



UNIVERSITE D'ABOMEY CALAVI



Faculté des Lettres, Arts et Sciences Humaines (FLASH)

DEPARTEMENT D'ANGLAIS

**Option** : Etudes Anglaises

**MEMOIRE DE MAÎTRISE**

**THEME**

**GREAT BRITAIN AFRICAN  
POLICY: THE CASE OF  
ZIMBABWE**

**Présenté par :**

**BONOU O. Romain**

**Sous la direction de :**

**Pr. Taofiki KOUMAKPAÏ**  
Professeur titulaire (CAMES)  
de Littérature Anglaise.

---

**Année académique : 2014 – 2015**

## **DEDICATION**

Dedicated to :

- my father **Victor BONOU** who brought me up with love, honesty and pride.
- my mother **Cécile DOHOU** who created in me a sense of self confidence as a student.

## **AKNOWLEDGMENTS**

How does a person say “thank you” when there are so many people to thank ? Obviously this research work is a ” thank ” you to my father who was a powerful role model, and to my mother who taught me bravery and kindness.

To Professor **KOUMAKPAÏ Taofiki**, for being a great intellectual property attorney. For his inspiration, participation encouragement and cooperation and for his professional support, I have received throughout the completion of this work.

To Dr **Yekini** among other lecturers and Professors that I had and will never forget. I’m so proud of the good training I received from him.

To Dr **DANSOU** whose advice have prompted me to undertake this excellent project.

My gratitude is also to reach all my friends. They have been so generous to me before, during and after the writing of this research work.

May God bless you all.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Acknowledgements.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Table of contents.....	iii
Introduction.....	1
<b><u>Chapter one : Historical Background</u></b> .....	<b>4</b>
1-1. The united kingdom colonial rule in Zimbabwe.....	5
1-1-1. History of Zimbabwe before colonisation.....	5
1-1-1-1. From gold hunger to the invasion of Zimbabwe.....	5
1-1-1-2. Presentation of the former Zimbabwe.....	7
1-1-2. Zimbabwe during colonisation.....	9
1-1-2-1. Invasion of Zimbabwe.....	9
1-1-2-2. From the development of agriculture to land distribution.....	11
<b><u>Chapter two : Toward independence</u></b> .....	<b>15</b>
2-1. The liberation war in Zimbabwe.....	16
2-1-1. The compost of the war.....	16
2-1-2. The political unrest.....	17
2-2. The independent Zimbabwe.....	21
2-2-1. Zimbabwe during the independence period.....	21
2-2-2. Zimbabwe after independence.....	22
<b><u>Chapter three : Impacts and implications</u></b> .....	<b>29</b>
3-1. Mugabe's agrarian reform.....	30

3-1-1. What is the reform ?.....	30
3-1-1-1. Definition and history of the concept.....	30
3-1-1-2. The aim and objective of the land reform in Zimbabwe.....	31
3-2. Importance of the reform.....	35
3-2-1. The necessity of the agrarian reform.....	35
3-2-2. Is Mugabe wrong with his reform ?.....	38
<b><u>Chapter four</u> : Implications of the reform.....</b>	<b>41</b>
4-1. On the internal level.....	42
4-1-1. The socio-Economical implication.....	42
4-1-2. The political implication.....	43
4-2. On the external level.....	45
4-2-1. Zimbabwe and the other African countries.....	45
4-2-2. Zimbabwe and the overseas countries.....	49
Conclusion.....	54
Bibliography.....	56



# **INTRODUCTION**

One of the most important problems which oppose Great Britain with its former colonies nowadays is undoubtedly the problem of ZIMBABWE.

For many years, indigenous have been deprived from their elementary rights among which the right to property. This fact is a direct consequence of the British system of colonisation in Zimbabwe and in the other South Africa colonies. In fact, the British system of settlers rule applied in the colonies of Southern Africa has for a long time put the white men in top position in every field. In Zimbabwe this was realized owing to the BSA company which in the economic and land ownership field made the white settlers the masters of all trade : land, commerce, and even the political power. This situation which also prevailed in the other colonies has been supported by the different agreements and resolutions on Zimbabwe till the independence hardly obtained in April 17<sup>th</sup> 1980.

Unfortunately, this independence didn't succeed in correcting all the injustice prevailing in Zimbabwe. The minority white continued to hold the essential of the power even though blacks were associated. The land, the main source of wealth in Zimbabwe like in all African countries remained the White property in Zimbabwe instead of being transferred to the black, the original and legal owners. Therefore, Black men though independent, were not really happy. The fight for the repairing of the injustice and the frustrations begotten lead Robert MUGABE to power in December 1987. His sole objective was then redistribution of land to Black and the repairing of different social inequities.

But this objective harmed the kith and kin and therefore touched the interest of the mother country : Great Britain and its allies. Then raised a strong conflict (opposition) between the two parties. We choose this topic

**: GREAT BRITAIN AFRICAN POLICY : Case of Zimbabwe** for many reasons.

First of all, it is a topical issue and a relevant subject ; secondly the problem of Zimbabwe once more put down the problem of colonisation and its drawbacks and impacts on the international relations and thirdly, the peace in the southern Africa region and the prosperity of Zimbabwe will depend on the way these problems will be solved.

Our real aim for Zimbabwe, Africa and the world is to see Zimbabweans living in a peaceful, wealthy and happy country. All that is possible only if we have in this country, an equal sharing of the land property, political power and a president who can respect the democratic rules and his people's rights for the happiness of Zimbabwe, Africa and why not the rest of the world for a better international relationship between the North and the South.

By trying to come to this hoped Zimbabwe which is not a dream, we are going to lead to the purposes of this work which is to raise to the different reasons causing the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe and try to find out some approach of solutions ; so that to overcome the problem of Zimbabwe in order to build better understanding between on one hand Zimbabweans themselves, the other Africans and Great Britain and its allies on the other hand. This is very necessary for all.

So, in the first chapter we will stress on the historical background and in the second chapter we will deal with the toward independence. In the chapter three and four we will deal with the Impacts and implications of Mugabe's Agrarian Reform, the real source of the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe and try to find some approaches of solution.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

# **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

## **1-1. The united kingdom colonial rule in Zimbabwe**

In this chapter, we are going to deal with the British way of colonizing Zimbabwe.

### **1-1-1. History of Zimbabwe before colonisation**

#### **1-1-1-1. From gold hunger to the invasion of Zimbabwe**

Originally the area known today as Zimbabwe was occupied by the Bantu group of South and central Africa. This group was divided into two major language groups : The shona speakers called Mashona in the Bantu language which constitutes about 75 per cent of the population. Their life in the area was the longest and as indicated by the percentage, they constituted the majority group.

The SINDEBELE speakers called Matabele represented about 20 per cent of the population. They centred in the south west around *Bulawayo*<sup>1</sup> and are said to arrive in within 150 years. We can also mention the South African Zulu group which maintained control over the Mashona until the white occupation.

Archaeologists have found Stone Age implements and pebble tools in several areas of Zimbabwe, a proof that human beings have lived there for many centuries. The most impressive of the discovered site is the “Great Zimbabwe” ruins after which the country is named, and located near Masvingo. These stone structures should have been built between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D<sup>2</sup> by indigenous African who had established trading contacts with commercial centres on Africa’s South-eastern coast.

The inhabitants of Zimbabwe land at that time like all African pre-colonial societies lived in a peaceful and community life. The property

---

<sup>1</sup> It is the name of matabele group’s place in Zimbabwe

<sup>2</sup> Anno Domini (apres Jesus Christ)

was not individual but collective, the different tribes or ethnics had a chief who is henceforth the manager of the tribe's properties including land. Apart from hunting, the main activity at that time was agriculture which appeared with settlement. These populations were not aware of the natural resources included in the land. Peace and property reigned over the country. Let's notice in brief that Mzilikazi Khumalo, a Zulu chief emigrated there in 1821 and settled definitely in November 1837.

The ancient Stone structure at khami (Great Zimbabwe and Dholo-Dholo) showed the diversity of civilizations in Zimbabwe.

The Mwene Mutapa<sup>3</sup> was the first major civilisation to become established. By the mid 1440s King Mutota's empire included almost all the Rhodesian plateau and extensive parts of what is now Mozambique ; the regular inhabitants of the empire's trading towns were the Arab and Swahili merchants, with whom trade was conducted. But in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the Portuguese arrived and destroyed this trade and began a series of wars which left the empire so weaken that it entered the 17<sup>th</sup> century in serious decline.

Several Shona States came together to form the Rozwi Empire which covered more than half of present day Zimbabwe. The Portuguese had been forced off the plateau by 1630 and much of the land formerly under Mwene Motapa was controlled by the Rozwi.

After the decline of the Shona Empire, Great Zimbabwe no longer served as an administrative and political centre, but remained an important place of worship for the local people for hundreds of years. However, its immense ruins surprised the European explorers in 1871. When they came Across they thought Black African ancestors they were about to colonize could not have the skill knowledge to have erected such magnificent structures but they did and Sheila Hirtle wrote :

---

<sup>3</sup> Also called Monomotapas

*“Other than the temples of the Middle Nil and the brooding, enigmatic African face of the Sphinx, Great Zimbabwe is probably the most romantic of all Africa’s ruins. This has not been such a bad thing, over the years romance breeds legend, and legend is still a more reliable guide to history than the boasting of Victors. It’s easy to forget though at the root of the legend was a very real and formidable kingdom called Monomotapa.*

*Religion and politics built it ; gold and trade sustained it, power and ambition made it great, war and social exhaustion ended it. It was glorious while it lasted.”*

**Sheila hirtle**

### **1-1-1-2. Presentation of the former Zimbabwe**

The Nation Zimbabwe took its name from the massive complex of a Stone building that dominates the high plains just outside the town of masvingo in the South eastern part of the country. In the language of the Shona people, “Zimbabwe” means stone building ; the impressive stone is walled enclosures of Great Zimbabwe and a dramatic symbol of the country’s long and past glories. Great Zimbabwe constructed by the Bantu ancestors of the Shona over a period of 400 years served as we have mentioned above as the headquarters of the vast Monomotapa kingdom, an empire that once included all of today’s Zimbabwe and also northern South Africa and considerable stretches of Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania. It was ruled by a powerful king whose wealth was based on huge herds of cattle and whose trade relations extended from neighbouring kingdoms all the way to Arabia and distant Asia. In the decades prior to the arrival of European explorers, missionaries and settlers, the territory of Zimbabwe had witnessed the influence of many tribal groups (as mentioned above), moving north out

of what is now South Africa as a result of a series of violent upheavals known as the Mfecana<sup>4</sup> which followed the rise to power of the war like Zulu ruler Shaka. The most important of these new arrivals was the Ndebele who overthrew the Rozwi kingdom of the shona and established themselves as a strong military power in western Zimbabwe. Their ruler was Mzilikazi, a nobleman who had once served the Zulu king Shaka but had to flee after a dispute over looted cattle. In 1870, the Ndebele king Mzilikazi was succeeded by his son Lobengula. Like his father, he was a powerful military ruler who extended his realm to include part of Mashonaland the home of his tribe's rivals the Shona. But the increasing influx of settlers as a result of this treaty led to war with Lobengula, king of Matabeleland in 1893. He died while fleeing north and the Ndebele were defeated. European immigration is then in earnest.

To sum up, let's say that the great and magnificent history of Zimbabwe started in the early Iron Age and more precisely after the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>5</sup>.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the immigration of the Bantu speaking peoples, about 75% of its inhabitants belonged to Shona group, the Sindebele group called Matabele represented about 25% and the remaining 5% include other African ethnic groups : Hlengwe, Sotho, and Venda, a small group of Caucasians and Asians. All these communities lived together with a very rich heritage of traditional music, in nor a very peaceful nor war area before the arrival of Civilization by the mid-nineteenth century.

So, what was Zimbabwe like during the colonization and what kind of colonial Rule had been settled in Zimbabwe ?

---

<sup>4</sup> Revolt in Zulu language

<sup>5</sup> ibid

## **1-1-2. Zimbabwe during colonisation**

### **1-1-2-1. Invasion of Zimbabwe**

If it is true that the white men movement in Zimbabwe started many years before 1888, it is not less true that it really started with the acquisition by Cecil Rhodes<sup>6</sup> of a concession for mineral right from local chiefs. The same year, the area that became Southern and Northern Rhodesia was proclaimed a British sphere of influence. In 1889, the British South Africa Company (BSA) was chartered and the settlement of Salisbury<sup>7</sup> was established in 1890. This year the pioneer column of John Cecil Rhodes crossed the Limpopo led by the “Gold Hunger” which brought them to the Zimbabwe highlands where gold was found.

The name Rhodesia formerly given to the territory in 1895 after Cecil Rhodes under the BSA as far as it is concerned, was a commercial company and had obtained concessions from the British Crown to further the exploitation of minerals in the region. The company then sponsored the settlement of Europeans at Fort Salisbury where land was separated and laid out as farms. The BSA didn't set out to govern or rule the territory but its sole objectives were to seek and generate profit from the natural resources discovered there. Unfortunately, these objectives were not reached since the gold discovered in Zimbabwe was not concentrated in reefs (as in South Africa) but rather were scattered and almost impossible to extract profitably. As a result of the Company being unable to profit from gold exploitation, the BSA encouraged white settlement for farming purposes. This was seen as an alternative means of generating income for the company. For the success of this policy, there was a greater need to dispossess indigenous peoples of even more land and coercively force them into labour on settle farms. During

---

<sup>6</sup> In 1890s

<sup>7</sup> It is the former name of HARARE, capital city of Zimbabwe

the decade of European settlement in Zimbabwe, African people rebelled against the force alienation of their lands. The first “Chimurenga”<sup>8</sup> occurred then in 1896 as local attempts through struggle to drive the settlers out and to reclaim their territory. This rebellion lasted until 1897 but ultimately failed as Africans were defeated by European weaponry. From this time, the European settlers obtained the power of decision. What was then the origin of these white settlers ?

More than half of the white Zimbabweans are of English origin and arrived in Zimbabwe after World War II. Afrikaners from South Africa and other European minorities, including Portuguese from Mozambique were also present. Until the mid 1970s, there were about 1,000 white immigrants per year but from 1976 to 1985 a steady emigration resulted in a loss of more than 150,000 leaving about 100,000 in 1992. The white emigration of the late 1990s and early 2000s reduced the white population to less than 50,000. English, the official language is spoken by the white population and understood, if not always used by more than half of the black population.

Let’s point out that although the British immigrants are most important Community, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to attempt colonization of south central Africa in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This coexistence between the blacks and the whites in Zimbabwe at that period led compulsory to segregation. Many sectors of Zimbabweans social life were touched by that segregation. For example, in the education sector, secondary schools were segregated until 1979 when racial restrictions were removed. In 1923, following the abrogation of the company’s charter, Southern Rhodesia white settlements were given the choice of being incorporated into the union of South Africa or becoming a separated entity within the British Empire. They rejected the

---

<sup>8</sup> Meaning Revolt in the local language

incorporation and Southern Rhodesia was formally annexed by the United Kingdom the same year (1923). So, until 1980, Rhodesia was an internally self-governing colony with its own legislature, civil service, armed forces and police. Although Rhodesia was never administrated directly from London, the United Kingdom retained the right to intervene in the affairs of the colony particularly in matters affecting Africans.

Let's notice that this segregation also prevailed in the neighbouring countries like South Africa.

From all that proceeds, how can the Southern Rhodesia independence easily be imagined ?

### **1-1-2-2. From the development of agriculture to land distribution**

After 1923, European immigrants concentrated on developing Rhodesia's rich mineral resources and agricultural potential. Heir first demand for more Land appointment Act that reserved certain areas for Europeans. It means that shortly after the election referendum, the Morris Carter commission of 1925<sup>9</sup> was established to set out a framework for ensuring the emergence of Rhodesia as a self – sustaining white colony. The commission proposed land holding patterns to put the settler economy on a sound footing. This was followed by the land appointment Act of 1930, an act which separated land along racial lines (both in terms of quality and quantity.) race groups were not allowed to acquire land in areas designed for other races. Thus, land structure has largely carried through the post – independence period group (it means white holdings were reduced from 51 to 40 per cent, and African land expanded from 30 to 40 per cent.)

Population densities in white and African areas were however vastly different (with far greater numbers of people living on African land). This

---

<sup>9</sup> See the report of the commission about Land distribution

situation still prevails today. It is however important to notice that not only did white settlers have the pick of land in the best agro ecological regions of the country, but were also supported by massive state intervention in the development of the farming economy. Thus, the colonial state provided extensive communication and marketing infrastructure in commercial farming areas and made subsidies and loans available to white farmers. Finally, let's notice that despite the similarities existing in the history of land affair in South Africa and Zimbabwe, the underlying conditions are different.

It is necessary to point out the “ land appointment Act of 1930 ” which followed the Morris Carter commission and mainly aimed to protect and strengthen the huge privately owned settle farms that were largely situated in high rainfall areas. Then in the 1950s the Rhodesia Government imposed conservation standards on communal Black small holdings causing an eruption of resistance that drew them closer the growing guerrilla movement. The rising black population with many moving into the communal areas having been dispossessed by white farmers elsewhere, could barely keep out existence on poor soil that become little more than Home lands. But what is the British colonial rule implemented in Zimbabwe ?

After claiming and drawing borders for African territories, European Nations had to come up with a plan for how to govern the newly acquired colonies. The table below is a broad category that historian generally use to talk about types of colonial rule used by Europeans in Africa.

**TABLE SHOWING THE TYPE OF COLONIAL RULES**

N°	types of colonial rule	Contents
1	Economic Companies	It is used in the early days of colonialism and consisted in the establishment of private companies that were granted large territories to administrate in Africa. The objective was the exploitation of the natural resources they took in return for the power that provided charters responsibility for all the expenses related to the establishment and the administration of colonies. Europeans had additional colonies in Africa at no expense { eg : BEAC (Kenya) ; BSA (Zimbabwe)]
2	Direct Rule	This model had mostly been used by the French, Belgians, Germans, and Portuguese in African colonies. They had centralised administration usually in Urban centres that stressed policies of assimilation. The intention here is to civilize the strategy of “ divide and rule “ and the colonialists did not try to negotiate governance with indigenous African rulers and governments.
3	Indirect Rule	This is the primary rule used by the British in their colonies. This system associates indigenous African rulers within the colonial administration although they maintain inferior role. It is a cooperative model than direct rule used by Lord Lugard, a British colonial administration in Nigeria and later brought it to British East Africa colonies. But indirect rule increased divisions between ethnic groups and gave power to certain “big men” who had never had it before pre-colonial history.
4	Settler Rule	It refers to the type of colonialism in southern Africa in which settlers imposed direct rule on their colonies. Here, neither the type colonialist, nor the indigenous are implied in the administration but the minority of settlers (white) who took over the administration of the colonies. This system had prevailed in Zimbabwe for a long time.

Within each category, details of individual and local situations varied from place to place. In Zimbabwe our concern, the settler rule is the most remarkable colonial rule used and in some extent the indirect rule.

The settler rule generally used in British south African colonies, can be analysed to be the cause of the situation prevailing or having prevailed in those countries (Racial segregation, land problem.). Rhodesia<sup>10</sup> became a self – governing colony with responsible Government in 1923 and there was a local parliament although some powers (notably relating to African political advancement) was retained by London. Southern Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe) was ruled via the Dominions office (and not the colonial office) although strictly speaking, the country was not a dominion (like Canada, Australia, South Africa etc...) this was a single case.

To conclude this chapter about the colonial period in Zimbabwe which extended from 1890 to 1979, the white minority dominated and oppressed the native population and divested them of their lands. From the beginning, this incorporation was fiercely resisted by the Africans and led to numerous wars and altercations which culminated in the liberation war of the 60s. the war finally ended in political victory for the people but the social and economic reality in Zimbabwe continues to bear the strong imprint of the colonial legacy in many respects.

---

<sup>10</sup> Former name of Zimbabwe

# **CHAPTER TWO**

# **TOWARD INDEPENDENCE**

The British colonial rule brought the country to conflict (revolt) as we have mentioned above. The results of all these revolts are the independence difficulty obtained in 1980.

In this part of the work we'll firstly deal with the LIBERATION WAR in Zimbabwe, and secondly with today's Zimbabwe, we mean the independent Zimbabwe.

## **2-1. The liberation war in Zimbabwe**

### **2-1-1. The compost of the war**

Firstly, let's point out the favourable conditions for this war of liberation.

Zimbabwe's independence did not come on a platter. Two chimurenga wars were fought and many struggles noticed. This Great War for independence was not based on gender or age. Everybody (young, men, and women) took active part in it with determination. Their first belief was that being a freedom fighter made you invincible to bullets Freedom fighters. The compost which generated this determination was injustice, racial segregation. In fact, the majority of Southern Rhodesia land and more precisely the most fertile was held by the minority white Rhodesian contrary to the time when fertile land was said to be plentiful and freely available in Zimbabwe as in many African states ; a time when, by comparison, life was easy and tribal lands were worked relatively free of interference. The finding of Zimbabwe by the imperial merchant Cecil John Rhodes after whom Rhodesia was named, was far away the reason of the end of this period. So the colonial rule had started for almost one century. In 1923, a referendum was held for white settlers only to determine the future of the territory after the failure of the

BSA<sup>11</sup> company in its objectives. Three choices were offered to settlers : to become a part of the union of South Africa, to become a full British colony or to go on self governance. But settlers opted for the self-governance route. Just after the referendum, the Morris-Carter Commission of 1925 was established to set out a framework for ensuring the emergence of Rhodesia as a self sustaining white colony. The Commission proposed landholding patterns to put the settler economy on a sound footing. This was followed by the land appointment act of 1930 we have pointed out above which separated land along racial lines. Race groups were not allowed to acquire lands in areas designated for other races. And land was unequally distributed among races. About 3% of the population holds the great part of the lands. This had been sustained by Hemming in of the native reserves (known today as communal areas). The language of the liberation struggle thus demanded that a redistribution of the land be undertaken once the country was liberated. Those conquests through land grab and livestock seizure brought stiff resistance. The first major national chmurenga<sup>12</sup> (uprising) soon exploded in 1893. It was bloody suppressed but the tide that would turn decisively against settlers today was rising. In the years to the starting of the First World War<sup>13</sup>, the white settlers and their administration created and entrenched a system of racial segregation to reinforce the unequal farm land distribution. Since the settlers rejected the incorporation in 1923 and became a British colony with self government for the whites, the first prime Minister had been Charles Patrick John Gorham of the Rhodesian Reform Party (RP).

---

<sup>11</sup> British South Africa Company

<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

<sup>13</sup> 1939

## **2-1-2. The political unrest**

The rejection of the incorporation and the establishment of the self government have led to a great unrest on the political field.

Charles Patrick John Groghan was succeeded in 1927 by Howard Uniwin Moffat. After some interim prime minister's Godfrey Martin Hugging became prime minister for the RP and since 1934 for the limited Rhodesian Reform Party (RP). He governs until 1953 the moment he left the UKP<sup>14</sup> and joined the federal party. He became then the prime minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasulans. This federation flourished economically but it was opposed by the African population who feared they would not be able to achieve self government with the federal structure dominated by white southern Rhodesians. As prime minister of southern Rhodesia he was succeeded by R.S. Garfield Todd of the URP<sup>15</sup>. In 1957 the URP and FP merged into the UFP<sup>16</sup>. Its leader Edgar Cuthbert FREMANTLE who had become prime minister in 1958. in 1962 the Dominion Party (DP) won the elections and Winston Joseph Field became prime minister. Southern Rhodesia remained to the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland but when Northern Rhodesia seceded from the federation the separate status was restored in 1963. He was succeeded in 1964 by Ian Douglas Smith of the Rhodesian front (RF), successor of DP. Smith led his party to an overwhelming victory in the 1965 elections, winning all 50 of the first roll seats and demoralizing the more moderate white opposition. He declared in 1965 the unilateral independence of Rhodesia. Both Britain and the United Nations considered this declaration unconstitutional and therefore illegal. The British Government imposed sanctions on Rhodesia and requested other nations to do the same. Non-whites had no entrance to government. The

---

<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Union of the Reform Party

<sup>16</sup> Union Front Party lead by Edgar Cuthbert Fremantle

Rhodesia government declared the country a republic in 1970. Resistance was organized in the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African Union (ZANU). After a long civil war a period of transition started in 1979. The area was renamed Zimbabwe Rhodesia. After a victory at the 1979 elections Abel T. MUZOREWA of the United African National Congress (UANC) became prime minister in a transition government. Zimbabwe Rhodesia returned to colonial status. Zimbabwe Rhodesia became an independent republic in 1980 as Zimbabwe (named Republic of Zimbabwe since 1971)<sup>17</sup>. Robert Mugabe won the 1980 elections with ZANU, Joseph Nkomo and his closest aides were expelled from the government, ZAPU militants started a rebellion against the government. Since 1987 Zimbabwe has become a presidential republic and Mugabe became president. He merged his ZANU with ZAPU in 1989 into the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Elections in 1990 resulted in overwhelming victory for Mugabe and his party.

But what is the role played by each class of the Zimbabwe society in this war of liberation ?

The role of the men was obvious, that's certainly the reason why they are often the only father of independence. They did play a great role in the liberation because they played the first role and they were politically more engaged. It's however worth mentioning the other parties like youth who are also not to be neglected.

Before really pointing out the role of the other Zimbabweans, let's remind that the independence of Zimbabwe was mainly obtained from gun. There have been many guerrillas more precisely two, one for the ZANU and the other for the ZAPU before they had joined to lead the war. These guerrillas consisted of the villages that attracted the white men

---

<sup>17</sup> See the Act of Unilateral Declaration of Independence

and their property. The youths were very engaged and the women also at many levels. Although all of them had not taken active part in the guerrilla, they were the one to produce food, cloth, care (treatment) and even their voice to the men through the *ZAMLA* movement<sup>18</sup>.

During the war the neighbouring countries, Zambia, Mozambique, became bases for the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. Blood, tears and fight built this *freedom*; Zimbabwe became after independence the only African Country to achieve its independence via the gun. At least 60,900 people lost their life in the struggle for liberation. When the freedom fighter led by Robert Mugabe and Nkomo had to surrender at Lancaster house in London in 1979, (This is where the land issue of Zimbabwe was born), Thatched the British prime minister had promised to compensate and assist in land reform as a concession to the Zimbabwe also bound to five whites certain privileges for a duration of two years of representation in Parliament.

British and the black nationalists rejected the elections held in 1979 as they had rejected the accord signed by Smith and three moderate black leaders in 1978 to set up an interim biracial government.

Finally, a London Conference reached an accord on legal independence under black majority rule and the new state of Zimbabwe came into being in 1980. A government of national unity was established but it had to end in 1982, when Prime Minister Mugabe ousted Nkomo from the cabinet. Mugabe united with opposition leaders in 1987 in attempt to end factional strife. The role of the men was as important as the one played by the other parts of the population.

What was Zimbabwe like after independence ?

---

<sup>18</sup> Mouvement which support the guérilla

## **2-2. The independent Zimbabwe**

### **2-2-1. Zimbabwe during the independence period**

Here, we are going to stress on the political, economical and even geographical aspect of independent Zimbabwe. Following a Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Lusaka, it was agreed that it was Britain's responsibility to grant legal independence to Zimbabwe. As a result, the Lancaster House Conference Held from 10 September to 21 December 1979 was attended by Mugabe, Nkomo and a delegation from Zimbabwe – Rhodesia government. All parties accepted a ceasefire in December 1979. The talk produced a settlement, which led to a transition to majority rule, an independence constitution and arrangement, for a transitional period during which election would be held and a ceasefire declared. A British governor, Lord Soamis was appointed to run the country to the period up to independence. Independence in Zimbabwe was finally achieved on April 18<sup>th</sup> 1980. The new constitution provided for a non executive president, a prime minister and a cabinet responsible to parliament. The legislature was bi-cameral consisting of elected members of parliament and an indirectly elected senate. Independence of judiciary was recognised and individual freedom protected by a justifiable declaration of right.

In the first elections ZANU, won 57 seats and Robert Mugabe was elected prime minister. ZAPU won 20 seats, UANC won three and the Rhodesia Front won all the 20 seats reserved for whites.

The first president was CANAAN SODINDO Banana. His powers were mainly ceremonial. The government followed a consideration for the white minority even after the expiry of the guarantees enshrined in the Lancaster House constitution. The legislature was later changed with

the abolition of the reserved white seats, establishment of a unicameral parliament and enlargement of parliament from 100 members to 150.

Following independence, there was increasingly bitter rivalry between ZAPU and ZANU, with Guerrilla activity starting again in Matabeleland (South western Zimbabwe). NKOMO (ZAPU) left for exile in Britain, and did not return until Mugabe guaranteed his safety. On February 17<sup>th</sup> 1982, accused of plotting a coup, he was dismissed. Armed resistance in his strong hold of Matabeleland in the west was met with bloody government repression. At least, 20,000 died in Zimbabwe at that moment. A peace accord was negotiated and on December 30<sup>th</sup> 1987, Mugabe became head of state after reforming the constitution to usher in a presidential regime.

### **2-2-2. Zimbabwe after independence**

On December 19<sup>th</sup> 1989, ZAPU merged with ZANU under the name of ZANU under patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Although most whites had left Zimbabwe after independence, mainly for neighbouring South Africa, those who remained, continued to wield disproportionate control of some sectors of the economy, especially agriculture, the main activity of Zimbabwe's population. Clearly, around 26 per cent of the country's economically active population is engaged in agriculture, which contributed about 60 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The principal cash crops are tobacco and maize, which are grown mainly in the northern and central regions. In 2004, annual production totalled about 4 millions tonnes of sugar cane, 1 million tonne of maize, 80,000 tonnes of wheat, 265,000 tonnes of cotton, and 180,000 tonnes of tobacco. Other major crops include tea, coffee, cut flowers peanuts, citrus fruit and sorghum. One of the priorities after independence was to improve the access to agricultural services and markets of the country's

black farmers, who farm small plots, and are called in Zimbabwe “peasants” or “communal sector farmers”. But these policies were astonishing. From being marginal contributors to the production of marketed maize, peasant farmers by the mid 1980s were contributing almost 50 per cent of the total marketed production also scared enabling Zimbabwe to become a major regional exporter of the crop. All this occurred despite severe drought, which had led to famine in neighbouring States but which Zimbabwe survived because of its large stockpiles of grain. The picture changed at the end of the 1990s.

By the late 1980s large scale commercial farmers, the main growers of tobacco altered it into new crops like green beans and other vegetables and flowers which are exported to a number of countries are taken rising and dairy farming are also of major importance ; beef, high quality products were exported to Europe.

In 2003, the country had about 221 millions chickens, 5,76 million cattle, 2,97 million goats, 610,000 sheep, and 605,000 pigs. Then Zimbabwe’s Annual round wood cut in 2003 was about 9.11 million cum (322 million cu) most of it was used for household fuel. The fish caught in 2001 amounted to 13,200 tonnes mainly from Lake Karibafrou, prawns and bream were farmed.

As far as mining is concerned, Zimbabwe is with South Africa, the world leading supplier of high grade chromium, ore, and nickel. And gold is more produced since the 1980s with the introduction of technique enabling the discovery of ore from old waste tips.

In other way, manufacturing grew rapidly in Zimbabwe after War II. In the case of transport, Zimbabwe has a road network totalling about 91,810km (57,048mi) in length. About 70% are improved, all weather roads, including about 19% paved roads. The country is also served by railways which link it to Zambia, South Africa, Botswana, and ports on

the Indian Ocean in Mozambique. Most of the major towns are served by air transport. There are international air ports at Harare, Bulawayo, and Victoria Falls ; Air Zimbabwe is the national carrier.

In the case of communication, although the media in Zimbabwe is theoretically free in practice, it is very much State dominated. The government controls the two main daily newspapers. We can then understand that the media is not free in reality.

But these problems are not the only faced by the newly independent Zimbabwe ! The land problem early appeared as a real one to be solved.

Although the land problem in Zimbabwe started with colonisation (white settlement) it remained unsolved till the independence.

In fact, in term of the land appointment Act, 50, 8% of the land was reserved for white settlers, with the bulk of it on the arable central highlands. The indigenous African population (the majority of the population) was allocated 30% of the land. This 30% was largely on the plateau sloping down to the Zambezi Valley and in the mountainous escarpment regions. But after the independence, these percentages had known a certain modification. The size of land available for African expanded then between 1930 and 1980. So, we can notice that the racial split in land ownership access was approximately changed from 30% and 50,8% to 40% for each group. It means that white holdings were reduced from 51 to 40 per cent, and African land expanded from 30 to 40 per cent although population densities in white and African areas were however vastly different (with far greater numbers of people leaving an African land). This situation still prevail today so that to oblige Mugabe to introduce some reforms. But let's see the geographical situation of mugabe's country.

Located in Southern Africa, Zimbabwe formerly known as southern Rhodesia is bordered on the North by Zambia, on the East by

Mozambique, on the South by South Africa and by Botswana on the West. It covers a territory of 3,905,805,9.m and is as big as Germany and Switzerland taken together with a population of the approx. 12 million inhabitants, some 77% belonging to the shona population.

Zimbabwe was the first African country to acquire national independence in 1980 after extensive fight against formerly white Rhodesian.

Land problem had been one of the main reasons to the independence of 17 April 1980 since the independence had been obtained. How should land problem be faced according to the black ? There should be redistribution. It was indeed the apprehension of the likelihood of such a retaliatory reclaiming of the land occurring that the British demanded insertion of a restraining order in the constitution that forbade such a wholesale redistribution from being undertaken during the first ten years of independence. A proviso was also made in the course of the talks on a willing-seller, willing-buyer as a means of buying back the land from white farmers. On this note, the black politicians unequivocally affirmed that it would be historically and morally wrong to tax the colonially deprived and impoverished Zimbabweans in order to raise such resources since the land was never bought from them in the first place. They contested that the British colonial government was morally and legally bound to pay and compensate the white settler farmers for the land to be acquired for resettlement after independence. The constitutional talks nearly ended over this issue but resumed when British and American governments made promissory Commitments of 75 million pound and \$ 520 million respectively to assist any new government in Zimbabwe in mobilizing the fund for the buy-back of land for resettlement. On this note Zimbabwe was granted political independence on April 1980. However, the inequitable structure of land

distribution inherited from colonial rule still stands more or less intact with the best of the land still being controlled by a minority white population of about 5,000 people, the original land owners rot away in poverty and the millions of black population have nothing to show for liberty. In the early 1900, African agriculture competed head to head with white settler farmers for market of the growing towns and mining centre in the country. In 1915 the native Reserves Commission expropriated more of the high potential land and initiated a new form of taxation to suppress the indigenous competition. By the 1930s, the corn purchasing board had established regulation which discriminated against African corn, while the state moved more Africans to the non fertile Communal land. The result of this was that the Africans who had wedged such competition against the white settlers were rendered idle, and forced to indenture themselves as elaborated to the white farmers. Then the blacks could have the power back, but the whites would keep their hold on the land by extension.

Events have shown that American and British never planned to fulfil their side of the deal and only included that to stop the war, gain enough time to strategize and consolidate their plans of sustaining racist exploitations.

The new Zimbabwean government would be basking in the euphoria of political independence that the British government never intended to know the Lancaster house promise which became apparent by the day as they continued to attach difficult and extraneous conditions to any fund they intended to provide. Meanwhile, President Robert Mugabe under the pressure of the responsibilities imposed on him by the liberation struggle enacted the constitutional Amendment N°16 A. This legislation seeks to assert the responsibility of compensation for any land compulsorily acquired for resettlement should be made up. The main

reason for the act was to free land acquisition for resettlement from legal constraints being exploited by white farmers to delay land reform and resettlement program.

Moreover, the willing – buyer clause could never be met since there would never be any willing – seller among the white settler farmers. Though the racial and ideological dimensions of the crisis seem to be pushed to the fore, Britain and American seem to be more incensed by President Mugabe’s socialist policies. This they fear may upstage the capitalist structures if the land reform is pursued to its conclusions. The fight is therefore two-pronged it is seen as a battle against socialist-communist incursion. Secondly, the gang-up was also necessary so that in the event that Mugabe is not scared into back-peddalling on the land reform or defeated in the presidential election, the effects of the sanctions now imposed on Zimbabwe would scare potential land or anti-imperialist reformist in other southern African States. It is indeed heart-rending to see British and American government hastily and compulsively slam economic sanctions on Zimbabwe when for over a century, they remotely and actively aided the greatest political and economic banditry and the worst form of inhumanity against Africa perfected in the savagery of apartheid. It is also highly hypocritical for them to suddenly turn against Mugabe – who was a friend even while oppressing his People and corrupting the system, once the issue of land redistribution surfaces. On economic level, let’s point out that in 1980 world Bank and International monetary fund (IMF) intervenes in Zimbabwe’s economy to disastrous effect and since then it has undermined the country – bringing it almost to the brink of social and economy collapse in the 1990s – The impact of its pressure, by the late 1995, caused the Zimbabweans Government to begin opposing IMF reforms These demanded savage public spending cuts to meet loan

obligations- which could never be met and were intended to shackle the country, the western interest, especially to enable foreign direct investments part of the trap. The IMF ordered that the state push its privatisation program to the limit supposedly to offset those unattainable obligations. Zimbabweans' chief industry is mining contributing about 20 per cent of GDP while agriculture dominates at 60 per cent. The Zimbabweans Government, increasingly squeezed in this vice, began to shift from the IMF plan. But the British Government today in fact while attacking Zimbabwe for the consequent economic main item makes no allowance for the fact that since 1991 the country has been structurally adjusted.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **IMPACTS AND IMPLICATIONS**

### **3-1. Mugabe's agrarian reform**

#### **3-1-1. What is the reform ?**

In this chapter of our work, we are going firstly to point out the history and definition of the concept and secondly deal with the aims of such reform in Zimbabwe.

##### **3-1-1-1. Definition and history of the concept**

Land reform (also agrarian reform although that can have a broader meaning) is the government initiated or government backed redistribution of ownership of (or tenure in) agricultural land. The term most often refers to the transfer from ownership by relatively small number of wealthy (noble) owners with extensive land holdings (eg plantations, large ranches, or agribusiness plot) to individual or collective ownership by those who work the land. Such transfer of ownership may be with or without consent or compensation that may vary from taken amounts to the full value of the land. The land value tax is a moderate version of land reform.

However, this definition is somewhat complicated by the issue of state-owned collective farms.

In various times and places, land reform has encompassed the transfer of land from ownership even peasant ownership in smallholdings to government owned collective farms, it is also in other times and places referred to the exact opposite, division of government owned collective farms into smallholdings.

Land reform can also be defined as:

*" The redistribution of property or right in land for the benefit of landless, tenants and farm labourers".*

*To sum up, we talk about land reform or agrarian reform when there is a redistribution of land to landless or those who have been deprived from it.*

*But once the definition accepted what about the origin or the historical step in land reform?*

A historical important source of pressure for land reform has been the accumulation of significant properties by tax exempt individuals or entities. In the Christian world, this has frequently been true of churches and monasteries. In the Moslem world, land reforms such as that organized in Spain by al-Hurr in 718 have transferred property from Muslims to Christians, who were taxable.

In the modern world, land reform in the aftermath of colonialism and the industrial revolution, has occurred around the world, from the Mexican revolution (1917) to communist Chinatown Bolivia (1952) through Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Land reform has been especially popular as part of decolonization struggles in Africa and Arab world where it was part of the program for African and Arab socialism. Cuba has one of the most complete agrarian reforms in Latin America. Land reform was an important step in achieving economic development in many Third world countries since the post world war II period, especially in the East Asian Tiger and “Tiger cubs” nations such as Taiwan, South Korea and Malaysia.

What are then the objectives of these reforms?

### **3-1-1-2. The aim and objective of the land reform in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe, like most southern Africa’s countries faced land problem as a colonial heritage.

Land ownership was not fair-white settlers (minorities owned the great part of the land while the black (majority owned only a small part, about ¼ of the total land available.

The redistribution of land in order to correct this fact was one of the aims of land reform in Zimbabwe. The aim of land reform in post independent Zimbabwe was then to redress past land alienation through promoting equal access to land for the majority of the population.

The program was directed to :

- To create political stability and an acceptable property rights regime.
- To promote economic growth through wider equity and efficiency
- Gain from land redistribution.
- To promote national food security, self – sufficiency and agricultural development through labour, intensive small farmer production, optimal land productivity and returns to capital invested.

The targets of this land reform program were the landless, the war veterans, and the poor and commercial farm workers.

The objectives of land acquisition were to reduce the 16 million hectares of agricultural land held by white farmers at independence by approximately 50 per cent. The target set for land acquisition and transfer to black small holders was thus approximately 8 million hectares. The remaining white commercial farming areas would also be deracialised through promoting black entry into the sector.

The land reform and Resettlement Program of the Zimbabwean government can be seen as comprising two phases :

The first phase from 1980 to 1996 and the second commencing with the gazetting of 1471 farms for obligatory acquisition in 1997. the period from 1980 to 1996 was characterized by the state-centred market. The

dominant approach to land acquisition in the 1981-1996 periods can be characterized as a State – centred market based approach to land redistribution. Land was purchased by the state from willing sellers (as per Lancaster) and redistributed to beneficiaries. The private sector led the identification of land and controlled the supply available to people selected mainly by its district officials under the direct supervision of central government officials.

As a consequence, land reform in Zimbabwe during the 1980's and 1990's has been unable to redistribute land on any significant scale. Instead, reform has been confined to the planned and orderly settlement of beneficiaries (families and cooperatives) on land acquired by the State. Acquisition of land through the willing seller set up was relatively easy during the 1981 to 1983 period, with a substantial supply of farms abandoned during the war, and farms coming onto the market white settlers left after independence.

However, after this period the supply of land dried up. This may well have been the motivation behind the land Acquisition Act of 1986, which provided the State with first option to farm coming onto the market.

Let's notice that the settlement of beneficiaries on land happened through 4 different models as shown in the table below :

**TABLE 2 : MODELS OF BENEFICIARIES' SETTLEMENT**

Model A	Model B	Model C	Model D
<p>Beneficiaries receive cropping land (of 10 to 65Ha) as well as access to communal grazing land (of 55Ha or equivalent depending on agro ecological region). Land was acquired by the state (usually in the form of large commercial estates) with plots being redistributed to beneficiaries. Tenures were in the order of three annual permits – One for settlement, one for cultivation and one for grazing. A final point is that settlers had to give up their rights to land in the communal areas they came from. The bulk of land reform (over 80%) in the 1980's and 1990's took place through this model.</p>	<p>It was designed to take over existing large commercial farms, with farm production their being cooperatively organized (with decision making through committee). Credit would be accessed by the cooperative and incomes allocated either to individual families or allocated for farm development approximately 50 of these cooperative schemes were set up. Although many subsequently folded.</p>	<p>It involved the intensive resettlement of beneficiaries around a core estate. The estate provided settlers with certain services and settlers in turn provided labour for the estate cropping land within this scheme was allocated on an individual basis, with settlers also gaining access to grazing land, which is managed communally. A professional farm manager manages the core estate. (Model not extensively implemented).</p>	<p>It was implemented in the arid South of Zimbabwe. Commercial ranches were purchased next to communal land livestock was then purchased from these neighbouring thrust areas and allowed to fatten on the ranch before being sold. The thinking was that this would enable communal farmers to reduce grazing pressure on communal lands ; this model was not extensively implemented.</p>

Moreover, land reform and agrarian reform are often used as two interchangeable terms. Agrarian reform, a construct of the cold war<sup>19</sup> to counter communist land reform, embraces, improvements in both land tenure and agricultural organization. Its policy prescriptions urged government to go beyond redistribution : they should also support other rural development measures, such as the improvement of farm, credit cooperatives for farming – input supply and marketing, and extension services to facilitate the production.

### **3-2. Importance of the reform**

#### **3-2-1. The necessity of the agrarian reform**

By the end of the colonization, many Southern African countries gained to independence.

But there were many disparities on the way that each Nation obtained its sovereignty. In Zimbabwe our concern, the independence obtained in April 1980, instead of being the time of freedom, prosperity and development, came to be the beginning of a lot of crisis in the country. Those crisis touched the political problems. In fact, after its independence in April 1980, Zimbabwe faced an increase of rivalry between its major political parties ZANU and the MDCs; and guerrilla activity started again. In another way, the old discrimination existing on the land question gave birth to a kind of nationalism feeling among the Black Leader “The black majority’s conscience refused this oppression. To sum up, the country was in trouble and there were many injustices to repair. MUGABE came to power at that period, and it was very important to acquire popularity among the majority of the population which were injured by the unequal sharing of the land between black (majority) and white (minority).

---

<sup>19</sup> 1947-1975

In reality, the agrarian reform question and politically motivated violence are Zimbabwe's most enduring colonial legacies more than two decades after independence. The two are intimately linked. For some 90 years the country was a settler colony. The adoption of discriminatory agricultural policies and the attribution of most of the fertile, well-watered land to European settlers ; marginalizing then and impoverishing indigenous rural people activated the oppression. In an effort to redress these inequities, the government of Zimbabwe swiftly introduced a series of agrarian reform measures after independence. The resettlement activities initiated under these measures peaked – well below targeted levels just after the mid 1980. Thereafter real progress showed and commitment weakened to sporadic administrative and legislative efforts to modify the operating environment for resettlement. We can notice that things were not going on as Zimbabwean hoped. For then, when the liberation struggle finally triumphed, they hoped that real freedom had come. They had new songs that pointed at prosperity, political and economic freedom and land restitution. That was not to come. Zimbabweans so expressed their desolation by shouting that their gift after suffering for almost a century under colonial rule was debt. They claimed that they handed a bill of outstanding debts from northern creditors. Indeed paying twice for their suffering instead of rehabilitation, reconstruction and development, they were forced to honour the debts taken on their behalf by their oppressor. They also notify that they were instructed to pay pensions for the retired oppressors and murderers who killed the 60,000 indigenous people. Construction of schools, roads clinics and houses had to be delayed to serve the odious debt. Workers had to work hard to ensure that they had sufficient revenue to pay the colonial debt so that they remained the sweet darlings of international

creditors. Indeed, the British – brokered Lancaster House peace treaty insured that British children retained economic power.

The small white population less than 1% of the 13 million Zimbabweans retained 90 percent ownership of industries and land. This meant that the status quo remained.

For all these reasons, Mugabe opted for a conciliatory stance, pledging to redress racial and class injustices, redistribute land and promote economic development. But Zimbabwe was virtually bankrupted after the long war for independence and the economy was further weakened by the mass emigration of Europeans and a severe drought in the early 1980s. The slow pace of land reform led to particular tension in Matabeleland in Southern Zimbabwe, the home of the Ndebele people and the heartland of the Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU), the main opposition Party one time allied with ZANU in the struggle against Apartheid. But now, once more, they were rivals and the tensions between them and their ethnic groups increased as the government accused ZAPU's leader, Joshua Nkomo, of inciting violence in the region. The government began a prolonged military campaign against the dissidents that claimed thousands of lives.<sup>20</sup> (TIME, March, 18, 1985.)

The real aim of the Agrarian Reform is to ameliorate (black) people's life that are in majority rural. Their main economic activity is agriculture.

As such, resource endowment, particularly in terms of access to land is a Crucial determinant of household's capacity to feed themselves. Hence land reform is necessary to address existing inequalities in the access to land and to improve land ownership and the security of land tenure among rural communities.

---

<sup>20</sup> In Time, March 1985

The land reform program has had a measure of success and has been shown to have the potential to improve the livelihoods of beneficiaries and to reduce poverty levels. At the same time, the land reform program has not fully accomplished the stated objectives because (with the extension of some of the resettlement projects of the 1980's) the focus has merely been on giving people land without the accompanying for instance, seed packs, chemical inputs, tools machinery and the required extension services. Land reform gains in the area of poverty have also been modest because the land reform program has not really maintained a focus on poverty.

There has been insufficient development as far as legal reforms are concerned. This is evidenced by the continued insecurity of tenure, even among the most recent beneficiaries of the land reform program and also by the continued existence of restrictive subdivision laws.

There has been a weak link between land reform and gender programs.

### **3-2-2. Is Mugabe wrong with his reform ?**

Looking all that happened in Zimbabwe before and after independence, we can easily appreciate in its real value, Magabe's reaction while becoming president.

Remind that just after the independence, black Zimbabweans (the majority of the population) were stripped of their land and were angry because of many other injustices.

Mugabe came at that time like the righter of wrongs made to his kith and kin.

By redistributing land and redressing racial and class injustices, Mugabe tried to calm down the population, forgetting the economical and political aspects, I mean the unhappy people he was making among the

white people and the external European countries. We must notice that the old coloniser still have an interest on Zimbabwe and could not be happy of the way Mugabe was directing-things. We must also not forget that the country's economy was led by white people.

Let's finally notice, though it is important the land should be redistributed to black population of Zimbabwe, it was also important that those people were not trained enough to face the necessity of a modern agriculture. There was then a need to first train the black population by associating the white farmers, full of knowledge and experience in that field. The arbitrary decision of sacking the white farmers away from their farm was then wrong because of its many drawbacks on the economy. We can notice that Mugabe has just done it because of Machiavellian reasons. It was only in a political view in order to punish the white farmers supporters of the MDC<sup>21</sup>, and by the same occasion, tried to regain the esteem of the war veterans who were becoming angrier and angrier with Mugabe's regime (on December 9<sup>th</sup> 1997, a national strike paralysed the country ; Mugabe was panicked by demonstrations by Zanla ex combatants, who had been the heart of the liberation struggle 20 years earlier). Let's also mention that in the execution of the agrarian reform in Zimbabwe, the war veterans have exaggerated by enforcing a system of violence on white farmers and their properties. The violence was so strong that even the black who worked with the white farmers on the farms refused to continue with the new owners because disappointed.

Reform is necessary because it allows the redistribution of land to historical owners yet it should not be so rushed but well thought with good measures.

---

<sup>21</sup> Movement for Democratic Change

Indeed ; Mugabe's politic, instead of succeeding in developing and resolving his country's problems, allowed Zimbabwe's neighbouring countries to recover the white farmers and develop their own agriculture. It is the case of South Africa which received the large part of the white farmers. Let's point out here that even though the country faced Apartheid, the transition on the land question succeeded with no major problems. All that had been possible because of the political maturity in South Africa and particularly because of the charismatic status of *Nelson Mandela*<sup>22</sup>.

All in all, Mugabe has delivered neither the economic stability nor the social unity he pledged when he first took office. The country continues to be plagued by chronic shortages of food and fuel, and white farmers still live in fear that their farms will be seized. Mugabe's promise of "a new spirit that must unite and not divide " rings hollow in the wind of change that is blowing through Zimbabwe.

---

<sup>22</sup> He is the first president of the After Apartheid South Africa

# **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORM**

## **4-1. On the internal level**

### **4-1-1. The socio-Economical implication**

Originally, the focus was the role of land reform in preventing conflict.

When the analyses here were being formulated in late 1999, it seemed evident that the slow rate of progress on land reform in Zimbabwe could not continue because of the drastic way used by Mugabe. He raised the issue of land ownership by white farmers and redistributed land in a populist move which brought the government into headlong conflict with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervened in Zimbabwe's economy to disastrous effect and since then, it has undermined the country bringing it almost to the brink of social and economic collapse in the 1990s.

The impact of its pressure, by the late 1990s caused the Zimbabwean government to opposing IMF<sup>23</sup> "reforms". These demanded savage public spending cuts to meet loan Obligations which could never be met and were intended to shackle the country to western interests – especially to enable easier foreign direct investment. As part of the trap, the IMF ordered that the state push its privatisation programme to the limit supposedly to offset those unattainable obligations. Zimbabwe's chief industry is mining, contributing about 20 per cent of GDP<sup>24</sup>. We must also remind that just after Mugabe's coming to power, Zimbabwe was the first exporter of crops and was with South Africa the provider in the sector of mining. So, let's notice that the country's economy which was in good expansion didn't progress as normal as Mugabe's management, only because he didn't mature his idea of land reform enough. He just took the land from white experienced ones only for

---

<sup>23</sup> International Monetary Fund created after World War2

<sup>24</sup> Gross Domestic Product

political reasons. But it is forgetting the Reaction of the defenders of those white owners (the western countries) which still had some Interest there.

#### **4-1-2. The political implications**

Here, we are going to stress on the political transformations that held after the execution of land reform (seemed to be the way of acquiring popularity, the solution to the crucial problems the country was facing to.) by Robert Mugabe in his country.

In fact, the focus was the role of Land Reform in preventing conflict. When the analyses were being formulated in late 1999, it seemed evident that the slow rate of progress on land reform in Zimbabwe could not continue. Numerical targets for the numbers of households to be resettled had been chiselled into political guarantee in the early 1980s.

Then, after an auspicious beginning in the early 1980s, land reform moved at a snail's pace for some 15 years. With another parliamentary election due in 2000, it seemed that Zimbabwe's ruling party – ZANU PF would again herald its commitment for providing land to the people. What was less apparent this time was whether the people would accept another round of empty promises from a government that was rapidly losing its credibility and acceptance.

Elsewhere, we can also notice that the slow pace of land reform led to particular tension in Matabeleland in western Zimbabwe, the home of the Ndebele people and the heartland of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the main opposition party and one time allies with ZANU in the struggle against apartheid. But now, once more, they were rivals and the tensions between them and their ethnic groups increased as the government accused ZAPU's leader Joshua Nkomo, of inciting violence in the region. The government began a prolonged military campaign

against the dissidents that claimed thousands of lives. In addition, after a decade in office, Mugabe had come closer to his vision of one party socialist rule and he demonstrated the power of the State by cracking down on sporadic student protests in the early 1990.

The country's economic difficulties, inflation, unemployment, corruption, government inertia and the stalled program of land resettlement sparked widespread discontent in 1992. Another drought in Southern Africa added to the country's economic difficulties<sup>25</sup> and the discovery of evidence of atrocities committed by government forces in Matabeleland in the 1980s increased popular resentment. Despite the continuing political malaise, Zanu-Pf won a fourth general election in 1995 and Mugabe was returned to office as president in 1996.

His government was unpopular, but no opposition party was strong enough to pose a serious challenge. It emerged from all that preceded that Mugabe was not appreciated by his population ; it existed a feeling of discomfort. Instead of that, Mugabe used land reform as a political rallying call again in 1997, when he pledged to seize white land in a bid to cool the fury erupting in the streets. TIMES, Dec, 1997)

By now, the once promising economy was on the verge of collapse. Angered by low wages and exalting prices, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) went on a series of one day strikes (TIME, Feb, 16, 1998 and TIME, Feb, 1, 1999).

Despite the dire economic situation, Mugabe made a costly commitment of troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo in support of President Laurent Kabila's offensive against foreign backed rebels fighting to overthrow his regime. Mugabe's response to the ZCTU protest was to ban strikes, and in February of this year, he attempted to amend the country's constitution to further bolster his autocratic control and

---

<sup>25</sup> In Time, May, 4, 1992

allow him to seize white farmers land. But the political tide was turning and he was defeated in a referendum on the reform by a new political party, the movement for Democratic Change, and another opposition groups the first opposition victory in any vote since independence (TIME, Feb 28, 2000). Undaunted, Mugabe pressed for and got parliamentary approval for the power to confiscate white owned farms. It was a move that triggered diplomatic alarms and international condemnation (TIME, April, 17, 2000.)

In an atmosphere of turbulence and intimidation elections which eventually took place in June 2000 (TIME, July, 10, 2000). Not only saw Mugabe cling to power, but also marked the emergence of a powerful and unified voice of opposition. His ruling ZANU PF party won 62 of the 120 directly elected Seats with MDC winning 57 seats, a stunning result for the fledging led by Morgan TSVANGIRAI, whose ambitions for the presidency begins to look plausible. After 20 years in power Mugabe has delivered neither the economic stability nor the social unity he pledged when he first took office. The country continued to be plagued by chronic shortages of food and fuel, and white farmers still live in unequal conditions.

## **4-2. On the external level**

### **4-2-1. Zimbabwe and the other African countries**

As we saw with the western countries, the policy in Zimbabwe also has an impact on its relations with the other African countries. In this topic, we are going to point out Zimbabwe's relationship with the neighbouring African countries like South Africa, Zambia, Nigeria, etc.

It is important to first notice that in the aftermath of the deeply flawed March 2002 presidential election, Zimbabwe has dropped off the

radar screen of most policy – makers and media but its crisis is deepening :

- the ruling ZANU-PF party and the government are systematically using violence to intimidate the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and civil society in order to punish and compel them to accept the results ;
- the economy is further deteriorating as both foreign investment and food become scarce commodities ; with regional drought compounding the land seizure crisis, UN agencies warn of possible famine ; and
- as the opposition considers mass protests, the prospect of serious internal conflict is becoming imminent, with grave implications for the stability of the wider Southern African region.

Looking all that precede, the international response has been mixed and inadequate. South Africa and Nigeria, who made possible the Commonwealth's suspension of Zimbabwe in the immediate aftermath of the election, have attempted throughout the spring to facilitate party – to party talks between ZANU-PF and the MDC. Many African governments, however, have given barely qualified if slightly minimised Zimbabwe's relevance to their efforts to construct new economic relationships between the continent and the rest of the world.

Most Western countries have done little except repeat rhetorical condemnations that appear, counter – productively, to have persuaded Mugabe that their policies are “all bark, no bite” and to have increased sympathy for him in much of Africa. The European Union (EU) and the United States (US) have meaningfully expanded neither the target list of affected individuals nor the scope for the sanctions (primarily travel restrictions) they imposed on senior ZANU – PF figures before the election. Key G-8 countries have signalled in advance of their 26-27

June 2002 summit that they may be prepared to relax the requirement that African states apply serious peer pressure on Zimbabwe as a precondition for advancing the New Program for Africa's Development (NEPAD) initiative on the continent pins its hopes for integration into the world economy.

The party-to-party talks initially made progress. An agenda was agreed and the facilitators had begun to explore ideas, built around a transitional power sharing arrangement, to pursue constitutional reform and restructure the presidency to require new elections while finessing the MDC's requirement for a rerun of the March poll and ZANU-PF's insistence Mugabe's victory be accepted. However, in May ZANU-PF withdrew, demanding that MDC drop its court challenge to that result.

The substantive gap is considerable, and ZANU-PF is carrying out repressive actions around the country that heighten tension and damage the environment for any negotiation. The MDC entered talks despite considerable scepticism at its grace talks collapses in fact, mugabe's behaviour after the last presidential elections (ZANU PF's insistence made Mugabe's victory accepted in 2002). The opposition Party MDC Leader, Morgan Tsvangirai had begun to speak of switching mass public protests within weeks if there is no movement towards new elections. Every indication is that this would produce a sharp ; and with ZANU-PF response, it was obvious to the international community to focus its efforts with renewed urgency on diffusing the immediate crisis. The most promising avenue, if only for lack of any realistic alternative, is presented by the party talks. South Africa and Nigeria need to become much more assertive in encouraging ZANU-PF to return to the negotiating table and both sides to pursue genuine compromises. In particular, they need to use more of their considerable political leverage to push the governing party to improve the negotiating environment by ending the widespread

violence for which it is responsible. By doing so they will also gain credibility with the MDC that can be used at a later stage to broker agreements.

Other African States should give full support and make clear that President Mugabe will be isolated if he does not end the political violence and negotiate in good faith. The Africans should also use Qadhafi's desire to be accepted as a statesman to encourage Lybia to cut off material support that encourages Mugabe's intransigence.

His fellow African Leaders, especially President Tabu Mbeki of South Africa and Obasanjo of Nigeria, have most of the real leverage that can influence Mugabe. However, the EU, US and other Friends of Zimbabwe can play important roles by focusing on helping the facilitators get the party-to-party talks back on track within the next several weeks. They should mute the rhetoric but toughen and extend targeted sanctions; make clear there will be no progress on NEPAD at the G-8 Summit unless Africans put more pressure on ZANU-PF ; and (especially the British) pledge a new to contribute significantly, in the context of an overall settlement, to land reform in Zimbabwe which is a genuine issue though one cynically abused by the ruling party.

They should also offer assistance that strengthens civil society and helps provide unemployed young people with economic alternatives to join the ruling party's militias. These middle and longer term objectives however, must be subordinate to the immediate priority of heading off an increasingly dangerous confrontation this summer.

With all that proceeds, Zimbabwe is not a lost cause. Conflict prevention based on democracy, rule of law, and a functioning economy can succeed, but only if the key international actors, led by the Africans themselves, throw their full weight behind a genuine negotiating process before the grievances are taken into the streets.

In addition, Nigeria and South Africa focus efforts with the international community on getting ZANU-PF back to the table with the MDC and both parties to negotiate in good faith institute a solution that will lead to a fixed and reasonable period to further presidential elections within a reformed political system and under appropriate supervision and safeguards.

In fact, South Africa and Nigeria adopt a more assertive stance as facilitators of party-to-party talks, being prepared, in particular to end diplomatic support for president-Mugabe if ZANU-PF does not cease violence and to isolate in Africa whichever side does not negotiate in good faith.

They engage Lybia and other States to end material support that reinforces President Mugabe's intransigence.

Call for immediate recon version of the Abuja Ministerial Conference to review implementation of September 2001 agreements concerning Zimbabwe's commitment to respect rule – of law and Britain's to support land reform.

#### **4-2-2. Zimbabwe and the overseas countries**

By trying to ameliorate his population's conditions of life as he indicated while being prime minister, he was committed to a process of national reconciliation and reconstruction as well as moderate socio-economic change. His priorities were to integrate the various armed forces, re-establish social services and education in rural areas, and resettle the estimated one million refugees and displaced persons. Mugabe also announced that his government would begin investigating ways of reversing past discriminatory policies in land distribution, education employment and wages. After all those promises, Mugabe, once become president implicated the land reform program. But it is

obvious that a number of things have gone wrong in Zimbabwe. This included the manner in which the land question was handled; the response to the political challenge posed to ZANU-PF by the opposition (the MDC), and economic policies pursued since independence. But this brought some displeasure on one hand among Zimbabweans themselves and on the other hand, among white owners and their defenders, the western countries (Great Britain and USA). Clearly, Zimbabwe has committed the sin of not conforming to London's dictates, expectations to preserve minority racial privileges rules and dominance at all cost. For this reason it is subjected to shamelessness under mining of its constitution and national sovereignty. In fact, the UK / Australia section of the white commonwealth has seized on these to construct its anti-Mugabe platform, making absolutely certain that it is never heard to speak openly of the fundamental reality that its central concern is the protection of the material interest of its Kith-and Kin.

This central concern is hidden behind a barrage of propaganda designed to protect President Mugabe as being guilty of most heinous crimes against humanity. In this regard, the British State media, the BBC, excelled itself and joined the fight against Mugabe by managing to convince many that president Mugabe was the devil incarnate. On the contrary, the UK / Australia section of the white commonwealth was devoted servants of the black people of Zimbabwe. But of course, neither of these assertions had anything to do with the straightforward reality of racist support for Kith and kin ; after all, one of the goals of the propaganda was precisely to hide the fact of the racist platform that has informed the policies of successive British government towards Zimbabwe. So determined was the propaganda campaign against president Mugabe in particular that according to the British newspaper, the Guardian, BBC journalists protested that with regards to the

Zimbabwe issue, they had been forced to abandon all notion of objective, fair and balanced reporting.

In its issue of March 12, 2002, the Guardian carried an article by Matt Wells in which he wrote :

*“when these schemes failed, they made certain that the privileges of their kith and kin, which accrued to them as a result of settler colonialism, were protected for as long as possible. They persuaded the Zimbabwe liberation movements to accept a Lancaster House constitution that guaranteed white minority privileges”.*

Britain’s kith-and-kin in the civil service were granted reserved seats in the independence legislature far in excess of their numerous relative to the African population. Britain’s kith-and-kin in the civil service were granted job security, as well as the right to be paid any severance packages person in any currency and country of their choice. But above all, Britain’s kith-and kin were guaranteed security of their landed property for an entire decade. The Government of Zimbabwe could only redistribute the land on a basis called willing seller, willing buyer principle.

Great Britain thus sought further to protect the immoral colonial material gains of its kith-and-kin in Zimbabwe at the expense of the very same Africans it now claims to love so much. Everything it did during the period of the transfer of power to the indigenous people of Zimbabwe sought to advantage its kith-and-kin and disadvantage the Africans.

Let’s notice then the reaction of Great Britain (the country coloniser) to the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe. In fact, the threatening Zimbabwean opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which is a free market pro-IMF Trojan horse, has in recent years been trying to unseat ZANU-PF. As written in the Guardian, MDC is being used and supplied by US and British sources euphemistically called

“wele-wishers” to undermine ZANU-PF in the countryside. It reported that millions of pounds worth of equipment has been allocated for its campaign. But the key institution behind this in an advisory’ role, the Guardian said, is the London-based Zimbabwe Democracy Trust (ZDT) whose patrons include former Tory foreign secretaries Douglas Hurd, Malcolm Rifking and Geoffrey Howe, together with major business interests linked to Zimbabwe. The Guardian said : “The Birtish High Commission in Harare denies that the UK is officially involved in the operating, Mr White HEAD [ a Zimbabwe retired mining engineer running the show] has been in regular contact with one of its members, a man regarded.

To sum up, western countries urged to lift sanctions on Zimbabwe: economic and political sanctions slapped on Zimbabwe by some western countries should be lifted immediately because they are hurting the ordinary people and not serving for any purpose, a European diplomat has said. Let’s take knowledge of that diplomat opinion on Zimbabwe’s situation and on the western countries reactions.

Sweden’s newly appointed Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Sten Rylander, was quoted by the Sunday News as saying that the world would not benefit from isolating Zimbabwe.

“Ultimately, the targeted sanctions (imposed on Zimbabwe) must be eventually removed... What I’m saying is Zimbabwe should come to a normal situation... I feel Zimbabwe and the international community have reached a stage where both sides realize the impasse cannot go on for a long time. There is need for change, need for building of bridges as the State President (Robert Mugabe) alluded to in previous statements.” He said:

“This is a Topical issue both in the international and national community and the only question that remains is who should start the

building of the bridge and at which end. When one side starts, what should the other do in reciprocation?

These discussions are coming in and we are taking them seriously” he said.

More over, we can notice that Zimbabwe made friend with an important Nation, China.

So, Beijing, in order to make friend with the African countries for business and trade, intervenes in many countries such as Zimbabwe. So in April 2005, Zimbabwe’s air force received six jet aircraft for “low-intensity “military operations. The year before, Chinese radar system was installed at President Robert Mugabe’s mansion in the Harare suburbs. Most important, in June 2004, Zimbabwe reportedly purchased 12 jet fighters and 100 military vehicles, worth an estimated 240 million dollars US. This order, which had been kept secret, was also reported to have circumvented the State procurement board tasked with appropriating Zimbabwe’s 136 million dollars defend budget.

More over, the EU and the US support the facilitators’ efforts to resume and advance the party-to-party talks, in particular by extending targeted sanctions to directors and high – ranking officials in ZANU –PF affiliated businesses and in the US case, matching the EU by freezing assets of those against whom targeted sanctions are applied. To support reactivation of the Abuja Ministerial Conference, restate commitment (especially the UK) to facilitate land reform in the context of an overall settlement of Zimbabwe’s crisis, and to express readiness to draw addict.

# **CONCLUSION**

The Great Zimbabwe was a quite empire with its civilization before the arrival of white people with their civilisation they imposed to the indigenous in Zimbabwe in particular and in all their African colonies in general. The real aim of the Whites expedition in the southern Africa and especially in Zimbabwe was to find gold. This objective was missed in Zimbabwe and the invaders had no other way than turning themselves to the land with its many implications on the country (political ; economical and social). Nowadays, we are still facing land problem in Zimbabwe as a result of the way land affaires are managed between the original owners, the Blacks and the new ones, the Whites. In fact, originally belonging to the indigenous, land ownership had been transferred to white people without the consent of the formers for the purpose of agricultural exploitation. It appears then to be one of the matters of misunderstanding between the North and the South.

In Zimbabwe, land question brought many disruptions that president Mugabe came to power in December 1987, by the merging of ZAPU and ZANU like a saviour with the real aim to settle the inequalities Blacks are facing on. But Mugabe didn't succeed and the country remains in trouble till nowadays because of its way of doing.

In reality, Mugabe's Agrarian Reform (by this he tried to return lands to Zimbabweans, the original owners to allow them to enjoy the wealth of their country lands, in opposition to what was made.) did not succeed because he has not been realistic ; his reform did not take into account the fact the Whites he took lands from was full of experience and the Blacks he gave the lands to were in majority illiterate and were not Africa is an example even if the charismatic personality of Nelson Mandela counted a lot in this success.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## **I – Books**

- Nthia Njeru, E H. The socio-economic and political dimensions in the management of land in Kenya. Natl. Conf. on Land Reform and the land question Windhock, Namibia (mimeo). 1991
- Putezl, J A, Captive Land : The Politics of Agrarian Reform in The Philippines. Ateneco de Manila University Press, Manila, and the catholic Institute for International Relations, London. 1992
- Roth, M, A critique of Zimbabwe's 1992 Land Act in RUKUNI, M and EICHER, C (eds) Zimbabwe's. 1994
- Warriner, D Land Reform in Principle and Practice. Clarendon Press. Oxford. ISSN: 1356-9228. 1969

## **II – Reviews**

- Deborrah, J.P. 'Poplitical and socio demographic correlates', Vol. 6 (1), pp. 23-38. 2002
- Dmany, Z., & Fatys, J 'The Role of Individuals and Social Variables in Land Allocations' in The Journal Of Farming Issues. Jan. N°23 p45. 2008

## **III – Official Documents**

- Joshua Eliseman Joshua Kurlantsick. Current History (May 2006)