In February 2018, the ANC decided to vote in favour of a motion put forward by the EFF for the urgent address of the land question. Orderson (2018) writes that black South Africans are tired of waiting to get their land back with demands for a more radical approach to resolving the land question. On 5 February 2018, the then South African President Jacob Zuma met with King Goodwill Zwelithini at Ulundi royal palace in the north of KwaZulu-Natal where King Zwelithini underscored his opposition to the plans for land reform. This is so because Zwelithini chairs the Ingonyama Trust that manages close to one third of KwaZulu-Natal; land approximately 2.8 million hectares in extent.

The political and economic context of land reform created fears that 'Zimbabwe style' land reform has detrimental effects on South Africa. Political overtures are seen as the motives by both the ANC and EFF to push for the immediate address of the land question. Orderson (ibid.) maintains that the radical EFF has won the hearts and minds of the landless peasants who are looking forward to benefitting from forthcoming land redistribution. In addition Orderson points out that there seem to be a view within the ANC to conduct in land expropriation not as a practical issue but as a way to out-manoeuvre the advances of the EFF. Lahiff (2003) argues that there is enormous economic and political pressure on government

not to interfere with either property relations or production. This pressure serves to reinforce the neo-liberal preferences expressed in macro-economic and sectoral policies.

From the foregoing, there is an inseparable nexus between the land question and economic-political issues in South Africa. The matter remains unresolved and there seems to be a reluctance by the ruling ANC to tackle the matter head-on seemingly in fear of the repercussions as experienced in neighboring Zimbabwe following the Fast-track Land Reform programming. Hence, the South African government continues to take notes from Zimbabwe on both what to do and what not to do with regards the land question which remains a mammoth task for the government.

3.1.3 The Land Question in the Political Economy of Namibia

Namibia came under European rule in 1884 during the “Scramble and partition of Africa” when German Chancellor Bismarck, declared Namibia Germany’s South West Africa Protectorate. Settler white farmers were sold lands in the German protectorate at extremely low prices culminating in the current Namibian land issue. By its very design, the expropriation of land and eviction of Africans from the same was meant to deny Africans access to commercial agricultural production and forcing them into wage labour; a move that was appropriate for the colonial economy. The land ownership pattern in Namibia was also shaped by apartheid South African rule in the period after the territory was taken over from the German colonial era.

Namibia was granted its independence and political status in 1990 following a protracted liberation struggle advanced by the South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO) and other progressive groups. As a rallying point for support mobilization, SWAPO noted the skewed land distribution and made promises during the resistance war and also during Namibia’s first electoral campaign to resolve the land question. As a consequence of its historical background, Namibia is confronted with recurrent situations of dispossession and underdevelopment. Haring and Odendaal (2007) suggest that an effective land reform process must be both carefully planned and transparent in order to yield the desired outcomes yet there seem to be convenient targets for expropriation in order to satisfy political needs. They add that the end of the apartheid-era segregation and disenfranchisement of Namibia’s black citizens was the first goal of the new SWAPO Government at independence in 1990; therefore, the promise of land reform was a central element in the state. To that end, a

National Land Conference was held in 1991 was meant to gather the broadest possible input on the land reform process. An emphasis was made that any land reform programme must be consistent with the law embodied in Article 16 of the Constitution which recognises property rights, and while explicitly permitting expropriation to redress inequality while providing that “just compensation” must be paid.

Harring and Odendaal (*ibid.*) observe that there was disagreement within the SWAPO Government over the terms of the Agriculture Land Reform Act as some elements within the government favoured a radical and broad-based land reform programme. That approach which was not adopted in the final Act was in the fashion of the Fast-track Land Reform Programme carried out in Zimbabwe. Political influence on the land question in Namibia is seen as there minority parties in the National Assembly were seen as well organized and clear about their demand for a moderate and legal land reform process while at the same time the SWAPO Government was avoiding the possibility of disrupting the commercial agricultural sector which was seen as important for a stable economy.

Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia have differences but the central agrarian issue in all three countries is the repossession of land alienated by European settlers, writes Adams (2000). He adds that the absence of a concerted and sustained effort by the Namibian government to redistribute land could be used as a rallying point to mobilise political support. The National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question in Windhoek in 1991 was used by political groups, representing minority ethnic interests, to press for the restitution of ancestral lands. Former Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob wrote in the foreword to the National Conference on Land Reform and the Land Question (1991) that “the government recognizes that for us in Namibia land reform is a central social, political and economic objective not only because we subscribe to democratic values, but also because we have a moral mandate to restore to the majority of our people, who depend on agriculture for their livelihood, what was taken away from them.” The political approach south to avoid disruptions in the economy and the “willing buyer – willing seller” policy like in Zimbabwe and South Africa failed to alleviate the land disparities inherited at independence.

In Namibia, like elsewhere in Southern Africa, political considerations determined the trajectory that the land reform programme would take. The government chose a political rather than legal move to avoid expropriation as a move to move away from SWAPOs socialist history and to portray itself as democratic and committed to the rule of law argues

Harring and Odendaal (2007). They submit that in 2004, the Government announced that it would begin to expropriate farms as a political move to gain popularity ahead of a crucial election. The move was similarly said of Zimbabwe that the Fast-track Land Reform Programme was primarily done as a political tool to score political points against the opposition in order to win the hearts of the landless peasants. Furthermore, Harring and Odendaal (ibid.) highlight that land expropriation was given constitutional status and that it is undisputed under international law that expropriation is legal, provided that it is compensated and meets fundamental due process norms. The existing Namibian constitutional provisions meet the standard that power must be inherent in national sovereignty, in order not to obstruct existing property relations.

The political reality of Namibian democracy is that the Government must meet a popular demand for land reform in a timely way in order to avoid losing its own legitimacy and as a necessity to counter the legacy of colonialism and apartheid. To ignore the call for land reform would be both reactionary and politically suicidal. Thus, the foregoing unpacks the political economy of Namibia in as far as it is hinged on the land issue that requires meticulous and careful resolution in order to correct the skewed land ownership structures inherited at independence. This is the reality faced by Southern African states in the wake of a growing clamouring for access to natural resources by previously marginalized and disadvantaged populations. Zimbabwe remains a torch-bearer and case in point in the issues of land reform guiding the conduct of Namibia and other such states in the same predicament.

3.1.4 The Politics of Land in Mozambique and Zambia

The reality of a land situation in Mozambique and Zambia is evidence of a colonial legacy that needs attention. Mozambique attained independence from Portugal in 1975 and thereafter engaged in a 17-year war which ended in 1992. The government initiated a land policy review which led to a new National Land Policy in September 1995 which later led to a new Land Law in 1997 (Van Den Brink, 2008). The Law intended to achieve a balance between safeguarding the interests of communities and facilitating investors' access to land and to halt speculative land grabs that were leading to increased landlessness among the poor. Direito (2013) argues that the topic of land in Mozambique has by and large been overlooked; consequently, little is known on how African use and access to land was progressively curtailed through Portuguese colonial land policies.

Lahiff (2003) writes that agrarian reform continues to be a prominent policy issue in Mozambique and Zambia although the conditions are different from those of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. Common to all these states is the history of colonialism, dispossession and impoverishment of rural people, which shapes landholding patterns. Following hard on the heels of independence, in Mozambique foreign land holdings has been on the increase since early 1980s in the context of renewed interest by international capital. Although land in Mozambique constitutionally belongs to the state, 'privatisation' of land since 1984 has been done in implementing Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as recommended by the Bretton Woods Institutions the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Moyo (2000, 2005) posits that the Fast –track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe saw a rise in migration of white farmers from Zimbabwe to Mozambique and Zambia. The migration was encouraged by the neo-liberal investment policies led to foreign land holding relegating the rural poor and marginalising them from their own landscape and livelihood systems.

The land policy developments in Mozambique and Zambia which emulate the customary land tenure and long term lease hold received much donor support and have been championed as the land policy changes with the greatest potential to re-concentrate landholdings. The main thrust of Zambia's land policy is to secure Zambia's territorial integrity by maintaining international boundaries at all times so as to control movements, encroachments and enhancing security of citizens. In pre-colonial Zambia, the holding of land by the indigenous people was largely through families, jointly or by a chief or chieftainess on behalf of the community in accordance with the community's respective customary laws. The white settlers introduced the system of holding land under certificate of title in respect of Crown Land and later in respect of Trust Lands.

The land held by the white settlers was generally held under leasehold or freehold title and as such enabled the title holders to use title deeds as collateral in borrowing money from lending institutions so as to develop their land. This made their land more economically developed than land under customary law. Indigenous people were not allowed to own land in these areas except with permission to stay either as licensees in compounds or as house servants for the white settlers. The indigenous people were always expected to return to their homelands (Reserves or Trust Lands). The control of entry to State Land and the discrimination practised

by the white settlers subsequently led to the struggle for political independence by the indigenous people.

The problems created by colonial rule were that the traditional land tenure system which allowed persons within a given area to easily access land through their traditional rulers and could freely pass it on to family members through inheritance in accordance with the existing traditional customs and norms was altered. The system did not allow for exclusive rights in land as it was most held in common by the community. Individual ownership of land on a title deed was not provided for under this system. Various pieces of legislation were created to dispossess Africans, hence the struggle for independence.

Ngombe et al, (2006) write that when socialism ended, political and economic liberalization resulted into mass privatization grounded in the expectation of economic growth. White farmers from South Africa and Zimbabwe expressed the most interest in land acquisition in Mozambique. During the 1980's up until 1992, Mozambique had civil wars, which led to mass drifts into neighboring countries like Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa. Consultations on a land policy began under structural adjustment programs (SAP). However, the land issue in Mozambique was settled. The adjustments made to the economy created an environment for the market forces of supply and demand to interact freely i.e. willing buyer and willing seller, for rural land markets.

In Zambia since 1991 there was the ushering in of privatization of the economy following the Structural Adjustment Programs. There was a rapid change of the economic policy from nationalization (from Kaunda's socialist to a liberalized economy) to instigate wide market reforms in order to promote mining, agriculture and tourism. The land issue was not to be left out under this liberalized economy. The success of these three sectors required an aiding land policy that would accommodate investors (PRSP, 2002). Zambia's resort to reform was externally influenced by the World Bank and IMF who set it as a condition that the government was required to meet in order to restructure its international debt (Ngombe et al, 2006). The provisions of the proposed act were to reestablish a market for land and to streamline the issuance of titles and to promote foreign and domestic investment, to stimulate agricultural productivity and to generate tax revenue. As in Mozambique, consultations carried out sparked protests against the proposals of the land bill.

Brown (2002) posits that market based reforms in Zambia have been inequitable, contentious and confused. Issuance has been skewed towards foreign investors and prosperous well-connected locals. Few rural villagers were dimly aware of the land act and the conversion and its technicalities. Most Zambians are also at a disadvantage when it comes to protecting their land rights because their territorial boundaries are in abstract form. For example, some villagers in rural areas have found themselves squatters overnight after their land was converted to private land by investors.

The foregoing shows discussion show that the question of land in Zambia and Mozambique may not have been similar to that of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa; however, there is evidence to show that the two countries, like most of Africa have skewed land holding largely because of the shared colonial history that dispossessed indigenous blacks and alienated them from their land. In addition, the influence of the Structural Adjustment Programmes which were adopted as a panacea to the economic problems facing the African States as they adopted the liberal capitalist ideology for carrying out their macro-economics.

3.2 Protocol for Land Reform: A SADC Priority?

States form and join regional blocs through integration not primarily for the purposes of mutual benefit but rather they are motivated by self-preservation and selfish interests. This is mainly evidenced by the extent to which states deliberately pursue their own interests at the expense of the interests of the group. This view is maintained by the realist school of thought whose proponents uphold the view that states are only concerned about their own interests being motivated by statism, survival and self-help (Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Waltz and Grieco). These scholars concur that in pursuit of their interests, states will attempt to amass resources and those relations between states are determined by their relative levels of power. That level of power is in turn determined by the state's military, economic, and political capabilities. It therefore follows that SADC relations are based on convenience of individual country interests and therefore as Zimbabwe engaged in the Land Reform programme to redress the colonial imbalances, there were implications to her relations with other SADC states who bore the brunt of mass exodus of people migrating owing to the changes in the socio-economic and political setup as a result of the exercise.

It is envisaged that a common regional approach to land reform and a SADC protocol on land reform are required; for a shared regulatory framework would do much to enhance the

predictability of policies that have been affected by the unpredictable events of land reform in Zimbabwe (South African Human Sciences Research Council). The South African Human Sciences Research Council comments that land reform policies in the region have been applied inconsistently; neither colonial nor contemporary practices were ever uniform. The Zimbabwean land crisis resonates widely across the region. The Campbell case put to the SADC Tribunal goes way beyond Zimbabwean legislation and has an impact on land reform in the region. SADC as a whole is affected by land issues that includes inequitable land distribution, limited rights and access for the majority; there is no land use classification in resettlement and such developments have an adverse impact on regional integration in SADC (Breytenbach, 2006).

Dube and Midgley (2011) argue that while Namibia and South Africa might be able to handle their expropriations differently in such a way that their economies and the general standard of living of their people are not affected, unfortunately there exists a catalogued example of the effects of an intensive expropriation and land reform drive. Investors would definitely be worried, wondering if these countries are going down the Zimbabwean way. This does not augur well for the prospects of increased regional integration in the region. It is amidst the political and economic crisis gripping Zimbabwe that the SADC Free Trade Area was launched. The land crisis goes to the core of Zimbabwe's problems. The Free Trade Area is a product of the SADC Trade Protocol which was signed in 1996. The Trade Protocol contains the legal and structural framework for trade liberalisation in the region. It was signed pursuant to SADC's objectives which include the achievement of economic and economic growth for the region and the enhancement of the standard of life of the people of the region, and the promotion of self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance and the inter-dependence of SADC member states (SADC Treaty, Article 5). In relation to Zimbabwe's land policy, SADC adopted quiet.

Moyo (1995) advances that the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe can be summarized as a question of transferring land from the minority white large scale commercial farming group to blacks based on their presumed historical and social entitlement to land access. It involves the changing of laws or customs regarding land ownership. Utete (2003) noted that the programme was a fundamental departure from previous philosophy, practise and procedures of acquiring land and resettling people. Moyo (2000) argues that in Zimbabwe the Land

Reform Programme was influenced by the war veterans and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) who wanted to provide land for the people and at the same time fulfill the promises of the liberation struggle to the people.

“Most Land Reforms are done to fight imperialism” writes Mutangadura (2000). Imperialism usually defines itself as many colonial settlers who have a lot of fertile land that they exploit for large amount of profits while the local people live in poverty in unfertile land. Land Reform was conducted in Zimbabwe to gain economic independence. SADC therefore did not condemn the move by Zimbabwe but rather other individual countries sought to also implement their own land reforms in order to correct the colonial injustices. As such, the SADC member states stood up for Zimbabwe in the time of her need.

3.3 Conclusion

The chapter looked at the land question and Southern African politics in perspective. It began by looking at an overview of the land question in Southern Africa and the politics of Southern Africa touching on the political economy of the region. Furthermore, the land question is central to Southern African politics and indeed much of the developing world was examined. Case studies of individual Southern African countries neighboring Zimbabwe were looked at in order to be able to consider how the Fast-track land reform programme in Zimbabwe impacted on its relations with other SADC states. This becomes the subject tackled in the next chapter appropriately entitled “The Implications of Zimbabwe’s Land Reform on its SADC Relations. Chapter 4 is the presentation and analysis of research findings dealing with the implications of Zimbabwe’s Land Reform on its relations with SADC member states.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM ON ITS SADC RELATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is the presentation and analysis of research findings dealing with the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform on its relations with SADC member states. It seeks to give a comprehensive analysis on the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-Track Land Reform on its relations with other SADC countries. Focus is on the internal policies and their impact on other states. As such, the chapter considers whether SADC countries have interest in each other's internal policies and whether Zimbabwe's internal policies influences its foreign policy relating to land issues. Consideration is also given to areas of weaknesses in the development and implementation of land policies in the country and how the errors may be rectified. A roadmap for countries intending to pursue the course of land redistribution to correct colonial injustices which still characterizes some countries' economies will be developed to avoid any pitfalls that Zimbabwe found itself in; with the aim of preserving peace and security in the SADC region.

4.1 Response rate

This section focuses on the response rate that was obtained on the questionnaires that were administered and interviews conducted. The response rate is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Questionnaire response rate

	Target respondents	Successful	Success rate (%)
Questionnaires	21	17	80
Interviews	7	5	71

The research targeted a total of twenty one (21) questionnaires, distributed to the academics and researchers. Seventeen (17) questionnaires were returned, with the relevant data needed for analysis in the study thereby yielding an eighty (80) percent success rate. The other four (4) were never returned and efforts to recover them proved fruitless. Five (5) out of the

targeted interviews went ahead as planned, yielding a 71% success rate. Interviewees were coded as Interviewee 1 (personal interview on 12 April 2018 in Harare), Interviewee 2 (personal interview on 19 April 2018 in Harare), Interviewee 3 (personal interview on 23 April 2018 in Gweru), Interviewee 4 (personal interview on 24 April 2018 in Bindura) and Interviewee 5 (personal interview on 26 April 2018 in Rusape).

The response rates were considered workable as Babbie and Mouton (2001) suggested that findings from a study with a success rate above 50% can be generalized and are acceptable in the academic fraternity. However, Moore (2000) urged researchers to be cautious when dealing with response rates between 50% and 60%. In the current study, a higher response rate was obtained since the questionnaires were personally overseen and follow ups were made to reduce non-responses.

4.2 Demographics

This section was meant to identify respondents' general information as it would have a bearing on their perception on the implications for the FTLRP on external relations of a country. General information sought includes: Gender, Age and Highest level of education.

4.2.1 Gender distribution of respondents

Respondents were required to indicate their gender. Figure 4.1 below presents the findings on the gender of the respondents.

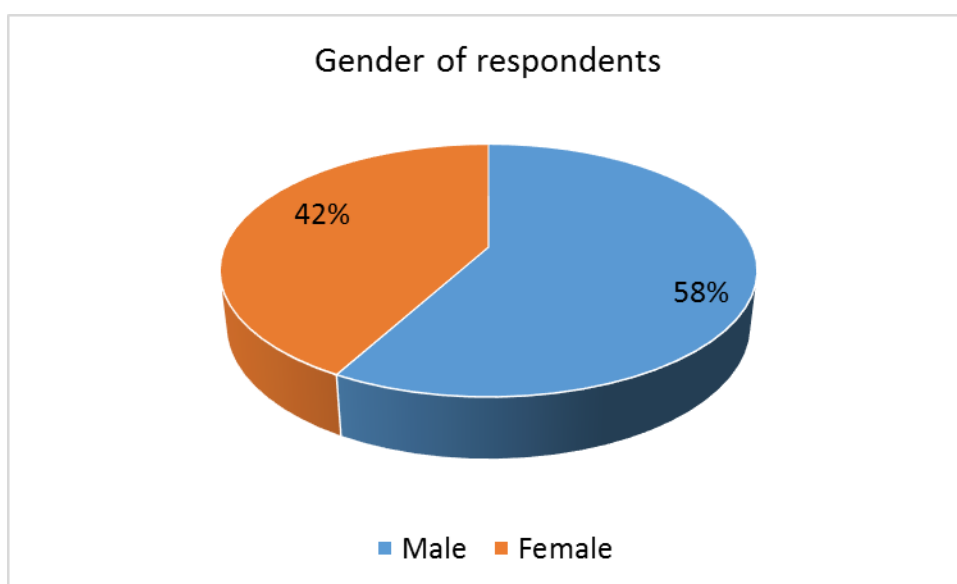


Figure 4.1: Gender distribution of respondents

Figure 4.1 above shows that a greater proportion of the respondents, 58%, were male and the remainder constituting 42% were female. Singer (1996) states that it is natural for people of different gender may have different attitudes toward situations and events. It is evident that there was a gender imbalance with males dominating the sample. The imbalance was representative of the working population within the academic fraternity, characteristic of the patriarchal system which once prevailed in the Zimbabwean academic environment. It was concluded that the imbalance would not significantly affect the results as efforts were made to obtain a sample which was representative of the population. It was therefore possible to obtain views from both genders on the effects of the FTLRP on Zimbabwe's relations with SADC member states.

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

The level of maturity was considered as having an influence on an individual's perception on the effects of the FTLRP. Therefore, the respondents were asked to indicate their age range. Figure 4.2 below is a presentation of the findings on age distribution of the respondents.

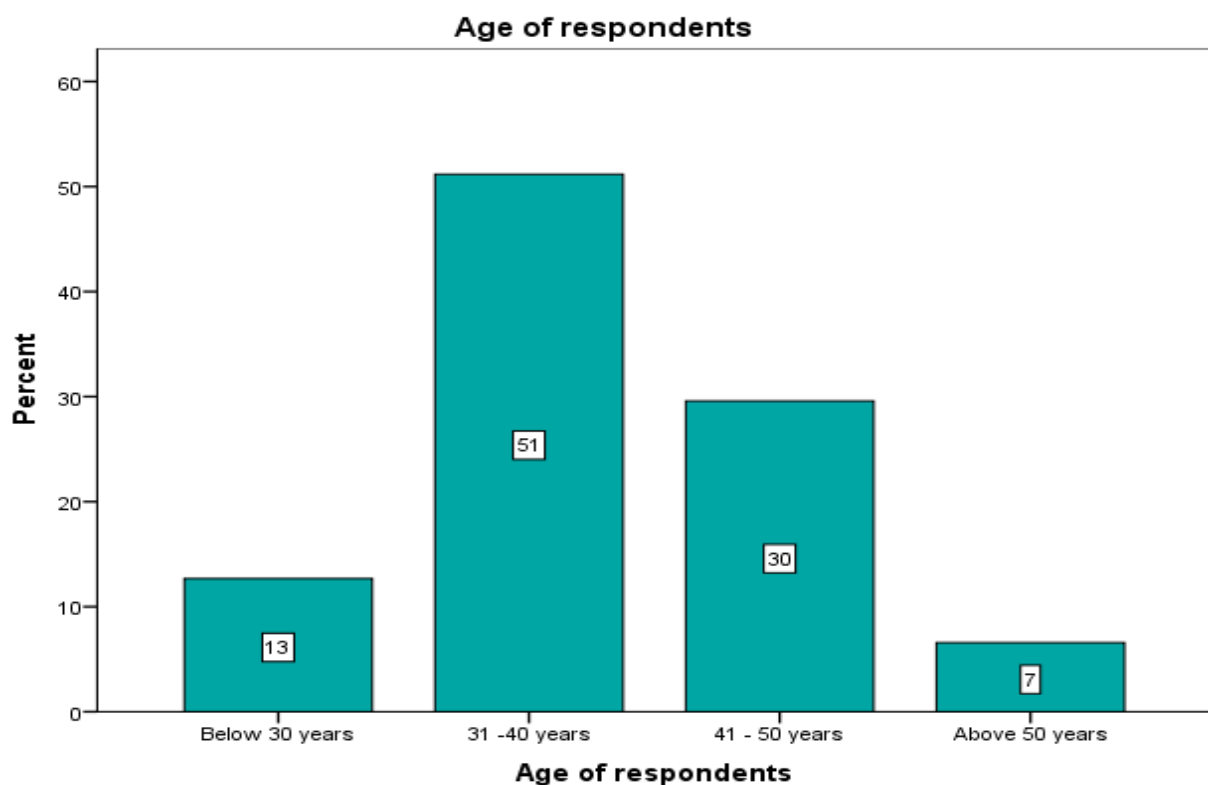


Figure 4.2: Age of respondents

Source: computation from SPSS

Most of the respondents had 31 to 40 years (51%), followed by 41 to 50 years (30%). 13% were below 30 years while 7% were above 50 years. Overall, all age ranges were represented with the respondents being mature enough to understand and comment sensitive issues like the influence of the FTLRP on relations with neighboring countries.

4.2.3 Highest level of Education

It was also felt necessary to consider the respondents' academic achievements as education influences how an individual perceives the role of the FTLRP on foreign relations. Table 4.2 below is a presentation of the findings on respondents' education.

Table 4.2: Highest level of Education

Highest level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Certificate	0	0
Diploma	0	0
Degree	5	15
Master's degree	11	33
PhD	17	52
Total	33	100

The results show that a greater proportion of the respondents comprised of professors and doctors of education (52%), followed by Master's degree holders (33%) and holders of first degree (15%). The respondents had attained adequate education which is crucial when discerning what is right and what is wrong in the development and implementation of domestic and foreign policies. They can also have an objective mind even in the presence of great propaganda in the media. It was concluded that the respondents selected would provide necessary information as they were better placed to address the requirements of the questionnaire.

4.3 Internal domestic policies and their implications on neighboring states

The results from the questionnaires show an agreement amongst participants on the notion that the internal domestic policies of a state have implications on the other neighboring states. It was observed that the domestic environment, especially political and economic environment significantly influences relations with neighboring states. The domestic policies were said to have an impact on a country's foreign policy whose implementation phase is one in which countries confront their environment made up of neighboring countries which will in return confronts the country in one way or the other. The success of acquiring foreign policy relies on the state advancing social, economic and political agendas which may have a direct or indirect impact on other countries. This brings a convergence as each country endeavors to advance their social, economic and political agendas and having every state's own way in the world system is not always possible.

This was confirmed by results from the interviews as Interviewee 4 (personal interview on 24 April 2018 in Bindura) suggests that in the formulation of foreign policy, domestic sources play their role in the forms of adjustments and compromises between social structure and elements of government. The role of domestic factors may vary from one state to another state mainly depending upon political, social, economic, cultural and many other variables. By controlling domestic constraints next step is about its implementation through skillful manner or by sticks and carrots.

4.4 Internal Factors that influence neighboring states

The results show that questionnaire respondents believed that internal policies of a country has an influence on various formal structures and factors, and these have been shown to have a bearing on a country's relations with its neighboring states. Policies influencing legislatures, executives, bureaucracies, and political opponents were identified as critical in influencing external relations.

4.4.1 Effect of the Legislature

The legislatures encompass deliberative assembly with the authority to make laws for a country. The participants indicated that Legislatures form important parts of most governments; in the separation of powers model and may set the trajectory upon which a country transverse in the path of development. It enacts and amends laws, observe and steer

governing actions and usually have exclusive authority to amend the budget or budgets involved in the process. Though legislatures are said to have a lesser role in influencing foreign policy compared to the executive branch decision makers and bureaucrats, this does not imply that it is completely powerless. This was confirmed by Interviewee 5 (personal interview on 26 April 2018 in Rusape) who further revealed that their exact influence varies greatly among the nations with legislatures in less-democratic systems dominated by political parties on matters of development and ownership of economic means. In such arrangements, legislative bodies were said to be inclined to ‘rubber-stamp’ political leadership’s decisions. The participants noted the case when political forces were driving the enactment of laws relating to land ownership from the time of colonization of Zimbabwe in the 1890s (e.g. Land Apportionment Act) to the time of fast track land acquisition (Land Acquisition Act). Such enacted Acts of Parliament were instituted to advance political agendas and economic means to some extent.

Legislatures play a larger role in democratic countries, but even in these states legislative authority is constrained by many factors such as legislator’s tendency of focusing on domestic policy because most voters perceive it to be more important than the foreign policy thereby making voting decisions based on this sense of priority. For this reason, legislators are apt to try to influence both domestic and foreign policy issues, such as land ownership and transfer as well as trade.

4.4.2 Influence of the Executive

The Executive involves the country’s leadership including the office of the president. Participants cited this position as crucial in the policy making process on matters relating to national security policies and foreign policies. The most powerful figure in the executive branch is usually the country’s head of government who can be the president or prime minister. The activities of other political executives are notable as well including that of minister of foreign affairs and the minister of defence, as their mandate entails dealing with external parties to the country. Therefore, they are likely to deal with matters affecting relations with other countries in their focus on internal matters.

The scope of the head of government in making decisions is first and foremost defined by the political system where he is operating. Depending on the power vested in his post and the importance of political and public consensus in the state in question, the head of government

can make foreign policy decisions (Interviewee 1, personal interview on 12 April 2018 in Harare). Other factors such as rationality, personality, international organization also hold influence on the head of government. However, they can also be compromised by the political environment, again depending on the kind of system practiced.

The executive's influence on a country's foreign relations and land issues was cited also in prior studies. For instance, the executive comprising of the BSAC presided over the land acquisition from the blacks to the white settlers using their executive powers (Ncube, 2004). In like manner, this was further advanced under the leadership of Ian Smith up to the 1980s when the Lancaster House agreement was reached (Moyana, 1984). Therefore, the national leadership under former president Mugabe was endowed with the responsibility to advance the interests of the liberation struggle to rectify colonial injustices relating to land ownership by providing land to the previously marginalized black majority. Under his oversight, a decade following the Lancaster House agreement, the fast track land reform programme was instituted which saw several white farmers losing land to the indigenous Zimbabweans. This shows the influence of executive leadership over legislatures in a manner which alters the domestic landscape and ultimately the external relations.

4.4.3 Effect of Bureaucracies

It was also established that bureaucracies influence both internal and foreign relations. Bureaucracies relate to the levels of administration in the government which often characterize many governments. Every government is heavily influenced by its bureaucracy. The dividing line between the decision makers and bureaucrats may be difficult to ascertain, though we can classify bureaucrats personnel in the government whereas the other class comprise of political appointees or elected officials. Government personnel are vested with the responsibility to advance national interests and objectives; hence they influence internal policies as well as foreign policies. Their source of influence is derived from their ability to filter information, providing recommendations and implementing any measures adopted by the government.

4.4.4 Effect of Political Parties

Political parties were identified as having a significant influence on a country's relations with neighboring states. They have an impact on democracy in a country and the level of a country's responsiveness to the needs of citizens, which shapes the domestic policy of a

country. In authoritarian systems, there is only one political party which has a prominent role in the decision making hierarchy. However, in a democratic system political parties are more than one and their role is limited in the foreign policy with a clear distinction between the government's role and the role of political parties.

Political parties are generally based on four types of cleavages i.e. urban/rural, religion, language and class. The issue of foreign policy was then absorbed into the cleavages. In some states foreign policy is structured into the party system. Interviewee 1 (personal interview on 12 April 2018) in Harare cited the case of Zimbabwe whereby, currently some oppositional political parties do not support the country's alliance with Asian countries, and rather they prefer dining with European countries which they believe proffer more developmental opportunities. The governing political party has higher chances on influencing both domestic and foreign policy. The land redistribution exercise had its backing from the ruling ZANU PF party. Consequently, countries that were in favour of the exercise coincidentally are in good books with the ruling party whereas those like Botswana which were not supportive of the move seem to be less inclined to supporting other moves by the ruling party under the former president Mugabe.

The relationship between foreign policy making and its domestic environment is unpredictable and can erupt in ways which disturb both the governing elite and the pattern of international relations. Domestic policy is an interior to foreign policy and through success in the former may lead success in foreign policy but the reverse is not necessarily the case. It is necessary for every state to set its house in order and then hope for positive results from foreign policies.

4.5 Implications of the FTLRP

In pursuit of her national interests, Zimbabwe embarked on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in the early 2000s. Land is central to the whole way of life for the state Zimbabwe and indeed the SADC member states. It is with this reality in mind that this research looked at the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme on its SADC relations. In this regard, this chapter unpacks the important subject matter in line with the objectives by looking at the political, economic, military/security and social implications of Zimbabwe's fast-track land reform programme on its SADC relations. It is important to note, at this juncture, that there were both positive and negative implications on

Zimbabwe's relations with her other SADC member states as a result of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme.

4.5.1 Implications on Zimbabwe

The FTLRP significantly influenced agriculture in Zimbabwe with major crops and livestock being greatly affected. A greater impact was felt on agricultural practices from large scale farmers. Evidence was provided on the decline in the average yield of crops which was a reflection of deficiencies in the use of irrigation resources among new farmers, many who were not used to large scale production. Production of major crops which includes maize, cotton, groundnuts and small grains significantly declined. Declining agricultural produce was due to crop failures as a result of reduction in fertilizer usage and consecutive droughts during the FTLRP. This was further worsened by a decline in the price of the products both locally and in international markets which made it difficult for the new farmers to scale up their production. Several sectors whose activities rely on the use of land were significantly affected. The case in point is wildlife tourism which recorded significant decline in revenue and volume of output. Also, several companies closed shop due to lack of inputs and declining markets, effects still felt in the cotton markets. Consequently, many people were left without employment and had to migrate to neighboring countries in search of employment.

4.5.2 Implications on relations with SADC member states

The FTLRP was said to have also influenced relations of Zimbabwe with other SADC member states. Other countries like Namibia have emulated the move which they believe independence is not complete without addressing the land issue; with others have decided to modify the model, seeking to correct any shortcomings observed from the bold move made by Zimbabwe. The programme was received with much negativity as portrayed in both local independent media and other international news agencies. This has portrayed a bad impression on the southern Africa region owing to amplified news regarding, *inter alia*, human rights abuse, lack of respect for rule of law and lack of constitutionalism. The implications were classified as political, economic, security and social implications in order to adequately probe into the effects of the FTLRP on Zimbabwe's relations with SADC states.

4.5.3 Political implications

On the political level, the participants suggested that there were some SADC states which agreed that the Zimbabwean position on the issue of land was justified and therefore they supported the move. On the other hand, due to neo liberal capitalist influences emanating from the Western countries particularly the United Kingdom and her allies; chief among them were the United States of America and France. There was veracity of a rift within SADC as evidenced when a group of white farmers went to the SADC Tribunal to seek recourse after their farms were acquired by the government of Zimbabwe for the purposes of resettling landless blacks. Madanhire (2012) writes that the SADC Tribunal ruling was that the land reform in Zimbabwe was “unconstitutional since it discriminated against the white farmers on the grounds of race and therefore the farmers should have their properties restored to them.” The SADC Tribunal was then suspended from carrying out its mandate after the ruling as Zimbabwe successfully argued that the land reform programme was meant to redress historical imbalances and therefore could not be adjudicated over by the tribunal. SADC suspended the Tribunal as it also felt that the agency was engaging in matters outside its jurisdiction. The Zimbabwe government also argued that the SADC Tribunal was there to adjudicate inter-state disputes and had no jurisdiction in intra-state issues. Involvement in intra-state matters would be tantamount to undermining important matters of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Interviewee 3 (personal interview on 23 April 2018 in Gweru) concurred by indicating that political implications are hinged on the ideological direction that each different state chooses to pursue at different times in its life in line with its broad national aspirations. Of essence are the Zimbabwe-Botswana bi-lateral relations which went through a metamorphosis during the period that followed the Fast-track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. The then Zimbabwean President Robert Gabriel Mugabe and the former President of Botswana Ian Khama had openly conflicting views on how the matter of land reform was handled in Zimbabwe. At a political level, the two heads of state did not agree on the manner in which the land reform in Zimbabwe was done fundamentally because ideological differences. Mr. Mugabe was guided by a Marxist socialist ideology which supports the idea of nationalizing the land resources for the shared benefit of all nationals.

Interviewee 4 (personal interview on 24 April 2018 in Bindura) argued that benefits were envisaged to be achieved through individual peasant families being beneficiaries of land

under the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme. On the contrary, Mr. Khama, viewed the benefit being accrued by the Botswana nation from the diamonds being mined by mining conglomerate De Beers as a model that Zimbabwe should have used were the natural resources can be exploited by investors but the locals benefitting through employment and royalties. This position was favoured by the neo liberal capitalist proponents particularly western powers namely Britain, France, USA and their allies. For Mugabe and the ZANU PF government, this would have been tantamount to perpetuating western capitalist hegemony. Botswana therefore was more inclined to the western allies, a move that soured the Zimbabwe-Botswana political relations; the latter chose megaphone diplomacy in dealing with Zimbabwe on the land issue. To that end, the Mugabe administration accused Khama's administration of supporting the British in their regime change efforts in Zimbabwe which were exacerbated by the FTLRP.

Non-governmental organisations, civic society organisations and opposition politicians who sought regime change of the Zimbabwean administration found safe havens in some SADC such as Botswana. On the political front, there were some countries which were in solidarity with Zimbabwe. Namibia openly supported the FTLRP from the Zimbabwe from the very onset when its then president Sam Nujoma stood by Zimbabwe on the issue of land. In April 2000, President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, speaking for SADC, told reporters that "we think the donors, including Great Britain, have to deliver. They have to fulfill their commitments." Chissano's statement was in a way justifying Zimbabwe's FTLRP. Chissano's stand of solidarity further cemented an already strong bilateral relationship between Zimbabwe and Mozambique; a relationship dating back to the days of the liberation struggle.

In January 2002, Mozambican Foreign Minister Leonardo Simao accused western countries of waging a propaganda war against Zimbabwe. Malawian Foreign Minister Lillian Patel stated that "we have reiterated that the bottom line for Zimbabwe is a just and equitable land redistribution, which however must be done in a legally sound and violence-free manner." South Africa pursued quiet diplomacy in relation to Zimbabwe as a response to the FTLRP.

SADC leaders, including President Mbeki, have criticized the international focus on Zimbabwe at the expense of other crises in Africa and have opposed E.U. and other sanctions. A group of Zimbabwean white farmers sought recourse at the SADC Tribunal after their land was acquired for redistribution. After the Tribunal served a judgment against

Zimbabwe, the SADC states in solidarity with Zimbabwe suspended the Tribunal and accused it of being counter revolutionary and serving the interest of neo-liberal capitalist hegemony and not the interests of the SADC. Thus, there was solidarity and a reflection of political cooperation. The implications, therefore, were that at a political level, Zimbabwe-SADC states relations were strengthened to a greater extent.

4.5.4 Economic implications

The participants also argued that the FTLRP had economic implications amongst the SADC member states. The FTLRP disrupted agricultural production in Zimbabwe which resulted in it losing its breadbasket status. Zimbabwe used to be relied upon in the SADC as it would produce surplus food for export into the region. The economic implications were that SADC states that relied on Zimbabwe's exports were left vulnerable to food insecurity. The Zimbabwean manufacturing industry was also affected and that gave traction to countries such as South Africa to strengthen their regional position and increase markets. However, Zimbabwe promulgated statutory Instrument (S.I.) 64 of 2016 which dealt with the control of goods (open general Import Licence) a policy that other SADC countries viewed as protectionist.

Zimbabwe, as a country, underwent an economic downturn which was largely attributed to dwindling performance of the agricultural sector following land redistribution. This significantly affected exports to the SADC community in terms of agricultural produce. The Zimbabwean economy, once regarded the bread basket of SADC failed to supply as required. This was worsened by significant instability in the political landscape. As such, in August 2001, in the communiqué following the Blantyre, Malawi, annual summit of SADC, heads of government expressed their concern at the effect of the economic situation in Zimbabwe on the region. The summit appointed a task force comprising Mozambique, South Africa, and Botswana to work with the Zimbabwe government on the economic and political issues affecting Zimbabwe.

Interviewee 4 (personal interview on 24 April 2018 in Bindura) confirmed the effects of the FTLRP on the economies of SADC member states as the FTLRP was met with western imposed sanctions and travel restrictions which affected the tourist inflows into Zimbabwe. The neighboring countries to Zimbabwe enjoyed an increase in tourist arrivals. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows were channeled to Zimbabwe's neighbours leading to infrastructural development of towns such as Messina in South Africa and Francistown in

Botswana as Zimbabweans went there to purchase groceries. Therefore, the FTLRP had economic implications on Zimbabwe- SADC relations as there was an increase in interdependence and micro economic interaction.

Interviewee 2 (personal interview on 19 April 2018 in Harare) highlighted that the FTLRP led to loss of employment of many farm workers as farm operations were disrupted. The interruption of farming operations also affected the supply of raw materials to the manufacturing industry since there was a nexus between agricultural production and the mining industry. Several employees from the farms and the industries lost their jobs and they migrated to neighboring countries in search of employment. The move which resulted in brain drain in Zimbabwe as skilled and professional personnel left Zimbabwe to other SADC countries had a negative impact on Zimbabwe's development but it benefitted the host countries. This human capital migration had economic implications for the sending and receiving countries.

4.5.5 Social implications

Closely linked to the economic implications are the social implications. As labour migrated to neighboring countries there was a strain on the host country on the issues of providing social amenities and thus, social reaction led to cases of xenophobia as well as transnational crimes. There were reported cases of armed robbers and carjackers operating across the SADC region and the South African Home Affairs minister in 2017 was blaming the rise of crime in South Africa to Zimbabweans who migrated to South Africa.

4.5.6 Security implications

The participants also highlighted the impact of the FTLRP on the security within the SDAC region. They indicated that SADC was established to provide regional security and cooperation as its main objective. Despite the negative political implications that were experienced in some cases as a result of the FTLRP, there was continued military/security cooperation within SADC as evidenced by the SADC joint military operations and training exercises. This was confirmed by interview results as Interviewee 5 (personal interview on 26 April 2018 in Rusape) highlighted the bi-lateral joint permanent commissions (JPC) on defense and security interactions between Zimbabwe and some SADC states, which is evidence that relations continued amicably despite differing ideologies and perceptions on land issues. Zimbabwe continued to hold JPC on Defence and Security with countries such as

Botswana, South Africa, Zambia and Mozambique. In the case of Botswana, although there were political differences as a result of the implementation of the FTLRP, there was continued interdependence and interaction on the aspect of military and security. Therefore, while the security and peace of the SADC region could have been affected, the countries endeavored to avoid extreme effects by persistent cooperation and coordination towards peace in the region. Differences in ideology were not allowed to interfere with peace and security in the SADC region.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter focused on the implications of the FTLRP on Zimbabwe and its relations with member states. Data analysed was obtained from the questionnaire, interviews and secondary data. It has been established that internal policies in Zimbabwe influences the country's foreign policy. As such, the enactment of several policies regarding land even during the colonial period to the present moment in the time of the land redistribution exercise has had an impact on relations with neighboring countries. The FTLRP has been revealed to have influenced the political landscape due to the divided opinion in the SADC region on the case of Zimbabwe and the land issue. Socio-economic implications have emanated from the declining economic landscape and the impact of sanctions levied on Zimbabwe which saw FDI and other investments being channeled to neighboring countries. Also, the influx of Zimbabweans into neighboring countries has been observed as well as people look for employment opportunities due to high unemployment in the country. The following chapter provides conclusions and recommendations derived from this study.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This last chapter summarises the research findings, gives a conclusion and proffers recommendations to the implications emanating from how Zimbabwe handled its domestic policy on land and how it has implications on her foreign relations. The chapter ends with a list of references and appendices.

5.1 Summary

The research analysed the implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC states and proffers scholarly and policy recommendations that seek to lead to sound SADC relations of regional integration. A qualitative approach was adopted, utilising interviews and questionnaires to gather primary data. Secondary data was obtained from several publications, journals and government reports and reputable media publications. The study established that the FTLRP was conducted in Zimbabwe as a domestic policy set out to redress the skewed colonial land imbalances that led to the disenfranchisement of the majority black population. On the international front, however, the FTLRP was a bilateral issue between Zimbabwe and her former colonial master Britain that influenced political, economic, military/security and social implications on SADC relations.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that domestic policy implementation can have regional and or international socio-political, economic and security implications; therefore, the study successfully achieved the set out objectives which were to analyse the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC states; to examine the effects of Zimbabwe's land reform on the political economy of the SADC Member States and to proffer scholarly and policy recommendations on how domestic Land Reform Programmes can be done in a way that will lead to sound SADC regional integration.

5.2 Conclusion

The study was prompted by increasing concern over the manner in which the FTLRP was conducted in Zimbabwe as a domestic issue with the potential to influence foreign relations, especially with neighboring countries in the SADC region. The FTLRP followed several

attempts to correct the colonial injustices over land access and ownership as the previous arrangement favoured the white colonial settlers. Several initiatives were contemplated to solve the land issue including the passing of the Land Tenure Act of 1978 which repealed the Land Tenure 1969 which had been enacted to proffer whites more privileges over land access and ownership. Under the Land Tenure Act of 1978, Africans could now legally buy land in former European areas. This legislation did not change the land distribution patterns because the cost of land in the former European areas was extremely high.

Consequently, the white government remained under pressure from the nationalists and the result was the Lancaster House Conference held between September - December 1979 which had democracy and land as the two main issues. The terms agreed upon on the contentious land issue in the Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 included the provision for emergency acquisitions, acquisition of derelict land, and special provisions on litigation and arbitration. It listed all the public purposes for which land could be expropriated: defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, and town and country planning. Only the under-utilized land could be expropriated for agricultural resettlement, any other land would have to be acquired on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis. The willing-buyer-willing-seller provision would remain in place for ten years, after which a two-thirds majority vote in parliament could overturn it. The "Willing-buyer-willing-seller" slowed down the process of land transfer from the large scale commercial farmers to the peasants.

The situation was worsened by the stance later taken by the new British Labour government under Tony Blair to renege on their responsibility to fund the land acquisition programme as indicated by the letter written by the then British Secretary of State Claire Short to the then Minister of Agriculture and Lands Resettlement (late) Kumbirai Kangai on 5 November 1997 categorically stating that the British government was not interested in abiding by the tenets of the Lancaster House Agreement in as far as the Zimbabwean land issue was concerned. The result was the FTLRP which was completed through compulsory land acquisition and land invasions. Previously white owned farms were compulsorily handed into the hands of Africans and this abrupt transition stalled agricultural progress, culminating into declining agricultural produce. Such an occurrence affected relations with the neighboring countries in various ways. Zimbabwean exports to these countries, mainly in the form of agricultural produce dwindled; hitherto Zimbabwe was the breadbasket of Southern Africa. In addition, there was over supply of labour as previously farm workers were left without

employment; hence many people migrated into neighboring countries in search of employment. While other countries like Namibia supported the approach taken by Zimbabwe, others were opposed to this move, especially Botswana. However, despite such differences in ideology and perceptions, the SADC countries continued in their efforts to preserve peace and security in the region.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Policy Recommendations

The study recommended the development of a regional policy framework that promotes an inclusive approach to land access and ownership to cater for the currently marginalized members of the community on the issues that have to do with the land resource. There is need for the development of ‘an inclusive desk’ in government offices to give effect to this privileging; however, it has to be in line with the collective aspirations of the SADC states. A deliberate plan to redress colonial imbalances of land ownership should be designed at government policy level to ensure sustainability of the local economy as well as the need to ensure sound bilateral and multilateral relations which also encompasses regional integration.

The participants recommended that the SADC should formulate a comprehensive agrarian reform strategy outlined for both the medium to long- term. This should address various constraints to the recovery and sustainable development of agriculture in the region by providing a consistent framework for social protection and redress of colonial imbalances especially over the land question. They emphasized the importance of strategic planning in handling matters affecting land ownership and use as it relates to the growth of the region and promotes socio-economic and political relations of the SADC. Therefore, the states should ensure completeness of the land reform to guarantee sustainable agricultural growth and social protection by addressing the issue of land tenure and access to land to the citizens equitably. Moyo (2004) highlighted that such a move should encompass addressing the needs of community members who have remained landless, residing in overpopulated communal areas where agriculture is no longer sustainable.

There is need for SADC states to remain cogniscent of the fact that the land question has far reaching implications beyond the political boundaries of individual states. The participants also highlighted the need for supporting the move towards national food security, agro-industrial growth, creation of jobs and increasing imports while reducing exports. This should

be supported by mechanisms to ensure productive initiatives also occur in the rural areas to enhance rural development and poverty alleviation. This reduces unemployment levels and overdependence on the government by members of the community as they can produce their own food from agriculture as well as contribute to the national basket.

The SADC states can establish a regional land board or committee tasked with oversight over land reform issues and to coordinate with the individual states' own internal systems so as to avert repeating the same mistakes that happened in the Zimbabwean situation. Such an establishment ought to be accorded full autonomy, without influence from political parties or other parties in its execution of the laid out mandate. Prior studies and other stakeholders have also recommended such an institution including (the Rukuni Land Commission of 1994, the Shivji et al land policy review of 1998 and of late, the Utete Report of 2003) for individual state needs. The mandate of such an establishment can encompass, *inter alia*, land audit and correction, finalizing land acquisitions and allocation and the processes of land distribution where necessary.

5.3.2 Scholarly Recommendations

The study focused on the Implications of Zimbabwe's Fast-Track Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC States, focusing on secondary data and primary data collected from a sample of 28 participants, who are intellectuals in Zimbabwe. Further research should focus on a broader scale by including a bigger sample, comprising of participants from other countries. This provides a chance to obtain the perspectives of representatives of those countries on a case by case analysis to ascertain the extent of influence of the FTLRP on these states' political economy. The study could be widened to consider other African states and the world at large, given that the economic challenges that has characterized Zimbabwe has had implications on other countries in the world through increased migration of Zimbabweans looking for better fortunes for example.

Furthermore, the results of the study indicate that although state or media rhetoric is generally progressive and inclusive, the situation on the ground is more complex and different states under different conditions continue to be losers, marginalized and victims of capitalist tendencies. More study on how states can pursue their broad national objectives but at the same time ensures sound regional integration can be achieved.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE’S LAND REFORM PROGRAMME ON ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SADC STATES.

Dear Respondent

The questionnaire seeks to make an analysis of the Political Economy of the SADC Member States: Implications of Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Programme on its Relations with the SADC States. It is part of the research proposal submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Science in International Affairs Degree.

The information obtained is purely for academic purposes and is treated with very high confidentiality. I am kindly requesting you to respond to this questionnaire.

Thank you.

Walter Kasirowori,

Note: Please answer All Questions (where applicable).

Complete the questionnaire online or print a hard copy and email to walkasinfo@gmail.com or manual collection by the researcher

1. A. What is your age

 - B. Gender Male Female

 - C. Highest Academic qualification

 - Secondary/ High School education Diploma

 - Degree Post Graduate qualification

 - Professional qualification Other Specify
-
2. Do you have any knowledge of Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Programme?

Yes No
-
3. A. To your knowledge, do the internal domestic policies of a state have implications on the other neighboring states? Yes No

B. How do internal policies impact on other states?

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4. Why would members of a regional bloc such as SADC have an obligation to pursue individual national interest policies at the expense of the regional bloc?

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5. What do you think were the implications of Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme on its relations with the SADC member states?

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6. How do you think the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe could have been handled?

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7. Do you think other SADC states have colonial legacies that require a Land Reform Programme? What lessons can be learnt from the Zimbabwean experience?

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8. How does the political economy of SADC member states impact their drive for self-determination against relations with neighboring states?

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9. Is SADC regional integration a priority for SADC member states? How?

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10. How can policy makers in the SADC member states pursue important national objectives while at the same time advancing regional integration values and objectives?.....

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11. Can you suggest possible international or domestic policy measures which can be adopted to develop an ideal relationship for mutual benefit for SADC member states after the Zimbabwe Land Reform Program?

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Thank you for taking time to respond.

----- The End -----