The Political Economy of Civilisation:

Peasant-Workers in Zimbabwe and the Neo-colonial World

Paris Yeros

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations,

London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London

UMI Number: U172056

UMI

Dissertation Publishing

ProQuest

THESES

F
8097

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a global political economy of the postwar period, with special reference to Zimbabwe. The conceptual aim is to connect the agrarian question with contemporary democratic theory, by inquiring into the global sources of 'civil society' and relating it to the phenomenon of semi-proletarianisation.

There are three basic arguments. First, civil society cannot be understood in isolation from imperialism. The onset of the Cold War produced an ultra-imperial order under US leadership, with a 'global development' project crafted to its needs and a mode of rule preoccupied with the definition and enforcement of 'civil society'. Second, capital accumulation in the postwar period has continued to operate in accordance with the laws of motion of the centre-periphery relationship; the main alteration has consisted in the closer integration of central-state economies with each other, along with a small number of industrial satellites. The periphery has remained in a disarticulated pattern of accumulation, whose corollary is the reproduction of semi-proletarianisation on a grand scale. Third, under ultra-imperialism, 'civil society' has been defined in accordance with the requirements of disarticulated accumulation, while semi-proletarian politics have all too often been relegated to the 'uncivil' domain.

The thesis focuses on the relationship between the civil and uncivil politics of the semi-proletariat. During 'nation-building', which dovetailed with the Cold War, uncivil politics comprised of 'property unfriendly' forces, the radical nationalist and socialist seeking to nationalise industry and redistribute land (*i.e.*, to alter the pattern of accumulation). With the onset of 'structural adjustment' and the end of the Cold War, the uncivil net was cast wider to the 'market unfriendly', including radical trade unionisms and land occupation movements. It is argued that in the postwar period uncivil politics have occasionally obtained social revolution; or extensive agrarian reforms and capitalist development; or, most commonly, limited agrarian reforms within a persisting pattern of disarticulated accumulation (Zimbabwe being the case in point). The latter outcome owes to the systematic 'civilisation' of oppositional politics by means of cooptation tactics – not least within international trade unionism – and outright repression. The thesis demonstrates these arguments with a detailed account of Zimbabwe's experience, and concludes with reflections on the prospects of a post-liberal civilisation.

2

CONTENTS

Introduction

Part I: Peasant-workers in the Development Dialogue

PREFACE

This thesis has been written under the supervision of Professor James Mayall. I have probably been his longest-tenured student, as well as the one with the most changes in thesis topic. He never lost faith and provided me with expert guidance, for which I am grateful.

The bulk of the research was conducted in Zimbabwe where I was Research Associate at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Zimbabwe. I am indebted to Brian Raftopoulos (my advisor at IDS), Sam Moyo and Prosper Matondi (at SARIPS), and Godfrey Kanyenze (ZCTU). Further thanks are due to Gospell Matondi, as well as to the librarians of IDS and the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, for their assistance in the course of my research.

I have also benefited greatly from lengthy discussions and comments on chapters from friends at the LSE, including João Almeida, Vassilis Arapoglou, Olympio Barbanti, Alejandro Colas, Effie Fokas, Hayo Krombach, Juliana Mezadri, Christos Papatheodorou, Agis Petalas, Richard Saull, Nicola Short, and Sarah Owen Vandersluis. Thanks here are also due to my fellow research students and members of faculty with whom I participated in a number of research workshops over the years.

But most of all, I am grateful to my parents for their endless, unwavering support. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Waiting for the Barbarians

...

Why did our emperor get up so early,
and why is he sitting enthroned at the city's main gate,
in state, wearing the crown?

Because the barbarians are coming today
and the emperor's waiting to receive their leader.
He's even got a scroll to give him,
loaded with titles, with imposing names.

Why have our consuls and praetors come out today
wearing their embroidered, their scarlet togas?
Why have they put on bracelets with so many amethysts,
rings sparkling with magnificent emeralds?
Why are they carrying elegant canes
beautifully worked in silver and gold?

Because the barbarians are coming today
and things like that dazzle the barbarians.

...

Why this sudden bewilderment, this confusion?
(How serious people's faces have become.)
Why are the streets and squares emptying so rapidly,
everyone going home lost in thought?

Because night has fallen and the barbarians haven't come.
And some of our men just in from the border say
there are no barbarians any longer.

Now what's going to happen to us without barbarians?
They were, those people, a kind of solution.

Constantine P. Cavafy

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAFLI	Asian-American Free Labor Institute
AALC	African-American Labor Center
AATUF	All-African Trade Union Federation
AFL	American Federation of Labour
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial Organizations
AFRO	African Regional Organisation
AIFLD	American Institute for Free Labour Development
ANC	African National Congress
ATLAS	*Agrupacion de Trabajadores Americanos Sindicalistas*
ATUC	African Trade Union Confederation
AUCCTU	All-Union Central Confederation of Trade Unions (Soviet Union)
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CA	Communal Area
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CC	Constitutional Commission
CFU	Commercial Farmers' Union
CGT	*Confédération Générale du Travail*
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIMA	Community-initiated, market-assisted (land reform)
CIO	Congress of Industrial Organizations (USA)
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation (Zimbabwe)
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CTAL	*Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latino*
CTUC	Commonwealth Trade Union Council
CZI	Congress of Zimbabwe Industries
DA	District Administrator
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DWSR	Dollar-Wall Street Regime
ELS	Employment and Labour Sector
EPU	European Payments Union
EPZs	Export Processing Zones
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EZLN	*Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional*
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment

7

FER	Framework for Economic Reform
FES	Frederich-Ebert Stiftung
G7	Group of Seven
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GSP	Generalised System of Preferences
IBDC	Indigenous Business Development Centre
ICA	Industrial Conciliation Act
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
ILO	International Labor Organization
IPFP	Inception Phase Framework Plan
ITSs	International Trade Secretariats
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAA	Land Apportionment Act or Land Acquisition Act
LHA	Land Husbandry Act
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRRP	Land Reform and Resettlement Programme
LSCF	Large-scale Commercial Farming
LTC	Land Tenure Commission
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MEIs	Multilateral Economic Institutions
MST	*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NECF	National Economic Consultative Forum
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NFAZ	National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NIEO	New International Economic Order
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OATUU	Organisation of African Trade Union Unity
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OGIL	Open General Import License

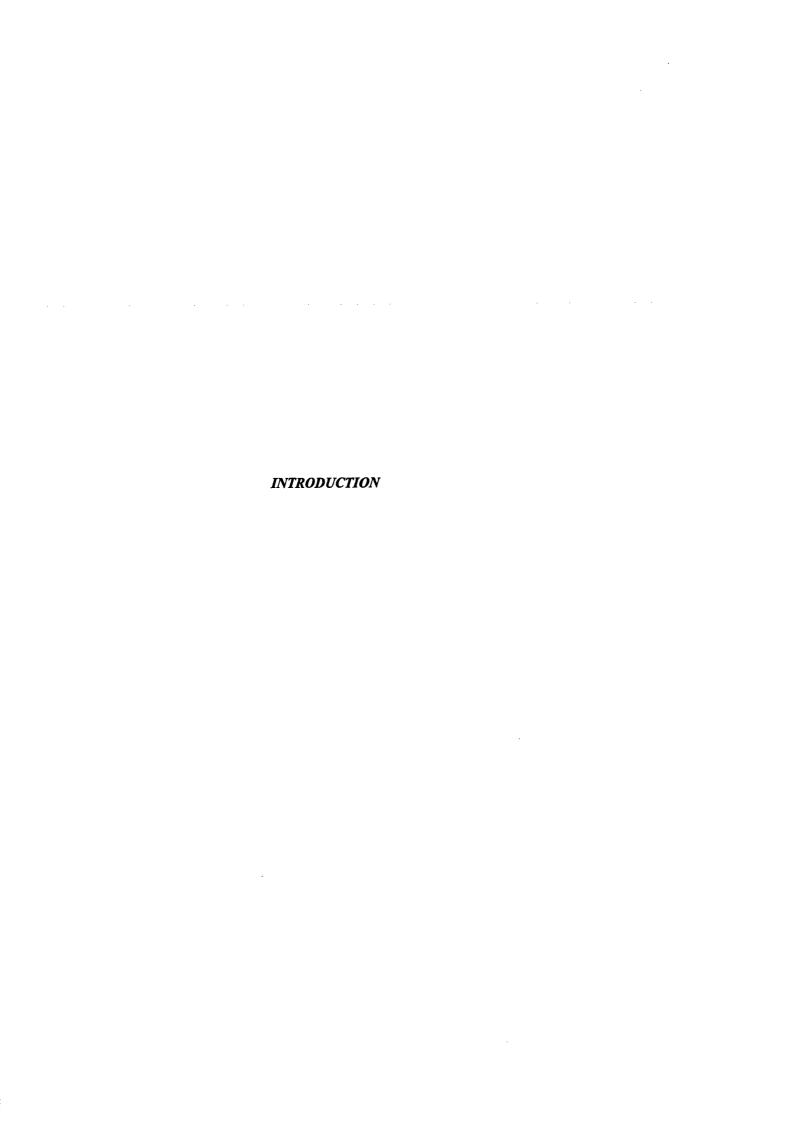|	
OPEC	Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
ORIT	*Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores*
PF-ZAPU	Patriotic Front - Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
PA	Provincial Administrator
PSA	Public Servants Association
RAs	Resettlement Areas
RDC	Rural District Council
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAPRI	Structural Adjustment Programme Review Initiative
SATUCC	Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council
SDA	Social Dimensions of Adjustment
SRTUC	Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Council
SSCF	Small-scale Commercial Farming
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TUC	Trade Union Congress (UK)
TUIs	Trade Union Internationals
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFC	United Fruit Company
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference of Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VIDCOs	Village Development Committees
WAC	Women's Advisory Council
WADCOs	Ward Development Committees
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZABO	Zimbabwe Association of Business Organisations
ZANU(PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZEDLAC	Zimbabwe Economic Development and Labour Council
ZFTU	Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers' Union
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZNFU	Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

Of Citizens and Subjects

The end of the Cold War witnessed a resurgence of debate over the meaning of 'civilisation', its origins, substance, and future. Perhaps the most provocative of statements was penned by Francis Fukuyama who posited a universal civilisation that had, at last, resolved its contradictions and arrived at no less than 'the end of history'.[1] Others eschewed universality, seeking either to articulate the essence of 'the modern West',[2] or foretell a new era in which a number of different civilisations would 'clash'.[3] A third position, as by Samir Amin, rejected both, on the one hand affirming universality but, on the other, insisting on its unresolved contradictions.[4] The present thesis belongs to the latter camp.

The founding premise is that universality does indeed exist, its essence being a historically evolved humanist consciousness, whose intrinsic demand is the abolition of human hierarchies, or citizenship. I understand citizenship not as a status that resides within the state, as would the liberal convention, but as a social relation of global magnitude. This relation is lived through everyday notions of 'civility' and 'incivility', which in turn are rooted in the organisation of economic life. As Amin has shown, it was through the emergence and expansion of the capitalist mode of production that a truly global dialogue of civilisation began. By virtue of its emergence in Western Europe, it also established its civilisational centre there and unfolded in the Eurocentric terms of 'the civilised' and 'the backward'.

These moral dimensions of capitalist expansion have received closer attention in the 1990s, most notably by Mahmood Mamdani in his study entitled *Citizen and Subject*.[5] This has become a landmark in the democratisation debate, particularly for bringing the agrarian question back into perspective. Mamdani's basic argument is that, in the late colonial African context, the moral dichotomies pertaining to the 'civilised European' and the 'tribal native' were institutionalised into a unique 'mode of rule'. This consisted in a bifurcation of the colonial state between rights-bearing colons (civil society) and a tribalised peasantry. Mamdani has argued for the particularity of the African experience on this basis, and he has gone further to suggest that

---

[1] Fukuyama (1989).
[2] Taylor (1989).
[3] Huntington (1993).
[4] Amin (1989); see also Halliday (1996).
[5] Mamdani (1996).

Africa's late colonial mode of rule and its post-colonial adaptations are the sources of the continent's democratisation troubles.

While appreciating Mamdani's conceptual innovations, I take issue with two central aspects of his work. One is the confinement of Africa to a continental unit of analysis. This does not adequately illuminate Africa's experience within *global* modes of rule. The bifurcated late-colonial state was created under the auspices of a global political order whose founding principle was that of race. The era following World War II saw the abolition of *de jure* imperialism, the rise of a US-led transatlantic *ultra*-imperialism, and ultimately new global modes of rule corresponding to it. The legacies of the late colonial state need to be understood within the context of this changing global order. The second and related issue is the primacy that Mamdani assigns to moral economy over political economy. By focusing exclusively on the moral-institutional aspects of capitalism, Mamdani loses sight of the underlying laws of motion of capitalism and their specificity in the periphery. What this also means is that citizenship is in effect detached from the globality of capitalism and seen ultimately as confinable, in liberal fashion, to the state. Mamdani's approach contrasts sharply with a previous generation of theory concerned with the agrarian question, namely the underdevelopment school, whose ambitions were both global and political-economic in essence.

This thesis seeks to reconcile the concerns of contemporary democratic theory with insights provided by the underdevelopment school. It provides a political economy of the 'development dialogue' in the postwar period, with an interest in its agrarian and labour relations and particular reference to the experience of Zimbabwe. The postwar era has consisted in two sub-periods, the nationalist and the liberal, each of which has defined its citizens and subjects on a global scale. While the legacies of late colonialism have not been displaced in the process, they cannot be understood in isolation, for the racial, nationalist, and liberal modes of rule have all been concerned with the same thing, controlling the world's semi-proletarianised masses. In turn, any inquiry into this process must begin where the underdevelopment school left off, for no other tradition in International Political Economy since then has recognised that there is something unique about the location of the semi-proletariat under contemporary capitalism. This neglect is truly regrettable, for as Amin aptly put it some time ago, while capital 'exploits the proletariat everywhere, at the centre and the periphery...it exploits the proletariat of the periphery even more brutally'.[6]

---

[6] Amin (1976), p. 196.

This chapter will begin with a series of conceptual issues pertaining to the semi-proletariat and its politics, contemporary imperialism and the agrarian question, civil society and civilisation.

1.1   What is Semi-proletarianisation?

When we speak of 'peasants' we are in fact speaking of petty-commodity producers firmly located in the generalised system of commodity production that is capitalism. Much has been written in the past about peasants as operating by a different economic logic, or under a different 'mode of production' that is 'articulated' to the capitalist in a non-contradictory way. On this basis, various claims have been made as to an 'essential' political behaviour pertaining to peasants, or to specific classes within the peasantry.[7] In more recent years, there has been a return to the classics, in particular the works of Karl Kautsky and V.I. Lenin.[8] Their point of departure, which I adopt, is that for capitalism to 'really exist', there need not exist a full commoditisation of all elements of production. There are bound to be phenomena – feudal-like relations, for example, or petty-commodity production, or household relations, or even contemporary forms of human bondage – which do not conform to the essential features of pure capitalism (capital and wage-labour) but are nonetheless subject to their contradictions in the larger capitalist society.

Following classical insights, the peasantry does not constitute a class in itself, for inherent in it are the antagonistic tendencies characteristic of the proletarian and proprietor. Nor is the combination of capital and labour spread evenly within the peasantry. The peasantry is differentiated between rich, middle, and poor households, a spectrum that ranges from the capitalist that employs labour-power to the semi-proletarian that sells it. The middle category is, in fact, the only one that embodies the ideal-type of petty-commodity production, managing neither to hire nor sell labour-power. To be sure, the combination of capital and labour is not spread evenly within a single household either; differentiated by gender and generation, patriarchs will control the means of production, women and children will provide unwaged labour.

That which does not follow from these formulations is any historical determinism, such as was envisioned by Karl Marx, or more cautiously by Lenin and Kautsky, whether via

---

[7] For a rounded presentation of positions, see Shanin ed. (1987).

enclosures or rural differentiation. The inherent contradictory tendencies within this petty-bourgeoisie produce a state of flux between the two poles of rich and poor. But, historically, this has led both to proletarianisation and 're-peasantisation'. Indeed, it has been pointed out convincingly that even on purely economic grounds petty-commodity production is quite a normal aspect of capitalism, even if an unstable one.[9]

Yet, it is also true that *semi-proletarianisation*, and not the 'middle peasant' ideal-type, is the pervasive phenomenon in the countryside. In Zimbabwe, for example, it was estimated in the early 1990s that up to 75 percent of households maintain dual (rural/urban) homes.[10] Semi-proletarianisation was first acknowledged by Kautsky and Lenin, who theorised its persistence in functional terms.[11] Clearly, there are capitalist classes in specific contexts that benefit from semi-proletarianisation: since a labourer's costs of reproduction can be subsidised by the family farm, semi-proletarianisation enables the employer to reward labour below the cost of subsistence. Kautsky thus called small farms 'production sites for new labour-power'. But semi-proletarianisation was also understood by both Kautsky and Lenin as a mere delay, a *transient* functionalism, not a permanent one.

As the dominant reality, semi-proletarianisation has been interpreted in several further ways. In the postwar period it was the underdevelopment school that dwelled on it the most. One approach, led by Andre Gunder Frank, de-emphasised the peasant aspect of this reality, seeking instead to demonstrate its 'residual' and 'commercially determined' nature.[12] A Southern African variant, known as the 'labour pool' thesis, followed suit. In a seminal article, Giovanni Arrighi argued that, by the 1930s in Southern Rhodesia, the Native Reserves that had been engineered by the colonial authorities had come to function solely as labour reserves for the Rhodesian economy, and that petty-commodity production had been relegated to insignificance.[13] The implication of these emphases was that capitalism in the periphery was 'mature' (and ripe for socialism); the further implication in the Southern African case was the conceptual conflation of class and nation.

Others disagreed with the mature capitalism thesis. Samir Amin, for example, saw semi-proletarianisation in functional and static terms. On the one hand, he ascribed to the peasantry a

---

[8] Kautsky (1988) and Lenin (1964). For the more recent statements along these lines, see Gibbon and Neocosmos (1985) and Bernstein (2000).

[9] Gibbon and Neocosmos (1985).

[10] See Peta *et al.* (1991).

[11] Kautsky (1988), ch. 7, and Lenin (1964), ch. 3.

[12] Frank (1967).

[13] Arrighi (1973a).

14

mode of production onto itself; but on the other, he saw the persistence of semi-proletarianisation as inhering in the particularity of the peripheral economy.[14] Amin observed that the peripheral economy was extroverted in nature – unlike the 'autocentric' economies of the centre – producing goods for export (mining and agricultural) and not for domestic consumption; thus he understood the peripheral economy as devoid of the objective relation between the rewarding of labour and the development of the productive forces that held among the autocentric. A modified version of this was subsequently put forth by Alain de Janvry.[15] Informed by Amin's notion of extroversion, but remaining faithful to classical formulations he saw a 'functional dualism' peculiar to the peripheral economy as holding the day. But de Janvry also saw this functionalism as a 'structural possibility', not a determinate condition; as subject to domestic inter-capitalist and class struggles; and, ultimately, as transient, on account of ongoing land alienation to capitalist agriculture. De Janvry added that functional dualism would not disappear with the peasantry but would relocate to the informal urban sector (where it would become even more 'stubborn'); and that the extended period of functional dualism, which by its very nature sustains rapid capital accumulation, could still be properly labelled 'the development of underdevelopment'.

More recently, in the 1990s, Mamdani and Michael Neocosmos have affirmed the politically and historically contingent aspects of functional dualism.[16] But they have also shifted the focus of attention to the peasant side of the semi-proletarian story. They have argued that proletarianisation and petty-commodity production are not mutually exclusive; and that rural differentiation and accumulation strategies 'from below' are possible and, indeed, have always been in progress.[17] To be sure, these new perspectives have a historical context of their own: the failure of African nationalism to acknowledge class differences among Africans; the conflation of 'the state' and 'the people'; the denial of economic and political initiative to the masses; and the pursuit of statist models of development. In what follows, I will focus on the work of the latter two theorists, and while I will concur with many of their path-breaking formulations, I will argue that they have swung the pendulum too far in the opposite direction.

The most important insight is that, historically, the condition of semi-proletarianisation resulted from a mode of rule, and as such, from a political need in the first instance, not a directly

---

[14] Amin (1976).
[15] De Janvry (1981).
[16] Mamdani (1996) and Neocosmos (1993).
[17] This flaw in Arrighi's u nderstanding of the early colonial period specifically was demonstrated empirically in Ranger (1985).

economic one; capitalism did not 'need' cheap labour. Neocosmos has argued that 'explicit state policy was not always motivated by a "desire" to proletarianise. Rather, this policy often alternated between "proletarianisation" and "peasantisation", as the state attempted to *regulate* economic fluctuations'.[18] Moreover, certain factions of capital, the extroverted ones in particular (whether in mining or agriculture), tended to reproduce petty-commodity production, while introverted capital (whether agrarian or manufacturing) sought to dissolve it.[19] Just as well, policy was by no means unambiguous and often pursued both goals simultaneously. Importantly, at the heart of this mode of rule was the definition of civil society and its enforcement against the uncivil. As Mamdani has demonstrated at length, Africans were organised into 'tribes', each with its own 'customary law', placed under the despotism of chiefs, and made subject to administrative justice. This instance of 'indirect rule' was reshaped by incoming post-colonial governments in veriable ways; while its historical product is neither pure proletarianisation nor pure petty-commodity production, but a combination of the two, embodied in the 'peasant-worker'.

The conceptual emphasis by Mamdani and Neocosmos to the peasant side of the story, however, has had several implications. The first is that the shift has been accompanied by a scaling down of the global-theoretical ambitions of the underdevelopment school, which has compromised interpretation. For, as we will see, in the post-colonial period, 'indirect rule' interacted with the new global modes of rule of bourgeois nationalism and liberalism, which proscribed on a global scale the forms and contents of political organisation that contradicted the transatlantic politics of productivity and liquidity alike. The enforcement of civil society against the uncivil has played out in both labour and agrarian relations, and in their globality, via the undermining, cooptation, and repression of anti-systemic forces within and without trade unionism. Suffice it to point out here that, while the repression pill has been meted out by the security forces of neo-colonial states and their imperial patrons, the undermining and cooptation ones have been the job largely of Western trade unions and donor agencies.

The second implication of the shift away form global theory is the inability to theorise adequately the *global* political sources of petty-commodity production, which have rendered petty-commodity production under capitalism 'normal' in this further sense. Support for petty-commodity production has taken a variety of counter-revolutionary forms, such as 'community

---

[18] Neocosmos (1993), p. 54, emphasis added.
[19] For a classic study of the relationship between inter-capitalist conflict and proletarianisation, see Arrighi (1973b).

development', 'agricultural development', 'integrated rural development', and land reform.[20] This support has emanated not only from peripheral states but also their imperial patrons and multilateral agencies, including the World Bank and the UN system – sometimes even in contradiction with the desires of peripheral ruling classes. Whether these strategies have succeeded in regulating the process of proletarianisation is, of course, another story.

The third implication is the inability to grapple adequately with the support that peasants might give to ruling parties, despite the oppression of 'indirect rule'. By focusing exclusively on the persisting subordination of local government to central government in post-colonial Africa, Mamdani and Neocosmos have arrived at the conclusion that the democratisation project has gone amiss because single-party states did not allow 'independent popular democratic politics [to] flower'.[21] Yet, in global light, we see that there is hardly such a thing as an alternative source of 'independent' self-expression; trade unions, the largest of civic organisations within states, have had historically to opt either for the patronage of nationalist movements and neo-colonial states, or international labour and donors. Likewise, peasant organisations that have sought freedom from states, such as under structural adjustment, have typically fallen into the open arms of donors and become objects of new forms of 'indirect rule'.[22] And in this closer light, peasant-state relations beg to be re-interpreted. For, in the absence of 'independent' civic action, it is possible in particular historical moments for the state to become the only vehicle available to peasants, a point that has been made by Sam Moyo with reference to contemporary Zimbabwe.[23]

But even if we disregard the global dimensions of the problem, one final shortcoming is notable. This again relates to the exclusive focus by Mamdani and Neocosmos on peasant-state relations; it might be called 'rainbow nation idealism', and has operated in the added, post-apartheid historical dimension of Southern Africa. Specifically, Mamdani's attempt to theorise the peculiarity of peasant-state relations in colonial Africa has obscured the white-settler phenomenon. If Arrighi had overemphasised the proletarianisation experience arising from settler capitalism in Southern Africa, Mamdani underemphasised it, reducing democratisation to the transformation of peasant-state relations, at the expense of the relations between peasants and the large-scale commercial farming (LSCF) sector. Neocosmos has followed suit, supporting his own argument by invoking Lenin's insights, claiming that 'landlordism' is of a secondary order in

---

[20] For Latin America and South Asia, see, respectively, de Janvry (1981), ch. 7, and Harriss (1987).
[21] Neocosmos (1993), p. 72.
[22] Moyo (forthcoming).
[23] Moyo (2001a).

17

Southern Africa, and again submerging the land question in the regional agrarian question.[24] A closer look at Lenin's argument here and its inapplicability would be useful.

In his discussion of functional dualism in turn-of-the-century Russia, Lenin noted a lingering 'personal dependence' as existing on the part of the 'semi-free' labourer vis-à-vis the landlord, a dependence that manifested itself in a quasi-feudal labour-service and upheld by extra-economic coercion ('a certain lack of civic rights').[25] Here we must inquire into Lenin's specific assumptions regarding the sources of 'personal dependence'. Lenin attributed dependence to extra-economic exploitation, an understanding which accorded with his belief that the peasant, once fully dispossessed, would gain 'freedom' by virtue of his/her ability to migrate and sell labour-power to the highest bidder; in this sense, he believed that the 'dull compulsion' of market forces would not generate 'personal dependence'. But Lenin here also envisaged a different kind of home market in Russia, the kind that Amin would call 'autocentric', not the peripheral one devoid of the objective relation between the rewarding of labour and the development of the productive forces. And in the absence of this objective relation, the dull compulsion of market forces *does* generate relations of dependence. These manifest themselves in intense paternalisms, both racial and gendered, and get played out over the use of natural resources and at the place of employment, whether urban or rural. The predicament of farm workers in particular is notorious, warranting the label of 'human bondage' under capitalism.[26] The case of *outright* land alienation generates paternalisms of no less intensity; these get played out over the pervasive 'squatting' phenomenon, for squatters often come to depend upon services, such as schooling for children, that are provided on farms, or upon natural resources and seasonal employment, all of which are controlled by landowners.[27]

Taken together, these comments suggest that semi-proletarianisation in Southern Africa continues to require theoretical attention. Specifically, Mamdani's notion of 'indirect rule' requires modification. Under peripheral accumulation, the semi-proletariat has been subject (a) to 'direct' forms of rule, whether at the place of employment, in town and country, or at the 'squatting' site; and (b) to global modes of rule, not just the late-colonial leftovers. It follows that

---

[24] Neocosmos (1993), p. 24.
[25] Lenin (1964), pp. 204–06.
[26] This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. For extensive studies regarding the flourishing of racial and gender hierarchies in a variety of work settings, see Rutherford (2001) and Sylvester (2000).
[27] To be clear, these forms of 'personal dependence' are not to be slotted into easy 'non-capitalist' categories. Frank' s judgement in this regard remains relevant: 'the various " feudal" and " personal" forms of relations and obligations serve at best to personalize and mask this dog-eat-dog capitalist world' ; Frank (1967), p. 274.

18

the land question has a very significant bearing on the democratisation question, as it does on the question of 'accumulation from below'; and that the agrarian question is not an 'African' problem but a global one.

1.2   Understanding Peasant-worker Politics

Several of the above authors have emphasised the contingency of neo-colonial capitalism and, in this regard, the significance of class struggle. The emphasis is correct, and it gives rise to a set of questions concerning the political forms that semi-proletarianisation throws up. In the context of Africa, the study of peasant politics has historically lagged behind other peripheral regions of the world economy, emerging only in the 1970s on the heels of a number of rural-based struggles. Much of this debate was informed theoretically by research conducted elsewhere. A number of interpretations were thus put forth to attribute to peasants an 'essential' political behaviour. The phraseology was new and old, designating peasants as 'profit maximising' or 'risk averse', as being 'uncaptured', or as having a 'subsistence ethic', 'exit options', *etc.*[28] However, the approach that has had the most durable impact was in the 'moral economy' tradition and penned by James Scott, a Southeast-Asianist, who suggested that, 'normally', peasant politics conform to 'everyday forms of resistance'.[29] The approach went on to cross-fertilise with theories of 'social movements' and 'identity politics'.

Scott acknowledged in the outset that a focus on everyday forms of resistance – to include such tactics as foot-dragging at work, or poaching and encroaching on land – are not the only forms of peasant politics, and he acknowledged also that the approach is limiting in its focus on 'local class struggles'. Yet, such an exclusive focus has far-reaching interpretive implications. First, it does not illuminate the relationship between civil (formal) and uncivil (informal) politics, nor between the covert ('everyday') and the overt (land occupations, armed struggle, 'complex emergencies'); peasants engage in all of these, either simultaneously or over time. Second, its 'local moral economy' approach does not illuminate the globality of the agrarian question; nor does it historicise the human subject adequately; rather, it presents peasants as inhabiting a separate dialectic of consciousness. Consequently, class struggles in the countryside appear as interpretively unconnected and politically unconnectable.[30]

---

[28] For a more rounded discussion, see Isaacman (1993).

[29] Scott (1985); see also his prior study, Scott (1976).

[30] This, in turn, is the reason why Scott's approach has made common cause with relativistic and populist theories in the 1990s. For a critical discussion, see Brass (1991), pp. 173-205.

We have already discussed the dynamics of differentiation among the peasantry. That which requires further comment here is the moral-historical location of peasant-workers. Contra relativism, peasant-workers are firmly located in the humanist dialectic of consciousness and the moral languages that historically have been constitutive of it, from liberalism and nationalism to socialism, feminism, and beyond. These languages infuse the 'public' and 'hidden' transcripts (to use Scott's terminology); hybridise with local moral languages; gain particular expression in local notions of 'dignity' and 'reason'; and form the moral basis of social protest. The first to pursue this line of inquiry was E.P. Thompson, with reference to the English working class of the eighteenth century. He made the important observation that the proletarian of the time experienced and acted against notions of injustice understood within the terms of the Glorious Revolution; the 'common Englishman', Thompson wrote, 'felt that the Glorious Revolution afforded a constitutional precedent for the right to riot in resistance to oppression'.[31] More recently, Neil Harvey has similarly observed that the public transcript in post-revolutionary Mexico has incorporated the ideals of the revolution, and it has served in the same way to legitimise public contestation of the feudal-like legacies of the Porfirian regime.[32] In a broader survey of the continent in the 1990s, James Petras has pointed out that indigenous traditions in Latin American countrysides have hybridised with socialist language to give substance to contemporary social struggles.[33] While one should note that the 'moral economy' tradition has, more often than not, failed to notice the global dimensions of local moral languages, such insights are generalisable. For it is not only capitalism that has achieved global reach in the twentieth century, but also conceptions of justice. Accordingly, one cannot understand contemporary rural struggles in Africa either, without recognising the nationalist promise and its failure.[34]

It is also important to recognise, however, the ambiguities peculiar to peasant-worker consciousness and, relatedly, the problems of political organisation that pertain to them and the diversity of their politics. Significantly, contemporary theories of 'global social movements' and 'new internationalisms' have treaded on this terrain virtually blind-folded.[35] Semi-proletarianisation yields a workforce in motion, within the rural areas, across the rural-urban divide, and across international boundaries. This workforce is also poor and abundant, relatively

---

[31] Thompson (1980), p. 87. The significance of the revolution across the channel is, of course, arguable.
[32] Harvey (1998).
[33] Petras (1997).
[34] Moyo (2001a).

unhealthy and illiterate, and devoid of bargaining power; and it has grievances that arise from both the family farm (land shortage, insecurity of tenure) and the workplace (wages and conditions of employment). Neither pure peasants nor settled industrial proletarians, their political languages are often (but not exclusively) 'ethnic' or 'national'.[36] In turn, the totality of this situation presents vast organisational challenges to anyone who wishes to speak for the 'masses'. As argued earlier, the sources of 'independent' self expression are limited indeed. Trade unions, other civic organisations, and political parties have a 'line' which is determined by factors ranging from the class, gender, ethnic, and racial make-up of the membership and the leadership; to their sources of funding, whether state or foreign; to the prevailing industrial relations convention in the global political economy; to the prevailing 'development' paradigm; and to the constellation of national and international alliances at a given point in time. In the 1970s, it was estimated in connection with the 'tripartite' model of industrial relations specifically, that 91 per cent of the world's workers were being denied participation.[37] This referred, by and large, to the semi-proletariat, and continues to be the case.

Their forms of participation in the 'development dialogue' are thus variegated, spanning the spectrum of civil and uncivil. In the civil realm, peasant-workers participate in local mutual-help groups, national peasant unions, trade unions, political parties – and recently an international organisation.[38] They vote in local and national elections, and they also abstain from voting. In the uncivil realm, they resort to land occupations, 'squatting', poaching, stealing, and encroaching. They also participate in rebellions and revolutions, as well as in 'complex emergencies'. Needless to say, their politics may be progressive or regressive. And they ought to be neither idealised nor underestimated.

1.3   Imperialism and the Agrarian Question

Agrarian relations have always been a fundamental dimension of imperialism. This connection has generally been undertheorised by students of imperialism, with the prominent exception of the underdevelopment school. In what follows, I will provide a brief survey of theories of

---

[35] Rupert (1995), Cox (1999), Munck and Waterman eds. (1999), O' Brien *et al.* (2000), O' Brien (2000).

[36] The ambiguities of peasant-workers consciousness has been discussed in First (1983), Ranger (1985), and Mamdani (1996).

[37] Cox (1977), p. 411.

[38] The latter case is discussed by Petras (1997).

imperialism and the agrarian question, simply flagging the main currents, before moving on to elaborate on the present contribution.

With regards to the study of imperialism, there have been five notable phases in it: from the classical Marxist debates concerned with the sources of capital export, inter-imperialist rivalry, war and peace;[39] to two varieties in the early post-World War II period: the liberal 'English school' concerned with the expansion and transformation of the 'international society'[40] and the neo-Marxist underdevelopment school concerned largely with the mechanisms of South-North surplus value transfer and agrarian crisis;[41] to two further varieties thereafter, the 'cultural' and the 'ecological';[42] and finally a reinvigorated Marxist debate among theorists of contemporary inter- and ultra-imperialism (transnationalism), who are more or less silent on the agrarian question.[43] With regards to the agrarian question itself, there have been six notable shifts in its terms, though they have not always carried the 'AQ' label. Three of these have been discussed by Terry Byres,[44] and they comprise of the first by Marx and Engels, who raised the question in terms of the political insignificance of the peasantry; the second by Kautsky and Lenin, who were concerned with both the socio-economic aspects of rural capitalist development as well as its political (in)significance; and the third, after the Bolshevik Revolution, which took a managerial turn and concerned itself with the ways and means of surplus extraction from the peasantry for the purpose of industrialisation – or 'socialist primitive accumulation'. A fourth phase was also managerial and also concerned with surplus extraction, but was conducted among bourgeois theorists; the seminal exponents of this school were Arthur Lewis and T.W. Schultz.[45] The fifth phase departed from managerialism to become once again radicalised in the underdevelopment school.[46] And the most recent phase of the debate might be termed the 'globalisation' one, and has been conducted mainly by theorists of petty-commodity production and the global food system – but not of imperialism.[47]

Both imperialism and the agrarian question will be understood here as an integrated whole, in the spirit of the underdevelopment school. The approach is quite eclectic, however,

---

[39] For a general overview of the last century, see Sutcliffe (1999); for a detailed discussion of classical theories, see Brewer (1990), chs. 2–6.

[40] For its prominent representatives, see Bull and Watson eds. (1984), Jackson (1990), and Mayall (1990).

[41] See the discussion in de Janvry (1981), ch. 1.

[42] For representatives, see Said (1979) and Crosby (1986).

[43] See Cox (1987), van der Pijl (1998), and Gowan (1999).

[44] See Byres (1991), pp. 3–76.

[45] Lewis (1958) and Schultz (1964).

[46] See the discussions in Brewer (1990), chs. 7–10, and de Janvry (1981), ch. 1.

incorporating insights furnished by a number of the above schools. The point of departure is that the problem is to be understood in all its dimensions, economic, political, and moral. The relationship between the economics and politics of imperialism were perceived most astutely by Lenin. For Lenin observed that imperialism, whatever its 'over-ripeness', required the consent of metropolitan labour movements. These, in turn, he called the 'social prop' of the bourgeoisie at the centre, and as will be demonstrated in this thesis, his indictment of organised metropolitan labour has never lost its relevance.[48] What Lenin did not theorise at the time was that imperialism required social props in the colonial (and post-colonial) territories as well. These were given particular emphasis in the late 1920s by the Third International, which framed the issue in terms of a 'feudal-imperialist' alliance that, *contra* classical Marxism, inhibited the development of capitalism.[49] The theory of peripheral social props then experienced a revival in the postwar period, first by Paul Baran and then by what became known as the underdevelopment school.[50] The neo-Marxist argument for the staticity of peripheral capitalism (whether in 'feudal' or 'non-feudal' terms) has been proven false, of course, for capitalism did continue to transform the social relations of production worldwide, as well as to produce industrialisation (even if insufficiently).

Yet, the requirement of peripheral social props for the conduct of imperialism has never lost its relevance. The logic of 'neo-colonialism', by which colonial powers sought to nurture small indigenous and extroverted bourgeoisies to defend the status quo after 'decolonisation', persists to this day, and continues to reproduce disarticulated accumulation. The most insightful statement in this regard has been provided by de Janvry who has sought to demonstrate the reproduction of neo-colonialism in systemic terms, that is, within a 'centre-periphery structure' that exhibits a mutual need of alliances between centres and peripheries for the reproduction of disarticulated accumulation, but that also consists in dynamic and contingent alliances. As we will see in the next section, the centre-periphery relationship is animated by inter-capitalist conflict and class struggle within a generalised project of 'civilisation'; this, in turn, tends to transform oppositional politics as well, such that organised labour in the periphery may itself become a social prop of imperialism.

The question that requires clarification thus remains: what do we mean by imperialism? Lenin and his contemporaries were preoccupied with the unprecedented contradictions within the

---

[47] See Friedmann (1993), McMichael (1997), Raikes and Gibbon (2000), Bernstein (2000).
[48] See Lenin (1996).
[49] See Kuusinen (1961).
[50] Baran (1957).

23

capitalist states of their time and their external manifestations: on the one hand, the concentration of capitals ('monopoly') and their subordination to a 'financial oligarchy'; on the other, the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry and militarism, the export of capital, and the carving up of the world into 'spheres of influence'. This, however, cannot be the whole story, for it does not satisfy the question of what was being 'exported', why, and how? To this end, I argue that we must re-consider both the politics and economics of imperialism, as well as its 'civilisational' dimensions. What was being exported was not simply capital, but more precisely, *social contradictions* themselves, arising from the imperative by capital to deny power from the working class. For, theoretically, capital could have reinvested at home, as Brewer has argued,[51] but this would have empowered labour, at a time when it had already gained significant organisational ground. The export of capital held out the prospect of an expansion of import and export markets for domestic industry, as well as the repatriation of profits and the rewarding of labour at home on capital's own terms – all of which held out the prospect of domestic social peace. Driving this export of social contradictions, furthermore, was a competitive state system within which the national oligarchies had emerged. Its competitiveness derived not from any attribute 'intrinsic' to the state system, but by the specifically national organisation of capitals, the uneven levels of industrial development among the states involved, and the bankruptcy of the liberal principle that had hitherto held among states. These circumstances bred a cut-throat inter-imperial rivalry which by nature cancelled any Kautskian 'optimism' in ultra-imperialism (what he called 'a holy alliance of the imperialists').[52]

Yet, even in an environment of such intense rivalry, there were points of consensus. For, enabling the whole 'export' exercise were deep-seated civilisational assumptions that denied moral worth to non-Europeans *en masse* and legitimated the exporting of domestic problems to them. This was after all the era of globally institutionalised racism. And perhaps there is no better evidence of both the logic of export and its civilisational assumptions than in the words of Cecil Rhodes, himself a financier and renowned 'pioneer', who reckoned as follows:

> My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, *i.e.*, in order to save the
> 40m inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial
> statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide
> new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The

[51] For a critique of explanations that refer directly to the falling rate of profit or 'underconsumptionism' , see Brewer (1990).

Empire, as I have always said, is a bread-and-butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.[53]

This reasoning was in broad currency, and in the midst of intense rivalry it flowered in inter-imperial diplomatic conventions and conferences, such as in Berlin in 1884–85, so as to carve up the world in a 'civilised' manner. The First World War did not change the underlying consensus, only the spheres of influence among the 'civilised'.

Imperialism thereafter became an ongoing political project to secure strategically the future ability to export domestic contradictions. This was recognised and theorised most systematically in the postwar period by the underdevelopment school. Thus, one of its most insightful exponents observed that, while there is a mutual need for alliances between the centre and the periphery, the centre is the dominant structure, and its principal concern is 'to subject the other structure to the requirements of the resolution of its own contradictions. That is, the center attempts to mould the dominated periphery so that the internal contradictions of accumulation in the periphery will create the external relationships that are consistent with the necessities of the center'.[54] What was not theorised so well by the underdevelopment school was precisely this political process.

1.4   The Centre-Periphery Structure at the Millennium

In these times of 'globalisation', there is a belief that the global economy has undergone fundamental changes, such that we may no longer speak of a 'centre' and a 'periphery'. It is undeniable that the global economy has undergone multiple changes in the postwar period, most notably in the re-orientation of transatlantic manufacturing capital towards the periphery from the late 1960s onwards. Indeed, so spectacular were these shifts in productions patterns at the time that early commentators claimed that a 'new international division of labour' was in the making.[55] Others later questioned the magnitude of these changes, pointing out that only a handful of peripheral states were being touched, and that this amounted to a 'changing' but not a 'new' international division of labour.[56] But even so, from the 1980s onwards, we also witnessed

---

[52] By this, Kautsky (1970) meant the collective management of global capitalism.

[53] Quoted in Lenin (1996), p. 80.

[54] De Janvry (1981), p. 25.

[55] See Fröbel et al. (1980).

[56] See Southall (1988) and Cohen (1991).

25

something of an explosion in 'foreign direct investment', and even more spectacularly, the rise of 'global financial markets' to a status unseen since before World War I. Then we also witnessed the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the universalisation of membership in the capitalist monetary and trading orders (the IMF and WTO), an 'information revolution', even the rise of 'global social movements'. What are we to make of these changes? Is the centre-periphery structure obsolete? Or is it the case that the 'end of history' has managed to elevate 'globalisation' to theological status?

I argue that both the nationalist and liberal periods of the postwar era have been underpinned by the same basic laws of motion that hold between 'articulated' (central) and 'disarticulated' (peripheral) economies. The most important change to this framework is that the ideal-typical 'articulated' state of the centre has undergone partial 'disarticulation' but also 're-articulation' on the regional, transatlantic, and 'triadic' levels, amounting to what Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson have called a 'regionalized triadic bloc structure'.[57] I will first sketch the centre-periphery model, drawing heavily on Alain de Janvry, and then consider the modifications to it.[58]

The model begins with Marx's original formulations regarding the self-contradictory nature of bourgeois society.[59] The first of its basic contradictions pertains to the conflict between capital and labour over general distributional matters; the second lies in the relationship between production and circulation, whereby the drive to expand profits undermines the ability of the system to consume its social product. These contradictions produce a tendency for the rate of profit to fall and a crisis of accumulation to occur, and they operate on a unified global scale. However, these tendencies are not context free; they operate through a *state system* which makes capitalism *structurally heterogeneous*. Thus, some states are socially and sectorally *articulated* (the centre), while others are socially and sectorally *dis*articulated (the periphery). The difference lies in that the latter is devoid of an internal relationship between return to capital and return to labour (social disarticulation); and devoid also of an internal relationship between primary and secondary sectors (sectoral disarticulation). This holds even for semi-industrialised economies that either produce goods for elite consumption at home or for export back to the centre.

The relationship between centre and periphery is one of 'interdependence'. The two sides are in a necessary relationship in a capitalist system that is articulated on a global scale; but

---

[57] Hirst and Thompson (1999), p. 60.
[58] De Janvry (1981); this is a refinement of Amin' s formulations pertaining to 'autocentric' an d 'extroverted' eco nomies.
[59] Marx (1976).

more to the point, they need each other to overcome their own social contradictions and barriers to accumulation. And in this latter sense, it is clear that 'interdependence' is not equally weighted; it is characterised by the *dominance* of the centre over the periphery. The periphery relies on primary commodity exports (agricultural and mineral), faces fluctuating and generally declining terms of trade, and is subject to severe balance of payments constraints; while the centre enjoys monopoly control over key resources, ranging from capital goods, finance, technology, and commodity markets, to security and the value of international currencies (which are typically central state currencies).[60] This structural dominance 'molds the external necessities of the periphery into possibilities for the center to overcome its barriers of accumulation and growth';[61] and it plays out in the form of inter-capitalist conflict and class struggle along the centre-periphery axis. But relations of 'interdependence' between *centres* may also be unequally weighted with regards to the above key resources.[62] It is currently the case that one centre, the United States, currently derives preponderant privileges over its unique military capacity and the key international status of its currency. Centres may exercise their powers unilaterally, even against each other, or collectively, in ultra-imperial fashion.

This centre-periphery structure, along with its inter-imperial dimensions, produces a global dispute over the allocation of responsibility for adjustment to payments imbalances among states. As the following chapters will show, much of the everyday exporting of social contradictions takes place through the adjustment debate. This naturally intensifies in times of crisis, and is in turn experienced differentially between centre and periphery. Historically, the centre has been able to displace crisis by exporting labour (emigration), exporting capital, investing in 'social capital', as well as in arms production; in the crisis of the last quarter-century specifically, it has succeeded in shifting the burden of adjustment onto the shoulders of non-oil producing peripheral states – in the form of the 'structural adjustment programme' – and it has also enforced financial liberalisation so that excess capital can search for quick returns worldwide. In the periphery, crisis obviously occurs in times of global crisis but also in its absence. It is in the nature of the disarticulated economy to tend more frequently to crisis, for the internal market is chronically constrained. What is more, the peripheral economy does not enjoy

---

[60] It is notable that only a minority of international political economists do not compartmentalise relations of power into separate 'issue areas'; es pecially important are the connections between economic and security issues. For prominent exceptions, see Strange (1988), Gowan (1999), and Amin (1997).
[61] De Janvry (1981), p. 26.
[62] Consideration of inter-imperial relations is absent in de Janvry' s model, and in the underdevelopment school more generally.

the same range of displacement options as the centre; economic crisis inevitably results in large-scale devaluation and *social* crisis.

Having described the basic centre-periphery structure, we may now relate it to the changes of the postwar decades. Following the thrust of Hirst and Thompson's thesis, what goes as 'globalisation' does not amount to fundamental change, but to modified relations between central economies, entailing their partial integration amongst themselves into a 'regionalised triadic bloc structure', along with a handful of their industrial satellites, mainly in East Asia. There are three basic trends that are generally invoked by the 'globalisation' camp. The first is the growth of aggregate world trade in relation to world output: between 1950 and 1994 world exports grew fourteen times, while world output grew five times.[63] Yet, this does not reflect fundamental structural change. Manufacturing activity has remained highly concentrated, with 80 per cent being located in North America, Western Europe, and Japan (the latter having grown at spectacular rates in the postwar period); while the remaining 20 per cent is heavily weighted towards East Asia. In other words, in the bulk of the 'developing' world, manufacturing remains relatively unimportant. Extractive industries and agricultural production continue to carry the day. The same geographic concentration holds for the *trade* of manufactures; 77 per cent of this is generated at the centre, of which 60 per cent is intra-core, and in large part also intra-regional.[64] One significant change in trade in manufactures is again the growth of imports from the NICs into the OECD; between 1970 and 1992, the trade share of NIC goods in the OECD grew from 4.6 to 15.8.[65] Taken together, these manufacturing and trade figures suggest that (a) the central economies have become more integrated industrially on regional, transatlantic, and triadic levels, entailing a partial disarticulation of the central state and its re-articulation on a larger level; and (b) that the bulk of the rest of the world remains effectively disarticulated.

The second, and related, trend is the rapid growth of 'foreign direct investment'. This outstripped the rate of growth in world exports by 40 per cent during the 1960s, levelled down to a parallel rate in the 1970s and early 1980s, and then accelerated twice as fast from 1985 to 1990. The first point here is that about 50 per cent of what goes as 'global FDI' today actually comprises of cross-border mergers and acquisitions, which do not alter the asset structures of acquired enterprises; this activity is related to the generalised movement towards privatisation.[66] The second point is that 92 per cent of FDI originates in the triad and three-fourths of it is

---

[63] See Dicken (1998), p. 24.
[64] Dicken (1998), pp. 26–37.
[65] Hirst and Thompson (1999), p. 98.
[66] Hirst and Thompson (1999), p. 79.

destined for the triad, entailing a significant degree of cross-investment. By the mid-1990s, only one-fourth of FDI left the centre and a good deal of it went from Japan to Eastern Asia.[67] Another set of estimates suggests that if we were to exclude the triad along with the ten most important developing country recipients of FDI, including China, we would find that in the period 1991–96, perhaps as much as 70 per cent of the world's population was in receipt of 16 per cent of global FDI – 'virtually written off the map'.[68] Finally, it is also notable that, despite the increase of capital flows within the triad, production among them still remains, to a very significant degree, 'nationally embedded' – foreign-owned productive activity in each case amounts to no more than 10 per cent – while TNCs continue to remain largely 'home centred'.[69] These figures again suggest a partial disarticulation of central states combined with their re-articulation on a larger level; and a persisting disarticulation of peripheral states.

This, of course, does not also mean that Northern-based TNCs do not have a stake in those states written off the map. Transnational mining and agro-industrial capital is firmly established in the periphery. With respect to agro-industry in particular, the postwar period has witnessed the incremental integration of national agricultures into global markets for new agricultural technologies (including biotechnology), equipment, and chemical inputs, controlled by handful of centrally-based firms.[70] This process has seen also the adoption of 'non-traditional' export activities, such as horticulture, within new commodity chains organised by centrally-based capital.[71]

The third trend is in the growth of 'global financial markets', the most significant change in the global political economy over the last quarter-century. This has also failed to alter the basic centre-periphery structure. What it *has* done is make enormous use of it, in particular the chronic balance of payments constraints of peripheral economies. The so-called 'emerging markets' have been routinely pried open in a balance of payments crunch;[72] while 'non-emerging' economies that have not been subject to private capital flows have come under the tutelage of multilateral sources of finance. With respect to the economies of the centre, the rise of global financial markets has had more ambiguous results. On the one hand, the connection

---

[67] Africa's share of total developing country intake declined (to 8.6 per cent); Dicken (1998), pp. 42–48. A new wave of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) arrived in the 1990s, but still to a limited extent (25 EPZs on the whole continent at the millennium); Kooijmans *et al.* (1996), ch. 2.
[68] Hirst and Thompson (1999), pp. 72–74.
[69] Hirst and Thompson (1999), p. 76–77.
[70] See Friedmann (1993), McMichael and Myrhe (1991), Bernstein (1990), Buttel (1990), and Watts (1990).
[71] See Raikes and Gibbon (2000).
[72] See Gowan (1999) and Haggard and Maxfield (1996).

between savings and investment in the OECD remains largely domestic; Hirst and Thompson point out that in the period 1990–95, in the main OECD countries, about two-thirds of domestic savings were still being re-invested domestically, while even this figure was greatly affected by the collapse of the savings ratio in one country, the United States, and its reliance on the savings mainly of its partners.[73] Moreover, in the biggest central economies (US, Japan, Germany, and UK), corporate equity stake held by foreigners has remained less than 11 per cent.[74] On the other hand, short-term international lending has truly exploded – a 2,000-fold increase between the late 1970s and late 1990s – entailing the displacement of conventional bank lending by 'securities' (marketable bonds and other facilities), and accompanied by a vast 'derivative' market.[75] This market activity is largely concentrated in the triad, centred in Wall Street, and conducted in dollars. In turn, as Peter Gowan and others have shown, this has enabled one state in particular, the United States, to exert enormous political control first over its European and Asian allies, in the course of becoming industrially integrated with them, and over 'emerging' and 'non'-emerging economies.

Beyond these trends, there are further changes that require attention. The postwar period has been shaped by an ultra-imperial project that has managed to prevent inter-imperial rivalries from puncturing it. This ultra-imperialism has required the harmonisation of state-society relations across the Atlantic in pursuit of a common 'social purpose'. Such a project was successfully pursued with the onset of the Cold War in the late 1940s on the basis of a 'politics of productivity', entailing a social compact between capital and labour, and by means of the Marshall Plan.[76] In turn, it was this centrally-based 'social purpose' that sustained the state-led 'nation-building' project in the periphery. But from the 1960s onwards, the capital-labour compromises across the members of the ultra-imperial alliance began to come under intense pressure by transnational capital and finance. The interests of the latter were carried forward by US initiative in the first instance, by unleashing competitive deregulation dynamics and leading ultimately to the break-down of the postwar compromises and to a new 'politics of liquidity'. This change in the transatlantic class balance shifted the priorities of global order, drawing nation-building to a close and replacing it with structural adjustment.[77] The changing class balance within the alliance, therefore, changed the external demands exerted on the national

---

[73] Hirst and Thompson (1999), pp. 38–41.
[74] Hirst and Thompson (1999), pp. 44–45.
[75] Hirst and Thompson (1999), pp. 48–51.
[76] See Maier (1977) and van der Pijl (1984); the term 'social purpose' co mes from Ruggie (1982), who imbues it with liberal benevolence.

politics of the periphery, affected state-society relations within peripheral states, and reinforced the disarticulated pattern of accumulation.

Change has also taken place in the security structure of world politics, which has also affected the centre-periphery relationship. Indeed, the nationalist period was galvanised by the Cold War and cannot be understood without it. Discipline within the ultra-imperial alliance was effectively maintained through Cold War rivalry; while East Asian industrialisation found its momentum through the US strategy to create a Cold War pillar in the East. A 'miracle' in the centre-periphery structure would not have been possible without a whole series of affirmative actions that other neo-colonies were denied, including large-scale land reform, financial aid, technology transfer, access to commodity markets, military cover, and investment guarantee. The Cold War also affected the politics of opposition in the periphery, within trade unionism and outside it, as the Soviet Union (and China to a lesser extent) provided selective support to trade unions and popular national movements, while also producing 'non-aligned' trade unionisms. The end of the Cold War, in turn, withdrew the primary threat to the transatlantic alliance, loosened discipline within it, and weakened the hand of oppositional politics worldwide. In fact, the most important inter-imperial rivalry took place at this juncture between the United States and Japan in Eastern Asia, only to be resolved by the financial crisis of 1998 and the dismantling of the developmental state which had outlived its Cold War purpose. An effective post-Cold War security structure by which to maintain discipline within the alliance seems only now to be taking shape, through the 'war on terror'.

Finally, sovereignty has undergone notable changes in the postwar period, both formal and substantive. The abolition of race as a principle of political order was succeeded by the universalisation of the principle of national self-determination; in turn, this principle founded a universalised 'multilateralism' that had been in gestation since the League of Nations.[78] To be sure, who the 'self' was and how it was to be 'determined' remained subject to the contradictions of capitalism and the course of Cold War rivalry; just as well, the substance of multilateralism itself remained disputed. Nonetheless, the period as a whole witnessed the consolidation of multilateral institutions, encompassing the United Nations – which bridged the bi-polar world – and the IMF, World Bank, and the WTO – the 'multilateral economic institutions' (MEIs) presiding over the capitalist economy specifically. In the wake of the Cold War, the three MEIs have gone on to attain universal membership; moreover, they have constructed formal and

---

[77] The connections are well made in Leys (1996), ch. 1.

31

informal institutional linkages between them, in particular employing each other's enforcement mechanisms. The evolution of multilateralism over the whole of the period has consisted in a global institutional consolidation of unprecedented scale, which can now be seen as a rudimentary form of global government, centred on the MEIs. Paradoxically, this evolution has not displaced the principle of national self-determination: it has woven it into its fabric at the same time as it has emasculated its ends and means; after all, at the crux of the 'global governance' language that shrouds global government is a re-affirmation of *national* sovereignty. Alongside these changes, the 'regionalised triadic bloc structure' that now underpins the postwar alliance has produced one notable supra-national, *regional* form of sovereignty, that of the European Union, and no other equivalent on the triadic level. However, it is effectively coordinated by the United States, that is, led and disciplined by its security umbrella and what Gowan has called the 'Dollar-Wall Street Regime';[79] moreover, it has found expression in the G7 forum, a halfway house in the contemporary structure of sovereignty that deliberates on monetary and other global affairs in circumvention of the multilateral form.

In conclusion, responsibility for 'globalisation' continues to be wedged in the sacrosanct nation-state – and the political-economic circle of the centre-periphery relationship is thus morally squared.

1.5   What is Civil Society?

Any discussion of political community cannot be detached from the manner in which global economic life is organised. Nor, however, can global economic life be understood and transformed without closer examination of its modes of rule. It is clear that the centre-periphery relationship has an in-built mode of rule of its own; it is also clear that the principle of national self-determination has been bent backwards and constituted as a mode of rule in itself. Yet, these remain parts of a whole; they must be incorporated into a more holistic understanding of historical modes of rule that considers the definition and enforcement of good citizenship in its totality. In this section, I seek to clarify conceptually the notion of civil society, along with the notion of political community with which it dovetails. The basic dispute remains between Marx and Hegel. At its heart is the humanist demand for reason, the transcendence of political society and the attainment of civility.

---

[78] Among liberals, this new form is seen as having replaced imperialism in substance, which is understood to exist only in its juridical form; see Ruggie (1993).

Hegel's philosophy was revolutionary in many respects. From his early writings, he rejected the epistemological dichotomy between knower and known, reason and feeling, and thought and action. In the process, he reconceptualised the social context as consisting not in atomised, self-referential minds but in dialogical relations of recognition. And all this he did while maintaining a commitment to universalism and reason: he reconceptualised reason as public, historical, contestable, and changeable, whose movement entailed a struggle for recognition.[80] As his thought matured, he went on to abstract reason from a human-centred social process and to derive it from the movement of a self-positing Spirit;[81] and later to conceive of a *telos* of reason as embodied in the national state (a constitutional monarchy in particular) and founded in large part on a 'civil society' of private property.[82] It was against reason thus posited that young Marx reacted, and on two grounds. The first was Hegel's 'mystification' of the state by deriving it from a self-positing Spirit, that is, by conceptualising the state as the object of the universal rather than its predicate. The second and related point was Hegel's relegation of class distinctions within civil society to mere 'social differences' devoid of political significance; in this sense, post-feudal, *civil* society for Marx remained *political* society, *not* a reflection of reason. On these two grounds, Marx indicted Hegel for equating the 'real human being' with the 'private human being', at the exclusion of non-property holders, and legitimating existing social relations by means of abstract logic.[83]

As Marx's own thought matured he was to leave the concerns of moral philosophy behind and engage with political economy, to elaborate 'the anatomy of this civil society'.[84] This enabled him to articulate the organic tendencies of a society founded on private property and driven by accumulation.[85] By this means, he was also to demonstrate more clearly that the 'human' bourgeoisie and 'unhuman' proletariat were in a mutually constitutive relation. The latter is an insight—a reapplication of Hegelian dialectics, to be sure—that remains indispensable to the theory of civil society. It contrasts sharply with liberal thinking on the matter, which continues to posit a formal not substantive definition of civil society, by counter-posing the 'civil' to 'the state', not to the 'uncivil', and peddling the abrogation of links with the state as the *sine qua non* of civil status and independent self-expression.

---

[79] Gowan (1999). Although Gowan does not see this as a case of ultra-imperialism, I will argue that it is.
[80] See Hegel (1975).
[81] Hegel (1977).
[82] Hegel (1952).
[83] Marx (1975); quotes from p. 148.
[84] Marx (1970), p. 20.
[85] Marx (1976).

Marx departed from Hegel's explicitly dialogical framework to depict phenomena of social conflict not as struggles over moral meaning within an instersubjective relation, but as a competition between economic ends, in quasi-Hobbesian fashion.[86] A Hegelian-Marxist reconciliation on these grounds was later pursued by the so-called 'cultural Marxists'. Antonio Gramsci was one of the earliest, positing civil society once again as explicitly moral terrain, but doing so in ambiguous terms. He conceived of civil society as an instrument of the state in the reproduction of moral order ('hegemony'); as well as the location in which the struggle over moral meaning has to be won before the capture of state power.[87] A few decades on, Thompson was to introduce the concept of 'moral economy' to locate class politics in its moral-historical context and, moreover, to demonstrate that emancipatory politics may take many forms, including the less visible and more spontaneous.[88] This here amounts to the second indispensable insight for the theory of civil society; it contrasts with liberal thinking again, but also with the 'critical theory' of Jürgen Habermas insofar as he has been concerned with the overt, organised, and polite forms of politics.[89] Mamdani's work can be seen as an innovation of Thompson's, one that sets out explicitly to theorise civil society in relation to its oppressed antithesis.[90]

That which remains under-theorised (or poorly theorised) is the relationship between civil society and political community. Hegel, of course, mastered this in his time and place, but contemporary theory leaves much to be desired. In the twentieth century, and in the postwar period in particular, the notion of community has largely continued to be understood as somehow bounded and demarcated – mainly in 'national', but also in 'ethnic' and even 'civilisational' terms.[91] Yet, moral consciousness is of a vagabond nature: moral languages cross imaginary frontiers and hybridise with 'local' moral languages to gain particular expression in context, while also expanding geographically the common field of meaning.[92] As we will see in the next section, this is the historical process of moral hybridisation and globalisation, which has seen the humanist consciousness conquer the globe on the heels of capitalist expansion to provide a common global dialogical foundation animated by the demand for citizenship. The demand has manifested itself in the terms of liberalism, nationalism, socialism, feminism, and

---

[86] Honneth (1995).
[87] Gramsci (1971).
[88] Thompson (1980).
[89] See Habermas (1989). See also the critique of Habermas by Eley (1994).
[90] Mamdani (1996).
[91] This understanding transcends disciplines. For some influential theorists of each 'level' of community, see Barth ed. (1969), Smith (1986), Miller (1995), Taylor (1989).
[92] A longer discussion with specific reference to ethnicity is provided in Yeros (1999).

environmentalism, in virtually every corner of the earth, and in a multiplicity of local colours. Suffice it here to note that the notion of 'hybridity' was introduced in reaction to Hegel and his own national-organic understanding of community; it has served in particular to undermine his conflation of 'community' and 'nationality'.[93]

A second point follows from this: the ontology of the state as the pre-eminent location of community and its 'development'—shared as much by liberal and communitarian political theorists as by the modernisation, underdevelopment, and neoliberal schools—is false. The state is an institutional expression—and only one—of a much larger dialogical relation. The discipline of International Relations, and particularly its 'normative' tributary, has been the one most preoccupied with conceptualising community beyond the state, and here the 'English school' has led the way. Yet, it has done so not by dislodging the state from the centre of its formulations, but by conceiving of global community as a 'society of states'.[94] Critical theorists and poststructuralists later dislodged the state from its pedestal, but other problems now raised their heads. Andrew Linklater, for example, sought to make a case for 'breaking the nexus between sovereignty, territoriality, nationality and citizenship by promoting wider communities of discourse', but failed to recognise that dialogical relations of global dimensions have long existed and do not need to be 'widened' but transformed.[95] Rob Walker, in turn, recognised that global dialogical relations do exist, but failed to acknowledge their common humanist foundation (as well as his own).[96]

The most compelling of statements in the discipline has been penned by Robert Cox who sought to theorise global order and global change in neo-Gramscian terms.[97] Thus he conceived of global order in terms of a 'hegemony' founded on transnational state-society relations; and global change in terms of the propagation of a counter-hegemonic vision. Yet, hegemony remains a problematic concept in the conceptualisation of community, insofar as it conflates community with hegemony/consensus. Community is a realm of moral debate, including consensus, conflict, and violence. Consensus would be an historical oddity, and in any case, it can easily be overstated. It is relative not only to alienation but also to the degree of organisation among the

---

[93] The notion of hybridity was introduced by Russian linguist Mikhail Bakhtin in the early twentieth century; see Bakhtin (1984). For an introduction to his thought, see Todorov (1984). It is important to note, however, that Bakhtin also claimed to be able to escape the Hegelian dialectical system, in the manner of our contemporary post-structuralists; this aspect of his thought, of course, need not be taken on board.
[94] See, for example, Bull (1995).
[95] Linklater (1998); quote from p. 60.
[96] Walker (1988).

alienated: high alienation and high disorganisation would not warrant the term 'hegemony'. It is also relative to the type and amount of direct force employed against the alienated: violence does not need to be high profile, or between 'great powers', in order for 'hegemony' to give way to 'dominance'; 'complex emergencies' and the everyday violence of the neo-colonial state must also be taken into account. To be sure, hegemony *is* the object of imperial politics; but theory does not have to make it its own.[98] Theory is better off exploring the dialectic of civilisation 'from below', the various forms of uncivil politics and their relationship to the civil.[99]

I argue that a 'political economy of civilisation' is an historical materialism that does precisely that. As an historical materialism, it refers to both a *method* for the study of global economic life and a *process* of struggle over the meaning of civilisation.

1.6   The Global Civilisation

That which remains here is, first, to sketch the moral constitution of global civilisation and, second, to outline the dialectic of civilisation in the postwar period as it is presented in this thesis.

Humanism and Citizenship

That which founds contemporary moral debate is the humanist moral framework. To explicate this we must turn to the work of Charles Taylor, a neo-Hegelian, and engage with him critically. In *Sources of the Self*, his most comprehensive statement, Taylor explains that beneath any moral reactions and demands that we feel, there lies a particular ontology of the human.[100] Ontologies of the human consist in qualitative distinctions regarding the status and worth of human beings, and they constitute the 'background language' in which all moral obligations that we acknowledge are set. These distinctions are not normally explicit, and it is for this reason that they are 'background' or 'intuitive'. Taylor continues that, while ontologies of the human have varied in history, a peculiarly *universalist* ontology emerged over the last half-millennium in Europe. And this has had two notable features: first, inherent in it is a moral demand to respect

---

[97] Cox (1987).
[98] The point is also made by Amin (1997), p. 3.
[99] The difficulties and shortcomings of Cox's ap proach are not resolved in a more recent essay addressed to the present predicament; see Cox (1999), pp. 3–28.
[100] Taylor (1989).

the 'life, integrity, and well-being, even flourishing' of *all* human beings; second, this demand of respect is formulated in the new language of 'rights', as opposed to privileges, by connecting the notion of respect with a new notion of autonomy, as well as a historically unique sensitivity to suffering and valuation of 'ordinary life'. This last connection is important in that it has made the life of production and the family (or reproduction) morally relevant to well-being and the good life. As Taylor writes,

> I believe that this affirmation of ordinary life, although not uncontested and frequently appearing in secularised form, has become one of the most powerful ideas in modern civilisation. It underlies our contemporary 'bourgeois' politics, so much concerned with issues of welfare, and at the same time powers the most influential revolutionary ideology of our century, Marxism, with its apotheosis of man the producer.[101]

What these moral-ontological transformations amount to is a radical new consciousness that gives life to a demand for the abolition of human hierarchies, or citizenship, with potential application to all spheres of social life, contingent upon social struggle. And this universalism differs from previous universalisms in its scope. Christianity, for example, as a prior universalism did not contain this kind of radical egalitarian dynamic. As Tzvetan Todorov reminds us, at the time of the *conquistadores* Christianity could declare that 'God belongs to all, and all belong to God' without problematising the inequalities of ordinary life: thus 'the master will remain a master, the slave a slave, as if this were a difference quite as natural as that between man and woman'.[102] In this sense, the new humanism is unique in that it has permanent revolution built into it.

The problem with Taylor's formulation is that he has sought to articulate this moral-ontological transformation in the selfsame act of articulating civilisational *difference*; and this not merely in the (necessary) temporal sense, but also in relation to simultaneously existing and antithetical 'civilisations'. This is nowhere explicitly theorised but follows from the way in which he has situated the development of 'the modern self' within a 'West' *monologically understood*. And in this sense, Taylor conforms to an age-old Eurocentric convention that presumes that 'the West' has an Archimedean starting-point ('classical Greece'), a continuity and

---

[101] Taylor (1989), p. 14.
[102] Todorov (1984), pp. 106–07.

unity in history ('from Plato to NATO'), and an insulation from 'extra-Western' dialogical relations and borrowings. As Amin has shown, this is a convention that has its origins in the post-Renaissance period, in the rise of European capitalism and its turbulent expansion around the globe, at which time it served to celebrate the 'uniqueness' of European ingenuity, relegate 'the backwardness' of the non-Europeans to unique traits of 'their' own, and legitimate Europe's superiority and 'civilising' mission.[103] As Martin Bernal has further shown, the Eurocentric convention reached its apogee in the nineteenth century – Hegel and Marx being important transitional figures themselves – with the maturation of the claim that 'Europe' derives from 'Greece' and that the latter was itself 'pure', not in any way 'African' or 'Oriental'.[104] The claim to Western purity, singularity, and insularity has continued to have as its corollary a civilising mission beyond the colonial period, whereby the idea of 'the West' has been propagated as 'universal' and apex of the trajectory of the 'non-West', manifest in an endless development project of 'imitation' instead of global democratisation.

To de-racialise Taylor's narrative requires that we seek a general theory of historical development, such as Amin has suggested. The founding acknowledgement should be that 'the West' is an instance of a much larger dialogical relation and, moreover, that the radical humanism of the last half-millennium has not been a 'Western affair'. The contemporary meaning of humanity owes much to the dialogical relations of the coloniser and colonised, the struggles against slavery, colonialism, and the global capitalist dispensation, and against patriarchy and environmental destruction (the robbing of the well-being of future generations).

Peasant-workers in the Development Dialogue

The 'development dialogue' of the postwar period must be understood as an ongoing struggle over the meaning of civilisation. At its heart has been the national question – the ends and means of national self-determination – in the aftermath of formal imperialism. As we have seen, two visions prevailed in this period, one bourgeois nationalist ('nation-building'), the other liberal ('structural adjustment'), both reflecting the needs of the new imperialism, both objectifying the semi-proletariat, and both seeking to control it on a global scale. In the 'realised' nations of the transatlantic alliance, the nationalist vision found its embodiment in the welfare state compromise, within an international monetary order that ostensibly prioritised national welfare.

---

[103] Amin (1989).
[104] Bernal (1987).

In the *de jure* but not *de facto* nations of the post-colonial world, the nationalist vision found its form in a 'development' project. This held that 'peasants', through industrialisation and 'modernisation', would themselves one day become 'nationals' and proper members of the human community; for the time being, they were 'drifters' between town and country, as Arthur Lewis put it, 'liv[ing] in quite other worlds', and in 'unlimited supply' waiting to be put to work.[105] In this bourgeois nationalist vision, the semi-proletariat was acknowledged as *different but not equal*. The liberal claim overturned all this, as all peoples of the world were now proclaimed *equal but not different*, that is, identical on the basis of a universal economic rationality. As such, they were also assimilable into the new order of market freedom, and therein perfectly capable, in the words of Samuel Popkin, '[of] bargain[ing] with others to achieve mutually acceptable outcomes'.[106] The liberal vision, however, did not sweep the national question aside; it instrumentalised it in the interest of liberalisation, thereby emasculated its ends and means.

The history of the semi-proletariat remains to be told in all its 'barbarism', its struggles against bourgeois nationalism and liberalism, but also against its subordination to its working class 'brothers' in the North. Chapters 2 and 3 interpret the semi-proletarian experience in the nationalist and liberal periods, respectively. First, they trace the evolution of 'development theory' in each period, focusing on the way in which it has framed and sought to make use of the semi-proletariat. Development theory here appeared as the handmaiden of political economy, with orthodoxies emerging in the service of prevailing class interests to claim 'intellectual victories'. Second, these chapters turn to political economy itself, focusing on the rise of ultra-imperialism, through the Cold War and in its aftermath. Specifically, they address the changing needs of ultra-imperialism, from productivity to liquidity, and the prevailing model of good citizenship corresponding to both, consisting in advocacy of extroverted capitalist development.

Third, these chapters trace the relationship between civil and uncivil working class politics on a global scale. Although the ideal of good citizenship has been trans-historical, the terrain of the 'uncivil' has broadened: from the various 'property unfriendly' forces, the socialist and mass nationalist seeking to nationalise industry, redistribute land, and overcome disarticulated accumulation; to the 'market unfriendly', in all their diversity, the rural and urban working class, gender and racial equity, and environmental movements. The focus first turns on the victories and defeats of the semi-proletariat in obtaining agrarian reform in the context of

---

[105] Lewis (1958), p. 408.
[106] Popkin (1979), p. ix.

shifting geopolitics. This is followed by an inquiry into the formal politics of the semi-proletariat, that of the trade union movement. This inquiry demonstrates the problems of organising and articulating a specifically semi-proletarian 'voice' within a globally institutionalised debate over 'worker participation' centred at the ILO and dominated by Western organised labour. The combined inquiry into civil and uncivil politics bears out the process by which anti-systemic politics over half a century have been subjected to a systematic project of 'civilisation', by a mixture of cooptation tactics and outright repression.

Chapters 4–7 turn to Zimbabwe to demonstrate the above argument in detail. Zimbabwe has particularities of its own, deriving form its white settler colonial experience (spearheaded by Cecil Rhodes himself), but it remains a typical semi-proletarianised, socially and sectorally distarticulated, neo-colonial country. Chapter 4 traces Zimbabwe's long transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism – obtained in 1980 despite armed liberation struggle – to 'structural adjustment' in the 1990s, and ultimately to the re-radicalisation of nationalism at decade's end. The remaining chapters provide a detailed account of peasant-worker politics under structural adjustment. Chapters 5 and 6 address urban-based peasant-worker politics in both their nationalist and internationalist expressions, as articulated by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions. Particular attention here is given to the ZCTU's 'civil' trasformation, brought to fruition by the liberalisation of the economy and state repression, on the one hand, and the social democratic internationalism, on the other, propagated by the ICFTU. Chapter 7 addresses rural-based, uncivil peasant-worker nationalism focusing on land occupations in particular. Chapter 8 offers some concluding thoughts on Zimbabwe, semi-proletarian politics, and the prospects for a post-liberal civilisation.

The view has been put forth in certain quarters that it is time to go 'beyond' the agrarian question, in the sense that we must seek 'particularities' in rural social relations and eschew 'universal history'.[107] A more coherent position is de Janvry's who has remarked that, with the complete development of capitalism in agriculture, 'the agrarian question has become increasingly less agrarian'.[108] The position maintained in this thesis is that the agrarian question must now focus on the subject status of the world's semi-proletariat under ultra-imperialism.

---

[107] Roseberry (1993).
[108] De Janvry (1981), p. 223.

PART I:

PEASANT-WORKERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT DIALOGUE

CHAPTER 2

The Nationalist Claim in the Cold War

The principle of national self-determination has animated international politics since the French revolution, but it did not attain universality until the postwar period, when anti-colonial movements succeeded in abolishing formal imperialism. In the first two decades after World War II, the bulk of the colonial world gained juridical independence, starting with India, while the colonial regimes that remained, as in Southern Africa, found themselves steering against the 'winds of change'. This was the nationalist period, founded on the notion that all human beings are national beings in essence, that all nations are equal, and that relations between them would be conducted multilaterally. Yet, it was also widely recognised that not all nations were equal *in fact*, that national self-determination remained to be actualised. 'Nation-building' was its natural corollary, a project undisputed in form but fiercely contested in substance. Who was the 'self'? And how was it to be 'determined'? The national question was fought on the new terrain of a bi-polar, Cold War world, and conducted as the 'development dialogue'.

This chapter will begin by tracing the trajectory of the development orthodoxy, from its initial concerns with industrialisation to its 'rural development' turn in the 1970s, taking special interest in its objectification of the semi-proletariat and elision of the land question. The subsequent sections will then address the political economy that sustained the development orthodoxy. Section 2.2 will start by looking at the creation of a transatlantic 'politics of productivity'. This did not extinguish inter-imperial rivalry but managed to contain it in the course of the Cold War. Alliance politics played out over the question of adjustment to payments imbalances, while the political process entailed the propping of East Asia and the development of underdevelopment in the rest of the periphery.

These events are more or less well known, but they cannot be properly understood unless the politics of the semi-proletariat are brought into perspective. For Cold War rivalry was not self-referential; it was driven by the contradictions of capitalism, and not least the agency of the 'anti-systemic'. Section 2.3 will focus on the uncivil side of the story, the rural political forms – namely rebellions and revolutions – that contradicted the productivity needs of the alliance and endangered the extroverted pattern of accumulation in the periphery. Uncivil politics of this sort obtained a series of agrarian reforms, first in East Asia and then, in a much more limited fashion, in Latin America and Africa; and they also propelled two types of reformist politics in the 1970s – the 'rural development' turn of development orthodoxy and demands for a New International Economic Order. Section 2.4 turns to the organised working class politics of the period. This will

inquire into the institutionalised side of the semi-proletarian story, the debate over 'worker participation' as conducted within the ILO and international trade unionism. Particular interest here will be taken in the systematic 'civilisation' of opposition, the process by which semi-proletarian politics have been undermined and co-opted both by nation-builders and international labour.

2.1   From Industrialisation to Rural Development

The use of 'development' language has a pre-history in the colonial period. Recall that colonial powers in Africa had resolved 'the native question' from the 1920s onwards by implementing a policy of 'separate development'; and that in 1940, Britain had been compelled by anti-colonial agitation to pass the Colonial Development and Welfare Act; this exported to its dependencies a modified version of its own 'purposeful state'.[1] What was new in the postwar years was that development had been shifted onto a new moral foundation, that of the national question. What was also new was the creation of an academic discipline devoted to the study of 'third world poverty', or 'underdevelopment'.

If economic theory in the central economies, under the stewardship of J.M. Keynes, was concerned at this time with demand management and state intervention in the savings, investment, and growth relation, new demands were now being placed on the discipline by the rise of mass politics in the colonial world. These demands gained urgency with the onset of the Cold War, culminating in the Truman Doctrine of 1947 and the announcement of new global development project for the third world. The following decade witnessed the institutionalisation of 'development economics' and the emergence of 'development' orthodoxy.

The Idea of Neo-colonial Industrialisation

The new discipline proceeded to frame poverty as a mere economic disparity. As Arturo Escobar has put it, '[i]f within market societies the poor were defined as lacking what the rich had in terms of money and material possessions, poor countries came to be similarly defined in relation to the standards of wealth of the more economically advanced nations'.[2] In these terms, the rich and poor were not understood as existing in a relationship of power, nor, by implication, was

---

[1] See Low and Lonsdale (1976), pp. 1–63.
[2] Escobar (1995), p. 23.

development understood in dialectical terms. Development was to be a matter of imitation of 'the developed' by the 'underdeveloped', not a transformation of the relationship between the two.

In turn, if the 'developed' were the nations of the West, development was to be identified with the features considered to be the essence of the West: on the one hand, the systematic application of technology to industrial production; on the other, the social dynamism and moral universalism associated with this nationally integrative process. By contrast, the essence of 'underdevelopment', was said to consist in agrarian, parochial, and static social conditions. In this sense, not everyone was yet properly national in this new world of nations; there still existed a large mass of people who lacked developed self-hood and that needed to be nationalised – and thereby modernised. In effect, modernisation envisioned the double transformation of peasants into workers and natives into nationals.

These dichotomies pervaded the thinking of the development economists of the time, prominent among who were Arthur W. Lewis and W.W. Rostow. In their hands, the civilising mission gained academic sophistication. For Rostow, civilisation proceeded in five 'stages of economic growth': it began with the 'pre-Newtonian' traditional society of 'limited production functions', 'regionally based political institutions', and 'an hierarchical social structure', and it culminated in 'the age of high mass consumption' with its scientific outlook, regular industrial growth, urban population, national institutions, and welfare state.[3] These were understood as secular, non-dialectical changes: despite historical hiccups and national particularities, 'the economic history of growing societies', wrote Rostow, 'takes a part of its rude shape from the effort of growing societies to approximate the optimum sectoral paths'.[4] For Lewis, the sequence of industrial stages was less important than the dynamics of the original transition from 'subsistence' to 'capitalist' production. The latter was characterised in the first instance by 'reproducible capital', whether in state or private hands; but more than this, it was characterised by 'modern towns, with the finest architecture, water supplies, communications and the like, into which people drift from other towns or villages which might almost belong to another planet'. The people themselves differed: 'between the few highly westernized, trousered, natives, educated in western universities, speaking western languages, and glorying in Beethoven, Mill, Marx or Einstein, and the great mass of their countrymen who live in quite other worlds'.[5]

The specific means of civilisation were most rigorously articulated by Lewis. For him, semi-proletarianisation and the nondescript people 'drifting' became a virtue; for large labour

---

[3] Rostow (1990).
[4] Rostow (1990), p. 14.
[5] Lewis (1958), p. 408.

reserves rendered a 'negligible, zero, or even negative' marginal productivity of labour, such that 'new industries can be created, or old industries expanded without limit at the existing wage'.[6] Labour could thus be removed from the countryside without affecting production there, while also providing near subsistence wages to industry. Thus, the 'unlimited supplies of labour' in the subsistence sector were not theorised as *integral* (in functional terms) to the historical emergence and reproduction of capitalist accumulation. Save for brief mention of 'primitive accumulation', this was the 'dual economy' whose sectors 'might almost belong to another planet' and which needed to be stitched together by state planners. In fact, peasants became central to industrialisation in more ways than one. Besides their labour, their productivity in agriculture was sought, as was their surplus, and not least their acquiescence: 'if the capitalist sector depends upon the peasants for food, it is essential to get the peasants to produce more, while if at the same time they can be prevented from enjoying the full fruit of their extra production, wages can be reduced relatively to the capitalist surplus'.[7] Rostow had comparable, if less rigorously articulated, visions for the peasants. And in both models, attention was focused on the 'leading sectors', on the one hand, and the productivity and surplus of the drifters, on the other.

These particular visions resonated strongly in the periphery, where disarticulated accumulation remained essentially in place but entered a period of conflict with mass politics and ascendant inward-looking manufacturing interests nurtured in the 'hothouse' of Depression and war. This was the case in Latin America, which had gained juridical independence in the previous century, but also elsewhere, not least the 'self governing' colony of Southern Rhodesia. Generally, what Lewis thought of as 'the few highly westernized trousered natives' comprised of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois modernisers, who sought either accommodation or reform, depending on the class balances and external constraints. They thus interacted with the development orthodoxy, sometimes challenging it, other times modifying it or implementing it. In Latin America, most notably, the new capitalist classes arrived equipped with a 'structuralist' critique of modernisation theory, which rejected its 'dual economy' and 'stages of growth' assumptions.[8] Nonetheless, they retained the emphasis on industrialisation, pursued nation-building without undoing functional dualism, and over time even acquired land for themselves.[9] Post-colonial nation-builders in Africa proceeded without an indigenous capitalist class of similar stature: they presided over economies wholly dominated by foreign capital; acquired land of their own through the state or expanded state enterprises under their control; faced the typical

---

[6] Lewis (1958), pp. 402 and 403, respectively.
[7] Lewis (1958), p. 434.
[8] For its preeminent exponent, see Prebisch (1959), pp. 251–73.
[9] De Janvry (1981).

peripheral constraints to accumulation; and retained functional dualism in its new 'indirect rule' forms.[10] East Asia, by contrast, departed form the development orthodoxy insofar as the agricultural sector was taken seriously, broken up and redistributed early on, under US auspices.[11] The internal market was thereby expanded, while state-led nation-building was spared of its external obstacles (as we will see in more detail).

The agricultural sector received much less theoretical attention in the early years of nation-building, as it became an instrument of industrialisation. Previously, there had indeed been significant concerns with the 'modernisation' of 'traditional' agriculture *per se*. In colonial Zimbabwe, for example, this concern stretched back to the 1920s, when 'separate development' was accompanied by a conservationist 'development of the reserves'. Then during the Depression, agricultural policy across the continent was stepped up by the establishment of 'marketing boards' to squeeze farmers more effectively; while in the postwar years, the British colonial authorities implemented the 'colonial development' Act and sought in the name of 'efficiency' to raise African agricultural productivity, integrate producers further into the market, and conserve land – known infamously as the 'second colonial occupation'.[12] Yet, in the nation-building world of the 1950s, agricultural policy found itself firmly subordinated to industrial priorities. The policy became one of maintaining cheap food in the interest of industry, to the point even of destroying domestic production of staple foods by accepting dumped US wheat, or 'food aid'.[13] The consequences were to be seen in an intensified process of proletarianisation, haphazard urbanisation, and rural and urban social strife and political conflict.

These consequences ultimately combined with the foreign exchange crunch, accentuated by ISI, to call agriculture to the rescue. Just as well, critics of longer standing, such as Theodore W. Schultz, now took centre stage to re-frame the semi-proletariat. If until recently 'peasants' had been 'surplus labour' waiting to be put to work, in the 1960s they were to re-defined as 'traditional farmers', 'poor but efficient', waiting to be 'transformed' by science.[14] Schultz argued that agriculture and *not* industry ought to be 'the engine of growth', and that, with the right application of scientific knowledge, traditional farmers could 'turn sand into gold'.[15] Importantly, he also argued that large-scale farming was not necessarily more efficient than family farming, but nevertheless concluded that access to land was 'least important' to productivity, that is, secondary to investment in 'human and material capital'.

---

[10] Mamdani (1996).
[11] Olson (1974).
[12] Low and Lonsdale (1976).
[13] See Friedmann (1993) and de Janvry (1981).
[14] Schultz (1964).

What this amounted to was a new theoretical justification for the technical upgrading of agriculture as a means of raising productivity, gaining foreign exchange, and overcoming food shortages. It became known as the 'Green Revolution' and encompassed a wide range of changes in production, including new tenure systems and mechanisation, but most importantly the introduction of new, high-yielding varieties of 'hybrid' seed. While seeking to replicate the US agricultural transformation, it also contradicted this by making national agricultures dependent on global markets for new seed technologies, equipment, and chemical inputs, controlled by US firms.[16] The consequences again were grave. The case of India, often touted as the model of the green revolution, is instructive. By the 1970s, 'self-sufficiency' was indeed obtained, but only insofar as food imports were no longer required. For the 'excess supply' implied by 'self-sufficiency' rested on the pillars of low 'effective demand' – that is, mass poverty. A closer look shows that growth was highly uneven in terms of crop, region, and class, and accompanied by growing income inequality and, on average, decline of nutritional standards.[17] The major exception to these trends was again East Asia which replicated the US agricultural model without becoming integrated into markets controlled by foreign capital.[18]

More generally, the new agricultural strategy for 'development' did not appease the grievances of the semi-proletariat, which generally failed to command the resources necessary for the management of the new seed varieties and conceded further land to large-scale commercial farming. Proletarianisation, urbanisation, and poverty dovetailed with radical politics in the 1950s and 1960s throughout the periphery, as well as with the new 'dependency' theories emanating from Latin America.[19] In the latter case, as we will see, the convulsions of these decades, especially after the Cuban Revolution, produced a wave of counter-revolutionary, controlled land reforms. Yet, it was clear by the 1970s that mainstream development thinking itself had to be reformed if it was going to stave off crisis of potentially larger magnitude.

Crisis and the Rural Development Turn

The reality of increasing poverty was acknowledged at the level of the World Bank and articulated with a sense of urgency in the mid-1970s. This was the time of generalised economic

---

[15] Schultz (1964), pp. 4–7.
[16] Friedmann (1993).
[17] Patnaik (1990).
[18] Friedmann (1993), pp. 42–45.
[19] The school is diverse, but the most influential approach proved to be Andre Gunder Frank's. This broke with Marxist conventions generally and the 'two stage' line of the communist left in particular. See Frank (1967). For a more pliant approach, see Cardoso and Faletto (1979).

47

crisis. And it was also the time in which the social crisis in the periphery was finding new expression in ruling class demands for a New International Economic Order. The totality of economic, social, and political crises compelled a reconsideration of inter-sectoral dynamics among official circles and, ultimately, a concerted shift in development theory towards 'rural development' in its own right. Led by the World Bank and the ILO, the previously 'drifting' and 'traditional farmers' were now relabelled 'target groups' and placed in a number of compartments: 'small farmers', 'submarginal farmers', 'landless labourers', 'working poor', 'urban unemployed' and 'urban underemployed'. The ILO focused mainly on employment and income generation among the working poor and the newly conceived urban 'informal sector', while the Bank mainly on 'integrated rural development' among the rural poor; the latter programmes encompassed educational, health, housing, and agricultural issues.[20]

The World Bank, especially, gained new vigour in the 1970s under the Presidency of Robert McNamara, former US Secretary of Defence (architect of counter-insurgency in Latin America and bombing policy in Indochina). Under his leadership, the Bank announced an 'assault on poverty', cultivated a 'redistribution with growth' approach, and by 1975 shifted the bulk of its lending to rural development.[21] In this decade, the assumptions of the 'dual economy' model were set aside and agrarian land relations gained significance of their own. However, these relations were still not seen as *integral* to capital accumulation; the poor were still understood as somewhat 'outside the organised market economy', with 'weak links' to it.[22] Accordingly, the problem of poverty was again understood mainly in economic terms: the poor lacked access to the 'land, capital and other public facilities' that the rich had, not their political power. Likewise, landlessness was understood mainly as an income constraint, not a political one. The task then was to redistribute resources to the poor in ways that were 'politically plausible'.[23] In effect, the rural development turn was an exercise in subsidising the social reproduction of the semi-proletarian household in a period of crisis.[24]

The most notable change was that, for the first time in the postwar period, land reform began to enter the official development dialogue as a legitimate item of discussion. Previously, land reform had retained a marginal status, kept alive as an issue mainly at the United Nations. The UN had launched a series of periodic reports on *Progress in Land Reform*, publishing six between 1956 and 1976, while the FAO had been formally recognised in 1962 as the agency with

---

[20] For a detailed discussion of the debate of the 1970s, see Oman and Wignaraja (1991), ch. 4.
[21] World Bank (1975).
[22] Chenery (1974), p. xv.
[23] See Bell (1974).
[24] See de Janvry (1981), ch. 7.

the leading role in land reform. Yet, in this period, as Dimitrios Christodoulou has argued, '[t]oo much UN "action"...proved to be no more than campaigns on paper', due not only to the intergovernmental nature of the organisation, but also the bourgeois values of Secretariat staff.[25] In the early 1970s, land reform appeared to gain real international policy status, as the World Bank began to speak 'boldly'. However, by 1975, and the publication of a 'land reform policy paper', the Bank was pulling back, re-emphasising productivity and advocating reform on the basis of land markets and 'modern' freehold titling. In effect, the Bank was now planning the grand sequel to the green revolution, what Ernest Feder called 'the self-liquidation of the third world peasantry'.[26] At the same time, the ILO, more so than the Bank, saw redistribution of assets, including land, as more urgent measures. Even here, however, its main rationale for land reform was the redistribution of income, not political power; in any case, the ILO was not amenable to a redefinition of its own industrial relations convention to accommodate the semi-proletariat in formal channels of dialogue (to be discussed). The land reform debate culminated in 1979 in the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held at the FAO in Rome, where, despite lofty declarations about formulating programmes 'with the full understanding and participation of rural people', the diagnosis of the problem remained 'superficial'.[27]

The final change in the reformist trajectory of the dialogue consisted in the synthesis of the ILO and Bank approaches into a 'basic needs' strategy, which stressed a more urgent redistribution of resources than the incremental 'redistribution with growth' approach.[28] However, these were the waning years of the nationalist period. The global order was undergoing restructuring under the weight of transnational capital and finance. Moreover, the postwar structure of global food production was also changing.[29] Competition was changing at the top, as the US was joined by Western Europe and several 'new agricultural countries' from the periphery. At the bottom, the rest of the periphery was being caught in a bind: its tropical export crops, like sugar cane and vegetable oil, were being technically substituted in central markets and obtaining declining foreign exchange; much of it remained dependent on food and technology imports; and it faced protection in the agricultural markets of the centre. The 'structural adjustment programme' was then to be proclaimed under these circumstances.

---

[25] Christodoulou (1989), p. 182 and *passim*; see also Powelson (1984).
[26] Feder (1976), pp. 343–54; see also the discussion in Christodoulou (1989), pp. 189–92.
[27] Christodoulou (1989), Appendix.
[28] See Oman and Wignaraja (1991), ch. 4.
[29] Friedmann (1993).

2.2   The Rise of Ultra-Imperialism

To understand the nationalist period we must examine more closely some of the underlying changes in its political economy. This section is concerned with the making of the new imperialism and the international politics of adjustment, growth, and underdevelopment.

Constructing the Politics of Productivity

When national delegates met at Bretton Woods in 1944 to chart a new course for the global economy, colonial peoples were not represented in their own right, save for some 'observers'. The talks were dominated by the US and British delegations, led by Harry Dexter White and J.M. Keynes, respectively. And they were haunted by the dramatic events of the interwar period, the rise of mass politics, social upheavals, and economic collapse. Immediate circumstances were more imposing still. The 'great powers' of Western Europe lay destroyed, demoralised, and vulnerable; the Soviet Union, though technically still an ally, claimed a 'realised' socialism and made no secret of its global ambitions; while the US had been spared of physical destruction, held the largest production capacity in the world, the bulk of the world's gold reserves, and expansionist ambitions of its own.

Contra Ruggie, the new multilateralism of the postwar period has not been conceptually separable from imperialism.[30] In the few short years following Bretton Woods, a new imperialism was forged to protect the capitalist system as a whole from radical scenarios. Its novelty was to be found in an alliance between central states, principally the United States, Britain, France, and occupied Germany and Japan; and in a compromise between capital and labour, modelled on the post-New Deal dispensation of the United States. The 'politics of productivity' consisted in an understanding that capital, led by an internationalist bourgeoisie, would deliver a new era of investment and growth that would obviate 'the harsh questions of allocation', while labour would temper its own distributional demands to facilitate this growth.[31] Central to this understanding was a linking of wages to productivity at home – facilitated by a correspondence between production and consumption along Fordist lines – and collaboration on the interests of capital abroad.

This politics of productivity did not yet stand on a proper social foundation across the alliance at the end of the war. But as Kees van der Pijl has shown, successive US foreign policy

---

[30] See Ruggie (1993), p. 11.
[31] Maier (1977), pp. 607–33.

offensives, beginning with the Marshall Plan, universalised the foundation; they did so by 'mobilis[ing] the elements least tied to specifically national class configurations and most susceptible to opportunities engendered by mass production and consumption in a highly internationalized context'.[32] The threat of the Soviet Union, which was reconfiguring Eastern Europe to its own liking, bred urgency to the unification project, providing legitimacy to the offensives as well as to the circumvention of Bretton Woods itself. In the specificity of European class politics, the US initiatives soon crystallised into a social democratic compromise, entailing a commitment to full employment, the expansion of the welfare state, and exclusion of 'anti-systemic', communist forces from government. The Marshall Plan was the crucial instrument of this cooptation strategy; another was the deployment of US labour federations to split oppositional politics abroad.

A series of transatlantic social compacts thus came to form the metropolitan social basis of the international economic order envisaged at Bretton Woods. As we will see, rival imperialisms did persist in practice, especially over the questions of adjustment and decolonisation. However, none of these bones of contention managed to puncture the transatlantic unification project. The central states, led by the US, collectively crafted a 'multilateral' order with new institutions and privileges enshrined in them, and dominated the adjustment process; at the same time, they propped up extroverted peripheral alliances that served their productivity needs, while deploying organised transatlantic labour against 'anti-systemic' politics throughout the periphery.

The multilateralism of the postwar period was institutionalised in the IMF, World Bank, GATT, and the United Nations – the latter being the only institution bridging the bi-polar world. The institutional epicentre of the capitalist world was designed to be the IMF, with a mandate to monitor international payments, including orderly currency adjustments, and to provide short-term finance. Conversely, signatories to the Articles of Agreement were to collaborate with the IMF in disclosing their economic state of affairs and observing the spirit of the gold-exchange standard.[33] A stable monetary order, in turn, was to facilitate the operation and liberalisation of the trading order. This was to be codified in the GATT, founded on the principles of non-discrimination and reciprocity, and transformed by successive rounds of negotiations. Finance for reconstruction and development was to be provided by the World Bank, as well as by commercial banks themselves in the long run and by foreign direct investment.

---

[32] Van der Pijl (1984), p. 138.
[33] See the discussion in Pauly (1997).

The 'social purpose' of this multilateralism was ostensibly the preservation of national policy autonomy. In monetary affairs, this was founded on an agreement to regulate capital flows and observe the 'adjustable peg'. In trade, various safeguards and exemptions were granted to deficit states in order to facilitate payments. The same logic extended to industrial policy as well: state promotion of strategic sectors or infant industries in the interest of reconstruction and nation-building was considered legitimate. Yet, in practice, the new multilateralism assumed specific juridical forms which reflected hierarchies among nations seeking to exercise or realise policy autonomy. The IMF and World Bank enshrined a system of weighted voting based on the size of the national economy, while the United States enjoyed unofficial privileges by virtue of its monopoly over the key currency. The two IFIs also exercised differential power over their members: they could exact policy changes only over debtors. For its part, the GATT did not codify hierarchy but remained unofficially driven by US-led transatlantic initiatives. Finally, these institutions were complemented by the United Nations, which enshrined a contradiction: the principle of one-nation-one-vote and a 'security council' with permanent seats for the 'great powers'.

Adjustment under 'Bretton Woods'

The hierarchies among nations played out over the question of adjustment. The debate revolved around the notion of 'fundamental disequilibrium', a notoriously vague term reflecting an Anglo-American compromise: on the one hand, a rejection of Keynes' proposal for a Clearing Union, which would have committed surplus countries (*i.e.*, the United States) to the compensation of deficit countries; on the other, a concession to the principle of sovereignty (*i.e.*, Britain's) by falling short of committing deficit countries to automatic adjustment (such as there existed under the gold standard). Beyond this compromise, the meaning of the term remained unspecified and determined by politics. In this important sense, Bretton Woods was never a 'system'.

In the first decade after Bretton Woods, even its original design was set aside. The new institutions were incapable of remedying the gross trade imbalances of the postwar years: the IMF remained deliberately underfunded by the US, while the World Bank was unable to raise money on frail postwar capital markets. In the midst of a payments crisis and under the threat of losing Europe to radical forces, the United States took on the unilateral role of lender-of-last-resort on conditions of its own choosing. Through the Marshall Plan, the United States filled the liquidity vacuum *vis-a-vis* strategic allies; and in the interest of accelerated European recovery, the United States promoted a regional substitute to the IMF, the European Payments Union (EPU), dropped

its opposition to imperial trade preferences, allowed discriminatory European trade policy, and resisted reckless agricultural dumping.[34] Policies of this sort succeeded in resurrecting Western European economies, such that, by 1958, the EPU was dissolved and Western Europeans lifted restrictions on their current accounts.

The adjustment controversy, however, did not relent. By the close of the 1950s, the US payments surplus was eroding, due to the manufacturing power of reconstructed allies and the relocation of US transnational firms to Europe – partly to bypass discriminatory integration policy and partly by a managed integration of a transatlantic agro-industrial complex.[35] Confidence in the convertibility of the dollar began consequently to erode as well, laying bare once again the deficiencies of Bretton Woods: there was still no system to sanction the running of a surplus (now among Europeans), or to sanction the key currency country. After a final initiative for transatlantic consensus under President Kennedy, the United States returned to its unilateral course, while the members of the alliance remained hemmed in by its security umbrella. Under President Johnson, the Unites States pressed ahead with military spending abroad and social spending at home – the war in Vietnam and the Great Society programme – in what has been aptly called a 'social-imperialist' strategy.[36] In turn, these brought about a rapid deterioration in the US payments position, an overvalued dollar, and ultimately the financing of US social-imperialism by members of the alliance by virtue of their retention of dollars. Thus, the 'adjustment system' remained the Cold War.

Nonetheless, the 1960s were a time of change. Relations between Eastern and Western Europe were beginning to thaw, thereby threatening US security influence. A plethora of new nations were decolonising and entering the multilateral order. And European imperialisms were growing resentful over the incremental ceding of influence to the US in Indochina and Central Africa. At the same time, European social compacts were being undermined by a series of events: the attainment of currency convertibility; the consolidation and reorganisation of national capitals; the rise of transnational production; the rise of Eurodollar markets for their financing needs; the gradual resurrection of a transatlantic financial circuit; and not least the onset of new class confrontations.[37] Together, these made the exercise of national autonomy as conceived at Bretton Woods more difficult, at the same time as the transatlantic consensus over its meaning was coming under strain, and as decolonising nations were making new claims on it.

---

[34] For a concise statement on the circumvention of Bretton Woods, see Wyatt-Walter (1996); on agriculture, see Friedmann (1993).
[35] See van der Pijl (1984), pp. 236–37, and Friedmann (1993).
[36] Van der Pijl (1984), pp. 233–35.

These contradictions played out in both the monetary and trading orders. In response to the dollar glut, France demanded curbs on the dollar monopoly – even threatening to convert dollars – and was joined by peripheral states. But the US could not be compelled to concede such power. Instead, it offered to create a limited amount of new IMF money, in the form of SDRs, which were indeed established in 1967 by amendment of the Articles of Agreement, but nonetheless superseded by subsequent unilateral moves by the US, namely the abandonment of dollar-gold convertibility in 1971. In the realm of trade, a number of equally superficial concessions were made, in particular to the periphery.[38] At the IMF, low conditionality facilities were made available, the Compensatory Financing Facility (1963) and the Buffer Stock Facility (1969); while at the World Bank, the International Development Agency was created (1960), following the International Finance Corporation a few years earlier (1956). In the realm of trade, Article XVIII was amended in 1957, allowing more flexibility in the use of escape provisions. UNCTAD was established in 1964 to oversee trade and development issues; headed by Raúl Prebisch, this articulated a nationalist counter-position to the GATT, but without the status or the enforcement mechanisms of the Bretton Woods institutions. And Part IV was introduced in the General Agreement in the same year, by which non-industrialised states were exempted from the principle of reciprocity in trade negotiations; this paved the way for the Generalised System of Preferences (GSP). Nonetheless, commitment to preferential treatment was skin deep by any standard. Liberals have noted that the exemptions were *not* costly to the industrialised countries, given the low level of participation by the periphery in the trade of manufactures.[39] While the sectors and issues that *did* matter were not subject to negotiation; on the contrary, industrialised countries granted exemptions from GATT discipline to themselves. This was as much the case for agriculture and textiles, as for the European integration project as a whole.[40]

Growth under 'Bretton Woods'

The liberal convention now has it that the postwar economic boom is attributable to trade liberalisation. As the argument goes, the growth rate of world trade more than doubled that of world production, and trade led production. The remarkable growth rates animated the adjustment

---

[37] See van der Pijl (1984), chs. 8 and 9, and Cox (1987), ch. 7. Liberal accounts of these changes are provided by Walter (1991), ch. 6, Eichengreen (1996), ch. 4, and Pauly (1997), ch. 5.
[38] For concise discussions, see Bhagwati (1984) and Ruggie (1984).
[39] Bhagwati (1977), p. 4.
[40] See Bhagwati (1988), ch. 1.

debate itself. But causations cannot be derived from correlations. We need to take a closer look at the make-up of this growth and the conditions of its existence.

The postwar boom saw annual rates of growth in world trade of 6.7 to 8.6 per cent in the period 1948–68.[41] As has been pointed out, however, the situation in agriculture was characterised by US dominance in the production and export of food grains, the maturation of Western Europe (under the CAP) and a handful of 'new agricultural countries', and the marginalisation of the bulk of the periphery in a state of food dependence, coupled with declining terms of trade in tropical cash crops.[42] In manufacturing, activity was highly concentrated in the core triad of the US, Western Europe, and Japan – the latter, in particular, averaging very high manufacturing growth rates of 13.6 per cent in the 1960s, twice the US rate.[43] Similarly, the growth rate of foreign direct investment was both rapid, outstripping world output in the 1960s by a factor of two and trade by 40 per cent, and highly concentrated among the core triad.[44] From the mid-1960s onwards, industrial growth began to shift beyond the core triad to the periphery within the framework and logic of Export Processing Zones (EPZs).[45] The production shift was most significant in the East Asian 'tigers', which experienced growth rates of 8 per cent, and began to make significant inroads into OECD markets in a wide range of products.[46] Overall, trade in manufactures was exhibiting new intra-sectoral and intra-firm trends, reflecting a process of industrial integration in a 'regionalised triadic bloc structure'.[47]

How to interpret these events? John Ruggie, employing Polanyian insights, suggested that the robust growth experience across the Atlantic is attributable to the particular class compromises of the time – a situation he termed 'embedded liberalism' – and the emerging transatlantic economic articulation.[48] In this sense, both liberalisation and growth had domestic and transnational political foundations. Susan Strange pursued this line of argument further. She argued, first, that trade was derivative of growth ('prosperity permitted liberalisation'); second, that growth was derivative of liquidity ('trade liberalization in the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s continued just as long as the credit system was expanding'); and third, that liquidity derived from Cold War rivalry itself. She pointed out that in the postwar period, the US government 'injected large doses of purchasing power into the system', and it was impelled to do

---

[41] Dicken (1998), p. 24.
[42] Friedmann (1993).
[43] Dicken (1998), p. 28.
[44] Dicken (1998), p. 42.
[45] See Fröbel et al. (1980).
[46] See Wade (1990), ch. 2.
[47] Hirst and Thompson (1999), p. 60.
[48] Ruggie (1982).

so by 'a perceived national interest in holding the line against Soviet expansion, in Europe and elsewhere' – in other words, the argument that monetary 'system' was the Cold War.[49]

Much more can be said, however, about the international politics of growth – and equally, of underdevelopment. With regards to East Asia specifically, Alvin So and Stephen Chiu have pointed out that 'US interests in East Asia, from the late 1940s to the 1970s, had been political and strategic rather than economic'.[50] They have demonstrated how the onset of the Cold War produced a new containment strategy, with Japan as the main bulwark against the spread of communism in the region. The new geopolitics 'were instrumental in forging Japan's domestic conditions for high-speed growth', conditions that included the redistribution of land, the breaking up of industrial monopolies, coordinating a trans-Pacific circuit of trade, pouring in massive aid ($500 million per anum in 1950–70), and relieving the burden of military defence spending (limited to 1 per cent of GNP).[51] Similarly, the 'miracles' of South Korea and Taiwan were launched by extensive land reforms and massive foreign aid. In South Korea in 1953–61, aid averaged 9.4 per cent of GNP, 39.7 per cent of the government budget, 65 per cent of total investment, 70 per cent of imports, and some 80 per cent of total fixed capital. In Taiwan, aid financed 95 per cent of its trade deficit, while foreign savings totalled 40 per cent of gross domestic capital formation.[52] 'Nearly all US aid before 1964', as So and Chiu indicate, was provided on a grant basis, thus making it possible for South Korea and Taiwan to begin export-led growth in the 1960s without a backlog of debt'.[53] In turn, the US opened its markets to the East Asian economies to become their largest single market.

This was not a mere case of 'governing the market', as Robert Wade has argued, but of establishing strategically the conditions for sustainable state-led industrialisation in the periphery.[54] The same conditions were not cultivated in the nearby Philippines, as we will see, or in Latin America, or Africa. On the contrary, the military might of the United States and Europe was used to impede, streamline, and reverse land reforms; the political conditions of semi-proletarianisation and super-exploitation were actively engendered; the foreign exchange and technology gaps were exploited for the purpose of order maintenance; the key central markets remained protected; and 'food aid' was deployed to foster dependence. Thus, 'free trade' growth was, in fact, Cold War growth standing on the pillars of underdevelopment.

---

[49] Strange (1985), p. 241.
[50] So and Chiu (1995), p. 194.
[51] So and Chiu (1995), ch. 7; quote on p. 160.
[52] So and Chiu (1995), ch. 8.
[53] So and Chiu (1995), p. 194.

The contradictions of the capitalist order came to a head in the 1970s when a period of sustained crisis set in.[55] Class balances had been changing within the alliance throughout the 1960s. Transatlantic capitals had consolidated their postwar positions in a changing order characterised by transnational production, 'off shore' capital markets, and currency convertibility. By the end of the decade, class compromise was thus giving way to explosive confrontations. Alliance politics were also changing. Germany and Japan were now outcompeting their US patron; the latter was in deficit and persisting with inflationary spending at home (the 'Great Society' programme) and abroad (the war in Vietnam); and the Cold War was in *détente*. Beyond the alliance, the broken promises of 'nation-building' were producing radicalisms throughout the periphery, which in turn were translating into demands by peripheral ruling classes for a new global economic dispensation. A peculiar peripheral rebellion at this time came from OPEC in the form of coordinated oil price hikes.

The adjustment debate entered a critical phase marked by grievances all around, but also continued dependence on the dollar. In the event, the grievances were confronted by a reassertion of US power and the unilateral abandonment of whatever remained of Bretton Woods.[56] In 1971, under President Nixon, the United States delinked the dollar from gold, thereby formally relieving itself of prior commitments; in 1973, West Germany floated its currency, thereby abandoning the Bretton Woods fixed exchange-rate design; in 1974, the US began to deregulate Wall Street, thereby setting off a competitive cycle of financial liberalisation; in 1975, a floating exchange-rate system was grudgingly endorsed at a 'G6' meeting (G7 minus Japan); and by 1976, a floating exchange rate system was legalised by second amendment of the IMF's Articles of Agreement.[57] Through these policies, a new order of de-controlled exchange rates and capital flows was brought about. This was an order of currency instability and economic volatility, but also one in which the United States had gained its long-coveted license to pursue a unilateral fiscal and monetary course. Over time, the US was to consolidate its position by strategic use of the dollar and Wall Street – in what has been termed the 'Dollar-Wall Street Regime' – to re-wedge itself at the centre of global capitalism, to discipline its allies, and to exploit systemic

---

[54] See Wade (1990).

[55] The crisis had diverse origins, organic and conjunctural, which manifested themselves in global inflation; see Cox (1987).

[56] Apologists have construed the events of the 1970s as deriving from 'hegemonic decline'; see Keohane (1984).

[57] For detailed discussions, see Gowan (1999), Walter (1991), and Pauly (1997), chs. 5 and 6.

disorder.[58] The circumstances saw Japan float its own currency, Western Europeans peg their currencies to each other, and peripheral states left with little option but to peg to their major trading partners in the North.[59]

The vulnerability of the new order was tested immediately by a conjunctural amplification of the crisis. Several months after the abandonment fixed exchange rates, OPEC quadrupled the price of oil, ostensibly in protest against US foreign policy in the Middle East. This sent the global economy into a tailspin, raised the stakes on adjustment, and even tested the centre-periphery balance of power. The immediate conflict played out over the principles of monetary order, pitting once again France against the United States. The US prevailed, as above, in a settlement that relegated adjustment responsibility to individual states, but that also reaffirmed 'multilateralism' by agreement to expand the mandate of the IMF so that it could exercise 'surveillance'. By 1977, and its 'first surveillance decision', the new order of decontrolled currencies and capital was formally underwritten by the principle of 'surveillance', and its scope now expanded to a broader range of national economic policies relevant to international payments, such as capital accounts, fiscal interventions, and interest-rate policies. In other words, the crisis was being resolved by formally relegating adjustment responsibility to the political process, while also expanding the functions of the Northern-dominated IMF.

This occurred despite an initiative by peripheral nation-builders to reform the global order. Inspired by the 'commodity power' asserted by OPEC, official peripheral demands for reform became vehement and, under the leadership of UNCTAD, succeeded in widening the substance of the development dialogue. Alongside the 'rural development' turn of the orthodoxy, the debate came to include an 'integrated stabilisation programme' for commodities, as well aid flows for debt relief, a managed shift of industries to the periphery, and reform of international institutions to reflect the post-colonial realities. No less than a 'new international economic order' was demanded, which was even embraced as an ideal at a special session of the UN General Assembly in 1974.[60]

Yet, such hopes were dashed by the unfolding crisis. With recession in the West, prices of primary commodities plummeted, laying bare the myth of commodity power beyond oil. Moreover, OPEC proceeded to deposit petrodollars in Western financial institutions, the unregulated Eurodollar markets, which were then recycled to peripheral states to fill their new inflation-induced foreign-exchange gap. In other words, peripheral states expended resources on

---

[58] Gowan (1999).
[59] See discussion in Eichengreen (1996), ch. 5.
[60] For a number of interpretations of the NIEO, see Bhagwati (1977), Bhagwati (1984), Rothstein (1979), Krasner (1985), and Augelli and Murphy (1988), ch. 7.

oil only to see these return to them as Eurodollar loans. What is more, the interest rates were on variable terms, such that the debtor states were incurring the risk of paying more debt service in the future in the event of a curb on inflation. The second oil shock of 1979 (now on account of the Iranian revolution) and the sudden change in US monetary policy under President Reagan realised precisely this scenario. The US Federal Reserve rolled back money, forced the world economy into recession, and sent real interest rates soaring.

Meanwhile, the IMF was realising its ultra-imperial potential. If in the postwar years its enforcement mechanism – 'conditionality' – was blunt due to the IMF's lack of funds and general marginality in monetary affairs, in the context of burgeoning debt and gross disequilibria the IMF gained new teeth. The crunch came at the end of the decade when the hard questions of adjustment demanded a concrete answer. For international payments had been thrown in disarray: in 1973–81 non-oil producing peripheral states had incurred aggregate current account deficits of $439 billion, against deficits of $16 billion among the industrial countries and surpluses of $440 billion among the major oil exporters.[61] As before, the adjustment question required the precise definition of 'fundamental disequilibrium'; unlike before, finance was now firmly in command and enforcing national responsibility for global monetary problems. Thus, the disequilibria faced by peripheral states were national problems warranting national solutions; moreover, they were judged 'fundamental', requiring devaluation and demand suppression, plus structural changes geared towards the earning of foreign exchange for the sole purpose of meeting external financial obligations. 'Tutelage', wrote Susan Strange, 'was called a Structural Adjustment Programme'.[62] This amounted to a systemic re-affirmation of the disarticulated pattern of accumulation in the periphery and the quintessential exercise of ultra-imperial power. The bulk of the burden of the 1970s crisis was displaced unto the shoulders of the world's semi-proletariat.

Adjustments were also made within the alliance, and these were also borne by labour. At a time when the central economies were undergoing partial disarticulations of their own, labour was already on the defensive by virtue of having to compete with super-exploited labour in the EPZs of the periphery. The advent of oil shocks, inflation, and unemployment tipped the class balances resolutely in favour of capital: governments under fiscal pressure sided with corporate interests, dissolved the postwar compromises, and threatened to undo the welfare state.[63] The combination of crisis and industrial restructuring put nationally-oriented industries on the defensive as well. They pressed for the new protections (beyond textiles and agriculture) to which

---

[61] See Killick and Sharpley (1984), p. 21.

[62] Strange (1988), p. 111.

[63] See van der Pijl (1984), ch. 9, Cox (1987), pp. 262–63 and 279–85, and Hyman (1999).

their governments responded. Non-tariff barriers were imposed across industries as diverse as steel, automobiles, footwear, motorcycles, machine tools, and consumer electronics. A wholesale reversal of the liberal order was averted only by the political power that transnational firms now exercised.[64]

Yet, the central economies could not avoid a 'mutation' of sorts in the Fordist structure of accumulation. Under heightened international competition in a stagnant world economy, firms cut costs by replacing labour by equipment and by the more systematic use of cheap labour. 'The cumulative consequences of these strategies', wrote Cox, 'can be observed in a declining proportion of securely employed, relatively highly paid, and enterprise-integrated workers, together with a growing proportion of less securely employed, low-paid, peripheral workers [in the industrialised world] segmented into several distinctive groups bearing little cohesion with one another'.[65] Meanwhile, the exclusions required moral cover, which was sought in 'traditional values' and associated internal (racial) and external (communist) 'evils'. The latter culminated in a renewal of the Cold War in 1979 when, under the pretext of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, alliance heads of state agreed to install US strategic nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Given the decade's strains between and within alliance members, focus on the East-West military relationship 'proved a much more viable format for imperialist unity'.[66]

2.3   Revolution, Rebellion and Agrarian Reform

The main argument thus far is that the national question was the moral basis of postwar order, but the organising principle of postwar politics was the productivity needs of the alliance in a Cold War context. What is not yet clear is the question of political agency. To say that the Cold War 'organised' politics is to say that the contradictions inherent in capitalism were (a) posing profound threats to the prevailing pattern of accumulation, or the system itself; and (b) producing a civil/uncivil dichotomy designed to defend the existing order. In this regard, the mere existence of a superpower professing social revolution, however derailed its own may have been, provided a significant degree of political leverage to working class politics worldwide. This means that we cannot understand European reconstruction and integration, or the East Asian 'miracle', or the dissolution of feudal-like relations in Latin America, or the defeat of white-minority rule in

---

[64] See Bhagwati (1988) and Milner (1988).
[65] Cox (1987), p. 323; see also van der Pijl (1984), ch. 9.
[66] Van der Pijl (1984), p. 276; see also Cox (1987), pp. 288–99.

Southern Africa, or the 'rural development' turn, unless we understand working class agency in this Cold War context.

The present section will explore uncivil semi-proletarian politics and their struggle against imperialism. It is suggested that the fate of agrarian reform was contingent on this struggle, flaring up in different places of the periphery as the geopolitics of the Cold War shifted. The focus will be mainly on rural struggles within the ultra-imperial sphere of influence.[67]

The Geopolitics of Agrarian Reform I: 1945–59

The first series of agrarian reforms in the US sphere of influence were undertaken in East Asia in the half-decade following the war, in the midst of revolutionary upheaval, led by Chinese communists. Under the circumstances, as Gary Olson has shown, it was not long before US officials in occupied Japan reached the conclusion that unless the feudal-like relations of the Japanese countryside were altered, peasant grievances could lead, if not to a resurgence of fascist militarism, to a possible pro-communist movement that would destabilise US influence in Asia.[68] The same logic soon prevailed in South Korea, which had been colonised by Japan since 1910. But in this case, an anti-colonial movement with a leftist orientation and a land reform agenda had established itself as a provisional government in the countryside by the time of US occupation in 1945. The US response was to outlaw the provisional government and take control of the land reform movement that was underway. In both cases, 'suppression of popular demands for land redistribution was instituted until that reform could be effectively managed'.[69] In Taiwan, the influx of one million refugees from mainland China in 1949 required the transformation of agrarian tenure systems. This resulted in the forced sale of land by the landlord class and the financing of the land purchases by the US government. In all cases, land reform was implemented to disarm social unrest and prevent what came to be perceived as an otherwise inevitable loss of political influence. Importantly, in all cases, land redistribution was implemented *without* the political marginalisation of the landed oligarchies; these were compensated, induced toward industrial development, and transformed into a political class with allegiance to the United States.

These cases contrast sharply with those of the Philippines and Guatemala, in which land reforms were obstructed and even reversed.[70] In the Philippines, the *Huk*, the rural guerrilla army

---

[67] The discussion omits important struggles in Southern Europe, China, and South Asia. It also omits discussion of the landmark agrarian reforms of the pre-World War II period, those of Mexico and Russia.

[68] Olson (1974).

[69] Olson (1974), p. 49.

[70] Olson (1974), ch. 5 and 6.

that had emerged under Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1944, took partial control of the countryside and instituted land reforms in the liberated zones. With the return of the United States in 1944 and the establishment of a neo-colonial government in 1946, a counterinsurgency campaign was launched which decimated the guerrilla forces, obviated the need for land reform, and restored pre-war tenure relations. In Guatemala, the popular government of Arbenz abolished semifeudal relations after assuming power in 1952, expropriated uncultivated land from the US-based transnational, United Fruit Company (UFC), and distributed 1.5 million acres to 100,000 landless households. These actions precipitated resolute US response: CIA-trained, -equipped, and -assisted forces overthrew Arbenz in 1954, restored UFC holdings, and returned the 1.5 million acres of land to the landlords.

The 1950s were a turbulent period more generally, marked by a number of further struggles against imperialism, including victories and defeats. In 1952, the National Revolutionary Movement of Bolivia assumed power after a popular revolt. A large-scale land redistribution programme followed which diffused rural grievances. However, this did not manage to displace the ruling elite, while over the following decade the momentum of the revolution was streamlined by massive US aid that succeeded in controlling the direction of internal change.[71] In the previous year, the Mau Mau rebellion erupted in colonial Kenya, led by landless peasants and urban poor. This elicited imperial military mobilisation; Britain crushed the rebellion and, upon decolonisation at the end of the decade, proceeded to implement a land reform aimed at creating a black capitalist class – the classic neo-colonial strategy – that would defend the regime of private property in the national debate of post-colonial Kenya. In 1954, the Viet Minh in north Viet Nam defeated France and established government north of the seventeenth parallel. A violent period ensued in the countryside, led by the higher echelons of the Party, which provoked rural revolts and which ultimately gave way in the late 1950s to a 'semisocialist' model of collectives and individual holdings.[72] Also in 1954, rural grievances of long standing in the French settler colony of Algeria culminated in armed struggle; as in Kenya under the British, this was first crushed by imperial forces, then followed by a negotiated independence, and the 'embourgeoisement' of the national debate – in this case, accompanied by a 'Jacobin Islam'.[73]

---

[71] Olson (1974), ch. 6.
[72] See Wolf (1969), ch. 4.
[73] Wolf (1969), ch. 5.

If the Chinese revolution had been the first major challenge to western imperialism, the second revolution with far-reaching consequences was the Cuban in 1959. This fuelled a new wave of militancy in Latin America, and stoked revolutionary fires far beyond. In Latin America specifically, it set off a new phase of agrarian reforms, based on the tried-and-tested strategy of 'containment of peasant political pressures both through direct control of peasant organizations and through the legislation of mild land reform projects aimed at eradicating semifeudal estates from the agrarian structure'.[74] The strategy was led by the United States. In 1961, at the Punta del Este conference of the OAS, the Kennedy administration launched the Alliance for Progress, the centrepiece of which was a land reform charter. Meanwhile, alongside institutional and social reforms, the Department of Defence, under Robert McNamara, advanced a large military aid programme for unconventional warfare, seeking to boost counterinsurgency drastically and increase the size of US anti-guerrilla forces.[75] Once again, the object was a 'controlled' land reform strategy of cooptation and repression: cooptation entailed the creation of a conservative agrarian petty-bourgeoisie; repression was aimed at those excluded from the reform.[76] Counter-revolution witnessed, *inter alia*, the installation of General Pinochet in Chile in 1973 and the partial reversal of the land reform of the Frei and Allende governments; here, 30 per cent of the land was restored to previous owners, 20 per cent was sold to private investors, and the rest allocated to smallholders on the basis of freehold titling.[77] By the latter 1960s, in any case, this period of reformism was being superseded by the green revolution, which had the combined effect of abolishing feudal remnants and completing capitalist transition, while maintaining functional dualism, mass poverty, and migration.

The 1960s also witnessed incremental escalation of violence in Indochina, now under US auspices, resulting in a bitter war of attrition and, ultimately, the defeat of US forces there in the early 1970s. The latter defeat had the effect of shifting the geopolitical centre of gravity to Southern Africa. While in much of Africa, the 1960s was a decade of nation-building – ruling-class consolidation, de-racialisation of the public sector, adaptation of 'indirect rule', and the nurturing of indigenous bourgeoisies and state enterprises with interests in agriculture – Southern Africa remained in the grasp of white supremacism. Angola and Mozambique were in the midst of armed struggle against Portuguese forces, South Africa remained under apartheid, Namibia

---

[74] De Janvry (1981), p. 199 and ch. 6.
[75] Olson (1974), pp. 108–109.
[76] De Janvry (1981), ch. 6.
[77] See de Janvry, Sadoulet, and Wolford (2001).

under South African occupation, and Zimbabwe under the Rhodesian Front. By the 1970s, virtually the whole of the region was in the grip of rural-based national liberation struggles, supported selectively by the Soviet Union and China. By 1980, white supremacism remained formally at the helm only in South Africa and Namibia.

Yet, despite the attainment of statehood, no post-colonial state implemented significant democratisation of rural institutions and land policy, or land redistribution.[78] Zambia and Malawi had already negotiated property-friendly settlements since the early 1960s. Mozambique in the mid-1970s embarked on nationalised, large-scale production, but it returned to war, along with Angola, as the South African campaign of destabilisation was stepped up. And Zimbabwe, as we will see, embarked on limited redistribution after 1980, within the general framework of racial 'reconciliation' under the auspices of ultra-imperialism. This was accompanied by adaptation of 'indirect rule' and rural development spending, as well as ongoing, if generally low profile, land occupations.

Finally, as a cease-fire was being negotiated in Zimbabwe, the geopolitical centre of gravity was shifting back across the Atlantic, to Central America. While counter-revolutionary strategies had succeeded in streamlining the radical thrust of the 1960s, Nicaragua broke the rule to stage the final revolution of the nationalist period in 1979. This was accompanied by radical agrarian reforms, plus sustained counter-revolution, funded and trained by the United States. Neighbouring El Salvador witnessed its own rural rebellion in 1980 to embark on a protracted civil war, alongside the three-decade long civil wars in Guatemala – all sustained by US involvement.

2.4   Labour Imperialism

Uncivil peasant-worker politics of the above sort have interacted dynamically with civil working class politics. As was mentioned earlier, peasant-workers oscillate between civil and uncivil politics, resorting to the latter on account of the closures in the former, and struggling to transform the civil meaning of 'worker participation'. The epicentres of the civil debate have been the arenas of international trade unionism and the ILO. This section will examine the 'tripartite' model of worker participation that prevailed in global labour relations, corresponding to the particular postwar compromises of the transatlantic alliance. The establishment and enforcement of tripartism will then be traced, highlighting the role of Western organised labour in the undermining and coopting of non-conformist working class politics, but demonstrating also

inter-imperial labour rivalries. Besides informal responses to the closures of labour imperialism, there also emerged nationalist trade unionisms, those sponsored by nation-building states, to challenge the tripartite mode; during the Cold War, the most important dilemma facing Southern trade unions was that between 'alignment' and 'non-alignment'. The final part examines the transformation of labour imperialism in the 1970s; as the social compacts in the transatlantic alliance were breaking down in the midst of crisis, a genuine labour solidarity did not emerge. On the contrary, a new labour imperialism was forged, based on a reinvented 'social democratic' identity, and seeking a global 'social clause' to protect transatlantic labour against industrial restructuring.

The Civility of Tripartism

Tripartism was born in the aftermath of World War I and the Bolshevik revolution. This was the time of 'the socialisation of the nation and nationalisation of society', as E.H. Carr put it, as well as a time of fear of a more generalised revolution in the West.[79] The ILO was founded in 1919 to cultivate conciliatory industrial relations within the capitalist system; while Western governments, national trade union centres, and national employers' associations banded together in 'tripartite' spirit to institutionalise dialogue over social and industrial reform. Implied in this was the notion that the working people naturally existed as members of nations and properly organised alongside their respective governments and employers. The tripartite model remained under constant challenge, however, by its Soviet-led nemesis worldwide, except for a brief spell of unity against fascism. Tripartism was then resurrected after World War II and placed on a firmer footing. The war effort had been a watershed for state-labour relations in the West, as states and trade unions had learned to cooperate closely. Trade unionists played a vital role in the provision of intelligence on rail and transport, weapons production, and bottlenecks in the labour markets of enemy camps. In the United State, specifically, the AFL became intricately involved in the operations of the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA. A similar government-trade union nexus was forged throughout the alliance.[80]

This nexus was not abrogated in the postwar period, but was adapted in accordance with the reconfigured social relations which now united state, capital, and labour in a politics of productivity. If the corporatist relationship mutated across the Atlantic, one tripartite model

---

[78] See Moyo (2000b).
[79] Carr (1945), pp. 17–26.
[80] See Busch (1983).

prevailed at the ILO, under the leadership of the United States.[81] Henceforth, tripartism would mean the participation of free trade unions in the management of the economy – where 'free' denoted organised labour that is formally independent of Party and state and which, in effect, represents the upper half of the work force. So long as the postwar accommodations within and between alliance member-states engendered social peace, the ILO's tripartite model operated with relative ease within the alliance.

Yet, problems lurked in the background, given that the lower half of the work force in the alliance had no secure, institutionalised status. 'In good times', wrote Cox, 'the upper half supports social welfare to provide some solace for the most vulnerable among the lower half while at the same time keeping an eye on them. But in time of crisis, the social programs are pared according to the exigencies of an economy conceived in terms of the interests of the dominant groups'.[82] Beyond the industrialised worlds, the limitations of this tripartite formula were much more transparent. The concerns of the semi-proletarianised peasantry, such as land reform, would never see the light of day, nor would the concerns of the burgeoning masses of urban marginals – unemployed, underemployed, informally employed. Indeed, a study initiated in 1970 by the ILO's International Institute for Labour Studies under the directorship of Robert Cox found that the prevailing formula of worker participation covered a mere *nine percent* of the world's labour force.[83]

Nonetheless, throughout the nationalist period, tripartism laid an imposing claim on the meaning of 'civility' in labour relations, attributing 'uncivil' status to non-conformist and radical movements seeking to articulate issues that laid outside the industrial relations convention. The dialogue was conducted in this fashion not only within the ILO but perhaps more so within international trade unionism, and it was refracted through the debates on decolonisation and East-West relations. The two debates converged early in the postwar period, as Western European imperial states sought to impede decolonisation, while the two superpowers (USA and USSR) agreed on decolonisation but vied for the re-apportionment of influence in the process. Thus, imperial governments proceeded to legislate the realm of the civic to exclude nationalist trade unionisms, while metropolitan trade unionists were dispatched to the colonies to 'educate' union leaders in the proper articulation of workers' interests. The United States and its labour surrogates allied themselves to nationalist, anti-communist politics and, given US predominance in the alliance, exercised the option of a unilateral labour foreign policy. The Soviet Union in turn allied

---

[81] See Cox (1977).
[82] Cox (1977), pp. 393–94.
[83] Cox (1977), p. 411.

itself to nationalist politics that were under the control of indigenous communist parties or communist-led trade unions.[84]

Labour Imperialisms in Action

The first battle over the meaning of worker participation was fought in Europe and occupied Japan. In 1945, the first postwar international trade union body was founded, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), building on the wartime coalition of the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the Soviet All-Union Central Confederation of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), and now bringing into the fold the CIO and the French Communist-affiliated *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT). The colonial question was immediately prompted by the British invitation to unions in its own dependencies to attend, thereby bringing the number of TUC-influenced unions to fifteen out of the total of thirty-five that founded the WFTU. Both the AFL – which did not join due to the communist presence – and the AUCCTU condemned the TUC for pursuing its imperialist policy within international labour. By 1947, WFTU was being paralysed by crisis, now over the launch of the Marshall Plan. As we have seen, central to the transatlantic project was the exclusion of communist parties from government and the splitting of labour centres that incorporated elements contrary to the politics of productivity. The AFL spearheaded the project in the labour front, channelling as much as $2 million of CIA funds to reformist elements.[85] By 1949, the Marshall offensive had succeeded in welding together reformist trade unions across the alliance, including Japan, and the isolation of communist or class-conscious socialist elements.[86] The AFL also convened a conference on the formation of an international body to include Marshall countries, and this bore in 1949 the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which was now joined by the TUC and CIO, the latter having purged its own communist elements in the process. Thereafter, WFTU was relocated to Prague, affiliated communist national centres of Eastern and Western Europe, and competed with the ICFTU for the loyalty of national centres in the third world. Significantly also, the International Trade Secretariats (ITSs), dominated by US labour, reached an agreement in 1951 to cooperate with the ICFTU while maintaining formal independence.

Matters of ideology animated both internationals. The WFTU was subordinated to Soviet geopolitical strategy early on, though Soviet crackdowns in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia

---

[84] See Busch (1983), ch. 5.
[85] See Thomson and Larson (1978), p. 13.
[86] See van der Pijl (1984), pp. 150–56, and Maier (1977).

in 1968 precipitated splinters in the communist movement, manifest first in the assertion of an independent line by China in the late 1950s and second in the rise of Eurocommunism and Eurounionism in the 1960s. Moreover, the question of 'socialist imperialism' was not absent, especially in post-colonial Asia where China appealed for a more 'indigenous' communism and competed with the Soviet Union for the loyalty of trade unions.[87] The two powers came to compete in Africa as well, vying for influence over nationalist movements, and blessing as 'genuine' those whose loyalty they secured.

The problems plaguing the ICFTU were even more profound. In one dimension, they pertained to the AFL's fierce anti-communism, its channelling of CIA funds, and its refusal to cease unilateral action in the periphery; in an other, they pertained to the ICFTU's own imperialism, with or without US labour. The AFL and CIO had merged in 1955, and although differences between them persisted, the AFL's priorities prevailed in the new organisation. From the mid-1950s onwards, the role of US labour in foreign policy was increasingly institutionalised, culminating in the establishment of regional foundations in the periphery—the American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD) in Latin America in 1961, the African-American Labour Centre (AALC) in 1964, and the Asian-American Free Labour Institute (AAFLI) in 1968. These were funded by government agencies (such as USAID) and transnational corporations officially, as well as unofficially by the CIA. A well-endowed AFL-CIO maintained a strong financial presence in the ICFTU itself, and through this it sought to mould the ICFTU in its own image, specifically over the pressing questions of colonialism and communism. The European affiliates of the ICFTU espoused a reformism that reflected the specificity of the European social compacts, as well as a less committed line on decolonisation. There was a constant source of tension therefore over the ideological basis of unity within the ICFTU, and this translated into the realm of funding policy in the periphery. The AFL-CIO insisted that the ICFTU stake out a stronger stance on decolonisation and fund only anti-communist unions at the exclusion of more reformist or non-aligned unions, while the ICFTU voiced resentment over the AFL-CIO's CIA connections. Inter-imperialist labour conflict intensified over a series of events in the 1950s and 1960s, in particular the onset of the Suez crisis, the proliferation of anti-systemic threats in the wake the Cuban revolution, and the growing relations between Eastern and Western European unions. In the absence of consensus, the AFL-CIO persisted with bilateral funding relations of its own, ultimately disaffiliating from the ICFTU in 1969.[88] Thereafter, the ICFTU, deprived of AFL-CIO funding, altered its own funding practices. Its European affiliates embarked on the

---

[87] See Busch (1983), chs. 7 and 9.
[88] See Thomson and Larson (1978) and Busch (1983).

institutionalisation of relations with their own governments, even establishing foundations of their own, such as the Friedrich Ebert, Konrad Adenauer, and Nuemann in Germany.[89]

The Cold War Dilemma in the Periphery: Alignment vs. Non-Alignment

The ground for labour interference was fertile in the third world. Semi-proletarianisation yielded an impoverished, migrant, and illiterate workforce which posed serious impediments to organisation. First, the unionisation of peasant-workers was confronted with the difficult task of articulating a programme of relevance to their specific workplace and wider political conditions, gaining sustained loyalty, and raising sufficient resources from the membership base to undertake systematic education and political action. Second, the double, rural/urban work setting of the semi-proletarian household disaggregated the totality of workplace grievances, such that a holistic strategy of labour organisation required the establishment of both rural/peasant and urban/worker political structures and their articulation into a unified peasant-worker political project. Third, the absence of a settled, industrial workforce, and its migrant corollary, all too often presented union leaders with the problem/opportunity of reconciling/exploiting social cleavages (e.g., ethnic and racial) – while the gendered dimensions of semi-proletarianisation remained largely unrecognised. And fourth, union leadership was typically in the hands of the educated, middle strata of society with political ambitions of their own in nationalist and elite politics. The composite of these predicaments rendered a financially dependent labour movement with problems of political articulation; poorly prepared to resist repression on its own; eager for sources of funding, whether national or international; subject to jostling for power among union leaders; and vulnerable to splitting and cooptation by nationalist movements, states, and international labour. Peripheral labour movements needed non-member support as much as states, the AFL-CIO, ICFTU, and WFTU needed peripheral labour movements; while the resulting dearth of adequate, democratic channels of expression engendered a variety of 'uncivil' politics, from the 'everyday' forms of resistance to outbreaks of violence and armed liberation struggle.

The option of an 'independent' labour movement in the periphery was highly circumscribed. Despite claims and counterclaims on the meaning of 'free' trade unionism, the choice in effect was between dependencies of different sorts: reliance on the funds and political programmes of international labour, nationalist movements, or nation-building states.[90]

---

[89] See Thomson and Larson (1978), ch. 4.
[90] This dilemma does not emerge in Busch's otherwise excellent study of international labour; implicit in Busch is an endorsement of the ICFTU definition of 'independence', as opposed to that of the AFL-CIO, WFTU, and corporatist non-alignment.

International labour became embroiled in third world labour politics from their inception. Latin American labour has the longest history of trade union and political organisation, stretching back to the latter decades of the nineteenth century.[91] In the interwar years, left unionisms proliferated under the leadership of the Comintern and later the CIO, and notably, entailed the mobilisation of peasants and workers alike. These unionisms competed with the AFL and its advocacy of an 'apolitical', workerist unionism. The postwar period witnessed the establishment of competing regional labour centres, the CIO-sponsored *Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latino* (CTAL) and the AFL-sponsored *Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores* (ORIT), of which the former became the regional branch of the WFTU and the latter of the ICFTU. This period also saw the establishment of a non-aligned nationalist unionism under the patronage of states, and military regimes in particular. The archetype emerged under General Peron in Argentina, who created a 'centrally-planned welfare populism', drove opposition underground, and spearheaded an indigenous corporatist unionism via the *Agrupacion de Trabajadores Latino Americanos Sindicalistas* (ATLAS), to rival ORIT and CTAL.

In Africa and Asia, trade unionism proliferated in the interwar years and became the matrix of nationalist politics. As such, trade unionism was 'political' – concerned with issues beyond wages and conditions of employment – from its inception. In Asia, Cold War politics got an early start with the revolution in China and the active role that the latter undertook in the nationalist struggles of the region.[92] The WFTU established itself first and was followed by the ICFTU's regional branch, the Asian Regional Organisation (ARO) in 1951, though the unilateral politics of the AFL-CIO gradually supplanted Western European post-colonial patronage. However, the most notable feature of labour politics was the transformation of nationalist trade unionism into a corporatist trade unionism under the nation-building state.

Trade unionism in Africa went through similar trajectories.[93] Independence saw the corporatisation of labour movements, though the rivalry between state nationalism and international labour did not end. Before independence, and after the walk-out of colonial powers from the WFTU, most international trade union activity was conducted within the ICFTU. The latter established a presence in West Africa as early as 1951 and began affiliating unions. Nonetheless, a non-aligned movement, affiliated with nationalist movements or post-colonial states, emerged to articulate a specifically 'African' voice, and this competed with the ICFTU for loyalty. The latter established a regional branch in 1959, the African Regional Organisation

---

[91] See Busch (1983), chs. 5 and 8.
[92] See Busch (1983), chs. 5 and 7.
[93] See Busch (1983), chs. 5 and 6.

(AFRO), the former established the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) in 1961, while shortly after a second African lobby emerged, the African Trade Union Confederation (ATUC), to promote 'independent' trade unionism, *i.e.* not subordinate to post-colonial states. Thereafter, the main rivalry revolved around alignment or non-alignment. States sought to maintain labour loyalty to the national development promise by various means, including the non-recognition of disloyal unions and repression of 'foreign stooges'. The WFTU, which had supported nationalist struggles but which had been largely marginalised on the labour front after the colonial powers defected to the ICFTU, supported disaffiliation to cut its losses and used the disaffiliation issue as a measure of Pan-Africanist credentials. The ICFTU, on the other hand, called for 'freedom of choice' on affiliation, denying that Pan-Africanism and international labour were mutually exclusive. In the event, the differences between ATUC and AATUF were incompletely transcended when, by initiative of the OAU, a unitary continental organisation, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), was established in 1973. This involved the holding of sham elections for leadership positions and the postponement of the disaffiliation issue. The latter was taken up again in 1976, when it was decided that membership in OATUU required disaffiliation from international labour; even then, however, the rule was not fully observed.

The role of the AFL-CIO on all three continents was enhanced with the establishment of its regional foundations, following on the heels of the Cuban revolution and decolonisation and the stepping up of the war in Vietnam. Prior to these, US labour activity was most influential in Latin America and the Asian countries under US influence. The tactics here involved the splitting of trade unions by the funding of friendly elements and the repression of the anti-systemic. In Japan, for example, the land reforms that were carried out were done so along with the exclusion of leftist elements in the trade union movement. A general strike in 1948 was banned and followed by a 'Red Purge', the implementation of a restrictive labour relations act, and, ultimately, the 'civilising' of labour opposition.[94] In the Philippines, the national trade union centre, which had a large peasant following, was allied to the *Huk*; repression of the latter and reversal of its land reforms was accompanied by the banning of the national centre and peasant unions. Thereafter, recognition was extended to unions that confined their activities to collective bargaining over the immediate 'bread and butter' issues.[95] In Guatemala, the CIA's campaign against Arbenz was coordinated among the military, transnational corporations, and AFL-supported trade unions. The latter were exiled by Arbenz, only to return with the insurgent forces

---

[94] For details, see Busch (1983), pp. 125–30.
[95] See Busch (1983), p. 120–22.

71

of Castillo Armas. With the installation of Armas as head of state and the reversal of land reforms, leaders of peasant unions and the WFTU-affiliated national centre were executed.[96]

The rise of revolutionism was a turning point in the development dialogue. Under President Kennedy, there was a new initiative for transatlantic unity, as we have seen, but this was short-lived and followed by enhanced unilateral action on the part of the United States. The AFL-CIO led on the labour front by engaging trade unions bilaterally and through the regional labour foundations.[97] In Latin America, despite disaffiliation, the AFL-CIO continued to dominate ORIT and to channel funds to it from the AIFLD and business overtly and from the CIA covertly. The AIFLD also funded the regional activities of the ITSs. Anti-systemic activity was continued vigorously, as in Chile, where AIFLD-supported unions played a vital role in the overthrow of Salvador Allende and the installation of General Pinochet; the sequence was the familiar one: opposition trade unions were banned, leftists were imprisoned, killed, or 'disappeared', and AIFLD unions were allowed to continue to operate.

In Asia the AFL-CIO increasingly supplanted the ICFTU after decolonisation, while in Africa the two competed against each other, and both against anti-imperialist politics. The case of colonial Zimbabwe is telling. The ICFTU made its debut in Southern Rhodesia in the early 1950s, and there it pursued a number of tactics.[98] It affiliated the white-dominated Federal Trade Union Congress; played the leaders of black trade unions against each other; crafted personalised links with them; favoured those who sought trade union independence from nationalist politics; and thereby impeded the bridging of the rural-urban political gap that nationalist trade unionists sought to overcome. In 1960, the Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Council (SRTUC), the African trade union centre, applied for membership in the ICFTU; the ICFTU denied membership, ostensibly on the grounds that SRTUC was not sufficiently representative, while at the same time admonishing the latter over 'political' currents within it. Nonetheless, the ICFTU did extend funding (without membership) to the SRTUC, in knowledge of the fact that, by this time, the SRTUC's largest source of funding derived from the AFL-CIO. Soon after, grievances over the unaccountability of the ICFTU-supported leadership combined with political differences – mainly over the substance of trade unionism – to split the SRTUC and produce the African Trade Union Congress (ATUC) alongside it. Then, after the banning of nationalist parties in 1963, the ICFTU changed its strategy by funding individual trade unions (SRTUC and ATUC affiliates alike), but not the trade unions centres. But by this time, unions had become marginalised from the

---

[96] See Busch (1983), chs. 146–48.
[97] See Busch (1983), chs. 158–75, Thomson and Larson (1978), chs. 3 and 7, and Spalding (1988), ch. 10.
[98] Raftopoulos (1996).

nationalist struggle and their leaders susceptible to the continued interventions and financial patronage of the ICFTU. In the 1970s, the ICFTU withdrew from its Rhodesian operations—maintaining only eight affiliates in the whole of Africa—while the nationalist struggle moved on to the countryside, took up arms, and relegated the labour movement to a subordinate role. International labour tactics such as the above stripped both the ICFTU and the AFL-CIO of credibility on the continent.[99] The potency of nationalism and the generalised subordination of labour to post-colonial states had altered trade union politics and given a leading role to OATUU.

Crisis and the New Tripartism

Yet, the 1970s were a period of flux. OATUU's leadership was tentative, for the centre was by no means 'free'. It was chronically underfunded, subordinate to the OAU (which provided 61 percent of total funding), and subject also to the deep political divisions within the latter; notably, the crucial issue of disaffiliation from the internationals was resolved only on paper.[100] At the same time, the ICFTU embarked on a process of reinvention, now having been released from AFL-CIO pressure but also stripped of crucial funding. Thus, the ICFTU began clarifying its social democratic identity and turning to other sources of funding, ranging from national governments and foundations to like-minded international organisations, such as the ILO and UNESCO. By the late 1970s, the politics between OATUU and the ICFTU entered a new phase: while maintaining their rivalry at the level of rhetoric, the two began to cooperate. Chief among the reasons was OATUU's chronic insolvency, on the one hand, and the ICFTU's new-found status, on the other. The ICFTU was making a comeback on the continent via South Africa and the anti-apartheid movement. The ICFTU was becoming an increasingly important player by virtue of the funding it was extending to democratic unions in South Africa and the coordinating role it was playing in international trade union circles.[101] Indeed, as we will see in the next chapter, the ICFTU had gained such importance in the anti-apartheid movement that when the AFL-CIO attempted to get involved on its own in the early 1980s, it was rebuffed by South African unions and forced to engage through the ICFTU's Programme of Action.

The 1970s were years of flux for international trade unionism more generally. The previous decade had seen the thawing of relations between Western and Eastern European

---

[99] For the AFL-CIO, see Weir (1986a).
[100] See Southall (1995), ch. 3.
[101] Southall (1995), part II.

governments, and this was matched by increasing interaction between Western and Eastern trade unions as well. A conjuncture of events, from the reorganisation of European capital and its impingement on the social compacts, to the Soviet crackdown in Czechoslovakia, had precipitated the proliferation of radical grass-roots activism and non-Soviet Marxisms. The rise of Eurocommunism coincided and interacted with the rise of Eurounionism, transcending East and West. These developments all contributed to the softening of Western European trade unionism to its communist rival and, by extension, to the further disaffection of the AFL-CIO.[102] Moreover, the transformation and expansion of transnational firms, to both Europe and East Asia, presented new problems to international labour, giving rise to a new structural unemployment in the West and super-exploitation in the industrialising periphery. These problems were compounded, as we have seen, by the oil shock of 1973 and stagflation thereafter. They resulted not only in the breakdown of social compacts in the West and the abandonment of nation-building in the periphery, but the diminution of the status and influence of workers in the development dialogue world-wide.[103]

Just as nations were being called upon to resolve the adjustment question, so was international labour called upon to formulate a new internationalism. In the event, the dialogue within the labour movement was mediated through the centre-periphery hierarchies crafted in the postwar era. The changing international division of labour saw Western trade unions calling upon their governments to protect industries and jobs, and on international institutions, such as the ILO and the GATT, to enact a 'Social Clause' to impede the expansion of transnational corporations to the periphery.[104] Thus, as we will see, the politics of productivity began to give way to the politics of the 'global social clause'.

The composite of developments, finally, translated into a crisis of the tripartite industrial relations convention as a whole. *Détente* and the breakdown of social compacts had cast doubt over the postwar industrial relations model in the capitalist world. As Cox wrote at the time, 'the ILO lies under a cloud because the erstwhile hegemonic consensus seems to have come undone'.[105] The debate over the meaning of worker participation gained renewed vigour. Previously, in 1954, the ILO had extended membership to the Soviet Union under the banner of 'universality', but without transforming the tripartite convention. The reinvigorated debate in the mid-1970s returned to the question of the Soviet Union's membership, and by extension, its own model of state-labour relations. Western employers and the AFL-CIO rallied behind the banner of

---

[102] See Busch (1983), ch. 9.
[103] See Southall (1988) and Thomas (1995).
[104] See Fröbel *et al.* (1980), ch. 8, and Wangel (1988).
[105] Cox (1977), p. 387.

tripartism, while other Western trade unionists adopted a more nuanced approach, endorsing the universality of the ILO and Soviet membership. In the event, '[b]oth parties won and lost something. Universality was accepted as the rule for membership, while tripartism was ever more emphatically reasserted as the official ideology of the ILO'.[106] The United States subsequently withdrew from the ILO. Alongside this debate, as we have seen, the ILO was promoting a 'basic needs' approach to development, with a concern now to appease that ninety-one percent of the world's work force that it excluded from its convention.

<div align="center">***</div>

To sum up, this chapter has argued that, with the end of formal imperialism, the fate of the national question – who the 'self' is and how it is to be 'determined' – was subject to the class compromises established across the new ultra-imperial alliance under US leadership, as well as to the ongoing inter-capitalist conflicts and class struggles in the 'nation-building' periphery. From early on, this period was galvanised by Cold War rivalry, compelling the United States to provide liquidity to its partners, nurture European reconstruction, and prop up East Asian nation-building. It also served as a 'higher' moral source to justify a crusade against forces that threatened, in the first instance, the productivity compromises at home. Central to this project was the civilisation of opposition. The civil domain was defined in terms of 'property friendly' politics, reflected in a resilient tripartism; while the 'uncivil' comprised of the radical nationalist and socialist forces seeking to nationalise industry and redistribute land – those, in other words, seeking to endogenise capital accumulation or transform the relations of production fundamentally. The enforcement of civil society against the uncivil was pursued systematically by the cooptation of oppositional politics – especially in the undermining of rural-urban class alliances and 'political' unionism – and outright repression; organised metropolitan labour assumed a leading role in the undermining of uncivil politics abroad. Nation-building states themselves sought to patronise opposition, often in a tense relationship with international capital; while in the case of Africa, the late-colonial mode of 'indirect rule' was adapted to the requirements of neo-colonial nation-building. The agency of the 'uncivil' obtained revolution in a few cases (notably China and Cuba), extracted far-reaching agrarian reform and capitalist development in others (East Asia), but most commonly it gained limited concessions in agrarian reform within a persisting pattern of disarticulated accumulation. This pattern – with functional dualism as its corollary – was reinforced with the onset of crisis and liberalisation.

---

[106] Cox (1977), p. 401.

CHAPTER 3

The Liberal Claim in the Cold War and After

The restructuring of global order under the weight of transnational capital and finance required a new 'global development' project. A liberal civilisational vision began to be articulated from the 1970s onwards, invoking the 'invisible hand' of the market as its guiding principle but without displacing the principle of national self-determination. What the new vision did was to strip the national question of the eminence it once had and subordinate its ends and means to the requirements of adjustment. Accordingly, it did not abandon multilateralism either, but reinforced its institutional framework under the banner of 'global governance'. The liberal period spans the final decade of the Cold War and its aftermath: while the Cold War continued to organise world politics, its aftermath has been characterised by renewed conviction in the liberal project, but also a search for a new organising principle adequate to the task of brigading the world behind the new civilisational claims. The notion of an 'irreversible globalisation' has been deployed to significant, but not sufficient, effect, while the 'war on terror' has been the most recent expression of this need.

This chapter will begin by tracing the trajectory of the new development orthodoxy. In the 1980s, development theory proceeded with the motto of 'getting the prices right' to apply the market principle to hitherto nation-building states. Particular urgency was assigned to the reform of agriculture, in terms of efficiency and foreign-exchange earning potential, while land reform was submerged resolutely. In the 1990s, the liberal vision adapted to new circumstances to re-launch itself with an emphasis on 'getting the *politics* right', in what I call the 'governance synthesis'; it also brought land reform back on the agenda, but in terms that did not diverge from the governance synthesis. The second section will address the underlying dynamics of the liberal period, specifically the establishment and conduct of the new 'politics of liquidity' within the alliance. This has emanated from the US in the first instance and has enabled it to remain dominant. The new politics has been subject to contestation from diverse sources, including from members of the alliance. Most notably, after the Cold War the US and Japan squared up in a bid for control over East Asia and its 'development model'; this rivalry was resolved in the course of the financial crisis of 1997–98 when ultra-imperial discipline was re-imposed. The politics of liquidity has also dovetailed with the consolidation and expansion of global institutions in what may now be seen as a rudimentary form of global government.

The third and fourth sections will inquire into the contradictions of liberalism in the realms of agrarian and labour relations. It will be argued that the application of the market

principle in these realms has been contradicted by a variety of political forms among peasant-workers, most notably strategic land occupations, but also involvement in post-Cold War 'complex emergencies'. It will also be shown that, as in the past, the semi-proletariat has remained subject to a process of 'civilisation', now liberal in character but nonetheless conducted by the same tried-and-tested tactics of cooptation and repression. This process has been facilitated by the changing political balances within international trade unionism after the end of the Cold War, characterised by the dominance of a 'social democratic' ideology crafted to the needs of a global labour aristocracy.

3.1 From the Right Prices to the Right Politics

The resolution of the 1970s crisis was displaced largely onto the periphery and borne by the semi-proletariat. By this time, the basic framework of the new monetary order had taken shape, marked by floating exchange rates, liberalising finance, and national responsibility for adjustment. Indebted peripheral states were thus called upon to honour their 'international obligations'. The turn of events required new development theory.

Getting the Prices Right

In the service of finance, development theory made three simultaneous moves. First, it sought to demonstrate that the nation-building state had hitherto 'abused' its power, that it had been 'captured' by particular domestic interests. The Marxian interpretation of the state had always propounded such a view, but what was different about the liberal version at this time was its second move: the pitting of 'urban interests' against 'rural interests', not capital against labour. What this amounted to was the splitting of the semi-proletariat into two 'interest groups', consisting of 'workers' on the one hand and 'peasants' on the other, and holding the former responsible for the poverty of the latter. The third move was the refutation of any 'special' economic traits among peripheral states, such as had been claimed by development economics and had justified state intervention; all economies now conformed to the same assumptions of neo-classical economic theory. Associated with the third move was the claim that what defines human beings, developed and developing, rural and urban, is a universal economic rationality, and that this must not be transgressed by state intervention.

Such ideas were not new, but they had been marginal whilst the balance of social forces had kept the welfare and nation-building states afloat. Critics of state intervention, such as P.T.

77

Bauer, had been voicing their 'dissent' against the development orthodoxy for some time.[1] In the 1970s a steady stream of writing picked the developmental state apart in terms of its 'distortionary' and 'rent-seeking' political economy. This line of criticism then met the theory of 'urban bias' proposed by Michael Lipton in 1976, who put forth the view that '[t]he most important class conflict in the poor countries of the world today is not between labour and capital. Nor is it between foreign and national interests. It is between the rural classes and the urban classes'.[2] By 1979, the liberal theory of the 'behaviour' of peasants gained new rigour in Samuel Popkin's *The Rational Peasant*, a study of agrarian change in Vietnam; responding to James Scott's 'moral economy', Popkin proposed 'a view of the peasant as a rational problem-solver, with a sense both of his own interests and of the need to bargain with others to achieve mutually acceptable outcomes'.[3] These various streams of thinking were finally synthesised in a highly influential study by Robert Bates on agricultural policy in Africa.[4]

It is worth dwelling on this, for it encompasses the various moves and justifications for structural adjustment. Bates identified peasants as an 'interest group' of farmers, whose single relevant source of livelihood is the income they derive from the sale of agricultural commodities. The first problem with this conception is that it did not distinguish between farmers of different status in relation to the means of production, thereby class and other (gender, racial) cleavages in the countryside, which, in turn, dispense differential access to land, security of tenure, quality of soils, credit, irrigation, and other infrastructure. Second, Bates overlooked the centrality of land and its resources in the reproduction of the rural household. He concerned himself solely with the politics of agricultural pricing, not of land. Third, Bates did not take account of the semi-proletarianised nature of the peasantry, the fact that peasant households also derive revenue from the sale of labour in town and country. He held 'peasant interests' and 'workers' interests' conceptually distinct, and dichotomised the 'rural' economy and the 'urban', in familiar fashion. By implication, Bates failed to problematise functional dualism, as well as the location of the peasant-worker in the global economy. Finally, Bates depicted 'workers' as a privileged class, riding roughshod over the 'peasantry'; the climax of the argument was in the depiction of 'workers' interests' as convergent with those of industry and as complicit in the reproduction of rural poverty.

---

[1] See Bauer (1972). For a review of the critics of 'development policy in the shadow of Keynes', see Toye (1987), ch. 2.

[2] Lipton (1976), p. 13.

[3] Popkin (1979), p. ix; see also Scott (1976).

[4] Bates (1981).

Bates sought to qualify his findings by stating that 'none of the materials used come from the "settler territories" of Southern Africa'.[5] Even so, he did not refrain from offering policy advice for the 'export crop' economies of Southern Africa, the package of trade liberalisation and 'repressive labour laws', all in the interests of 'the peasantry'.[6] Such thinking was endorsed in the 1980s by more general statements regarding the merits of the market and the necessity of political repression. In 1983, in an equally influential study, Deepak Lal proclaimed the virtue of 'getting the prices right'; celebrated the East Asian 'example' of 'free trade'; forewarned that 'the political difficulties on the path to more efficient domestic policies should not be minimised'; and affirmed that '[a] courageous, ruthless and perhaps undemocratic government is required to ride roughshod over these newly-created special interest groups'.[7] The 'counter-revolution' was accompanied by a sense of academic triumphalism; Lal depicted the demise of 'development economics' as a case of intellectual 'persuasion', rather than a class struggle lost to international capital.

The new vision of civilisation conformed to the normative assumptions of neo-classical economic theory. The previous image of the semi-proletariat as 'drifters' waiting to be nationalised/modernised was disparaged as 'patronising', and replaced by an image of undiversified individuals, devoid of social context and history, subject to no relations of power, and sharing in a generic 'rationality'. Thus, the CEO of General Motors no longer needed to be distinguished from the landless labourer in Vietnam. Both were capable of 'a sense of their own interests and of the need to bargain with others to achieve mutually acceptable outcomes'. Qualifying this vision was only a spatial disaggregation of human beings along state lines, along with a demotion of the state as the agent of their advancement; the new subjects of development would be transnational and domestic capital.

In the course of the decade, the IMF and the World Bank gained unprecedented power over the development project. Alongside the IMF's pronouncement on 'fundamental disequilibria', the World Bank, now shorn of its 'basic needs' reformism, announced a 'structural crisis' in African economies. The Berg Report, published in 1981, noted that the international environment had had 'adverse' consequences on them but that ultimately 'domestic policy inadequacies' were critical.[8] Therefore, a new set of domestic priorities, geared towards accelerated production, with special reference to agriculture, were required to meet developmental objectives. In the following years, this new development wisdom was to take the

---

[5] Bates (1981), p. 8.
[6] Bates (1981), p. 131.
[7] Lal (1997), p. 33.
[8] World Bank (1981).

shape of 'stabilisation' and 'adjustment' policies administered and monitored by the IMF and the World Bank. Together, they constituted the SAP package of fiscal cut-backs, control of domestic credit, restraint on real wages, exchange rate reform and devaluation (overseen mainly by the Fund); and longer-term institutional restructuring involving trade liberalisation, reform of the financial sector, deregulation of economic sectors, commercialisation and privatisation of public enterprises, and reform of social service provision (overseen by the Bank). Monitoring stabilisation and adjustment was not unproblematic, and implementation was not complete.[9] Yet, by 1991, ninety-nine operations *were* implemented.[10]

Agriculture became the leading sector in the new policy framework, with new demands being placed on its productivity and foreign-exchange earning capacity. The 'modernisation' drives of the past were thus accelerated, furthering technical change and commoditisation, as before, and deepening the process of specialisation, standardisation, and integration into national and international markets.[11] Just as well, land redistribution became a dead policy issue. This was replaced by a new global land policy, consisting of privatisation of state farms, freehold titling, and market-based land transfers. Meanwhile, the global agro-food system was itself changing. While agriculture in the centre remained protected, traditional tropical exporters (*e.g.*, cotton, coffee, cocoa) found themselves producing higher volumes but also saturating markets and witnessing declining terms of trade. In all, the share of Africa's total export values accounted for by traditional export crops fell; for most crops real prices fell by over 35 per cent.[12] This decline was compensated marginally by the 'non-traditional', horticultural exports, led by large-scale farmers. The period of liberalisation also witnessed the concentration of power over the production and distribution process in a handful of firms; the emergence of new commodity chains in horticulture (especially 'exotic fruits' and cut flowers), organised by supermarkets and linking Northern consumers with large-scale commercial farmers; and the reinforcement of the North-South divide in applied agricultural research and technological development, including biotechnology.[13] The combined effect has been the drastic alteration of the conditions of smallholder farming and social reproduction: fiscal cut-backs, marketing deregulation, and currency devaluations have increased the costs of production; new land policies have expanded land markets and intensified alienation and differentiation; while new export crops, technologies, and contracting arrangements have also marginalised the poorer petty-commodity producers. The

[9] Mosley, Harrigan, and Toye (1995).
[10] Toye (1994), p. 27.
[11] Bernstein (1990).
[12] Raikes and Gibbon (2000).

final effect has been the creation of a new international division of labour in agriculture whereby the centre, along with a handful of newcomers, specialises in the production of grains, while the bulk of the periphery specialises in traditional and non-traditional exports destined for luxury markets.

Heterodox Interventions

While liberal theory was pushing confidently ahead, the larger field of development studies entered an 'impasse', characterised by soul searching and self-criticism. This impasse had several sources and was most marked among Marxists, neo-Marxists, and reformists. The single most important source of the impasse was the restructuring of the state society relations that had sustained the politics of productivity in the centre and nation-building in the periphery.[14] With the predominance of transnational capital and finance, the state was stripped of its agency, and development economics of its agent. Another source was the implosion of the Soviet bloc, the loss of faith in the socialist project, and the rise of new intellectual currents, most notably post-structuralism; not only the state but also the proletariat was losing its legitimacy. The Pandora's Box of meta-theory was thus pried open.[15]

In time, a domain of 'critical' development theory was to be borne out of the impasse. As Bob Sutcliffe has observed, three processes have tended to coincide and overlap: 'the growth of the attainability and desirability critiques of the standard development model; the displacement of economics from the centre of the development debate by ecology, sociology and cultural studies, as well as social movements; and the relative decline of discussions of economic imperialism along with the rise of discussions of ecological imperialism and cultural imperialism'.[16] The 'attainability' critique emerged out of the rising concern with environmental degradation, the depletion of the ozone layer, and the greenhouse effect; and on that basis, it questioned the sustainability of a development project premised on output growth and the goal of 'high mass consumption'. The 'desirability' critique, partly dovetailing with the former, was carried by 'new' social movements – comprising of gender and other identities – that questioned the *validity* of the ends posited by the growth model; they offered an immanent critique of 'the West' as the locale

---

[13] Raikes and Gibbon (2000); see also McMichael and Myrhe (1991), Watts (1990), and Buttel (1990).
[14] See also Leys (1996), ch. 1.
[15] See Booth (1985), Sklair (1988), Corbridge (1990), and Schuurman ed. (1993).
[16] Sutcliffe (1999), p. 150.

of 'advancement'.[17] In the event, the two streams of thinking on gender and ecology infused development theory and proliferated within it, witnessing the development of diverse political positions, among ecologists and feminists alike, and syncretisms, as in ecofeminism. The desirability critique also dovetailed with a new stream of 'cultural' thinking, which established itself as 'cultural studies'. This was traced back to Edward Said, but acquired new inflections, such as a focus on 'post-colonial identities' and social change 'from below'.[18]

By the second half of the 1980s, the reformist thinking of the 1970s also began to reassert itself. It was by now becoming clear, even among official circles, that structural adjustment had not rectified the 'structural crisis', and moreover that the costs to human welfare had been grave. The leading role was taken by UNICEF in 1987. In its report entitled *Adjustment with a Human Face*, UNICEF stated the grim facts: that '[s]ome two-thirds of developing countries registered negative or negligible growth from 1980–85, and many indicators of human welfare showed marked deterioration, including, in a number of countries, nutrition levels of the under-5s, the age group most vulnerable to permanent damage'.[19] The bulk of this human tragedy was borne in Africa and Latin America. On the other hand, UNICEF accepted the validity of SAPs, seeking only to integrate into them a 'poverty alleviation dimension' so as to 'target' and 'protect the vulnerable', in the spirit of the 'basic needs' approach of the previous decade. In the same year, the World Bank launched the 'Social Dimensions of Adjustment' (SDA) initiative, and in response to environmental concerns, adopted 'sustainable development' as an organisational priority.[20]

The latter moves by the Bank were significant insofar as the Bank began to demonstrate its political adeptness in responding to social criticism, and coopting it. As one of the authors of the UNICEF report later observed, poverty alleviation was not the overriding objective of the Social Funds. The securing of political support was, as was the placating of those affected by adjustment (although even here there was a high failure to reach target groups), while the macroeconomic characteristics of the adjustment programmes remained unchanged.[21] The cooptation skills of the Bank were to become one of its most significant assets.

---

[17] Sutcliffe (1999).
[18] Said (1979), Chatterjee (1993), and Scott (1985).
[19] Cornia, Jolly, and Stewart eds. (1987), p. 1.
[20] See Gibbon (1993).

By the end of the 1980s, social protest was proliferating and being channelled towards national leaderships. The economic and social crisis of 'the lost decade' was translating into demands for democratisation, not of global economic life, but of the state along the 'mutli-party' formula. In turn, this received enthusiastic response from Western governments and global institutions. Indeed, it was celebrated as 'the second revolution', following 'decolonisation'. The movement swept across the continent in fact, witnessing the formal abandonment of the one-party state model. By 1994, thirty-five states had experienced 'regime transitions', in the form of multi-party elections: 'opposition' parties entered parliaments; fourteen presidents were replaced in elections; fifteen were re-elected; and no *de jure* one-party states remained on the continent.[22] The 'second revolution' was flanked by human catastrophies in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Rwanda, Congo, and elsewhere.

The breadth of the transition could not be ignored, however, and under the circumstances a new formula was conceived for integrating grievances into the liberal project. If 'getting the prices right' was the motto of the 1980s, 'getting the politics right' was to be that of the 1990s. From 1989 onwards, transatlantic leaders, reaching for the moral high ground, began to announce that, hereafter, multi-partyism, respect for the rule of law, human rights, and market principles would all form the basis of aid and lending; gradually, a new tier of *political* conditionality was to be added to the previous economic ones.[23] But this entailed a departure from the prior understanding of the state as 'captured', as well as from the policy of explicit support for political repression in carrying out the liberal project. Clearly, a new theory of the state required articulation, and to this end, liberal development theorists went back to work. The answer lay in defining 'good' and 'bad' domestic politics, with reference to adjustment requirements.

In the course of the 1980s, 'urban bias' theory evolved in the hands of the 'new political economists', under the eminent stewardship of Robert Bates and Douglass North. The two positioned themselves against the 'neoclassical orthodoxy', pointing out that the state, or other 'community level' institutions, had a crucial role to play in the development of markets.[24] Although with variations between them, together they agreed on the importance of institutions in reducing 'transaction costs', in preventing 'market failure', and transcending 'social dilemmas'

---

[21] Stewart and van der Geest (1995).
[22] See Bratton and van de Walle (1997).
[23] Gibbon (1992) and Gibbon (1993).

between private and public interests. In 1987, this 'neo-institutionalist' theory of the state went on to meet the theory of the 'corrupt' state in the hands of Larry Diamond – and in the 1990s the 'politics-of-the-belly' and 'neopatrimonial' states.[25] Together they sufficed to replace the theory of the 'the captured' state and enabled liberal development theory to 'bring the state back in' and to focus on ways of making it 'better'.[26]

The theory was made more accessible to the development community by the World Bank in a series of publications. In the late 1980s, the Bank had taken 'sustainable development' on board, as we have seen, but it was also articulating the need for an 'enabling environment' for growth and development within states. What this meant was to be elaborated in the next few years. In 1989, it published a report entitled *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, in which it now asserted the position that '[a] root of weak economic performance in the past has been the failure of public institutions'. It continued that '[p]rivate sector initiative and market mechanisms are important, but they must go hand-in-hand with good governance' – by which it meant 'a public service that is efficient, a juridical system that is reliable, and an administration that is accountable to its public'.[27] These terms were applied in its 1990 *World Development Report* on poverty alleviation specifically, where it took on board UNICEF's call for 'adjustment with human face', and thereby also formally re-oriented itself to the poverty agenda of the 1970s.[28] Then, in its 1991 report, *The Challenge of Development*, the Bank clarified its understanding of the 'market friendly' state, by which it sought, in part, to respond to the Japanese challenge being launched against US leadership (to be discussed).[29] This latter challenge culminated in 1993 in the report entitled *The East Asian Miracle*, by which the Bank managed to emphasise the importance of markets in the growth of East Asia.[30] Finally, the notion of 'good governance' was clarified in a 1992 pamphlet on *Governance and Development*.[31]

What emerges from the above statements is what might be termed the 'governance synthesis' of the 1990s. It consists in the re-launching of liberalism in response to the whole mass of heterodox theory and political agitation, and under the circumstances of an imploding Soviet

---

[24] North (1981), North (1990), Bates ed. (1988), Bates (1989), Bates (1995). For useful critique, see Leys (1996), ch. 4.

[25] Diamond (1987), Bayart (1993), and Bratton and van de Walle (1997).

[26] See also the discussion in Bangura and Gibbon (1992).

[27] World Bank (1989), p. xii.

[28] World Bank (1990).

[29] World Bank (1991a).

[30] World Bank (1993). For an insightful account of the politics of the report, see Wade (1996), pp. 3–36.

[31] World Bank (1992); for a critical discussion of the concept of governance, see Gibbon (1993) and Beckman (1992).

bloc. Liberal development theory could thus distance itself from the 'neoclassical orthodoxy', 'bring the state back in', accommodate NGOs, 'the grassroots', 'civil society', and 'the poor', raise the flag of civilisation, even win a Nobel Prize. The adoption of the term 'governance' as opposed to 'government' was crucial; for the Bank could by-pass all the substantive issues that are associated with the word 'government', reducing politics to a technocratic practice, concerned with procedural matters alone; the only valuable end that remained was that of 'efficiency', as determined by 'the market'. Notably, a strategic concession was made to the principle of national self-determination, on the basis of which a call was made for the nurturing of 'ownership of adjustment', to be achieved through the inclusion of 'civic organisations' in 'national dialogue'. Other, bilateral donors with more 'freedom' than the Bank to be 'political', added multi-partyism to good governance, by which they meant the advocacy of 'competitive' elections among two or more political parties, regardless of the homogeneity of their 'market friendly' substance. Liberal development theorists rushed to fill the conceptual void here as well, conceiving of 'democratisation' as 'regime transition', by which was meant respect for the rules of competitive multi-partyism, plus a 'free press', 'independent judiciary', 'rule of law', *etc.*[32]

Both the theory and the practice of the governance synthesis have defined and reproduced the 'uncivil' society. Whereas a decade earlier, peasant-workers had been presumed to be rational problem-solvers capable of improving their lot in the market, under the governance synthesis they could voice their difference and thereby join the civilised world. But on one condition. That they accepted and pursued neo-colonial multi-party politics, form 'civic organisations', engage in 'national dialogue', gain 'ownership' of their adjustment package, and respect the 'rule of law'. Thus, the plethora of political demands and forms inconsistent with the logic of the governance synthesis were rendered 'uncivil', once again subject to sanction, cooptation, or repression. Liberal theory has followed practice, turning a blind eye to uncivil forms, focusing instead on political parties, trade unions, and NGOs.[33] Besides its bias towards civil society, and partly *because* of it, liberal theory and the whole 'democratisation' debate which it has carried have also been highly 'urban biased'. Land politics, for example, has not entered into the equation, nor has a systematic 'democratisation' literature been produced in the liberal tradition to account for rural politics.

---

[32] See Hyden and Bratton eds. (1992) and Bratton and van de Walle (1997).

[33] See, for example, Bratton (1994), where he applied his 'neopatrimonial' model of 'African' politics to the 'micro' scale of civic organisations in Zimbabwe.

These political vacuums did not go unnoticed, especially by the Bank. Indeed, rural-based civil wars in Central America, mass land occupations in Brazil, a new uprising in Mexico, genocide in Rwanda – these could hardly be overlooked; nor could mounting evidence of a 'second lost decade'. By the mid-1990s, the semi-proletariat was creeping back onto the agenda, in a manner reminiscent of the rural development turn of the 1970s. In 1993, Bank staff published a working paper entitled 'Power, Distortions, Revolt, and Reform in Agricultural Land Relations', which was to become the conceptual basis for a new global land policy framework;[34] and in 1995, the Bank devoted its annual report to *Workers in an Integrating World*.[35] Workers *were* worthy of something other than repression, after all; and land *was* relevant to the livelihood of the rural household.

The working paper made a number of concessions. It acknowledged that '[m]ost of the work on the relationship between farm size and productivity strongly suggests that farms that rely mostly on family labor have higher productivity levels than large farms operated primarily with hired labor'.[36] It also conceded that 'the great variations in land relations found across the world and over time cannot be understood in a single property rights and markets paradigm'. The reasons for the variations are to be found in 'power relationships': 'land owning groups used coercion and distortions in land, labor, credit, and commodity markets'.[37] It also recognised that land reform has historically been accomplished through rebellion, revolution, and other uncivil means.

Yet, the 'power relationships' to which the paper alluded were understood as 'local'. And, in any case, the policy framework that emerged did not contravene the market paradigm. For the method of reform that the Bank went on to propagate was 'community initiated, market assisted' (CIMA), enshrining the 'willing buyer, willing seller' principle of redistribution – as opposed to state-led and compulsory methods of acquisition – thereby 'keeping the state out' and effectively fitting land reform into its world of private, voluntary agents interacting harmoniously in the market. Notwithstanding 'power relationships', CIMA has called upon peasants to 'negotiate' with land owners for the transfer of land.

---

[34] Binswanger, Deininger and Feder (1993).
[35] World Bank (1995).
[36] Binswanger, Deininger and Feder (1993), p. 3.
[37] Binswanger, Deininger and Feder (1993), p. 3.

The *Report* on workers did not redeem the working paper on land. Roughly one page was devoted to land reform, which restated the virtues of CIMA, attributed the initiative for land reform in East Asia to the 'good states' there, and the absence of adequate reform in Latin America to 'half-hearted' state policy![38] Even more fundamentally, the *Report* did not theorise the problem of unemployment as related to patterns of land ownership, nor the power relations governing those patterns. Specifically, it associated 'structural unemployment' with what amount to symptoms, such as 'economic stagnation', or tautologically with the 'malfunctioning of labour markets', or simply with 'policy failure'; then from these associations, causation was inferred.[39] In turn, income inequality was attributed to gender, ethnicity, and geography.[40] The *Report* also employed the increasingly popular post-Cold War language of 'globalisation', which it termed 'unavoidable'.[41] The policy prescriptions amounted to a call for national initiatives for the implementation of ILO conventions and investment in health, skills, and education.

The decade ended with two notable instances of reformist dissent, one emanating from within the bureaucracy of the World Bank, the other from the UN system. In 1998, Joseph Stiglitz, the Bank's Senior Vice President and Chief Economist, made a call for a 'post-Washington consensus'.[42] In the midst of the financial crisis in East Asia, he acknowledged the positive role of the state there and cautioned against holding the developmental state responsible for the crisis: 'the Washington consensus does not offer answers to every important question in development'. He went on to outline what a 'post-Washington' consensus might look like, drawing on East Asian insights on how *not* to view 'liberalisation as an end in itself' and on 'how to make markets better'. This amounted to a call for state involvement in financial regulation (to curb 'excessive risk-taking'), competition (which is 'often imperfect'), and the building of 'social capital'. For its part, the UNDP issued its end-of-the-century tally on the human condition. It marshalled a world of evidence on global inequalities and used this to renew its call for a 'globalisation with a human face'.[43]

---

[38] World Bank (1995), pp. 33–34.
[39] World Bank (1995), pp. 26–30.
[40] World Bank (1995), p. 4.
[41] World Bank (1995), p. 54.
[42] Stiglitz (1998).
[43] UNDP (1999).

3.2 The Recasting of Ultra-Imperialism

The era of the 'structural adjustment programme' was borne out of the political struggle lost to transnational capital and finance from the mid-1960s onwards. We have seen that the deregulation of financial markets was pulled through the US legislature by increasingly mobile firms; as the 1970s stumbled on, finance capital was to gain political leverage unseen since before World War I. The 1970s saw the delinking of the dollar from gold, the oil price hike, the removal of capital controls in the United States, and the recycling of petrodollars through London and New York. This chain of events – with deliberate links – had two immediate consequences. The first was the emergence of great volatility in the world economy – fluctuating currencies and prices – which in turn gave rise to a new breed of markets for the management of risk (including, on the one side, those seeking to avoid risk and, on the other, those seeking to profit from the provision of security). Together they gave impetus to a financial revolution in fact, for over the following years wild speculative trading in currencies, securities, and derivatives was to surpass world trade many times over, in what began to look like a 'casino capitalism'.[44] The second consequence was a renewal of the power of the US government in the first instance. If the US economy could not restore its competitive edge with respect to West Germany and Japan, the United States emerged from the 1970s as the key currency country without formal macroeconomic commitments to ally or foe, and with by far the largest financial market in the world conducted in its currency and within its jurisdiction. As Peter Gowan has demonstrated, post-1970s capitalism was not a mere casino: it gained a geopolitical logic over time, in the form of the 'Dollar-Wall Street Regime' (hereafter, DWSR or new financial regime), through which the United States, and soon its junior partners, was to renew its bid for world dominance.[45]

The New Financial Regime

Over the 1980s and 1990s, the new financial regime evolved into a powerful instrument of statecraft. With its advent also, the politics of productivity that characterised the postwar period gave way to a 'politics of liquidity', embracing both capital and labour. Securely employed workers in the industrialised states of the West might have lost the informal status they had once attained in the working of the postwar state, but they gradually acquired a stake in the politics of

---

[44] Strange (1986).
[45] Gowan (1999).

liquidity via their savings and pension schemes, especially in the United States.[46] Meanwhile, organised labour retained its dominance over the international labour movement, and through this it sought to curb industrial restructuring in the course of a changing international division of labour by advocating the implementation of a 'social clause'. In the 1990s ultimately, the demand for a global Social Clause was accommodated at the centre, as the US and EU pushed (albeit unsuccessfully) for the inclusion of the Social Clause in the WTO system as a policy matter pertaining to trade.

The new financial regime was a political creature in its essence, erected by a series of political commissions and omissions. The US government deregulated capital flows in 1974 and the UK in 1979. In 1981, the US government also enacted the International Banking Facilities law, which put Wall Street on an equal legal footing with the unregulated City of London, thereby shifting international financial activity decisively to the former. Under the volatility of the new system, the value of trading in unregulated financial markets exploded. In 1986, the London Eurodollar market alone was estimated to turn over about $300 billion per day, or $75 trillion annually: about twenty-five times the value of world trade; eighteen times the value of the annual output of the US economy; and largely (90%) unrelated to current account flows.[47] In a subsequent development, in the realm of 'derivatives', by March 1995 the value of outstanding derivatives contracts in twenty-six countries was twice the value of world economic output, or $47.5 trillion, of which just 2% was accounted for by contracts in currencies or interest rates.[48] The significance of these figures is to be found in the following: the decisive shift away from long-term productive investment to short-term speculative transactions, or 'hot money';[49] the outstripping of the volume of trade and output and the real flows between countries; and the displacement of the power of central banks to protect currencies, since, for example, the aggregate value of reserves held by central banks in the mid-1990s stood at $800 billion, less than two-days' turnover in the world's foreign exchange markets.[50] Herein also lay the definitive demise of nation-building as a principle of development and the onset of structural adjustment under the aegis of a project now crafted to the liquidity needs of the United States and its junior partners.

---

[46] Gowan has rightly observed that workers do not relate to capital only via the wage relation but also via the savings relation, such that 'if the savings relation is in the direct control of private financial markets, then workers themselves acquire a rentier interest'; see Gowan (1999), p. 56.

[47] Walter (1991), pp. 196–97.

[48] Strange (1998), p. 29.

[49] Gowan (1999), ch. 2.

[50] Walter (1991), p. 198.

The alliance was not unified on the deregulation of capital and the new monetary order from the beginning. On the one hand, broad consensus did develop over the 'fundamental' nature of peripheral disequilibria and the structural adjustment 'imperative' flowing from them. On the other hand, *inter*-imperial rivalries persisted, and these pertained to the distribution of the remaining adjustment responsibilities among the members of the alliance in a post-Bretton Woods monetary order. This inter-imperial dispute was to be in large part resolved by a recasting of social relations in Western Europe, in a social-transformational project as historically significant as the Marshall Plan, seeking now to produce consensus not on the 'politics of productivity' but on the virtues of deregulated capital. The difference lay in the method of the transformation: whereas the Marshall Plan had employed cooptation and repression tactics against anti-systemic trade unions and political parties, the new project relied on the competitive deregulation dynamics of financial markets, whose epicentre was Wall Street.

As Eric Helleiner has shown, the deregulation dilemma was first presented to the Labour government of Britain in 1976; it was at this time (*i.e.*, before the arrival of Margaret Thatcher) that the decision was taken *not* to reign in the burgeoning activity of the City and to accept the discipline of international financial markets. The second to fall was France in 1983 under Francois Mitterand, again a social democratic government. Thereafter, the unravelling of postwar social coalitions gradually obtained among all the major European partners. Indeed, a flurry of capital account deregulations swept through the continent and far beyond, such that by the end of the decade, an almost fully liberal order had prevailed across the OECD, including Japan. As Helleiner has argued, '[u]nless [the rest of the OECD] matched the liberal and deregulated nature of the British and US financial systems, foreign financial authorities could not hope to attract new financial business and capital from abroad or even maintain the financial business and capital of their own multinational corporations or international banks'.[51] Importantly, the competitive deregulation dynamic was complemented in domestic political contests by the forces that stood to benefit from it; typically, they sought legitimacy for themselves by reference to the growing 'common sense' of deregulation globally, and its 'inevitability'. By decade's end, and despite national social struggles, the liberal project came to be underpinned by a series of national social relations of production that accorded to it, constituting thereby a transnational class of internationally-minded capital and finance across the OECD.

This class committed itself to the further expansion of the liberal order. And here the methods of social transformation differed again. With respect to the indebted states of the periphery, the method was not premised on competitive deregulation dynamics as such, but generally on the balance-of-payments crisis.[52] Given the relative insignificance of their financial systems for the attraction of private capital, the initial prying open of these economies was attained by multilateral, policy-based lending in the context of a payments crisis. Thereafter, some graduated to 'emerging market' status, led by Mexico, to join the new financial regime. Other peripheral states, such as Zimbabwe, did not face a payments crisis but were nonetheless converted to liberalisation by cooptation of their domestic capitals; in the early 1990s, Zimbabwe itself fell into the grasp of New York and London-based speculators.[53] Yet others, the East Asian allies in particular, went to pose a particularly grave threat to liquidity politics upon the end of the Cold War; in this case, they were re-subordinated to ultra-imperial discipline by means of a staged financial crisis, with hedge funds at the forefront.

The latter case is of particular interest, because it was the most important instance of inter-imperial rivalry in the liberal period. Gowan has referred to this case in support of his argument that the basic character of world order today is inter-imperialist. The point that emerges from this experience, however, is to the contrary: once again, rivalry did not manage to puncture the US-led ultra-imperial alliance. When pushed to the brink, the members of the alliance ultimately recognised that they still shared fundamental economic and security interests. It is worth retelling the story of how the United States learned to use Wall Street to maintain its position within the alliance, and how the alliance as a whole maintained its dominance *vis-a-vis* the periphery. The story starts with the Mexican debt crisis and is traced through the strengths and weaknesses of the US and its partners.

The debt crisis was precipitated in an 'unplanned' manner, as Gowan has put it. When the Federal Reserve unexpectedly raised interest rates in 1980, it sent the world economy into a downward spiral and induced a series of financial blow-outs, the first of which was Mexico's in 1982. The prospect of default by a debtor as big as Mexico threatened to bring the US banking system to its knees and, by extension, the international financial system as a whole. The IMF emerged at this time as the multilateral front for international finance and coordinator of rescue

---

[51] Helleiner (1995), p. 330.
[52] See Haggard and Maxfield (1996).
[53] Bond (1998), ch. 8.

missions. It mediated between creditor and debtor, provided multilateral legitimacy for structural adjustment, mustered a rescue package for Mexico composed of US energy and commodity credits and BIS resources (half of which derived from the US Federal Reserve), and stamped the deal with the guarantee of surveillance. Thereafter, the US government, along with the IMF, sought to steer commercial banks back into lending to Mexico and elsewhere via the Baker Plan of 1985. But it was the Brady Plan of 1988 that succeeded in doing so, by devising 'debt for equity swaps'. This allowed Wall Street operators to acquire shares in enterprises of indebted states at bargain prices, while also restructuring the social relations of Mexico and opening the floodgates for hot money. It also set the stage for the second Mexican blow-out of 1995, and the now typical process of capital flight to New York. Meanwhile, a similar exercise was being conducted in Eastern Europe; and the IMF was becoming comfortable with its new roles, even creating new 'systemic transformation' and 'crisis' facilities. The allies may have raised their eyebrows at US machinations, but they tolerated it.[54]

The recession of the early 1980s perpetuated the decline in productivity among industrialised countries that had begun in the previous decade. The rise of financial markets compensated for this decline, by providing new investment opportunities in speculative trading. The United States in particular had lost its competitive edge in manufacturing, so the new financial markets provided it with a life line. Alongside this, however, and despite the 'monetarist' façade, the US government under President Reagan embarked on a new investment strategy, to include defence spending. This had various international implications. Besides re-igniting the Cold War, defence spending created a massive budget deficit which put the US-Japan relationship on a new footing. For Japanese surpluses became one of the prime sources of finance for the US economy: private Japanese capital served the ongoing US trade deficit, while reserves were invested in US Treasury bills and served the fiscal deficit. Deregulating OECD countries contributed as well.[55]

In the next few years, high interest rates in the United States and an appreciating dollar induced an export-led recovery among the European partners and the NICs of East Asia. Indeed, the trade deficit doubled between 1982 and 1983, only to double again by 1984, while the US economy was restructuring towards high technology and services.[56] By the recovery of the mid-1980s, the question of adjustment responsibility was re-imposing itself among the major

---

[54] See Gowan (1999), ch. 4, Pauly (1997), pp. 117–126, Helleiner (1995), pp. 331–34, and Strange (1988), pp. 113–14.
[55] See Gowan (1999), ch. 4, and Strange (1998), ch. 3.
[56] See Augelli and Murphy (1988), pp. 165–66.

industrial powers. In the Plaza Agreement of 1985, it was resolved that currencies would be drastically realigned by coordinated central bank interventions in the currency markets, but without any commitments to domestic monetary and fiscal changes. The agreement succeeded to realign currencies. By 1986, the dollar had lost 40 percent of its value against the yen. But it continued to lose value for the rest of the decade, despite a second attempted policy coordination in the Louvre Accord of 1987.[57] Clearly, the United States was using its control over the dollar as an instrument of statecraft against is trading partners, and especially Japan whose success had become dangerously important, by virtue of making American capitalism dependent on it.

But the United States was not winning the battle by means of the currency war. For after the Plaza Agreement, Japanese capital changed its investment strategy to relocate labour-intensive production to dollar-pegged Southeast Asian economies and export from there to itself and the United States. In fact, as Walden Bello has noted, 'the [Plaza] agreement did not do wonders for the US trade deficit, but...it did do wonders for South-East Asia'.[58] More than this, the whole of Eastern Asia recorded remarkable growth: between 1985 to 1990, some $15 billion worth of Japanese direct investments (as opposed to hot money) flowed into the region, followed by bilateral aid and loans, and compounded by massive direct investment from the traditional NICs as well.[59] By the end of the decade, the region was the most important growth centre in the world. Trans-Pacific trade surpassed transatlantic trade, while Japan's largest export destination shifted from the United States to Asia.[60]

This turn of events had several consequences. One was that by the early 1990s, private Japanese capital was no longer compensating the US trade deficit; it was borrowing dollars to invest elsewhere. Thus, the US government came to depend on official Japanese flows alone, thereby bestowing new leverage to the government of Japan; in 1995, the Bank of Japan was buying dollars and investing in US government securities at the tune of $200 billion.[61] A second consequence was that the world's largest growth centre was now only partially in the control of American capital; the United States was losing market shares in Eastern Asia, sharing it and competing over it with Japan.[62] Indeed, besides the currency war, the United States was in a trade war with both Japan and South Korea from the mid-1980s onwards. The US launched a 'fair trade' campaign against East Asian neo-mercantilism, which saw the US trade war arsenal

---

[57] See So and Chiu (1995), ch. 9; see also Eichengreen (1996), pp. 149–52.
[58] Bello (1998), p. 426.
[59] Bello (1998), pp. 426–27.
[60] See So and Chiu (1995), ch. 9.
[61] Strange (1998), p. 49.
[62] See So and Chiu (1995), pp. 220–21.

expand to include the Super 301 provision for unilateral action, as well as 'voluntary export restraints', 'voluntary import expansions', and 'market-oriented, sector-specific' approaches, applicable in diverse industries, including telecommunications, pharmaceuticals, and electronics. Importantly, through this trade war, Korea saw its 1987 surplus of $9.6 billion with the United States turned into a deficit of $4 billion by 1996![63] A third consequence was that Japan was making a bid for regional hegemony and global influence on a new ideological front. Japan was now challenging the Washington consensus with the 'Asian model' of development, questioning in particular the 'appropriate' mode of credit creation for development. The Japanese claim for government-directed credit, as opposed to deregulated capital, resonated loudly among the Eastern Asian beneficiaries of productive Japanese investment. The Japanese claim carried further afield as well, for Japan was now also the largest donor in the world and equal to Germany in voting power in the IMF. The intellectual climax of the dispute was in the 'Miracle study' conducted by the World Bank, coinciding with the 'human face' critiques of structural adjustment and wide-spread social protests around the structurally adjusting world.[64]

Yet, there was another aspect to the US-Japan relationship. Inter-imperial rivalry was in tension with the ultra-imperial tendencies arising out of the ongoing cross-investment between the two capitalisms; moreover, Japan remained under the US security umbrella. The coincident end of the Cold War might have altered the Cold War significance of security, but other security concerns specific to Eastern Asia (China, North Korea) persisted. The ongoing influence of the United States over Japan in this realm made itself apparent with the Japanese decision to finance a large portion of the Gulf War.[65]

Nonetheless, the Japanese geopolitical position and ideological claim struck at the heart of the politics of liquidity; the Asian threat was too significant to the US position. And at this point, the Mexican debt story met the US deficit story. Enabled by the collapse of the Cold War 'evils' which had sustained the 'Asian model', and with the realisation that the US trade deficit was 'structural', the United States under the Clinton Administration devised a new, post-Cold War doctrine.[66] Central to the 'Clinton doctrine' was the redefinition of security along economic lines, entailing the concerted adoption of the dollar and Wall Street as instruments of statecraft. As Gowan has pointed out, President Clinton established a National Economic Council (NEC) at the White House to match the National Security Council, a cold-warrior. Moreover, he appointed

---

[63] Bello (1998), p. 431.
[64] See Wade (1996).
[65] See So and Chiu (1995), pp. 237–40, Strange (1998), ch. 3, and Johnson (1993).
[66] See Gowan (1998), ch. 5, and Cumings (1998), pp. 43–72.

an experienced hedge fund operator (Robert Rubin, former senior partner at Goldman Sachs) to head the NEC. From 1995 onwards, the United States started pushing up the dollar against the yen, thereby putting pressure on the dollar-pegged economies of East Asia. Meanwhile, hot money was already pouring into South East Asia, by virtue of the deregulation of their capital accounts in the 1990s and falling interest rates in the United States. Shorn of the details, by 1997 currencies began to come under pressure, and the financial bubbles of Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia began to burst. So did the trade-war crippled economy of South Korea. Had the Cold War *not* ended, South Korea and its development model might have been supported against collapse. But under the new circumstances, the opposite occurred. The United States, through the IMF, demanded the total dismantling of the developmental state, including deregulation of the capital account, financial restructuring, trade liberalisation, and labour market reform, plus recessionary monetary policy. In return, the IMF, World Bank, the United States, Japan, and others would provide a bail-out package worth $57 billion, plus 'foreign direct investment' from US, European, and Japanese transnationals. And in the process, the United States formed an alliance with domestic forces in South Korea that had always been critical of state-industry collaboration.[67]

The result was a resounding success for ultra-imperialism. Not only did Asian assets concentrate in the hands of transatlantic capital (as well as Japanese), in what appears to have been 'the biggest peacetime transfer of assets from domestic to foreign owners in the past fifty years';[68] the single most important post-Cold War challenge to liquidity politics suffered a severe setback. In the process, the institutions of global government expanded their reach once again, while a US plan began to move through Congress to enhance cross-conditionality among the WTO, Bank, and Fund, with the latter as the institutional epicentre.[69]

Following East Asia, the financial crisis spread to Russia and Brazil, and was accompanied by new debate over reform of the world's 'financial architecture'. In effect, this was a futile attempt to insulate the new financial regime from the chaos on which it thrives. Needless to say, issues of adjustment responsibility remained unaddressed, to the benefit of the ultra-imperial alliance. Instead, the idea that was floated was that of 'humanising globalisation'; the idea was then considered at the World Economic Forum, the 'International of capital'.[70]

---

[67] For details of the crisis, see Gowan (1999), ch. 6, Cumings (1998), Bello (1998), Wade and Veneroso (1998a). It is worth noting that the geopolitics of investment described here contrasts sharply with the 'triangular diplomacy' theory espoused in Stopford and Strange (1991).

[68] Wade and Veneroso (1998a), p. 20.

[69] Wade and Veneroso (1998b), p. 39.

[70] See van der Pijl (1998), 132–35.

This ultra-imperial order, with all its contradictions, is embodied in the contemporary institutions of multilateralism. It is often argued that the world is 'anarchical', in the sense that there is no global government with functions equivalent to those of the nation-state. Yet, the multilateralism of the postwar period has continued to evolve towards an institutional consolidation that may be understood as a global state in rudimentary form. This has not displaced the principle of national self-determination, but has sought to weave it into its fabric. The institutional result remains deliberately ill-defined and shrouded in the language of 'global governance'.

Alongside the governance synthesis in development theory, international theory set out to define 'governance without government'. James Rosenau argued, for example, that we need a term such as 'governance' to enable us to theorise the 'modicum of order' that exists in the absence of world government.[71] In an echo of Ruggie, he went on to associate 'governance' with 'informal authority' and 'shared goals', which function in the interest of 'systemic persistence'. In turn, 'government' he associated with 'formal authority', backed by 'police powers', and present even when it 'lack[s] the regulatory mechanism to function effectively'. This consists in a conceptual evasion. A claim to authority – whether formal or otherwise, whether at the nation-state or the IMF – is redeemable in today's world only with reference to a democratic principle. It is no coincidence that the contemporary standard of legitimacy is 'one person, one vote' in national arenas and 'one country, one vote' at the UN and the WTO, no matter how manipulated and violated they are. It is for the same reason that the structure of the UN's Security Council and the weighted voting systems of the IMF and World Bank are so resented. To introduce to the debate a new concept that makes no claim on the democratic principle and instead posits 'systemic persistence' as the moral basis for concept building is simply to defend the imperial *status quo*. Ultimately, that which distinguishes 'governance' from 'government' is the ability to maintain order. The concept that will concern us therefore is *government*, and the democratic demand inherent in it. What remains here is to outline how the institutions of global government have evolved in the liberal period, their enforcement mechanisms (superior to any 'police powers'), and the use they have made of the principle of national self-determination.

The central multilateral institution is the IMF. Under the new financial regime, the IMF has undergone several reinventions. As noted previously, upon the abandonment of fixed exchange rates by the second amendment of its Articles of Agreement in 1976, the IMF was

mandated with the monitoring of flexible exchange rates within a liberalising financial environment. The continuity in its role lay in the First Surveillance Decision of 1977. This reaffirmed the principle of surveillance – that member states remain accountable to each other for the external consequences of their economic policies. It also made consultation with the Fund involuntary and routine, and expanded the range of policies relevant to balance of payments to fiscal and interest rate policies and, as financial liberalisation proceeded, to capital accounts. The balance of payments crises and rescue missions of the 1980s and 1990s brought capital accounts more firmly into the Fund's focus, such that by 1995 the first surveillance decision called for amendment, hereafter mandating the Fund with explicit powers of oversight in the realm of financial markets. The climax of this expansion was reached in 1997, on the eve of the East Asian crisis, when the Articles of Agreement were placed under review for re-amendment so as to commit the IMF to the complete liberalisation of the capital accounts of member states. By the end of the century, the IMF had powers of surveillance over current and capital accounts; had enforcement power, by means of conditionality, over indebted peripheral states; had expanded its reach also to the 'transitional' economies of Eastern Europe; and was mass producing cadres, some ten thousand of them from around the world, with technical economic expertise.[72]

The expansion to new issue areas and geographic regions was accompanied by the creation of new loan facilities. The principles applied to the use of the Fund's resources had been decided in 1979 by the Executive Board with the issuing of the Guidelines on Conditionality. Thereafter, with the changing circumstances, a series of facilities were created, some with 'hard conditionality', others with 'soft'. As the IMF moved from short- to medium-term balance-of-payments lending in the 1980s, the 'hard' conditionalities of stand-by and extended arrangements were appended with 'soft' conditionalities for members that were not creditworthy of capital markets. Thus, the Structural Adjustment Facility was created in 1986, followed by the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility in 1987, renamed as the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility in 1999. Other, 'special' and 'accelerated' facilities were added to the Oil Facility of 1974, comprising of the Systemic Transformation Facility of 1993 for Eastern Europe; the Emergency Financing Mechanism of 1995, in the wake of the Mexican bail-out and applied to Eastern Asia; followed by the Supplemental Reserve Facility in 1997, for states with sudden crises on the capital account; and finally the Contingent Credit Line in 1999 for member states vulnerable to crisis contagion.[73]

---

[71] Rosenau (1992).

[72] See Pauly (1997), ch. 6, Gowan (1999), pp. 85–86, and Sholte (2000), ch. 4.

[73] See Lastra (2001).

The shift of the IMF to medium-term balance-of-payments lending towards peripheral states coincided with the shift by the World Bank to balance-of-payments lending to the same in its own right. This convergence was in the making since the 1970s. Previously, the Fund had been preoccupied with the monetary relations of the reconstructing industrialised states, while peripheral states could still avoid the Fund and access loans from commercial banks directly, while also obtaining project loans from the Bank. With the onset of the debt crisis, the IFIs converged on the macroeconomic management of indebted peripheral states exclusively. Both began to lend to the same states, for the same purpose, and with similar interest rates and maturities. Likewise, indebted peripheral converged on the Fund and Bank, while industrialised states moved exclusively to commercial borrowing (no industrialised country has borrowed from the Fund since 1976). The convergence produced an informal 'cross-conditionality', which included the presumption of Bank lending on the back of an IMF programme, but also acrimonious disputes over bureaucratic turf, for the Bank was now asserting its own identity. Upon a US initiative towards the improvement of collaboration, the two institutions devised the Policy Framework Paper in 1986, by which staff from the two institutions would jointly delineate country programmes and financing needs. Misunderstandings continued, however, and the collaboration was elaborated in a joint paper in 1989. In the 1990s, the basic framework remained in place, though the two institutions went on to gain further specialisations of their own.[74] The Bank has clearly emerged as the intellectual leader of 'development', publishing on a vast array of issues and engaging non-state actors in research and project implementation.

If the United Nations had been the main multilateral institution that bridged the poles of the Cold War, the end of the Cold War saw the 'globalisation' of the multilateral institutions that had hitherto presided solely over the capitalist economy. The IMF now has near total membership; such is the case with the WTO as well. Nonetheless, it is only the latter that has pretended to UN-type 'universality' by means of the institutionalisation of the 'one country, one vote' formula. Moreover, by conclusion of the Uruguay Round in 1994, it engaged its members in a 'single undertaking', by which is meant the universal submission to a single set of rules and disciplines of international trade. This has been accompanied by the adoption of IMF-like surveillance practices, by which all member states are required to submit schedules of their tariff concessions and wider liberalisation commitments to the WTO secretariat in Geneva. Yet, despite claims to 'universality', it is also clear that the trade agenda has been sector-specific, driven by the particular concerns of transnational firms (represented by their states in the OECD) seeking to secure their niche in the course of the shifting international division of labour. Thus, one of the

---

[74] See Polak (1994).

touted accomplishments of the WTO has been the expansion of the purview of the trade agenda to 'trade-related' matters, *i.e.*, beyond commodities. These matters include intellectual property rights (dear to the pharmaceutical industry), trade in services (banking and insurance), and investment measures (transnational capital generally). Meanwhile, industrialised-state practices of long standing against competitors, such as protection of agriculture and quantitative trade restrictions (anti-dumping, counter-veiling duties, 'voluntary export restraints', 'voluntary import expansions') have been given either long phase-out periods or have come under unenforceable promises to 'refrain'.[75]

The second touted accomplishment of the WTO has been the new 'dispute settlement understanding', by which rules, courts, and 'automaticity' have ostensibly replaced diplomacy, power, and contingency.[76] There are two aspects to dispute settlement, namely adjudication and implementation. And as Yash Tandon has indicated, neither of these redeems its claim to universality.[77] First, the lodging of a complaint does remain contingent on power – economic and political. For the legal and technical expertise required to bring a case before a panel is purchased at an exorbitant price, placing it effectively beyond the capacity of a cash-strapped state; while fears of industrialised country reprisals in other realms, such as in security and aid, is in no way allayed. It is no surprise, therefore, that the majority of cases that have been brought before dispute settlement panels since their creation have been by industrialised countries. Second, there exists no universal mechanism for disciplining a state found guilty of a trade violation. A trade sanction may become 'multilaterally authorised' after adjudication, but implementation of a sanction is relegated to aggrieved states individually, by means of retaliation across economic sectors (cross-retaliation). What this means is that the enforcement mechanism is accessible to the countries that are industrially diversified and with significant trade market shares in the offending party. Mozambique, as Tandon points out, cannot enforce a verdict found against the EU. The existence of the new enforcement mechanism has been, unsurprisingly, the main reason for the intensive lobbying in favour of defining new 'trade related' issues and the desire to incorporate them under WTO discipline.[78] With regards to such issues as intellectual property rights and labour standards, for example, the institutions to which these have pertained, the World Intellectual Property Organisation and the ILO, respectively, have been seen as lacking effective enforcement mechanisms.

---

[75] For the details, see Lal Das (1999) and Tandon (1999a).

[76] See Jackson (1998).

[77] Tandon (1999a), pp. 11–12.

[78] Blackhurst (1998).

At present, the Fund-Bank-WTO triad is collectively 'authorised' with the making and administering of global policy in the domains of trade, adjustment, and development. Broken down in terms of nation-state functions, these domains encompass monetary, fiscal, trade, investment, social, environmental, and labour policy. And the triad has inter-locking enforcement mechanisms. The cross-conditionality of the Fund and Bank has already been mentioned. The WTO has now joined in this cross-conditionality, both formally and informally. Its new mandate calls upon it to 'cooperate with the IMF and the World Bank with a view to achieving greater coherence in global economic policymaking'.[79] In the two years following its creation, the WTO signed formal agreements with the IMF and World Bank to grant reciprocal observer status to attend each other's meetings and to consult on matters of mutual interest. With respect to the IMF, this mutuality pertains to balance of payments; with the Bank, to trade policy. While the way forward is under ongoing investigation, the basis for a collaborative framework is already in place, either institutionally or in terms of an informal policy consensus and use of each other's enforcement mechanisms. It is worth recalling that the link between trade and payments had already existed under Bretton Woods, as contracting parties to the GATT were permitted to employ trade policy instruments to safeguard their external financial positions. Under the new GATT of 1994, safeguard clauses remain in the WTO but they fall formally under the jurisdiction of the IMF. The IMF has been acknowledged by the GATT as the institution with authority to pronounce on how to deal with payments problems.[80] What this also means is that these 'rights' won in the WTO negotiation framework can be overridden afterwards by the IMF. On the other hand, if measures dear to transnational firms fail to become global policy – such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investments – they can still be imposed on a more *ad hoc* basis through the IMF façade on the states trapped in the new financial regime. Likewise, in the realm of trade policy proper, the trade liberalisation project *vis-à-vis* indebted peripheral states has been underway by means of the policy-based lending practices of the Bank. The WTO does not rely on the Bank formally. In this case, liberalisation happens outside the WTO negotiation framework, on unilateral terms.[81] Finally, if the global Social Clause fails at the WTO, this does not exactly mean that there is no global labour policy. For the deregulation of labour relations has accompanied the structural adjustment programme, while the process has also been ongoing in the OECD under competitive dynamics.

---

[79] Blackhurst (1998), p. 46.

[80] See Roessler (1998).

[81] See the discussions in Vines (1998) and Nogués (1998).

Certainly, global government remains in rudimentary form. There is much duplication –
as in research and policy. There is much inefficiency – as in the bureaucratic turf wars of policy
coordination. The global public incurs this tax, non-progressively. There are also functions that
are more or less dispersed. Most notably, the world central bank function of lender-of-last-resort
is in the hands of the nation state whose currency dominates international trade, as well as in the
hands of the IMF and the Bank for International Settlements, both of which are, in any case,
ultimately subordinate to the key currency country. However, there are very significant 'police
powers' in this global state. These manifest themselves mainly in the sanitised form of economic
sanctions (conditionality and cross-retaliation) and when combined with conventional and nuclear
fire-power they approximate the Weberian 'monopoly of violence' – oligopoly if you like. To be
sure, the fact that the Mozambiquan state retains an army does not, in substance, negate the global
state any more than the Mafia negates the Italian state, Chechen rebels the Russian state, and drug
cartels the Colombian state. What emerges from all this is a rudimentary but firmly 'captured'
global state, currently subservient to a transnational capitalist class, international finance, and the
global labour aristocracy, whose interests are effectively protected by the transatlantic alliance, its
politics of liquidity, and the military capacity which it is increasingly deploying.

That the global state remains in rudimentary form is deliberate; it is not a function of a
'natural' state of 'anarchy'. We saw in Chapter 2 how the United States rejected Keynes'
proposal for a Clearing Union so as to avoid committing to the compensation of trade partners in
deficit; and how it under-funded the IMF so as to avoid relinquishing central bank functions to a
supra-state authority. We have also seen how the principle of state sovereignty was invoked in the
crisis of the 1970s to apportion responsibility for adjustment to indebted peripheral states.
Thereafter, the IMF and World Bank served as a 'multilateral' front for the implementation of
policy-based lending. And as the new financial regime began to take shape, the language of state
sovereignty became its most cherished moral weapon. As states began to be pried open, financial
blow-outs induced, social relations recast, the *political* responsibility remained firmly lodged in
the nation-state. Likewise, in the 1990s, as the 'state was brought back in', it was renamed
'corrupt' and 'authoritarian', requiring 'multi-party democracy' and 'good governance'. National
self-determination remains a pillar of multilateralism, justifying the formal shift of policy-making
power to global institutions across an array of functions that have conventionally been understood
to belong to the nation-state – paradoxical as it may be.

The rudimentary nature of the global state serves its ultra-imperial bifurcation, for there is
an oligopoly that drives the making of law, and where the law does not serve its interests, the
oligopoly circumvents it. For example, when the functions of the IMF were expanded by the first

and second surveillance decisions, there was no legislated expansion of political authority equivalent to the new functions.[82] The same can be said of the World Bank. Both IFIs have retained *legally* bifurcated enforcement mechanisms, applying solely to debtor states, not creditors. The WTO claims 'one-country-one-vote' universality, though the dispute settlement process belies this claim. Essentially, global government is legally and/or effectively controlled by the centre to make policy in the periphery. On the other hand, the IMF, as the multilateral institution authorised to deliberate on monetary affairs, is routinely by-passed on substantive matters of 'policy coordination'. Since 1975, policy coordination has been discussed at the G6/G7, outside the authorised multilateral framework. With similar flair, the G7 has routinely ignored the advice of the IMF when the latter has called for fiscal prudence among the group's members. Pauly has observed that, since the first surveillance decision, the G7 has consistently turned a deaf ear to the IMF's calls for fiscal cut-backs; instead, cumulative G7 deficits over the two decades grew from 36 to 67 percent of the group's aggregate GDP, while the adjusting states were implementing austerity programmes.[83] These deficits were financed by international capital markets, while tight monetary policy drove down inflation – in accordance with the politics of liquidity.

Civilising Opposition

The politics of liquidity seeks moral authority for all this not only by means of the principle of national self-determination. In the post-Cold War period, it has also sought legitimacy by reference to 'international law' (Gulf War) and 'human rights' (Bosnia, Kosovo). But these moral references have been less effective than their 'anti-communist' predecessor in brigading the world behind a common 'good' against a clear and present danger. On the other hand, the idea of an 'irreversible globalisation', along with its 'governance' module, *has* mustered significant compliance. The idea that 'there is no alternative' has been bolstered by the competitive deregulation 'realities' unleashed by financial liberalisation, but also upon the tumultuous collapse of Soviet-led 'socialism'. The latter, in particular, has had the effect of altering the politics of opposition world-wide, most notably within international trade unionism, by reducing the 'reasonable' realm of politics. Thus, anti-imperialist, socialist, and interventionist languages found themselves deep in 'uncivil' terrain, now safely broadened beyond the 'property

---

[82] Pauly (1997), ch. 6.
[83] Pauly (1997), p. 128.

unfriendly' to the 'market unfriendly' and subjected to the age-old tactics of cooptation and repression.

The art of cooptation is manifest within what has recently been called 'complex multilateralism'.[84] With the displacement of the developmental state in the 1980s and the concomitant rise of new social movements, organised politics expanded beyond the state to the level of multilateral institutions. At the forefront of this expansion have been both old and new social movements (labour, gender, and ecological). These social movements have seen measured success, concentrated mainly at the Bank and mostly on issues of transparency and environment (the Bank has become the largest global environmental fund in the 1990s). And it has sought legitimacy for its conduct by various means, such as inclusion of NGOs in project implementation and research. By 1994 the Bank involved NGOs in up to 50 percent of its projects; and since 1996 it has engaged NGOs at country-level in the assessment of its programmes, within the framework of the Structural Adjustment Programme Review Initiative (SAPRI). Yet, the differentiation between the civil and uncivil at this level has remained crystal clear. The Bank has identified 'civil society' with pliant NGOs, rather than, for example, the more 'ideological' gender equity advocates; while the latter have had to either 'civilise' their voice by conforming it to 'efficiency' criteria and making a 'business case for gender', or remain excluded from 'social dialogue'. The environmental movement has seen its diverse demands streamlined through the dialogue as well: 'success', such as in the form of a Vice-Presidency for Environmentally Sustainable Development, has been won at a price; social movements have gained no institutionalised voice and access to enforcement mechanisms in their own right. It is also clear that factions of social movements have taken advantage of the civil status attributed to them to prevail over rivals in the movement. Thus, the AFL-CIO had its own voice heard at the 1996 Singapore Ministerial of the WTO via the US Trade Representative, and it spoke for the global Social Clause. In sum, that which has emerged in response to the global state is a 'global civil society' that is weighted in favour of central-state actors, and US-based ones in particular; it is also committed to 'market friendly' politics.

To demonstrate better the process of 'civilisation', the following sections provide an overview of the relationship between the civil and uncivil politics of the semi-proletariat.

---

[84] O'Brien et al. (2000).

3.3   Rural Violence, Rebellion and the Return of Land Reform

The 1980s witnessed the emergence of a new globally standardised land policy, consisting of privatisation of land tenure and freehold titling, with application to state farms, communal/indigenous lands, previously reformed sectors, and collectives. On this basis, land reform was abdicated to the market on a willing-buyer-willing-seller basis. This period also witnessed the deepening of global agricultural market integration and the evolution of biotechnology under the aegis of transnational forms, which further transformed the conditions of farming among smallholders. While structural adjustment was implemented ostensibly to 'liberate' peasant agriculture from 'urban interests', in fact it raised the costs of production for peasants via currency devaluations and fiscal cutbacks and it locked smallholders into input markets and distribution channels dominated by agroindustry. The following two decades accentuated land alienation and rural differentiation, ushering in a new period of rural violence and rebellion. In the mid-1990s, land reform returned to the global development agenda, now with the World Bank at the forefront.

In Latin America, the new land policy followed SAPs across the continent.[85] The exception to the rule occurred in Nicaragua which in 1979 attempted the final Cold War revolution; this was accompanied by radical agrarian reform measures and counter-revolution funded and trained by the United States. Meanwhile, in neighbouring El Salvador, a peasant rebellion in 1980 gave way to a protracted civil war, alongside the three-decade-long civil war in Guatemala, similarly sustained by US involvement. In the 1990s, and with the end of the Cold War, all three Central American states signed peace accords, at the centre of which have been land reform plans; these have variously combined state-led redistribution approaches with individual freehold titles, and have been accompanied by ongoing rural violence.[86] But the era of land reform that had begun with the Mexican revolution early in the century was brought to a symbolic end with the formal abandonment of land reform in Mexico in 1992.

The tally on the land question of the continent remains grim. On the one hand, the number of family farms has doubled as a result of the various phases of redistribution and titling. On the other hand, 26% of the total number of farms still control 90% of the total arable land, which is extensively used and oftentimes lies idle; while the 50% smallest farms control only 2% of the land, which is used intensively and depleted of resources. The several decades of reform have also been accompanied by ongoing rural differentiation, with the emergence of a middle-

---

[85] See de Janvry and Sadoulet (1989), pp. 1397–1407, and Kay (1998).

farming sector. Together with the large-scale sector, middle- and large-scale farming have been well-placed to benefit from the liberalisation of agriculture, in contrast to the smallholder sector. The middle- and large-scale sectors have also enjoyed the benefits of cheap labour provided by the semi-proletarianised household (functional dualism). In this regard, it is estimated that smallholder households on average derive only 40% of their income from their own farming, the rest being gained by their sale of labour. It is also estimated that 52% of rural households remained in poverty in 1995, along with 33% of urban households.[87]

The liberal period submerged land reform and smallholder agriculture in Africa as well. Here, too, agrarian reform was replaced by trade liberalisation and fiscal retreat from peasant agriculture, expansion to non-traditional foreign-exchange earning agricultural commodities, accessed largely by large-scale commercial farming, and privatisation of the state sector and, to a lesser extent, communal agriculture. The first experience in market-led reform occurred in Zimbabwe, following armed struggle. The struggle ended in a negotiated settlement, which established a new constitution protecting private property and the market as the formal instrument of land reform. In this case, the state was attributed a mediating role as land purchaser and selector of beneficiaries, and communal forms of tenure were retained in the smallholder sector. The decade saw the resettlement of 58,000 families (out of a targeted 162,000) on 3 million hectares, financed by both the state and the former colonial power. However, the market method demonstrated its first failure, for it yielded only a small portion of prime agricultural land (19% of total land redistributed), and tied land reform to the fiscal health of the peripheral state and the political priorities of the donor community.[88] Meanwhile, Kenya, Cote d'Ivoire, Malawi, and Uganda, implemented a privatisation of communal land tenure. This process has invariably led to new land bidding opportunities and the further concentration of land ownership. Together with the fiscal retreat from the smallholder sector, the liberal formula has accentuated the combined processes of differentiation, proletarianisation, and pauperisation, with women carrying the heavier of burdens of functional dualism. Across Africa under structural adjustment, privatisation was extended to state lands as well. These were acquired either by emergent national bourgeoisies close to the state or by transnational agroindustrial capital. In the process, commercial farming retained its privileges and also shifted production to non-traditional foreign-exchange earning land uses, like horticulture, ostrich husbandry, and wildlife management.[89]

---

[86] Kay (2000) and de Janvry et al. (2001).

[87] See de Janvry and Sadoulet (1989), de Janvry et al. (2001), and Kay (1998).

[88] See Moyo (1995), chs. 3 and 4.

[89] See El-Ghonemy (1999), Bernstein (2000), Moyo (2000b), and Moyo (2000a).

The new land policy extended to other parts of the world, as in the Philippines in the post-Marcos period, but perhaps most spectacularly in Central and Eastern European economies in 'transition'. As elsewhere, large-scale privatisation, decollectivisation, and freehold titling ensued, as well as restitution to the land owners of the pre-collectivisation era. The principle of restitution has been applied mainly in the Baltics and Central Europe, while in the Ukraine and Russia state and collective farms have been transferred to farm workers and managers. Privatisation has been uneven. In Albania, for example, as much as 95% of the land has been transferred to small private farmers.[90] Meanwhile, in Russia, Bulgaria, and Hungary, land and other means of production have concentrated in the hands of the agricultural technocracy (as much as 70% of land), and given rise to East European forms of functional dualism. Privatisation also contributed to perhaps 'the most severe economic crisis in modern history', deeper and wider than the Great Depression, including the massive collapse of agricultural production.[91] In this regard, Iván Szelényi has commented that, while it is 'premature to judge' the ultimate direction of agrarian change, one possible scenario is the sliding down of the 'second' world to the 'third': 'the growth of post-communist 'latifundia', oriented in the long run to extensive production based on cheap labour, limited domestic markets, and export orientation'.[92]

Amongst peasant-workers, there have been various 'economic' responses to liberalisation, such as the formation of self-help organisations to fill the economic vacuum of the retreating state. This has been witnessed throughout Latin America and Africa.[93] A recent study by Sam Moyo on Africa has found that these rural organisations have proliferated over the structural adjustment period.[94] However, the political effects of these organisations have been limited, serving rather as new 'welfare agents' in the global market. They have served also as new instruments of 'indirect rule', as they 'seem to increasingly substitute the local state and traditional authority in organising community infrastructure building and maintenance, in exacting local taxes in the form of labour contributions and cash charges for the delivery of services provided such as water, land administration and so forth, and in the co-management of state initiated projects'.[95] Moreover, these organisations do not overcome class and gender hierarchies, but tend to reproduce them; they also do not offer alternative development strategies, but are linked to state and donor funding and political priorities.

---

[90] See Swinnen (2001).
[91] Szelényi (1998), p. 12.
[92] Szelényi (1998), p. 16.
[93] With respect to Latin America, see Veltmeyer, Petras, and Vieux (1997), chs. 2 and 3.
[94] Moyo and Romadhane eds. (forthcoming).
[95] Moyo (forthcoming), manuscript p. 22.

Another economic response is of a far more intractable nature. Peasant-workers are not only, or any longer, petty-commodity producers and wage labourers but also soldiers in the new phenomenon of 'complex emergencies'. For many, especially male youth, participation in war has been an economic 'solution', and one that establishes vested interests in the perpetuation of war rather than in its resolution, at the expense not least of those caught in the crossfire. If armed *liberation* struggle had been hallmark of the colonial and nationalist periods, this has given way in the wake of the Cold War to wars that serve purely economic functions. From Angola, Sierra Leone, and Congo, to Latin America and Asia, 'war economies' have emerged, based on the production and trade of diamonds and other high-value products destined for Western markets, giving rise also to a demand for modern mercenary forces supplied by such firms as Executive Outcomes.[96] These wars are all too often rendered in 'ethnic', 'tribal', or 'warlord' terms by media and academic interpreters, though they have their roots in the unresolved agrarian questions of the century past. And they have been exacerbated by the imposition of structural adjustment programmes, as in the cases of Rwanda and Somalia specifically, where adjustment submerged existing agrarian problems, undermined food systems and living standards, and even demanded 'shock therapy' on the eve of civil war![97] Yet another economic 'solution' by peasants, back in their petty-commodity producing roles, is the production of coca leaves for export to US and European markets. In Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia, coca production has been adopted in the course of agrarian crisis *and* the rise in the demand for cocaine in the West. This has elicited an extroverted strategy of repression by the United States at the point of coca production, and again involved some and caught others in the crossfire between government security forces, narcomilitias, and revolutionary guerrilla forces variably involved in the coca industry.[98] Contemporary non-emancipatory wars, whatever the term used to describe them, all have deleterious effects for the democratic process – a phenomenon that is routinely and conveniently slotted into the category of 'corruption'.

The liberal period has accentuated the violence that is endemic in the countryside, whether revolutionary, counter-, or non-revolutionary. It has also exacerbated unemployment, poverty, and natural resource depletion. Together, these phenomena have perpetuated a fourth type of economic 'solution', which is migration, rural to rural, rural to urban, and international. Peasant-workers thus become also 'ethnic' and 'foreigners', sometimes within their own states, and also 'illegal aliens' facing 'xenophobia'. In the Southern African context, as Lloyd

---

[96] Berdal and Keen (1997).

[97] See Chossudovsky (1998), chs. 4 and 5, on Somalia and Rwanda, respectively.

[98] See Kay (2000), Léons and Sanabria (1997), and Petras (1997).

Sachikonye indicates, the regional pool of labour supplies has swollen in the 1990s; if during the early colonial period all sorts of state-administered coercive mechanisms had to be employed to extract labour, this is certainly no longer the case.[99] Contemporary migration takes various, including gendered forms. Women themselves become involved in informal, cross-border trade.[100] But they also remain in the countryside and shoulder the increasing burdens of social reproduction, for men continue to be the primary source of wage labour to the regional economy. This impacts gender relations in veriable ways, producing polygynous family arrangements, and also rendering the population as a whole susceptible to HIV/AIDS to an ever greater extent.[101]

Besides the above economic solutions, there have also been notable *political* responses. On the one hand, there are now the formal, civil politics defined by the parameters of the governance synthesis. Civic organisations, NGOs, trade unions, and 'opposition' parties have embraced 'good governance' language propagated by the donor community and domestic bourgeoisies. These alliances have tapped widespread popular grievances, but have given them reformist leadership, channelling them towards the state. They have typically sought the realisation of existing constitutional rights, espoused multi-party democracy, 'social clauses', and 'safety nets', and abided by 'the rule of law'. The collapse of Soviet-led socialism in the late 1980s has been the crucial turning point in this 'civilisation' of oppositional politics, while the transformation has been pervasive.[102] The result has been the creation of a gaping political void: the inability of formal politics to deliver to the working classes beyond temporary and measured respite.

It is no surprise then that, in the 1990s, there has been a 'resurgence of the left' outside of formal politics. This resurgence has been both organised and spontaneous, from street demonstrations and land occupations to armed struggle. The most organised of 'uncivil' politics has been witnessed in Latin America. As James Petras has observed, there has been a proliferation of oppositional organisations across the continent whose stronghold is in the countryside and whose primary tactic has been the occupation of land.[103] The most notable is the Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil, boasting some 500,000 members, the largest peasant movement on the continent. Another is the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, which formed in 1983 and opted for armed struggle upon the launching of NAFTA. Along with continental counterparts, they have

---

[99] Sachikonye (1998).
[100] Gaidzanwa (1998).
[101] Gwaunza (1998).
[102] See Petras (1997) and Moyo (2001a).

forced national debates to address a breadth of issues, such as land reform, indigenous and women's rights; have cultivated class consciousness, fusing Marxism with local moral languages; have laid emphasis on the democratic principle within the movements; have remained politically autonomous while building alliances among the urban poor; and have cultivated an internationalist consciousness and practice, resulting in the establishment of a regional organisation.[104] While it is early to judge the future direction of these movements, it is clear that the obstacles are enormous. Repression by security forces, as well as the hired guns of landowners, has resulted in some 1,000 killings in Brazil since 1985 and many more in Mexico. In the wake of the Cold War, such repression renders peasant politics more vulnerable to ideological dilution and cooptation by civil society and the state, which indeed has already occurred with respect to the Zapatistas in Mexico.[105]

Rural movements have emerged in Asia and Africa as well. In the Philippines, for example, a long tradition of peasant militancy persists to this day. In the post-Cold War period, it has abandoned the military option, has concentrated on political organisation and alliance-building, and has relied on the occupation of land as its primary tactic.[106] In Africa, as we will see, the leading role in this regard has been played in Zimbabwe, with reverberations across the sub-continent. Although the African movements remain less organised and articulate (in terms of socialist politics), they have significant following and pose fundamental challenges to the liberal project in the region.

One immediate effect of land occupations in all the above cases is to be found in the realm of land reform. We saw earlier that, in the 1990s, land reform returned to the global development agenda, under the auspices of the World Bank. In a tacit acknowledgement of the failure of structural adjustment to serve the 'rural poor', the Bank has began to search for various mechanisms to make the market deliver land, without abandoning the essence of the market principle. Despite the proclamations of the governance synthesis regarding the 'bringing back' of the state, the new internationally standardised model of reform has removed the state from this crucial process. Under the label of 'community initiated, market assisted' reform (CIMA), the Bank has sought to by-pass the state, soliciting instead the willing services of NGOs and academic institutions with the purpose of providing 'aid' to the landless and landshort to organise, identify land, negotiate its price, and purchase it.

---

[103] Petras (1997).

[104] Petras (1997).

[105] On repression, see Kay (2000); on the ideological shift of the EZLN, see Petras (1997), pp. 37–39.

[106] Borras (1998).

While market-assisted land reform has a longer history, as in Zimbabwe, the state has in the past played a central role as purchaser and selector of beneficiaries. And in the Zimbabwean case, we have seen that even the involvement of the state in market-assisted reform failed to deliver land of sufficient acreage and quality. This experience has been reproduced in the 1990s under CIMA. The model has been applied in Colombia, Brazil, and South Africa; and it has been found that 'the poor' remain disadvantaged in the process of organisation, negotiation, and purchase, as well as in the setting up of viable farming in the face of adverse macroeconomic conditions and competition from the privileged commercial farming sectors. Among the results also has been the 'mis-targeting' of redistribution towards rural and urban bourgeoisies with the wherewithal to farm.[107] The Bank has sought to remedy the model's failures by experimenting, via ongoing 'pilot' projects and the assistance of client NGOs, with yet new instruments of intervention in the market.

The Bank's model has not been the only model of land reform in application in the 1990s, however. In fact, it co-exists with the principle of restitution in post-apartheid South Africa, for example; and it interacts dynamically with state-led models, both sanctioned (post-civil war Nicaragua and El Salvador) and non-sanctioned (Zimbabwe's compulsory acquisition attempts in the 1990s), as well as with the land occupation model itself, which is both pervasive and non-sanctioned.[108] Indeed, whatever progress on land reform has occurred in the CIMA period cannot be understood in isolation from the two non-sanctioned models. Zimbabwe's experience will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow. Suffice it to note here that land occupations movements, besides forcing a variety of censored issues onto national debates, have also *driven* the market. In Brazil, for example, when the government began 'studying' market-based reform in 1985, the MST compelled it to study fast. Between 1990 and 1996, the MST carried out 518 occupations on land that it designated as unproductive; reportedly, over half of the settlements in Brazil have received land as a direct result of social pressure; in all, the MST has helped establish over 1,000 land reform settlements by mobilising 145,000 families to occupy.[109] Similar interaction between the market and militant peasants is recorded in the Philippines,[110] and indeed was a major impetus to the 'state-led, market-assisted' reform of Zimbabwe in the early 1980s, where the few prime lands that were acquired by the government were lands that belonged to white farmers chased off during the war.

---

[107] See Carter and Salgado (2001), Deininger (2001), El-Ghonemy (1999), Levin and Weiner (1996), and Moyo (2000b).

[108] See Moyo (2001b) and de Janvry *et al.* (2001), pp. 290–93.

[109] Wolford (2001).

3.4   Labour Solidarity or Imperialism?

The above forms of participation in the development dialogue have continued to interact with the formal and more institutionalised debate over the meaning of worker participation conducted within international trade unionism and the ILO. We saw in Chapter 2 that the debate in this latter context played out in the nationalist period through the conjuncture of Cold War, anti-colonial, and postcolonial nationalist politics. The 1970s were a period of generalised crisis in the global economy, and this translated into a period of flux within international trade unionism as well. The changing international division of labour, the resolution of the adjustment question by means of SAPs, and the new politics of liquidity had the combined effect of weakening labour movements world-wide. International trade unionism thus began to seek new sources of 'solidarity' and a new mission, while two issues emerged to focus the debate: the idea of a global Social Clause and the anti-apartheid struggle. With regards to the ICFTU, the two issues, both thorny and complex, proved central to process of reinvention (on which the centre had embarked since the departure of the AFL-CIO). The precise meaning of a 'social democratic' internationalism began to be articulated more clearly and debated over the next two decades, until gaining a monopoly in international trade unionism with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fading away of the WFTU.

The conjuncture of a changing international division of labour and the rise of finance impacted adversely on Western labour. It spelled the end of national social compacts founded in the politics of productivity, at a time when the global labour market for industrial labour was expanding beyond the northern Atlantic. Thus, workers' wages in the alliance would no longer trail increases in productivity, nor could workers rest assured that US and European capitals would not opt for foreign labour over domestic. The generalised restructuring of the period saw a growing labour force in the West unemployed, employed insecurely, or under 'flexible' arrangements, while average real wages went into protracted decline. Just as well, the welfare state began to come under sustained assault, which, together with the breaching of the productivity compromise, put labour on a collision course with state and capital. If in the past the realm of Western European industrial relations had been a positive-sum game, from the 1970s onwards it became 'a process of concession bargaining'; as Richard Hyman has noted, governments and employers' organisations were increasingly prepared to enter into 'social dialogue' with trade unions 'only to the extent that they endorse, and thus help legitimise, deflationary macroeconomic policies and the dismantling of significant elements in the post-war

---

[110] See Borras (1998).

edifice of state welfare'.[111] In turn, the increasing inability of trade unions to deliver to their memberships jobs, income, and social security brought about disaffection among the rank and file, which combined with growing unemployment to bring about a decline in union membership and a further weakening of trade unionism in national politics. As the new liquidity politics gained momentum, the predicament of Western labour soon translated into a new and extroverted trade union mission whose aim was the establishment of a global Social Clause to cushion the effects of restructuring. This idea was first articulated within ITS circles in the early 1970s, and over the following decade gained the crucial support of the AFL-CIO upon the launching of the NAFTA debate.[112]

For labour movements in the periphery, the changing international division of labour presented a series of new challenges. First, there was now a new and growing differentiation in international labour between a high-skill Western worker, partially adapting to new technology industries, and a low-skill Southern worker, increasingly female, in labour-intensive industries. Pitting Northern and Southern workers against each other in a global labour market, this differentiation sharpened divisions within international labour and reduced the sources of solidarity. Second, the onset of rapid industrialisation for some and structural adjustment for the rest of the periphery was accompanied by intensified state repression in both cases. Labour movements had now to refocus and intensify their struggles at the national level. But, third, the SAP package of labour market deregulation, privatisation, and liberalisation weakened further the basis of trade unionism. Retrenchments, informalisation of work, and migration all struck a blow to union membership at a crucial historical juncture.[113]

Third world trade unions therefore were forced to adjust and respond to new realities, and ultimately to search for new internationalisms of their own. In Africa, a primary concern over the last two decades has been with the mobilisation of previously neglected constituencies, such as among women and rural workers, as well as among the burgeoning ranks of informal sector and unemployed workers. The realisation soon set in that if trade unions were to gain industrial and political strength to challenge liberalism by effective strike action, they would have to expand beyond the conventional 'industrial relations' parameters. In turn, this placed new demands on trade unions to democratise their own internal structures so as to provide a legitimate channel of expression to the grievances of existing and prospective members, not least women.[114] Alongside

---

[111] Hyman (1999), p. 126.

[112] See Fröbel, Heinrichs, and Kreye (1980), ch. 8, and Rupert (1995), pp. 658–92.

[113] See Southall (1988) and Thomas (1995).

[114] See Mihyo and Schiphorst (1995).

the twin mobilisation-democratisation project, trade unions have sought to conscientise members on the new realities by educational initiatives aiming to raise economic literacy skills on SAP matters. This has combined with parallel initiatives by trade unions to develop their own research capacity and upgrade their technical skills so as to gain an independent ability to evaluate changing labour market conditions, and even articulate rigorous alternative macroeconomic policy frameworks (as in Zimbabwe), from a 'labour perspective'.

The twin strategy of mobilisation and democratisation has also been accompanied by the (re)consideration of old and new trade union models. One has been that of 'political unionism', by no means a new model in the periphery. It might be recalled that throughout the periphery, trade unionism has dovetailed with nationalism, and indeed was often the matrix of nationalist politics. With the onset of structural adjustment, political trade unionism was rekindled and directed towards the authoritarian implementation of structural adjustment. A second, and closely associated, model of trade unionism has been that of 'social unionism', by which trade unions have sought to build alliances with 'labour supporting' groups, such as among students, academics, churches, and NGOs. Undoubtedly, the champion of this model has been the South African labour movement in the closing decade of apartheid, when it forged alliances with a plethora of groups, including township activists, unemployed youth, and students.[115] A third model has come to be known as 'strategic unionism'. This has assumed different substantive forms in different contexts, but what unites them is a willingness to engage in 'pragmatic' dialogue with state and capital in order to achieve 'realistic' gains on specific issues. In apartheid South Africa, 'radical reformism' was an instance of this approach.[116] Under structural adjustment more generally, strategic unionism has taken the form of 'concession bargaining', such as in the privatisation process, or initiatives to strike a deal on issues of wages, productivity, and efficiency.

Perhaps the biggest challenge, however, has been in the broadening of the focus of politics beyond the national level and the search for a new basis of international trade union solidarity on contemporary regional and global matters. This new focus has found impetus in the upgrading of research capacity, which has increasingly enabled the articulation of global visions and the formulation of policy positions on issues related *inter alia* to trade, EPZs, labour standards, and regional cooperation. But it has also found impetus in the incipient rise of global government, which itself has begged for new responses. In Southern Africa, moreover, the search for a new internationalism has been bolstered by the experience of the anti-apartheid struggle and

---

[115] Lambert and Webster (1988).

113

the rise of a powerful trade union movement in South Africa seeking to redefine its relations with international trade unions centres in a non-subordinate way. The Southern African debate has raised the age-old issues of paternalism practised by Northern trade unions towards their Southern counterparts, as well as of the welfarist understandings of global development of the former and their lack of accountability to their memberships, especially on international work.[117]

It is worth dwelling on the apartheid context of international labour politics, for in the midst of the multiple transformations of the world economy and the demand for a Social Clause by international labour, the anti-apartheid struggle forced itself onto the world stage, compelling Northern national centres and internationals to take a stand, and rethink and clarify their international policies. In this regard, the valid observation has been made by Roger Southall that 'perhaps no other internationalist cause has so aroused the enduring commitment of the post-war international labour movement';[118] and that, while 'the Internationals [still] have much to answer for', we need to acknowledge that they are not homogenous and monolithic, and that the accusation of imperialism needs to be qualified (even if cautiously).[119] Yet, the lesson that emerges from this experience is a more sombre one: it takes a gross violation of *liberal* values to mobilise trade union solidarity across centre and periphery. Moreover, it is clear also that the kind of solidarity extended and the practices of Northern centres on a more global scale were not the kind aiming to dent ultra-imperialism and preventing South Africa's quick slide from apartheid to neoliberalism.[120]

It remains therefore pertinent to outline the dynamics of international labour on the continent and beyond over the last quarter-century and to demonstrate that the context of anti-apartheid labour solidarity was pregnant with labour imperialism. We saw in Chapter 2 that, with the departure of the AFL-CIO in 1969, the ICFTU entered a process of reinvention. It began to clarify the meaning of a 'social democratic' internationalism, whose essence was not a 'Keynesian welfare state for all', but a much more emasculated project consisting of advocacy for trade union rights, liberal democratic rights more generally, and a welfarist developmentalism. This redefinition was facilitated by the turn of the ICFTU and Northern affiliates for funding to their own governments, national political parties of various shades, and international organisations, such as the ILO and UNESCO. It was in this context that white minority rule in South Africa, persisting two decades after the abolition of race as a principle of global order,

---

[116] Adler and Webster (1999).
[117] See Anonymous Correspondent (1991).
[118] Southall (1995), p. 258.
[119] Southall (1995), p. 45.

struck a moral chord in the consciousness of organised metropolitan labour and could no longer be brushed aside. The ICFTU could simply not claim legitimacy in these times of transition unless it faced up to the problem. This it did, of course, to become an important international actor in the anti-apartheid movement and the labour politics of the continent.

Southall provides a detailed account of the considerable support offered, from educational programmes, trade union capacity building, and community development projects, to crucial legal aid.[121] Most notably, solidarity was extended by Northern workers at the grassroots, employed in firms whose subsidiaries operated in South Africa.[122] But, as Southall also notes, the ICFTU *as an institution* discriminated against radical trade unionism: on the one hand, it provided international legitimacy to the new democratic unions; on the other, it steered away from SAAWU or centres like the WFTU-inclined SACTU.[123] It is such persisting practices that led COSATU in the 1980s to eschew affiliation with the ICFTU and accept its funding only indirectly, via the 'fraternal' national centres in the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.[124] It is such tactics, furthermore, that form the labour internationalist backdrop to the 'radical reformism' opted for by COSATU. Imperialist practices were witnessed on the rest of the continent as well. Having made a comeback in Africa via South Africa, the ICFTU began to compete with OATUU for the loyalty of African trade unions. Although there was a rapprochement between the two in the late 1970s (by virtue of OATUU's own resort to international donor funding) the issue of imperialism was kept alive by OATTU as well, if only rhetorically. The anti-imperialist position was then bolstered in 1983 by the formation of SATUCC (Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council) as the regional branch of OATUU, but both OATUU and SATUCC continued to be plagued by financial dependence on states and donors which detracted from their own capacity and legitimacy in continental trade unions politics.[125] Ultimately, OATUU had a crisis of its own in the mid-1980s, resulting in a split within its ranks, one dimension of which was the unresolved issue of non-alignment, and another the exploitation of this issue by the ICFTU and the AFL-CIO by means of economic incentives offered to break-away centres.[126]

---

[120] See Bond (2000).

[121] See Southall (1995), chs. 4–7.

[122] Southall (1995), ch. 10.

[123] Southall (1995), pp. 143–57.

[124] Southall (1995), ch. 13.

[125] See Southall (1995), pp. 113–14.

[126] Weir (1986b).

The AFL-CIO, for its part, rejoined both the ILO and the ICFTU in the early 1980s, but continued to pursue bilateral relations with African trade unions. In South Africa its efforts to act unilaterally were rebuffed by trade unions, forcing it instead to operate within the terms of the ICFTU's Programme of Action. It did, however, continue to pursue its own brand of 'business unionism' and to channel funds to smaller unions, thereby hoping to subvert other trade unionisms and to disrupt the emerging liaison between COSATU and the liberation movement in exile.[127] By the mid-1980s, its programmes in Africa expanded drastically via its regional branch, the AALC, ninety percent of whose activities were being funded by the US government.[128]

The end of the Cold War, finally, brought about the transformation of international trade unionism, when the ICFTU and its own brand of internationalism became 'the only game in town'. Indeed, with the collapse of the Soviet bloc, there was a marked shift in the available sources of oppositional politics and international solidarity, both moral and material. Almost overnight, socialist and interventionist politics lost respectability nearly everywhere, while calls for liberalisation found themselves triumphant by default. The realm of oppositional politics shrunk to fit the governance synthesis; while the ICFTU's own emphasis on trade union rights and liberal democratic procedures found much common ground. Any political differences that remained were to be articulated within the evolving framework of civility.

The ICFTU's civil vision has had national, regional, and global manifestations, though there is a basic principle underlying all. This is that worker participation in economic life should seek 'independence' by breaking away from states but not donors; accept capitalist relations of production; limit itself to the tripartite formula; and seek 'social dialogue'. Significantly, the ICFTU's vision of opposition at the national level accords with the governance synthesis on such issues as 'the rule of law' and 'multi-party democracy'. At the global level, the primary objective is to enforce the seven basic ILO conventions (together comprising Social Clause) ostensibly to temper the excesses of liberalism.[129]

Inherent in this vision is a typology of the 'right' and 'wrong' kinds of trade unionism. While there are trade unions North and South that may disagree on this definition of opposition to various degrees and for various reasons, what they must have in order to be good citizens of the international labour movement is a commitment to the above definition of 'social democracy'. Indeed, as Robert O'Brien has argued, the ICFTU sees itself as being on a mission to defend

---

[127] See Southall (1995), ch. 8.

[128] Weir (1986a).

[129] This resolution was made at the 16th World Congress of the ICFTU, held in Brussels in June 1996; see O'Brien (2000), p. 542.

'social democratic' forms of industrial relations against 'neoliberal' and 'authoritarian' ones, which, importantly, are defined *not* by the content of their politics in the first instance, but 'the degree to which autonomous or independent worker organisations are allowed to operate in the economic and political arenas of a particular country'.[130] O'Brien endorses this view, and further asserts that at present '[t]he international labour movement faces a severe challenge because its favoured form of regulation, social democratic, is being squeezed by a pincer movement by the neoliberal and authoritarian models'.[131] However, this assertion only reproduces the ICFTU's own interpretation of the problematic. For the real 'pincer movement' in the post-Cold War liberal world is against the peasant-worker in the periphery and the unprotected worker in the centre; this squeeze is performed by liberalisation, the ICFTU's social democracy, and the use of force by the security agencies of adjusting states. It is these latter forces, furthermore, that have brought about the 'civilising' of trade unionisms and 'opposition' political parties, and produced the political vacuum that is now being filled by all sorts of 'economic' solutions and 'uncivil' politics noted earlier.[132]

Of course, the counter-argument by the ICFTU and civilised affiliates would be that the global Social Clause will serve the interests of the semi-proletariat. Rural poverty and migration, they would argue, the withdrawal of children from school for work in farms and factories, the conscription of teenagers in militias, *de facto* slavery, all exist because the freedom of association and collective bargaining has been denied; and that the main threat to the exploited worker today is 'the competition between developing states for investments'. But what is clear is that posing the problem in terms of the unresolved agrarian question would require a political sacrifice that the global labour aristocracy would not be willing to make. For this reason, the most 'unreasonable' of languages is that of anti-imperialism.

Labour internationalism, in its contemporary 'social democratic' form, continues to be the social prop of imperialism, much like Lenin observed a century ago. Moreover, its location is not confined to central states but gains crucial satellites in the periphery, which together seek to constitute what Mark Rupert has falsely called a 'counter-hegemonic' common sense.[133] It is no coincidence that the Social Clause has gained the endorsement of central and peripheral states. Most notably, whereas the AFL-CIO had confronted the US government over the establishment

---

[130] O'Brien (2000), p. 539.

[131] O'Brien (2000), p. 541.

[132] The dynamics of this will be demonstrated in detail in the following chapters on Zimbabwe. Suffice it to note here that even 'powerful' peripheral trade unions, such as those of South Africa and Brazil, have succumbed to the squeeze; see Adler and Webster (1999) and Ramalho (1999), respectively.

[133] Rupert (1995).

of NAFTA, the two eventually came to see eye to eye, as did EU labour movements and states, and to collaborate on the proposal to link 'labour standards' to trade agreements at the Singapore Ministerial meeting of the WTO in 1996.[134] The proposal failed (instead, international commitment to the ILO was reinforced), but the accommodation has continued to seek fulfilment elsewhere. In the same year, the ICFTU invited Michel Camdessus, IMF Director, to speak at its 16th World Congress. And in 1997, in Davos, the WEF resolved that a new project on 'human social responsibility' was to be 'studied' by various personalities including, among others, prominent theologians and the new head of the AFL-CIO, John Sweeney.[135]

It is against this background of labour imperialism that peripheral trade unions have sought to articulate a new internationalism. In an anonymous article in the *South African Labour Bulletin* in the early 1990s, it was proposed that African trade unions should build upon a 'non-aligned international solidarity', outside the existing Northern-dominated internationals, a solidarity that would be faithful to the principle of accountability and that would give voice to the demands of African workers.[136] The author argued that the priority should be to strengthen the non-aligned centres, like COSATU (later aligned) and OATUU, and build solidarity with union activists within unions affiliated to the ICFTU and WFTU, in order to pursue the following: the establishment of a new international democratic alliance; the free flow of information on international solidarity assistance; and the planning of specific campaigns reflecting the needs of workers internationally. Moreover, in the author's words, '[t]his approach would establish a position of collective strength from which the non-aligned movements could engage in a dialogue from "active non-alignment" towards *worker-controlled internationalism*'.[137] The rationale advocated, therefore, was the building of an alternative solidarity en route to a replacement of the existing internationals. A similar rationale gave rise to a tri-continental meeting between COSATU, the Italian CGIL, and the Brazilian CUT, which proposed the necessity of an alternative to liberalism, but conceptualised it within the framework of 'strategic unionism' – with all its trappings.[138]

The anonymous article evidently caused a stir in the ICFTU, though it did spur on further debate. Peter Waterman, for example, responded to it, arguing that third world trade unions should not simply write off the existing internationals as unreconstructable monoliths. Rather, he argued, they should take their queue from global social movements and pursue dialogues –

---

[134] See O'Brien (2000).
[135] See van der Pijl (1998), pp. 134–35.
[136] Anonymous Correspondent (1991).
[137] Anonymous Correspondent (1991), p. 39, italics in original.

'communication internationalisms' – both within and without existing structures.[139] This position echoes Southall's own call for a more active and assertive engagement by peripheral trade unions in the remaining International, 'as an aid to its democratisation and to extend the basis for greater reciprocity between Northern and Southern trade unions'.[140] Yet, while not ruling this out, it is certain that the interests of the semi-proletariat would be better served by rural-urban alliances that keep the civil circuit at arm's length.

***

Structural adjustment abandoned the model of articulated growth to 'get the prices right'. From the late 1970s onwards, liberalisation swept across centre and periphery, consolidating a 'regionalised triadic bloc structure' across the ultra-imperial alliance and reinforcing a disarticulated pattern of accumulation in the periphery, along with functional dualism. The national question remained alive in this period, but in an emasculated existence, as ascendant finance and global institutions instrumentalised it to apportion responsibility for adjustment nationally. Accordingly, the uncivil domain broadened to the 'market unfriendly', especially after the Cold War. For its own part, international labour responded to the restructuring of the 1970s without embarking on a new politics of solidarity; by the 1990s, it had arrived at a social democratic identity that accorded with the governance synthesis. In due course, economic and social crisis in the periphery combined with state repression and a shrinking civil domain to produce diverse forms of 'incivility', organised and unorganised, progressive and regressive. Nonetheless, the ultra-imperial alliance and its liberal project managed to remain intact under US auspices, by means of the latter's security umbrella and the new financial regime.

---

[138] See Waterman (1998), pp. 123–24.
[139] Waterman (1998), chs. 5 and 7.
[140] Southall (1995), p. 363.

CHAPTER 4

Zimbabwe and the Liberal *Rendez-Vous*

The previous chapters have provided an interpretation of the development dialogue in the postwar period. The present chapter focuses on the case of Zimbabwe, and seeks to understand its particular experience. In this period, Zimbabwe has obtained 'pariah' status twice. At the time of writing, it is in the midst of its second bout with the 'international community', related to its worst economic and political crisis since independence in 1980, exactly one decade after its adoption of structural adjustment in 1991. While Zimbabwe has particularities of its own, deriving from its white-settler colonial experience, it is a typical late-twentieth-century peripheral country whose deep historical contradictions have only been inflamed by the onset of liberalisation. In what follows, I will briefly review some of the conceptual approaches to Zimbabwe's past and present, before outlining the basic contours of the country's experience – from the formation of the settler colonial state to the liberal *rendez-vous*. Subsequent chapters will provide a detailed account of semi-proletarian politics in Zimbabwe under structural adjustment.

4.1   Interpreting Zimbabwe's Past and Present

Two basic concerns among students of Zimbabwe have pertained to the nature of the Zimbabwean state, on the one hand, and Zimbabwean nationalism, on the other. These concerns find their origins in the pre-independence period, in the historical materialism of Giovanni Arrighi and the 'Africanism' of Terence Ranger. In an article written almost four decades ago, soon after the Rhodesian UDI, Arrighi sought to explain the divergence of the Rhodesian experience from the neo-colonial trends underway on much of the continent, that is, the relinquishing of colonial state institutions to small, deliberately nurtured, friendly African (petty)bourgeoisies. Focusing on inter-capitalist conflict, Arrighi concluded that Zimbabwe was being held hostage by white agrarian capital which insisted on extending its colonial occupation into the nationalist period.[1] Arrighi did not make much of African politics, but in his turn Ranger did, in two studies of African resistance and 'proto-nationalism' stretching back to the colonial

---

[1] Arrighi (1973b).

encounter. Here, Ranger painted a picture of unity and continuity of purpose against colonial oppression, feeding directly into the mass nationalism and guerrilla war of the 1970s.[2]

The onset of neo-colonialism in 1980 and parallel rise of an official nationalism altered the context of theorising about both the state and nation. Not only was neo-colonialism creating new contradictions that were straining the official, triumphalist nationalism, but there also emerged a new generation of indigenous scholars to lead the debate. The most important intervention at this juncture was made by Ibbo Mandaza (1986), who reconciled the two debates on the state and nation.[3] Mandaza observed that, despite a decade of armed struggle, a negotiated settlement had bequeathed a typical neo-colonial state in Zimbabwe, which was 'non-conventional' only insofar as formal political power had not been ceded to an African petty-bourgeoisie alone but jointly with a 'constitutionally safeguarded' white settler element. This reality produced a special sub-type of neo-colonial politics. The 'post-white settler colonial state' was characterised, first, by the persisting obstruction of an African 'national' bourgeoisie by the settler presence, which in turn offered prospects of advancement only to a section of the petty-bourgeoisie; and second, by the petty-bourgeoisie's own use of the settler presence as an excuse for developmental delays and as a means of extracting concessions for itself, while in the long run developing a class alliance with it, against peasants and workers. In this process of 'embourgeoisement' lay also the roots of state repression against the disenfranchised.

Alongside these observations, Mandaza sought to make the case for the centrality of African nationalism, but not in a 'mythologising' fashion; he saw nationalism as janus-faced, powerful in its mobilisational potential but also full of tensions and contradictions. 'African nationalism', he observed, 'is the indispensable force in the movement for national liberation; and yet it is also the basis for neo-colonialism by which the masses were betrayed'.[4] Nonetheless, Mandaza emphasised the contingency of neo-colonialism, its fate being subject to the power struggle between 'the masses' and imperialism over the political orientation of the petty-bourgeois leadership; while the apparent 'sell out' of the petty-bourgeoisie, in Zimbabwe and elsewhere, was not a sell out at all, but a mere reflection of the divisions and weaknesses of the nationalist movement, on the one hand, and the preponderant power of imperialism, on the other. Mandaza concluded that the class struggle in the neo-colonial state manifested itself in a 'schizophrenic state', one that pursued developmental objectives in response to popular aspirations (limited land reform, investment in rural development, education, and health), in the

---

[2] Ranger (1967 and 1970). Other prominent figures of the early nationalism debate included John Saul and Basil Davidson.
[3] Mandaza (1986a and 1986b); see also Sibanda (1988).
[4] Mandaza (1986a), p. 8.

same stride as it deployed the security agencies of the state in the suppression of popular demands. The class struggle also manifested itself in the articulation of a populist ideology of national homogeneity by the leadership, which the latter defended fiercely.

The significance of this interpretation is that it effectively linked the national question – its contradictions and authoritarian manifestations – to the neo-colonial situation. Yet, a weak point in the argument was Mandaza's elitist treatment of intra-African contradictions. By focusing solely on the petty-bourgeoisie that resided at the level of the state, Mandaza confined himself to a view of the national question 'from above', making references to 'the masses' casually, and shedding no light on semi-proletarian politics.[5]

In the 1990s, a number of further accounts of Zimbabwe's experience have been offered, the most robust being Patrick Bond's.[6] The intention here has been to provide a rigorous conceptualisation and historical narrative of the relationship between financial power and uneven development in Zimbabwe, rather than to theorise the state and nation as such. Yet, the two themes are ever-present and, indeed, demoted at one's own peril. Bond has sought to explain the process of overaccumulation and uneven development, but without specifying what is *different* about an 'overaccumulation crisis' in a semi-proletarianised, sectorally and socially disarticulated, neo-colonial state; nor how it *relates subordinately* to crisis in an industrialised, articulated (or even partly disarticulated), imperial state. The result is a lack of conceptual clarity on the mechanics of contemporary imperialism. With regards to the nation, Bond's focus has been limited to inter-capitalist conflict, not unlike Mandaza's, with the result again being a conceptual deficit on matters of 'progressive resistance' – its social base, organisational state of affairs, alliances, and political languages.[7]

Another approach has come in the form of the 'cultural turn' in Zimbabwean studies, as in the social sciences generally. This has arrived as a package of several moves. On the one hand, it has consisted in a renewed commitment to the writing of history 'from below', thereby holding out the prospect of grappling more rigorously with matters of political agency. On the other hand, it has parted ways with historical materialism, claiming freedom from 'grand theory', and conceptually isolating the 'local'. What in fact has occurred is a crude separation of moral and political economy. The result, in one case, is that the study of contemporary neo-colonialism is

---

[5] Another historical materialist tradition devoted to retrieving working class consciousness 'from below' had not managed to engage with nationalism properly; see van Onselen (1976) and Phimister (1988). See also the review essay by Raftopoulos (1999).
[6] Bond (1998).
[7] This is not redeemed in more recent statements focused precisely on civil society. Bond has proceeded in late MDC, 'multi-racial' fashion to dismiss nationalism as somehow a 'ZANU(PF) discourse', 'exhausted'

reduced to the study of 'the interpenetration of global and local cultural productions'.[8] In another, the national debate is freed from its neo-colonial context and explored merely in its 'regionalism', made possible by trivialised dialectical tools – 'using the perspective of the margin to explore the centre' – that are equally employable in the study of, say, France.[9] The further and gravest result in both cases is the delinking of authoritarian nationalism and violence from the 'schizophrenic' nature of the neo-colonial state. These phenomena now appear as 'abnormalities' that might inhere in particular political parties; while the envisioned alternative is a facile 'pluralisation' of the nation.

The concurrent debate over civil society and democratisation has raised the same issues, now in the added urgency of deep economic and political crisis. Here two approaches are discernable, one by Brian Raftopoulos, the other by Sam Moyo. Raftopoulos has made a number of key interventions. He has acknowledged the difficulty faced hitherto by the radical tradition in engaging with nationalism. He has sought to retrieve the history of *urban* struggles specifically, these having been given short shrift by an official nationalism inclined to serve the neo-colonial elite and its rural political needs. And he has emphasised also the importance of bridging organisationally and politically the rural-urban divide that semi-proletarianisation produces.[10] However, his analysis and activism have remained committed to urban-based, organised working class politics. Moyo, on the other hand, has sought to emphasise the significance of rural and informal politics in the changing political economy of the land question. He has pointed out the inability of formal, urban-based, donor-dependent civic organisations to tap and articulate systematically the rural grievances of the semi-proletariat. He has argued that their emphasis on liberal political rights or 'welfarist' development projects has tended to marginalise the more popular redistributive agenda. And he has warned of the consequences of not heeding rural grievances in Zimbabwe and the region at large.[11] This debate has been most robust indeed, redressing both the 'multi-racial' and elitist deficiencies of the radical tradition, producing valuable empirical work, and informing Left politics throughout the difficult decade of liberalisation.

---

and in its 'dying days', and not the basic moral grammar of public debate and social protest in Zimbabwe's neo-colonial situation; see Bond (2001) and Bond and Manyanya (2002).
[8] See Sylvester (2000), p. 22.
[9] See Alexander, McGregor, and Ranger (2000); quote from fn. 1, p. 3.
[10] See Raftopoulos (1992, 1999a, and 2001), and Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni eds. (1999).

4.2   Settler-State Formation in a Colonial World

Before examining the postwar period, it is worth looking at the development of underdevelopment that pre-dated it. 'Southern Rhodesia' was borne out of late-nineteenth century imperialism. The region was annexed by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) in a violent venture northwards, driven by anticipation of a 'second rand' and British sub-continental geopolitics. By the turn of the nineteenth century, an initial speculative run had given way to a policy of direct investment, first in mining, then in agriculture. African society resisted the advance, most notably in the uprisings of 1896, but also took advantage of new opportunities presented by the settlers, such as their demand for food, while gradually becoming integrated into the sphere of commodity production, and ultimately submitting to a tightening noose whose primary objective was the extraction of labour. Through land alienation, taxation, and enforcement of pass laws, Africans were compelled to enter the labour market, while various further means were devised to reduce their ability to exist as full-time petty-commodity producers; most notably, land alienation was accompanied by designation of African reserves in lands that were agro-ecologically inferior and distant from marketing infrastructure. A global order based on the principle of race underwrote primary accumulation at this time, as well as forced labour, the denial of 'employee' status to Africans by means of the Masters and Servants Ordinance (1901), and the notoriously brutal treatment of workers in mining compounds. As the BSAC's London manager reckoned in 1907:

> It appears to me certainly too rapid an advance in civilisation if the laws of Employer's liability are to be applied in Rhodesia to enable the relatives of deceased natives to obtain compensation for accidents in the mines. This is advanced negrophilism.[12]

This early period of accumulation remained in conquest mode, characterised by a 'native policy' bent on destroying autonomous African economic relations so as to release male labour for white mines and farms. The administration of the colony was 'direct', based on the philosophy of 'emancipating' Africans from their 'repugnant' social and political institutions.[13]

It was not long though before Southern Rhodesia began to be seen as a peculiar colony, for it gained a distinguishing feature, namely European settlers, who from the 1910s onwards constituted themselves as an agrarian bourgeoisie. Arrighi had first argued for the 'national

[11] See Moyo (1995a, 1999, 2000a, and 2001a).
[12] Quoted in Phimister (1988), p. 55.
[13] See Phimister (1988), van Onselen (1976), Robin Palmer (1977), Ranger (1985), and Schmidt (1990).

character' of this bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, its commitment to the development of the productive forces of the colony;[14] in practice, this was 'less than national', as Ian Phimister later put it, but still 'more than comprador'.[15] Unlike mining capital which was neither permanently established nor producing for the local market, the rural bourgeoisie was firmly settled and interested in the expansion of the colony's home market, along with its external markets, for its production of maize and tobacco. Yet, it was less than national because it continued to compromise with the outward orientation of mining capital and short-termism of London-based finance, by virtue of the constraints of disarticulated accumulation; and because its own vision of the 'home market' was largely confined to the settler element.

The existence of such divergent capitalist interests created a political dynamic that was absent elsewhere (except South Africa), and a development trajectory that was quite unique. Agrarian capital threw its weight behind an active state investment policy (against the interests of mining), as well as free trade (along with mining), but allied itself with white workers on matters of industrialisation and labour segregation (against mining). Agrarian capital had a further interest in preventing African competition in agriculture and, again in alliance with white labour, was fervently committed to territorial segregation. After World War I, agrarian capital and white workers steadily gained power *vis-à-vis* mining (as represented by the BSAC) and achieved 'self government' in 1923, against the South African designs of the BSAC. Thereafter, and until World War II, white self-government embarked on a series of legislative and policy changes of its own. While continuing to concede to transnational capital and finance, this series of changes began to consolidate a long transition from primary accumulation to 'settler colonial' capitalism and from 'direct' to 'indirect rule'.

Such a shift was sweeping across the continent in the late 1920s.[16] Colonial authorities everywhere were seeking to resolve the 'native question' by reconstructing social order on terms tailored to the longer-term interests of capital as a whole. Having first dismissed African society as 'repugnant', they now sought to retrieve its 'way of life', its 'tribes' and 'traditions', and administer Africans through the more 'legitimate' medium of the chief. This, of course, remained the period of globally institutionalised racism, for Africans were not yet deemed 'nationals', worthy of civil rights and self-determination; nor were they even deemed unequivocally to be on the same civilisational coordinates as Europeans. Indeed, 'respect' for the African way of life increasingly took the form of 'separate development', of territorial and institutional segregation.

---

[14] Arrighi (1973b).
[15] See Phimister (1988), p. 180.
[16] See Mamdani (1996); see also Channock (1985).

In Southern Rhodesia, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 codified white and black areas of settlement (including a 'native purchase area'). And the Native Affairs (1927) and Native Law and Courts (1937) Acts codified the administrative and judicial authority of chiefs. African women assumed a special role: they were formally relegated to 'permanent legal minority' status and bound to the land by kinship relations and pass laws, in effect becoming the pillar of functional dualism. In turn, this was rationalised in familiar civilisational terms: '[t]he native woman of today has not the brain power or civilisation of the mothers and grandmothers of the present white generation'.[17] African men, as wage-earners, were the other pillar: in mines and farms, they remained stripped of 'employee' status, as per the Industrial Conciliation Acts of 1934 and 1937, while their first trade union, the South African-based Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), was harassed and banned. The Sedition Act of 1936 complemented these facets of the late colonial mode of rule by prescribing the repression of growing political dissent.

As the settler colonial state defined its 'traditionalist' mode of rule it also responded vigorously to the challenge of the Depression. The state tightened its institutional grip on the economy, not least on the agricultural sector by bringing under its control the marketing virtually of the whole sector. By this means the state also turned its predatory sights on African agriculture to tax it and manipulate it, most notably through the Maize Control Acts of 1931 and 1934, for the purpose of subsidising the beleaguered white sector. Related to these developments, there was first a sharpening of rural differentiation, as some petty-commodity producers were managing to respond better than others, while some emerged as 'master farmers' in the Native Purchase Areas; second, there was an acceleration in the pace of proletarianisation due to land apportionment; and third, there was rising pressure on reserve land on account of both land apportionment and crisis-related retrenchments. The settler colonial state rounded off its 'native policy', therefore, by taking interest in the 'development of the reserves', not only for 'the golden egg of subsidy' but also to regulate more effectively the economic and social transformations.[18]

Resistance under these conditions assumed variegated forms, both of the covert type – e.g., desertion and theft from mines, women taking refuge in missions – but also of the overt type – such as resistance to forced removals and strike action against low wages. The ICU, the most important of the early organisations, never managed to become a serious force, not least because of the concerns on the part of the settler state that the ICU 'conceals an insidious and dangerous doctrine, a thinly veneered version of "Africa for Africans"'.[19] Indeed, the ICU was the first to seek the conscientisation of mine workers not only in the language of nationalism but also of

---

[17] Native Commissioner quoted in Schmidt (1990), p. 627.
[18] See Ranger (1985), ch. 2.

class – for which it was further accused of 'communism'. Less articulate were a host of mutual aid, dance, and burial societies, as well as millennial movements, all of which served as precursors to organised peasant-worker politics.[20]

By World War II, the settler colonial state exhibited all the qualities of disarticulated accumulation. On the one hand, it still relied on gold for more than half of its national income, as well as on the credit facilities of the London-based Standard Chartered and Barclays banks.[21] On the other hand, the industrialisation desires of the agrarian bourgeoisie were being thwarted by its own segregationism, obstruction of peasant accumulation, and maintenance of low wages. The colony remained an exporter of mineral and agricultural products, and importer of virtually all of the manufactured goods that it needed. World War I and its aftermath had given a first external impetus to a process of import-substitution industrialisation, but open trade with the more competitive industries of South Africa had served to limit the local development of secondary industry. Even the vigorous state interventionism and accelerated pace of proletarianisation of the Depression years did not provide a sufficient internal dynamic.[22]

The advent of World War II imparted the second external stimulus to industrialisation. This was again a drastic shock which reinforced the resolve of the state to manage the economy. At this time, the settler colonial state began to undergo significant industrialisation, which in turn saw the emergence of a manufacturing bourgeoisie in competition with agriculture and mining. The war was also a turning point for the politics of opposition worldwide, not least in Southern Africa. The 'human rights' principles on which the war had been fought – i.e., against nazism and fascism – began more loudly than ever to serve as the basis for a global questioning of the humanity of colonial occupation itself. Mounting anti-colonial protest in the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa combined at this time with the Cold War to produce the 'development dialogue'. As we have seen, the British Colonial Development Act of 1940 had presaged a 'developmental' turn of some sort.

4.3   Colonial Zimbabwe in a Nationalist World

The early postwar development dialogue was conducted while the bulk of the African continent remained under colonial occupation. This meant that colonial authorities streamlined the application of the new development wisdom to suit their late colonial needs. In British Africa, the

---

[19] Commissioner of Police quoted in van Onselen (1976), p. 212.
[20] See Phimister and van Onselen (1997).
[21] See Phimister and van Onselen (1997), p. 177, and Bond (1998), p. 62.
[22] See Phimister (2000a).

general strategy pursued was one of improving the efficiency of the peasant sector – in what has been called the 'second colonial occupation' – while nurturing friendly African bourgeoisies in preparation for neo-colonial transition.[23] This was a lame version of the 'modernisation' vision of the time, seeking technical welfare fixes and setting out to transform neither 'peasants into workers' nor 'tribals into nationals'. In East and Central Africa, where there existed significant settler elements, the strategy gained a further twist under the labels of 'multi-racialism' and 'partnership'; this now combined with stepped-up political repression and even metropolitan military mobilisation, as against the Mau Mau. What also occurred at this time was a re-assertion of white power in Southern Africa. Its epicentre was South Africa, with the rise of the National Party (NP) in 1948, but it carried all across the sub-continent, notably Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, South African-occupied Namibia, and settler colonial Southern Rhodesia. For the following decade or so, colonial developmentalism and 'partnership' kept its eyes on African nationalism, white supremacism, and the Cold War.[24]

Postwar Reshuffling

In colonial Zimbabwe the war and postwar periods witnessed the diversification of the economy in secondary industry and the active involvement of the state in the process. Between 1939 and 1948, the number of factories increased from 294 to 473, expanding industrial output five-fold.[25] Food-processing, construction, clothing and textile industries sprouted, while the state facilitated these by making major public investments in iron-and-steel production and cotton-spinning plants. By the early 1950s, manufacturing was contributing as much as 15 per cent to national income. However, the sector was also becoming highly concentrated, as local capital was, by the late 1940s, being overrun by transnational capital, especially British. Meanwhile, the white agrarian bourgeoisie was undergoing changes of its own: in 1945–48 it expanded its tobacco production three-fold, as white farmers shifted land away from maize, to become the major foreign-exchange earners.[26] This had two implications: first, the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act were re-invoked with urgency, thereby accelerating the ongoing process of removing Africans from lands designated as European; and second, in the process of agricultural restructuring, the agrarian bourgeoisie divested itself of whatever interest it previously had in

---

[23] See Low and Lonsdale (1976).
[24] See Birmingham and Ranger (1983).
[25] See Phimister (2000b), pp. 32–33.
[26] Arrighi (1973b), pp. 350–58.

128

expanding the home market. In turn, interest in the expansion of the home market was being taken over by the manufacturing bourgeoisie.

The constraints of disarticulated accumulation remained in place, despite a series of internal and external stimulants that kept the economy on a generally healthy growth path. The consumer market expanded as the number of Africans in wage employment more than doubled between 1936 and 1956 to 600,000; to this was added the rapid postwar influx of European immigrants, taking the white population from 80,000 to 125,000 between 1945 and 1950.[27] Yet, ISI ran into a balance of payments crunch in 1947–48, followed by the imposition of import controls. After 1948, the double event of a preferential trade accord with South Africa and NP-induced capital flight from South Africa boosted both Southern Rhodesia's trade in manufactures and the pace of capital formation. The establishment of the Central African Federation in 1953 then gave a further stimulus. Yet, these only bought time until the late 1950s when the contradictions of disarticulated accumulation imposed themselves once again.[28]

The changes to the constellation of settler capitalist interests produced new conflicts and alliances. Manufacturing was now on the offensive, seeking a policy framework to broaden the home market; this was contrary to white agrarian capital whose interest in functional dualism was reinforced by its new export orientation. Mining capital was also a beneficiary of functional dualism, but at this juncture it sided with manufacturing in fear of radical nationalist outcomes.[29] Yet, they all agreed on the expansion of white Southern Rhodesian power into colonial Zambia and Malawi via the Federation.[30] Nationalist politics, meanwhile, arrived on the postwar scene with mass mobilisations by the newly-urbanised African population, manifest most notably in the 1945 country-wide railway strike and 1948 General Strike, led in large part by the African National Voice Association (Voice) which was able to bridge the rural-urban divide by combining urban industrial action with rural resistance to the LAA. The result of inter-capitalist and class conflict was a series of new policy directions and compromises from the late 1940s onwards: the settler colonial state signed up to the new GATT, but wrote its preferential accord with South Africa into it by promising to form a Customs Union in due course;[31] it persuaded the British government to relinquish colonial Zambia and Malawi for the establishment of the Federation; it began to nurture an African bourgeoisie in a policy turn away from 'separate development', towards 'partnership'; and it set out on a 'second colonial occupation' of its own,

---

[27] Arrighi (1973b), p. 351, and Phimister (2000b), pp. 32–33.
[28] Arrighi (1973b), pp. 350–51, and Phimister (2000b), 34–42.
[29] Arrighi (1973b), pp. 358–59.
[30] Birmingham and Ranger (1983), p. 363.
[31] Phimister (1988), pp. 257–58.

in the form of the World Bank-supported Land Husbandry Act (1951), adding to it the policy emphasis of turning a sizeable amount of semi-proletarians into full-time, industrial workers, disconnected from the land.

The moral expression of this balance of class forces in the specificity of the settler colonial state might well be understood as one of 'turning peasants into workers but not nationals'. It predated by a handful of years Arthur Lewis's rigorous academic formulations regarding the agrarian question, but differed only in its racial explicitness. Recall Lewis's reasoning that, 'if the capitalist sector depends upon the peasants for food, it is essential to get the peasants to produce more, while if at the same time they can be prevented from enjoying the full fruit of their extra production, wages can be reduced relatively to the capitalist surplus'.[32] The Southern Rhodesian version was articulated by Garfield Todd (before becoming Prime Minister) thus: '[w]e do not want native peasants. We want the bulk of them working in the mines and farms and in the European areas and we could absorb them and their families'.[33]

Towards Neo-colonialism: 'Partnership'

This vision reflected the new power of manufacturing. As a 'compromise', however, it was by no means secure: agrarian capital remained resentful, as the new policy direction struck at the heart of its economic interests and moral vision. The policy sought the dual strategy of expanding the productivity of African agriculture and stabilising the African workforce; this necessarily implied the encouragement of competition between settlers and Africans in the agricultural and labour markets, which in turn implied the dismantling of the structures of separate development. It meant the creation of an African bourgeoisie, in Arrighi's words, 'both as a *requirement* for industrialisation and as an insurance against the mass of Africans'.[34] Accordingly, the economic project required a political framework to complement it, termed 'partnership', which white agrarian capital and white workers both loathed. The totality of inter- and intra-class conflict produced a number of timid reforms, including: the amendment of labour legislation (Industrial Conciliation Act, 1959) to accommodate skilled African workers but within 'multi-racial' trade unions still dominated by whites; the amendment of the electoral system to accommodate the African elite and prevent it from allying with peasant-workers; and the reinforcement of the security apparatus (Subversive Activities Act) to suppress dissent.[35] Between 1953 and 1963, the

---

[32] Lewis (1958), p. 434.
[33] Arrighi (1973b), p. 362.
[34] Arrighi (1973b), p. 360.
[35] See Raftopoulos (1997).

'partnership' framework was extended to colonial Zambia and Malawi within the terms of the Federation.

The reforms failed spectacularly, overwhelmed by the class contradictions unleashed by the LHA and the constraints of disarticulated accumulation. The LHA set out under the assumption that the 'ecological crisis' of the reserves was due to the 'backward' farming methods of Africans (not to their displacement onto marginal lands). The LHA thus prescribed an intensification in the 'development of the reserves', now in an amended 'modernisation' form, entailing: the reshaping of settlement patterns, the standardisation of land holdings, the introduction of saleable land and stock rights to a limited amount of African farmers, and various conservation methods, including destocking.[36] It is generally agreed that the LHA did not actually get far off the ground but that it nonetheless aggravated virtually everyone: it threatened the security of the migrant workers in town and country who stood to lose their land rights; and it constrained the accumulation strategies of the richer peasants within the reserves who now faced landholding ceilings, even reductions.[37] A 1958 report of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (ANC) expressed the grievance and warned against this settler colonial version of 'modernisation' thus:

> [a]ny act whose effects undermine the security of our small land rights, dispossess us of our little wealth in the form of cattle, disperse us from our ancestral homes in the reserves and reduce us to the status of vagabonds and a source of cheap labour for the farmers, miners and industrialists – such an act will turn the African people against society to the detriment of the peace and progress of this country.[38]

In the second half of the decade, both the pace of the LHA and its contradictions escalated, creating a countryside amenable to nationalist mobilisation. It is notable that despite the 'modernisation' thrust of the LHA, the institutions of 'indirect rule' were not actually set aside, but were reinforced in new ways in the interest of social order. On the one hand, the number of chiefs was 'rationalised'; on the other, their profile was raised by the establishment of larger consultative forums, namely the Provincial Chiefs' Assemblies.[39]

The LHA was abandoned in the early 1960s, along with the whole of 'partnership'. The reasons have to do as much with the rise of mass nationalism in this specific historical moment as

---

[36] See Alexander (1993).
[37] It is estimated that by the end of the decade, 30 percent of reserve producers were farming 63 per cent of all cultivated land; see Phimister (1993); see also Alexander *et al.* (2000), ch. 3.
[38] Quoted in Phimister (1993), pp. 227–28.
[39] Alexander (1993), pp. 27–28.

with the more organic tendencies of disarticulated accumulation. This latter dimension was broached by Phimister in his linking of the fate of the LHA to the 'limitations of import-substitution industrialisation'.[40] He noted that after the 1947 balance of payments crisis, industrial growth had resumed but faith in it had now been shaken; moreover, industrial growth was not managing to absorb the 'unlimited supplies of labour' (as per Lewis). Therefore, the initial compromise between manufacturing and agrarian capital was, by the mid-1950s, no longer driving the LHA, or partnership for that matter, but a different concern, specifically with the social, economic, and political crisis of the reserves, and the settler colonial state more generally. The disjunction between production and consumption then combined, on the one hand, with a drop in copper prices and Federation revenues and, on the other, with excessive importation of luxury goods to produce a new balance of payments crisis in 1957. Thereafter, as Bond has shown in detail, a confluence of tight money and capital flight led to a deflationary spiral in the early 1960s.[41] But *pace* Bond, this deflation was not a 'classic crisis of overaccumulation' but of *disarticulated* accumulation specifically; the early 1960s were boom years in the centre. The point to emphasise is that, despite its industrial aspirations, the policy emphasis confronted neither the basic export orientation of the economy, nor the constraints of the home market (functional dualism) – nor indeed the nature of the ultra-imperial monetary order which was unkind to ISI. The contradictions of the settler colonial state were part and parcel of the contradictions of global order in the nationalist period.

This applies to all dimensions of the partnership period, not least the rise of mass nationalism. Mass nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe may have been catalysed and given its cross-class specificity by the LHA, but it resonated with the nationalism of the continent as a whole. At this time, East and West Africa were decolonising, led by Ghana, while Southern Africa, led by Angola, was setting out on a protracted period of armed struggle. In colonial Zimbabwe, nationalism was not yet radicalised; moreover, it was disunited, as was the urban-based trade union movement which was providing the nationalist movement with its organisational resources and petty-bourgeois leadership. The perennial problems of organising across the rural-urban divide were being taken seriously by successive nationalist parties, as well as by nationalist-minded trade unionists, but not with the efficacy that had previously been characteristic of the Voice.

However, it operated under the terms of a new global mode of rule which was imposing itself on semi-proletarian politics everywhere. The Zimbabwean labour movement was subject to

[40] Phimister (1993), pp. 231–32.
[41] Bond (1998), pp. 75–77.

ICFTU and AFL-CIO funding and political pressure to develop along 'industrial' lines – not 'political' and rural-urban. As discussed in Chapter 2, divisive funding practices affected adversely the course of trade unionism and its relationship to the nationalist movement.[42] To this contributed also the escalation of political repression after 1959, ushered in by the declaration of a state of emergency and the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act (LOMA). At this time, nationalist leaders were arrested and nationalist parties banned, splintering into ZAPU and ZANU and going underground, only to re-emerge in the rural areas later in the decade, radicalised and armed. In the process, the urban-based trade union movement was subsumed in fragments under respective nationalist parties and further marginalised, as the epicentre of the liberation movement shifted to the countryside.

The economic and political crisis of the late 1950s reshuffled once again the constellation of class forces. The toppling of Todd by his cabinet in 1958 reflected the changing balance, bringing also the 'partnership' project to a close. As Arrighi observed, a black bourgeoisie did not emerge in time to defend a neo-colonial solution; instead politics polarised between a cross-class African nationalism (led by a disaffected black petty-bourgeoisie) and white supremacism (bringing together white agrarian capital, white workers, and white petty-bourgeois elements).[43] The latter camp rallied around the reactionary platform of the Rhodesian Front to win the elections of 1962; thereafter, the Federation also collapsed, and Zambia and Malawi embarked on the neo-colonial journey on their own.

Neo-colonialism Aborted: UDI

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November 1965 marked a dramatic change of direction for the settler colonial state. Renamed 'Rhodesia', it parted ways with the general trends of the continent and stepped up its commitment to the white power projects of Southern Africa. At a time when nationalism was replacing racism as a principle of global order, Rhodesia was thus also bucking the new and fragile norms of 'international society'. The response by the Non-Aligned Movement was swift, calling on Britain to resume its responsibilities for the independence of its colony. However, military action of the kind undertaken against the Mau Mau was ruled out, and instead partial sanctions were invoked. In 1968, the United Nations resolved to impose mandatory multilateral sanctions, banning economic relations with Rhodesia, including

---

[42] See Raftopoulos (1997) and Raftopoulos (1996).
[43] Arrighi (1973b), pp. 362–64.

the shipment of oil; but these sanctions were defective by design and intention, as we will soon see.

What the sanctions *did* manage to do, however, was to turn Rhodesia into a decidedly inward-looking economy by cutting out many of its basic imports, with the glaring exception of oil; and to galvanise previously competing fractions of white capital behind a common Rhodesian cause. Thus, white farmers did not insist that their foreign exchange earnings were 'strategic' to the economic well being of the country; they shifted land and labour away from tobacco and towards industrial crops (cotton) and food crops (maize, wheat) to supply the light manufacturing and food processing industries of the domestic economy; cotton production expanded by 800 per cent in 1965-72. Likewise, transnational capital, which initially opposed UDI, did not merely comply with state polices; the manufacturing sector led the economy into an industrial boom until 1974, notching up an annual average growth rate of 9 per cent and contributing to a GDP growth rate of 6 per cent.[44] As D.G. Clarke further observed, transnational capital (mainly British, US, Canadian, and South African) neither fled nor ran down its assets, but expanded the size and importance of its capital stock by illegal direct investment, amounting to as much as 37 per cent of total investment in 1966-76.[45]

The industrial boom owed itself to a number of enabling conditions. One was that, during the preceding crisis, the economy had been operating below its industrial capacity by as much as 60 per cent, and hence was able to restore high levels of production rapidly.[46] Another was the role of the state, which duly orchestrated all aspects of the industrial boom to become 'one of the most centrally controlled capitalist economies in the world'.[47] As E.S. Pangeti has shown, the groundwork for a 'siege economy' was laid on the eve of UDI, with the signing of a new preferential trade agreement with South Africa which affected 75 per cent of Southern Rhodesia's manufactured exports to South Africa; and the Exchange Control Act which gave the state enhanced regulatory powers over its current and capital accounts. The trade agreement constituted the lifeline of the UDI economy, providing it with a market, source of investment capital, and transit routes; while the exchange control provisions enabled the targeting of foreign exchange on essential imports and the forcing of transnational firms to reinvest their profits locally. In turn, the liquidity that was created was directed by the state 'to those manufacturers

---

[44] See the contributions by Xavier M. Kadhani, Daniel B. Ndlela, and Clever Mumbengeni, in Mandaza ed. (1986), Pangeti (2000), and Bond (1998), ch. 5.
[45] Clarke (1980), pp. 30, 35, 47–48.
[46] Bond (1998), p. 123.
[47] Pangeti (2000), p. 69.

who had the capacity to quickly and efficiently produce the required import substitutes'.[48] These consisted primarily of transnational firms which both diversified their operations and enhanced their monopoly positions: by 1978, about 10 per cent of industrial units produced 60 per cent of industrial output. The state itself undertook half of the total capital invested, expanding the capacity of the transport, energy, posts and telecommunications sectors, among others. It also flouted rules governing technology transfer; and it tightly coordinated the backward and forward linkages, such that by 1980, 44 per cent of agricultural output was used by domestic industry.[49]

A third enabling condition was the external one. Sanctions created a need for ISI, and ISI was facilitated by low profile encouragement and outright sanctions busting. The implementation of sanctions by the UK was slow, allowing the UDI regime to stock up on gold, after it had also withdrawn its foreign exchange reserves from London. The regime then defaulted on British, US, and World Bank debts, only to resume receiving loans from Swiss and Austrian banks and thereby to expand its foreign debt to nearly US$700 million by the late 1970s.[50] The British naval blockade of the port of Beira in Mozambique, claiming to be enforcing the oil embargo, was being circumvented by Western oil firms (Shell, BP, Mobil, Caltex, Total) at Maputo further south, with the tacit consent of the British government. Moreover, the British government did not prevent British firms from transferring capital to their Rhodesian subsidiaries, nor did it restrict emigration to Rhodesia to deprive the war machine of skilled labour. Then again the combat capacity of the Rhodesian Air Force was expanded five-fold with covert US assistance, while the US Congress also acted overtly to legislate the busting of sanctions for the purpose of obtaining Rhodesian chrome, on 'strategic' grounds.[51] Perhaps most crucially, the mandatory UN sanctions were not extended to South Africa or Portugal, thereby allowing white supremacism the room to manoeuvre. Compared to the first four years of sanctions by the transatlantic alliance against Cuba, the Rhodesian ones were not serious. On the contrary, they served as a smokescreen for transatlantic support for white supremacism.[52]

The fourth condition of the industrial boom constituted also the condition of its eventual demise from the mid-1970s onwards. ISI was implemented at the same time as functional dualism was reinforced. In other words, the industrial boom did not occur on the basis of a profound widening of the home market: it remained dependent on the cheap labour of blacks and the luxury consumption of whites. Despite state-led coordination of inter-sectoral development, the exercise

---

[48] Pangeti (2000), p. 58.
[49] See Pangeti (2000), p. 63, and Bond (1998), pp. 122–24.
[50] Bond and Manyanya (2002), pp. 15–18.
[51] See Thompson (1985), ch. 5.
[52] See also Mandaza (1986b).

was largely confined to the production of luxury goods, not wage goods, such that sectoral and social disarticulation remained effectively in place. By the mid-1970s, capital expenditure became excessive; between 1974 and 1978 manufacturing production declined by 27 per cent and capacity utilisation by 38 per cent; and these were accompanied by massive job losses. As Bond put it (in a virtual endorsement of de Janvry): '[t]he economy was cemented into a disarticulation of production and consumption that portended inevitable crisis at some stage'.[53] This 'cementedness' underlies a particular type of capitalist crisis that pertains to peripheral accumulation.

The fifth and final condition for the industrial boom accompanied functional dualism and consisted in the reinforcement of direct and indirect rule. With the abandonment of 'partnership' in the early 1960s, there was an emphatic return to the segregationism of the pre-Federation years, under the label of 'community development'. This entailed the 'retraditionalisation' of land and law in the reserves, and the resurrection of 'tribal authority' where it had been jaded in the course of the LHA. A series of new pieces of legislation proceeded to re-codify tradition and segregation, while topping up the role of chiefs in political life by co-opting them into the legislature for the first time, on the grounds that they were the 'genuine' representatives of Africans. Indirect rule was thus used as a buffer against nationalist mobilisation.[54] At the same time, direct rule was stepped up: amendments to the ICA imposed funding restrictions on trade unions and removed their freedom to strike; while the LOMA was invoked and labour leaders detained *en masse*.[55]

Liberation War and Neo-colonial Settlement

Even before the economic crisis had set in, the settler colonial state was facing a political crisis in the form of guerrilla war. After a long period of disorganisation and confusion following the crack-downs of the early 1960s, the nationalist movement re-emerged in its fractured form late in the decade, now with military wings – ZIPRA for ZAPU and ZANLA for ZANU – and a rural social base. The guerrilla war was effectively launched in 1972, after the parties had spent several years in Zambia preparing: securing external support (Soviet for ZAPU and Chinese for ZANU); gaining military training; establishing rural contacts and building up arms and ammunition; and opening a second front by ZANU in Tete province of Mozambique (which in 1970 had been secured by FRELIMO in its own war against Portugal). Despite bouts of debilitating nationalist

---

[53] Bond (1998), p. 130.
[54] See Alexander (1993), ch. 3.

infighting in the mid-1970s, the struggle was intensified from 1976 onwards, even temporarily unified, gaining enhanced support externally from the Frontline states (formed in 1974) and the newly-liberated Mozambique (in 1975), as well as internally from the social fallout of the economic crisis.

As has recently been pointed out, there is consensus all around that the entry of guerrillas into rural communities 'demanded an adaptation to local agendas and ideas'.[56] For Ranger, this had originally meant that the guerrillas adopted a peasant political programme; for David Lan, it meant that they had inserted themselves into local ritual systems for ancestral blessing and protection; for Norma Kriger, it meant that they manipulated rural cleavages (of gender, age, and ethnicity), and relied on the systematic use of force, not lofty nationalist ideals, for mobilisation; while, more recently, for Alexander et al., with reference to ZIPRA, it has meant the development of a largely secular 'moral economy' through which mobilisation was broadened and violence contained.[57] Without delving deeply into the debates, two points ought to be stressed. The first is that the shift of the nationalist struggle to the countryside indeed produced a moral economy of a particular sort: this was between guerrillas and 'the peasantry', which elevated the 'land cause' in the political platform of the nationalist movement. The nationalism of the 1970s was unlike the nationalism of the 1950s (ANC, etc.) insofar as it now had a predominantly rural base; and unlike the nationalism of the 1940s (the Voice) insofar as it was now unable organisationally to bridge the rural-urban divide. This guerrilla-peasant relationship was to survive in the post-independence period in the form of a rhetorical premium for 'the peasantry' in the national debate. As a moral economy, it has never been unproblematic, or inviolable, or determinate of politics in any 'culturalist' sense, but nonetheless able, when accessed, to exercise unique power of judgement over the fate of national liberation.

The second general point, emphasised by Mandaza, is that the nationalist movement remained weak in crucial ways, politically and ideologically.[58] First, it remained fragmented; this proved to be a perennial source of distrust and internecine fighting and a ready-made division to be exploited by common enemies, as well as by the nationalist leaderships themselves in a legitimacy crisis. In the course of the war, the split detracted from the movement's military potential against the Rhodesian forces; after independence, it spiralled into a fierce and 'ethnicised' conflict in an all-out struggle for power. Second, the movement remained ideologically cloudy, without a clearly articulated socialist understanding of itself or the future.

---

[55] See Brittain and Raftopoulos (1997).
[56] Alexander et al. (2000), p. 159.
[57] Alexander et al. (2000), ch. 7, Ranger (1985), Lan (1985), Kriger (1992).
[58] Mandaza (1986b), pp. 29–33.

This detracted from political organisation and weakened the hand of the semi-proletariat both during the war and in the post-independence struggle against the neo-colonial settlement.

Neo-colonialism indeed triumphed in 1979 at Lancaster House. A neo-colonial settlement had always been the objective of the British, US, and even South African governments, though it changed urgency and shades over time, especially after the inception of guerrilla war and (coincidentally) with the defeat of the United States in Southeast Asia. From 1976 onwards, the United States joined Britain in an initiative to negotiate 'majority rule', by which they meant a new version of 'partnership', consisting in a power sharing arrangement, and entailing, *inter alia*, over-representation for the white community in the legislature and respect for private property. The rationale for a more concerted engagement with the conflict was expressed thus by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger:

> We are facing a situation now in which a so-called armed struggle is already taking place in Rhodesia and is beginning in Namibia. The history of these struggles is that they lead to escalating violence, drawing in more and more countries, and have the danger of foreign intervention [*i.e.*, Soviet] and the probability of the radicalisation of the whole continent of Africa. For this reason, we want to provide a non-violent alternative to this prospect.[59]

In 1977, a US$1.5 million dollar 'Zimbabwe Development Fund' was mooted, alongside ongoing efforts to create a black bourgeoisie through the World Bank-funded Whitsun Foundation and other means.[60] All the while, Rhodesian forces were crossing into the Frontline states, pounding their economic infrastructure, and thereby cajoling the Pan-African allies into support for the neo-colonial proposal.[61]

4.4   Nationalist Zimbabwe in a Liberalising World

Independence was celebrated on 18 April 1980, in a climate of euphoria and expectation. At long last, Zimbabwe was embarking on a nation-building project of its own. As elsewhere, nation-building was setting out on a neo-colonial footing; and as elsewhere, what 'national self-determination' meant was to be a matter of struggle. In the global realm, this was a time in which the restructuring of 'global development' in the interests of transnational capital and finance was well underway; but it remained a bi-polar world whose two poles Zimbabwe straddled by

---

[59] Quoted in Thompson (1985), pp. 158–49.
[60] By 1980, about 200 black capitalists had acquired ownership and leaseholds of large-scale farms; see Moyo (1995a), p. 4. See also Bond (1998), p. 139, and Thompson (1985), pp. 23–33.
[61] See Mandaza (1986b), pp. 34–37.

professing Marxism-Leninism under conditions of monopoly capitalism. The struggle was, quintessentially, one between the semi-proletariat and ultra-imperialism over the political orientation of the petty-bourgeois leadership.[62]

The Neo-colonialism of 'Reconciliation'

Neo-colonialism was shrouded in the language of 'reconciliation' – a vivid echo of postwar 'partnership'. As Arnold Sibanda put it, 'this policy, which appeared on the surface as if it were a reconciliation of the races, was a fundamental requirement to guarantee the "reconciliation with capital"'.[63] Its constitutional basis was the 'willing-buyer, willing-seller' requirement with respect to private property (set to expire in 1990) and the reservation of 20 parliamentary seats out of 100 for the white constituency of 3 per cent of total (to expire in 1987). Its economic basis was among the most unequal in the world. Just 3 per cent of population (the whites) commanded nearly two-thirds of national income, while 97 per cent of the population gained the remaining one-third.[64] Agrarian capital, some 6000 mainly white farmers in the late 1970s, held 15.5 million hectares, or 39 per cent of the land and in the prime agro-ecological regions, while one million African households were consigned to 16.4 million hectares, or 41.4 per cent of the land, and in marginal agro-ecological regions.[65] Industrial and mining capital was essentially wholly owned by local whites and foreign interests.

Zimbabwe inherited a typical pattern of disarticulated accumulation. The UDI period had seen significant moves towards sectoral articulation and industrial development, but this had been undertaken without the widening of the home market. On the one hand, nearly half of agricultural output was feeding industry by independence, and industry was, next to South Africa, the most diversified in sub-Saharan Africa. Zimbabwe produced 7,000 different products, ranging from food and clothing, to fertilisers, chemicals, metal products, electrical machinery and equipment, and motor vehicles (assembled locally); manufacturing accounted for 25 per cent of GDP and earned 40 per cent of foreign exchange.[66] On the other hand, the local market was a luxury market, effectively restricted to less than one million people, out of a total of 7 million.[67] Moreover, agriculture remained the most important sector: it may have contributed only 13 per cent to GDP, but 70 per cent of the population depended directly on the land, manufacturing

---

[62] Mandaza (1986a and 1986b) and Sibanda (1988).
[63] Sibanda (1988), p. 261.
[64] Stoneman and Cliffe (1989), p. 42.
[65] Moyo (1995a).
[66] Mlambo (2000a), p. 80.

relied upon it, it earned 40 per cent of foreign exchange, and provided one-third of formal employment.[68]

What was non-conventional about neo-colonialism in Zimbabwe was its political dispensation. As has been observed, formal power had not been transferred to an African petty-bourgeoisie alone; in the 'post-white settler colonial state', the black petty-bourgeoisie was to share power with the settlers.[69] This produced a particular scenario, characterised not only by resentment, but also by the instrumentalisation of race by both whites and blacks in the course of neo-colonial transition.[70] Besides using the settler presence to justify developmental delays, the black petty-bourgeoisie exploited it to extract concessions under monopoly capitalism; while the white bourgeoisie made strategic concessions by installing blacks into management positions and displaying them as 'window dressing' for monopoly capitalism. Yet other features were more conventional. Monopoly capitalism left little room for accumulation by the aspiring bourgeoisie other than through the state; while 'sideline contradictions', of the 'ethnic' variety, proliferated in the course of intra-petty-bourgeois conflict. As Arnold Sibanda surmised, under neo-colonialism '[t]he ethnic diversity becomes employed not to enrich the cultural heritage of the nation but to advance the class interests of groups or segments. The racial divisions are utilised not to entrench national unity but to consolidate class domination and exploitation'.[71]

The battle was not yet over, however. Significant class-conscious voices remained in the leadership, including Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's own, enough to concern the ultra-imperial alliance that it still did not wield sufficient power in Zimbabwe. Indeed, the government did not allow imperial minds to rest; it continued to employ distinct Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, even as it demobilised peasants and workers and deployed security forces against them. Suffice it here to sketch the state's relations with capital and the incremental process of 'civilisation'. The process was strewn with contradictions and half-measures. From the start, the government sought to reassure foreign capital by appointing whites in key cabinet posts (the Ministries of Agriculture and Trade/Commerce), joining the IMF and World Bank, and paying Rhodesia's debts. It also drew up a new investment code which invited (but also regulated) foreign capital; it relaxed financial controls partially; and it invited donors, via a major conference (ZIMCORD), to contribute to national development. Donors, for their part, felt that Zimbabwe was

---

[67] Stoneman and Cliffe (1989), p. 43.

[68] See Weiner et al. (1985), pp. 251–52.

[69] Mandaza (1986a and1986b) and Sibanda (1988).

[70] In East Africa, and Uganda in particular, race was instrumentalised as well, culminating in the expulsion of Asians; the difference here was that the Asian community neither shared formal power nor held a significant stake in the economy beyond commercial interests.

[71] Sibanda (1988), pp. 266–67.

'underborrowed', with a debt service ratio of only 10 per cent, and so eagerly pledged aid (much of it tied).[72] Despite such conciliatory moves, relations with capital remained tense, given the government's stated 'socialist' agenda, and they would also sour periodically on account of the government's stubborn 'indiscipline' – such as in its denunciation of the US invasion of Grenada, its abstention in the UN vote on the Soviet shooting-down of a South Korean airliner, and its outspoken dissent over US policy in Southern Africa, particularly its support for UNITA in Angola.[73] Such indiscipline was to be sanctioned by the curtailment of aid, slow growth in foreign direct investment, and even some disinvestment.[74]

Sanctions of this sort were part of a larger imperial project to ensure that an extroverted class alliance prevailed in Zimbabwe. Besides the government's radical rhetoric, transnational capital was also concerned with the inward-orientation and protectionism of domestic industry. And at this juncture, industry (now represented by CZI) and government, however distrustful of each other, managed to discern common interests, for the government wished to place industrial growth at the centre of its redistributive agenda. The other sectors, mining, commerce, and agriculture, maintained a cautious stance towards government as well, but were inclined towards the more open order espoused by transnational capital. The creation of an extroverted alliance therefore depended significantly on the conversion of industry to an outward orientation. Such a campaign was spearheaded by the World Bank throughout the decade, and included the establishment of an export-revolving fund for the sector in 1985.[75] But other, more systemic, means were also employed to pry open the economy. In 1982, Zimbabwe was struck by a balance of payments crisis – induced by South Africa's destabilisation campaign, the beginning of a three-year drought, and the world slump – which the IMF seized as a matter of course. As Colin Stoneman observed, 'within a year of joining from an "underborrowed" position, Zimbabwe was drawing on a stand-by arrangement and was, therefore, in the position of being dictated to in its economic policies'.[76] The icing on the 'reconciliation' cake was the IMF's rewarding of apartheid South Africa with a loan in the same year.

---

[72] See Chimombe (1986) and Bond (1998), ch. 11.
[73] Sibanda (1988), pp. 258–60.
[74] Chimombe (1986), p. 137.
[75] See Stoneman (1989).
[76] Stoneman (1989), p. 41.

The government thus embarked on neo-colonial nation-building, inherent in which were the familiar contradictions: it sought 'national planning' in the context of monopoly capitalism, and industrialisation against the objective logic of the centre-periphery structure. The development strategy, labelled 'growth and equity', was proclaimed in 1981 and elaborated in subsequent 'national development plans'.[77] The strategy was influenced by the reformism of UN agencies (UNCTAD and UNDP), and echoed the 'redistribution with growth' thinking of the 1970s which subordinated distributional matters to the pace and requirements of growth. The strategy did not conform to the new development orthodoxy insofar as it called upon industry, not agriculture, to lead growth, and sought to protect it from competition. It diverged, moreover, insofar as government reserved for itself an active developmental role, as in the coordination of agro-industrial linkages, and repeatedly stated its intention to nationalise the means of production (though limited progress was made in this regard). The agrarian dimension of the strategy had two principal objectives, the raising of productivity and the safeguarding of national food self-sufficiency. Within this framework, it conducted a lawful land redistribution exercise and invested heavily in health, education, and infrastructure for the smallholder sector – with the exception of Matabeleland, as we will see.

The contradictions of nation-building appeared as a centre-periphery game of hide-and-seek. The first two years experienced rapid growth, due largely to the lifting of sanctions, influx of aid, and good rains. The boom was accompanied by large increases in social spending, enactment of minimum wage legislation, and the inception of 'accelerated resettlement'. But the balance of payments crisis in 1982 brought the contradictions quickly to the fore – and government to the doorstep of the IMF. Over the next several months, the currency was devalued nearly by half, interest rates pushed upward, and maize subsidies and development resources curtailed. Despite government's insistence that austerity had been 'home grown' (*i.e.*, a genuine act of national self-determination), the events demonstrated how little control it really had over 'growth and equity' in Zimbabwe. In 1984, government then fell out with the IMF. The rift was prompted by a budget deficit and new austerity measures demanded by the Fund. At this juncture, government sought to regain the initiative by rejecting the demands, paying its outstanding obligations to the Fund, and turning its back to it. Thereafter, it set out 'on its own', but not without exercising 'self-discipline'; indeed, the fiscal outlays of the early boom years were not to be seen again, while the pace of land resettlement itself dropped dramatically. The stance was

sustained for three years, until finance came knocking again. The country's foreign debt since independence had ballooned to US$2.2 billion and its debt payments risen to 32 per cent of exports. Government now deemed it necessary to approach commercial banks, Standard Chartered and Barclays in particular.[78]

This option was not pre-determined, of course. At this time, government was seeking to improve its image more generally, and to overcome the climate of mutual distrust with capital. The economy had not re-entered crisis, but it was clear that dynamic growth remained unfulfilled under the existing pattern of accumulation. Thus, in 1986, government began dialogue with CZI, along with UNIDO and the World Bank, over the future of the industrial sector.[79] This was a process that led to the long-coveted conversion of manufacturing capital to an outward orientation, the realignment of capitals across the sectors behind a common policy stance, and the incremental conversion of government itself. The new policy thrust – though still short of liberalisation – was reflected in the implementation of a series of export financing and promotion schemes, first in manufacturing and then in mining and agriculture.[80]

The warming up to capital had deeper roots in the accumulation strategies of an aspiring black bourgeoisie, its compradorisation, and the changing class balances that underpinned the nation-building project. Petty accumulation accelerated early after independence on the fringes of monopoly capitalism – in petty commerce, real estate, and hospitality. This occurred alongside a rapid de-racialisation of the public sector, by presidential directive, to compensate for the racial closures of the private sector. The two moves synergised, such that, by 1983, Prime Minister Mugabe was publicly expressing concern over the accumulation of private wealth within the party's ranks. This led in 1984 to the adoption of a 'leadership code' which forbade the straddling of public service and business.[81] But the exercise was hampered from the start, for implementation demanded class suicide. Accumulation proceeded apace, via the state and on the terms of imperialism. This was the combined process of 'corruption', as revealed clearly in the Willowgate scandal in 1989; and 'compradorisation' which, as Bond has shown, saw a small but powerful clique establish itself within the financial circuit.[82] The process was racially charged, as both blacks and whites instrumentalised race, but its result was the reinforcement of the neo-colonial *status quo*.

---

[77] See the discussion in Stoneman and Cliffe (1989), pp. 42–45.
[78] See Bond (1988), p. 344–47.
[79] For the Bank's role, see Stoneman (1989).
[80] See Skålnes (1995), ch. 7.
[81] Sibanda (1988), pp. 262–63.
[82] Bond (1998), ch. 7.

The process of embourgeoisement did not play out only in race relations, but also in the realm of 'ethnic' relations. The nation-building project witnessed a 'petty-bourgeois scramble' to monopolise the state and bar other fractions from it;[83] it did so by subordinating ethnic diversity to the requirements of accumulation – with tragic consequences. Soon after independence, elite rivalry spiralled out of control and into a brutal crackdown by the state against 'dissidents' in the Matabeleland provinces.[84] As Alexander et al. have shown, the competition between ZANU and ZAPU that pre-existed had never been expressed in ethnic terms during the liberation struggle. But following ZANU(PF)'s large electoral triumph over PF-ZAPU in February 1980, party elites failed to reach an accommodation; instead, they 'scrambled' and 'ethnicised'. The rivalry was further manipulated by the South African state in the course of its regional destabilisation campaign; the apartheid regime armed one dissident faction, while others remained independent. The rivalry climaxed in 1983 when the state deployed a South Korean-trained crack unit, the Fifth Brigade, to rout opposition to the ruling party by means of terror tactics and mass killings – some 6,000 people lost their lives.

Neo-colonial 'nation-building' did not pre-determine violence of this sort. What it did do is maintain the ground fertile, enabling the petty-bourgeoisie 'to use the masses as cannon-fodder', and disabling the task of national unification.[85] The violence was brought finally to a close by the signing of the Unity Agreement in December 1987, reflecting 'a recognition that neither party would proceed on a national level on their own'.[86] The Agreement consummated the long-evaded marriage of nationalist elites and brought about the absorption of PF-ZAPU into ZANU(PF). But still, as an elite accommodation, national unity remained superficial: the events in Matabeleland were silenced in a myth of national homogeneity, leaving the masses of Matabeleland in 'a feeling of alienation from the national body politic'[87] – and the ground again fertile for conflict of whatever sort in the future. The Unity Accords were a landmark insofar as the main source of opposition was absorbed into the ruling party and the ongoing process of embourgeoisement facilitated. The main source of contradiction – between capital and labour – intensified.

---

[83] Sibanda (1988), p. 268.
[84] The events are detailed in Alexander et al. (2000).
[85] Sibanda (1988), p. 265.
[86] Raftopoulos (1992), pp. 59–74, quote on p. 71.
[87] Alexander et al. (2000), p. 230.

We have seen how the contradictions of nation-building played out in the realm of inter-capitalist relations – between introverted, extroverted, and aspiring bourgeoisies. These contradictions began to be resolved by the conversion of CZI, the cooptation of the black petty-bourgeoisie, and the end of ZANU-ZAPU hostilities. Ultimately, they all relied upon a collective management of the mainline (capital-labour) contradiction, which played out in the realms of agrarian and labour relations.

Besides the subordination of Matabeleland, the neo-colonial state proceeded to 'put a reign on its mass base' more generally.[88] This was the process of civilisation of the popular forces through which independence had been won, and was part and parcel of what Mandaza called the 'schizophrenia' of neo-colonialism. The immediate aftermath of independence was animated by high expectations and new-found freedoms of civil expression. The conjuncture produced, however, what was described as a 'crisis of expectations', manifest in an outburst of wildcat strikes in urban areas, coal mines, and estates, and a series of high intensity land occupations in the countryside. The work stoppages amounted to some 200 in 1980, with some 300,000 production hours lost, occurring in two waves, one in the week after the national elections, the other on the occasion of first officially-approved May Day celebrations. These were sufficient to cause a rapid retreat by the government on the parameters of civil expression.[89] The response came as a mix of carrots and sticks. Government deployed the army to send strikers back to work; instituted a statutory minimum wage and enacted legislation *vis-à-vis* employment conditions; recognised workers' committees and works councils but confined their purview to a limited range of workplace issues; organised a single trade union centre for private sector workers, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU); separated them institutionally from public sector workers *and* petty-commodity producers; and imposed a client leadership on the ZCTU. Notably also, the inauguration of the ZCTU in February 1981 was sponsored by the ICFTU and the AALC (the AFL-CIO's regional body), in a message clearly targeted at capital – though the centre remained formally non-aligned throughout the decade and went on to receive funding from both the ICFTU and WFTU.

The state thus fragmented the semi-proletariat and corporatised the trade union movement, centralising it and subordinating it to the requirements of neo-colonial nation-building. At the same time, it proclaimed itself, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to be the

---

[88] Mandaza (1986b), p. 50.
[89] See Sachikonye (1986), Wood (1988), Shadur (1994), and Sachikonye (1996).

custodian of workers' interests in the transition to socialism. In practice, corporatisation entailed direct state intervention in wage determination and retrenchment procedures, which amounted to the short-circuiting of the labour movement. Indeed, the inability of workers to exert influence over distributional matters was demonstrated in the recession of 1982–84: minimum wages in agricultural and domestic sectors remained below the poverty datum line, while overall real wages remained virtually unchanged in the five years of independence.[90] In 1985, the colonial ICA was replaced by the Labour Relations Act (LRA), without consultation with labour; in the event, the LRA retained some of the authoritarian aspects of the ICA, preserving the interventionism of the state and curbing strike action via a broad definition of 'essential services'.

Corporatism did not rest easy, however. From the mid-1980s, the labour movement began to assert its independence form the state, not least in reaction to the state's divergence from its stated socialist path. In 1984, the ZCTU General Council suspended corrupt members imposed by ZANU(PF) and embarked on a corruption 'clean-up', while in 1988 it elected a new and dynamic leadership, under Morgan Tsvangirai, with a vision to mobilise and democratise the movement, and to detach it from the state. The second half of the decade witnessed the emergence of adversarial labour relations, as well as conflict on a range of national political matters. Meanwhile, the demand for collective bargaining and independence posed new challenges to a ZCTU that remained poorly linked to the grassroots, unable to confront capital, financially disabled, and professing a Marxism-Leninism whose nuclear-powered champion was disintegrating. Moreover, the ZCTU remained confined to the formally employed, largely in the urban areas and commercial farms, with no organisational links to the communal lands. The political needs of the semi-proletariat, therefore, could only partly be represented by the ZCTU.

In the countryside, a similar process of demobilisation took place, though uncivil politics here were more successful in exacting policies from government, given the legitimacy that the liberation government derived from the countryside. As Jocelyn Alexander observed, 'land redistribution was a key demand of the government's most populous constituency and, at least initially, people had access to powerful patrons and the space to act outside state structures'.[91] The rural counterpart to urban wildcat strikes took the form of land occupations. These gained pace over the first two years of independence, creating a tense and urgent transition, and challenging the credibility of the new government. As Terence Ranger noted with reference to Makoni in 1981, there was 'a widespread sense that government was not acting urgently enough and a widespread bitterness at the arrests and prosecutions of peasants who had let the cattle on

---

[90] See Wood (1988), p. 294.
[91] Alexander (1993), p. 185.

146

white ranches or "trespassed" to cut grass'.[92] Government responded initially by providing emergency aid towards reconstruction. But by 1982, it was implementing an 'accelerated resettlement programme' involving land abandoned by white farmers during the war. Excepted from this were the Matabeleland provinces, where communal area cattle owners clashed with government planning methods in a political context dominated by ZANU-ZAPU rivalry.[93] In this case, uncivil rural politics did not elicit affirmative land policy but political repression and exclusion from the redistributive agenda of nation-building.

While appeasing the rest of the countryside with accelerated action, the government also proceeded to restructure rural institutions and consolidate its power over the countryside.[94] In the first half-decade, government established new district councils with formal power over land allocation; new village and ward development committees (VIDCOs and WADCOs); district- and province-level committees, comprising of civil servants and chaired by administrators; and the office of Provincial Governor, a political appointment. Then in 1988, legislation was enacted to amalgamate European and African rural areas into Rural District Councils (RDCs). 'In theory', Alexander concluded, 'government had established democratic, secular, and non-racist channels for popular participation in planning and policy-making from 'village' to provincial level'.[95] However, while the new institutions may have been democratic in form, their substance entailed a reaffirmation of the colonial subordination of local government to central government – an adaptation of 'indirect rule' – in accordance with the demands of neo-colonial nation-building. In practice, chiefs retained an ambiguous role in the process, until being coopted into rural structures: they were appointed as ex-officio members of the new councils, even if against the wishes of local committees; they continued to receive a salary, higher than elected leaders; and regained control over courts, thereby also reinforcing the late-colonial patriarchal order. In all, the new democratic structures were marginalised and regarded by central government 'primarily as policy implementing, not formulating, agencies'.[96]

Government also strove to corporatise farming interests as a whole. Three farmers' unions existed in 1980: the CFU (Commercial Farmers' Union) representing the white large-scale sector; the ZNFU (Zimbabwe National Farmers' Union) representing African small-scale commercial farmers; and the NFAZ (National Farmers' Association of Zimbabwe) organising petty-commodity producers. Throughout the decade, government pressed for their merger under

---

[92] Ranger (1985), p. 301; the friction in guerrilla-peasant relations at independence is noted in a number of districts – though interpreted differently – by Kriger (1992), Alexander (1993, 1995).
[93] See Alexander (1993) and Alexander (1991), pp. 581–610.
[94] See Alexander (1993, 1995)
[95] Alexander (1993), p. 168.

its auspices, achieving only partial success in 1991, when the ZNFU and NFAZ were merged into the ZFU (Zimbabwe Farmers' Union), without the CFU.[97] Thus, not only did government fragment the semi-proletariat organisationally, it also sought, through mergers, to dilute the expression of class and racial cleavages; notably, bourgeois farming interests remained in control of the new ZFU, despite its predominantly peasant membership.

Under nation-building, agrarian policy encompassed three main issue areas: rural development, pricing/marketing, and land redistribution, all of which were driven by the contradictions of neo-colonialism. The first years witnessed a large increase in expenditure in infrastructural development, health and education. Spending on the agricultural sector – on research, extension services, roads, and marketing depots – grew in 1980–85 at a rate of 37 per cent annually, faster than any other item on the budget.[98] In education, whereas the colonial unit cost in schooling was ten times higher for white than for black children, the post-independence state expanded capital and recurrent expenditures, amounting to twice the amount of investment in productive sectors as a proportion of GNP in the first two years.[99] Similarly, if colonial infant mortality rates were nearly ten times higher in the black population than the white (which approximated industrialised country standards), health expenditure by 1982 had doubled in real terms, reducing black infant mortality by 30 per cent.[100] Social spending amounted to straightforward income transfers, which ultimately proved unsustainable; the balance of payments crisis and austerity measures induced restraint, as did economic stagnation in the decade as whole.

In the realm of marketing, the government operated the inherited monopsony for agricultural commodities that had been serving white agrarian capital since the 1930s. Unlike in the colonial period, however, white farmers no longer had exclusive political influence over pricing policy. At first, there was a coincidence of interests between all farmers' unions on higher farmgate prices. And indeed, unlike the 'squeezing' policies seen elsewhere on the continent, the new government of Zimbabwe proceeded to hike producer prices for the main commodities (maize, wheat, beef), so as to stimulate productivity, and reduce subsidies favourable to urban areas. Notably, this pricing policy, together with infrastructural development, had the effect of boosting peasant production, especially in maize, such that by 1985 peasants were producing 45

---

[96] Alexander (1993), p. 173.
[97] Bratton (1994), pp. 9–37.
[98] Bratton (1987), pp. 174–202.
[99] Chung (1988), p. 130.
[100] Loewenson and Sanders (1988).

per cent of marketed output, up from 8 per cent in 1980;[101] this growth was not uniform across the board but highly concentrated in terms of agro-ecological region and class.[102] Pricing policy then began a long decline in the second half of the decade, during which the government sought to compensate the peasant sector by infrastructural development. The latter priority, however, now placed commercial interests against peasant interests; and it coincided, moreover, with an emerging division of labour in national agriculture whereby peasant would concentrate on maize and cotton, while commercial farmers on the rest, including the high foreign exchange earners of tobacco and coffee (though still producing maize and cotton). Thus, with a more clearly outward orientation and with grievances against government spending on the peasant sector, the large-scale sector began to withdraw its support from price and marketing controls and to lobby for liberalisation – which it ultimately obtained in the early 1990s against the interests of smallholders.[103]

Finally, if a temporary coincidence of interests between peasants and commercial farmers existed in pricing policy, in land reform there was only rivalry, which commercial farming won consistently. Land acquisition and resettlement began at a fast pace in the early years. Between 1980 and 1984, a total of 2.14 million hectares were acquired, as compared to only 447,791 hectares between 1985 and 1990, while in the first four years of independence 10,000 families were resettled per year, as compared to 5,000 per year thereafter.[104] In all, government resettled 58,000 families in the 1980s (though far short of the targeted 162,000) on 3 million hectares, comprising of formerly commercial farmland (2,780,803 hectares) purchased by the government, 2,247 hectares of state land, and 541,770 hectares of forfeited derelict land; the large-scale commercial farming sector was reduced to 11 million hectares, or 29 percent of agricultural land.[105] In this phase, the dominant method of land acquisition was 'state-centred, market-based', with the 'willing seller' being the landowner and the 'willing buyer', as well as selector of beneficiaries, the state.[106] This interacted with the land occupation method of acquisition. However, the provisions of Lancaster House were respected, with only a mild qualification, the Land Acquisition Act of 1985, which gave the government the 'right of first refusal' on all land sales, as well as the ability to acquire derelict land without compensation.

The deceleration of land acquisition and resettlement had to do with several factors. One was the fiscal constraint. Lancaster House provided for 'prompt and adequate' compensation in

---

[101] Bratton (1987), p. 182.
[102] Cliffe (1988), pp. 4–25.
[103] For the details on pricing policy, see Skålnes (1995), ch. 8.
[104] See Moyo (1995a), p. 123, and Government of Zimbabwe (1999), p. 11.
[105] See Moyo (1995a), chs. 3 and 4.

foreign currency, which tied land reform to export performance; the balance of payments crisis had obvious consequences. The fact that the UK was providing funds (a total of US$44 million in the 1980s) on a matching grant basis to the government's own outlays was necessary but not sufficient. A related factor was that land availability was decreasing, given that abandoned land was being exhausted by accelerated resettlement. Moreover, only a small portion of new land being acquired (19 per cent) was in prime agro-ecological regions, while 44 percent was in the arid Natural Regions IV and V and 37 percent in NR III; this, in turn, was impeding agricultural performance in resettlement areas. The market method therefore was diminishing the opportunity cost of government's own funds.[107]

A third factor was that the land reform debate throughout the decade was imbued with prejudices, propagated by the CFU, the World Bank, the Whitsun Foundation, and soon the government itself, about the inherent superiority of large-scale farming in terms of productivity and patterns of land use. Indeed, by 1984 the land debate was being restructured in the interest of 'micro-level efficiency' – before being restructured again under ESAP in the interest of 'macro-level efficiency'.[108] It is notable that in 1985 it was demonstrated that between two-thirds to one-half of prime agricultural land in the LSCF was neither cropped nor fallowed; and that peasant farming, when taking into account agro-ecological and infrastructural constraints, had higher total factor productivity than the large-scale sector, though reliant on gender exploitation.[109] Throughout the decade, landowners were in fact holding on to land speculatively, as well as in the interest of functional dualism which enabled the minimum wage in the LSCF to remain at *half* the poverty datum line. It was not until 1991 and the inception of ESAP that the World Bank acknowledged the gross underutilisation of land in the LSCF, though even then land reform was not incorporated into ESAP.[110]

The deceleration of land reform and embourgeoisement of the national elite was accompanied by the establishment of a 'squatter control' apparatus to discipline unauthorised land users. Squatter Control Committees had been first created in 1985 under the Ministry of Local Government, at a time when the official attitude towards squatters was hardening. Yet, the shear scale of the squatting situation, compounded by variable sympathy among local authorities and MPs mindful of their own legitimacy, proved beyond bureaucratic control. As Alexander has noted in relation to Manicaland near the end of the decade, 'the estimated number of squatters in

[106] Moyo (2001b), p. 22.
[107] Moyo (2001b), p. 23–24.
[108] Moyo (1995a), p. 22.
[109] Weiner *et al.* (1985).
[110] See World Bank (1991b); for a prior assessment, cast in conservationist mould, see World Bank (1986).

the province nearly equalled the officially resettled population of 60,000, and this in the province with the largest resettlement program in the country'.[111] In Matabeleland, the post-Unity period itself witnessed a resurgence of land occupations in a more secure and tolerant political climate. Thus, while influence on the part of the landshort and landless with respect to national land policy was waning, any effort by the government to subdue land self-provisioning was bound to meet significant obstacles. In aggregate, the peasant voice in its 'uncivil' form remained a force to be reckoned with and a pressing concern at the national level.

The mounting pressure placed on the government by unauthorised occupation of land led in the late 1980s to a reconsideration of squatter policy. There was increasingly recognition that policy needed to be homogenised, consolidated, and enforced. It was recognised also that squatter policy hitherto had tended to be inconsistent, often being determined by the political needs of existing or aspiring politicians. In 1988, the matter was taken up by the Ministry of Local Government, which authored and circulated a discussion paper on squatting policy.[112] The paper acknowledged the magnitude of the problem forthrightly:

> [i]t is needless to emphasise that, bearing in mind the century-long Land Question, the severity and centrality of the squatting problem has its own inertia. That is, squatting generates itself as a pressing priority on the agenda before our national leadership. At the moment, there are about 100 squatter concentrations of proportions enough to merit urgent attention and these concentrations comprise thousands of persons who have already tasted battle with the authorities.[113]

The discussion paper was provocative in that, despite the hardening of official policy, it pointed to the underlying dynamics of squatting and showed sympathy to the plight of the landless. Among other things, the paper criticised the rationale of an eviction policy that did not provide viable alternatives to the landless – hence making 'moral nonsense of the law' – and called on government to review land policy urgently and give priority to the landless. But the paper also recommended that the government 'make the Provincial and District administrative and security chiefs the land authority wherever squatters have to be dealt with', thus also suggesting the 'parochialisation' of squatter control. In the event, it was the latter recommendation that made it into the 1992 squatter control policy.[114] This provided for a hierarchy of national, provincial, and district squatter control committees, but ultimately granted

---

[111] Alexander (1993), p. 261.
[112] Ministry of Local Government (1988).
[113] Ministry of Local Government (1988).
[114] Ministry of Local Government (1992).

the 'land authority or owner' the legal power to evict. In the case of rural land, the empowered authority became the district council; in the case of private land, the authority became the commercial farmer – which here implies also the 'privatisation' of a national problem.

Thus, while the corollary of bourgeoisification was the reinforcement of squatter control, a stalemate set in. On the one hand, the semi-proletariat was losing leverage over national land policy; on the other, government was incapable of controlling land self-provisioning. The onset of structural adjustment was to bring the simmer of the stalemate to a boil of public land occupations.

4.5   Liberalising Zimbabwe and the Nationalist Promise

In the late 1980s, Zimbabwe embarked on gradual liberalisation of its economy, culminating in the implementation of a World Bank-sponsored economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP) in 1991. The end of the 1980s was a time of change nationally and globally. Nationally, capital across sectors was uniting behind a common outward orientation, while Unity negotiations were bringing to a close the most tragic experience of the new nation and, ultimately, facilitating the accumulation strategies of the national petty-bourgeoisie. The late 1980s, therefore, was a time of general reconciliation with capital and embourgeoisement of the national elite. This was also the time, however, of the erosion of corporatism and the emergence of new sources of oppositional politics, led mainly by the labour movement and students. In this context, embourgeoisement invoked a new political framework, the one-party state, which the ruling party strove to enshrine in the constitution. Had it succeeded, it would have amounted to a *de jure* dictatorship of the petty-bourgeoisie – and by extension, international finance. Both the one-party state and liberalisation were resisted in the streets, but only the former was halted.

In the global realm, the Soviet bloc was disintegrating at this time, Japan was challenging ultra-imperial discipline, and liberalism was being re-launched in the governance synthesis. These events had fundamental implications for civil and uncivil politics in Zimbabwe. The present section will provide some background information on the liberal decade, while the following chapters will examine in more depth the politics of the semi-proletariat.

The Embourgeoisement of National Liberation

At the end of the decade, the Zimbabwean economy was not in crisis, though crisis was lurking in the shadows. As Bond has argued, '[s]tagnation in the key sector of the economy – manufacturing

– essentially represented a continuation of crisis tendencies which had surfaced in the mid 1970s'.[115] By decade's end, manufacturing had registered a negligible intake of foreign capital and growth.[116] The sector still accounted for about one quarter of GDP and one half of exports, and relied heavily on the primary agricultural and mining sectors whose goods it processed. The only notable alteration had been the entry of government into the sector by acquisition of majority or part ownerships, amounting to about 16 per cent, such that foreign ownership had halved to 25 per cent, while local white capital remained strong at 50 per cent.[117] But the domestic market remained constrained and the crisis-prone structure of disarticulated accumulation effectively in place.

The adoption of structural adjustment in Zimbabwe occurred in the absence of crisis; and it coincided with the expiry of the Lancaster House provisions pertaining to land. Imperialism had thus succeeded within a decade to build adequate domestic social props for the reproduction of neo-colonialism. The decision to embark on ESAP was most immediately tied to the conversion of CZI to outward orientation, as has been argued by Tor Skålnes – but also to the embourgeoisement and compradorisation of the African national elite itself and the collapse of the socialist model worldwide. By 1988, virtually all capitals across the sectors, acting under the umbrella of the Zimbabwe Association of Business Organisations (ZABO), were lobbying government for a phased programme of trade liberalisation coupled with deregulation of prices, wages, and investment, and reduction in public expenditures.[118] In the same year, discussions began between black executives in industry and government to establish an Indigenous Business Development Centre (IBDC) that would look out for the interests of the aspiring black bourgeoisie, as against those of the white CZI.[119]

The latter case is of further significance, for it shifted the social base of the ruling party away from its allies in the countryside and, in synergy with the political-moral changes in the global arena, transformed the meaning of 'national liberation'. The ruling party had been reluctant in the early days of independence to see the growth of an African business class. The fact of the latter's emergence, however, posed the threat of establishing an accumulation base outside the ruling party and thereby constituting an alternative African political force.[120] The new constituency was therefore co-opted into the ruling party, in a process of 'class formation behind

---

[115] Bond (1998), p. 167.
[116] Mlambo (2000a).
[117] Riddell (1990), ch. 10.
[118] Skålnes (1995), pp. 128–9.
[119] Raftopoulos (1999b), p. 9.
[120] Raftopoulos (1992), p. 69.

closed doors'.[121] In 1990, the IBDC was formed to ensure state support for blacks on preferential terms, in finance, land, and government contracts. It also began to lay new claims on the national liberation project. If liberation had once meant socialist transformation, or a more populist 'return of the lost lands', for the IBDC it meant the blackening of the ownership base of the capitalist economy, under the banner of 'indigenisation'. The transformation was vehemently contested by the labour movement, but to no avail; this, after all, was the historical juncture in which the socialist project was losing legitimacy worldwide. This global political restructuring boosted the legitimacy claims of both existing and aspiring bourgeoisies within Zimbabwe, as elsewhere.

The events thus moved at a fast pace. In 1989, a more liberal Investment Code was implemented, incorporating international protocols; in 1990–91, an Open General Import License (OGIL) replaced the existing foreign exchange allocation system, and prices of domestically produced goods were decontrolled; and in 1991, ESAP was finally launched under the terms of the five-year *Framework for Economic Reform* (FER).[122] Hereafter, the most prominent inter-capitalist conflict was to become the racial one, between an aspiring black bourgeoisie demanding affirmative action in the course of liberalisation and local white and foreign capital condemning any such tinkering with the market as disruptive of 'racial harmony'.[123] This conflict played out largely in the debate over the land question, revived by the impending expiry of the Lancaster House land provisions in 1990. The IBDC viewed land as central to the mobilisation of finance and so, together with the newly-formed and elite-led ZFU, proposed what amounted to a 'racial substitution formula for the development of capitalist farming'.[124] In turn, the call resonated in the government's new land policy of 1990, which now promised to acquire land not just for peasant but also black capitalist farming. This bifurcation in land eligibility formally pitted the landless and poor farmers against the 'capable' and 'efficient', those who could produce for export and command foreign exchange. In any case, the next few years saw little progress in land reform, as this was submerged within a liberal macroeconomic policy framework that emphasised liberalisation of agricultural markets over redistribution of assets.

Structural Adjustment

ESAP was launched under World Bank auspices. It did not initially contain a parallel agreement with the IMF, though the Fund was to launch a 'rescue mission' as early as January 1992, on

[121] Raftopoulos (1999b).
[122] Government of Zimbabwe (1991).
[123] Raftopoulos (1999b), p. 11.
[124] Moyo (1995a), p. 7.

account of severe ESAP- and drought-induced damages to Zimbabwe's external balance. Zimbabwe's adjustment programme was peculiar insofar as it was five years long, rather than three, and it sought to commercialise parastatals, rather than privatise them.[125] Moreover, it included a 'Social Development Fund', one of the first to be tested worldwide. Nonetheless, it contained the standard 'neoliberal' dictums: the reduction of the budget deficit, involving the slimming down of the public sector and the cutting back of social services; and all-encompassing liberalisation of currency, prices, interest rates, trade, capital flows, and the labour market.

Over the following years, the bulk of the programme was implemented, its adverse effects compounded by droughts in 1991/92 and 1994/5, as well as the expiry in 1992 of the 1964 trade agreement with South Africa (which was renewed only in 1996). Trade and prices were liberalised: the foreign exchange allocation system was dismantled, the exchange rate allowed to depreciate to increase competitiveness, tariffs lowered below GATT requirements, and subsidies withdrawn. The process stalled in 1992 when the trade deficit ballooned: exports declined by 17 per cent in 1990–92 and imports doubled (not least on account of new luxury good imports). Liberalisation then re-accelerated in 1994, when import licensing was abolished and the currency devalued by 17 per cent and made fully convertible. ESAP had a stagflationary impact. Inflation soared to 42 per cent in 1992, after averaging 14 per cent in the prior decade, and this was dealt with by high interest rates (standard 'sado-monetarism') which smothered the economy.[126] Meanwhile, financial liberalisation exacerbated Zimbabwe's woes; high interest rates attracted 'hot money' and pushed interest rates even higher. Indeed, from 1993 onwards, as prohibitions against foreign dealing on the ZSE were lifted and Zimbabwe gained 'emerging market' status, the country's money supply, interest rates, and currency were to become highly exposed to global financial instability, as during the Mexican crisis of 1995.[127]

The financial flows, and the yo-yos of the ZSE, were unrelated to the real economy. Attraction of foreign direct investment had been one of the proclaimed objectives of ESAP; and this was sought, *inter alia*, by the deregulation of the labour market (a liberal Labour Relations Act was passed in 1992 with effect on job security and wage bargaining) and the relaxation of measures pertaining to the remittability of dividends (by 1995, firms could remit 100 per cent of their net after tax profits). However, the desired investment outcomes proved beyond ESAP's grasp. Investment levels remained low and declining, while significant de-industrialisation set in, particularly in the clothing and textile sub-sectors: one-fifth of the clothing firms registered with

---

[125] Peter Gibbon suggests that this leniency was due to the IMF's initial absence; see Gibbon (1995), p. 11.
[126] See ZCTU (1996) and Bond (1998), ch. 12.
[127] Bond (1998), ch. 8.

CZI folded in 1991–95, while the industry operated at 65 per cent of capacity;[128] and 87 textile firms closed down by 1994, including Cone Textiles, with 6,000 employees.[129] By 1998, the contribution of manufacturing to GDP stood at 17 per cent, down from one-fourth.[130] These trends elicited renewed CZI demands for the restoration of direct subsidies, while also accusations that government was 'victimising' business with tight monetary policy.[131] But the burden of adjustment was borne by the peasant-worker. The rate of formal employment growth generally declined across sectors – with the only outstanding exception being the financial sector. Retrenchments followed retrenchments: by 1995, 20,000 workers had lost their jobs in the public sector and 25,000 in the private sector. Real wages declined: in 1993, real average total wages stood at 61.9 per cent of their 1980 level, down from 103 per cent in 1990.[132] And the share of wages and salaries in the national income also declined: this stood at 40 per cent in 1996, down from 64 per cent a decade earlier, while the share of profits accruing to capital went to 60 per cent, up from 37 per cent.[133]

Agrarian policy compounded immiserisation. In the early 1990s, the state began to retreat from agriculture, as demanded by the CFU. Marketing boards were commercialised (or privatised) and converted to 'purchasers of last resort', while private traders were allowed to compete. This partly reversed the late-1980s trends, bringing higher real producer prices for some crops (e.g., maize and wheat), but not for others (e.g., cotton, beef). Moreover, these changes were accompanied by the reduction in extension services, subsidies on inputs, and credit for smallholders, which alongside the depreciation of the currency, had the effect of raising the costs of production to smallholders and eroding farm incomes.[134] Significantly, this dovetailed with job cuts in the formal sector and the erosion of real wages. Further notable effects included the integration of smallholders into TNC-controlled markets for seeds – in addition to the fertiliser and chemical markets which were already under TNC control;[135] the extension of farming to marginal land, and the intensification of women's labour in particular; the upsurge of demand for land, the deepening of land markets, and further social differentiation in communal areas; and the further undermining of local government institutions.[136]

---

[128] ZCTU (1996), p. 48–54.
[129] Mlambo (2000b), p. 115–16.
[130] UNDP/UNCTAD (2000), p. 13.
[131] Skålnes (1995), p. 144, and Bond (1998), pp. 401–2.
[132] ZCTU (1996), pp. 15 and 68–69; see also Kanyenze (1996).
[133] Kanyenze (1998b).
[134] See ZCTU (1996), pp. 34–35, and UNDP/UNCTAD (2000), p. 14–16.
[135] See Tandon (2001), pp. 230–34.
[136] Moyo (2000a).

The contribution of the smallholder sector to total sales did not increase in the 1990s (the share in 1998 equalled that of 1994), and it remained regionally differentiated.[137] But significant changes took place in the structure of the sector. Central to ESAP's plan for agriculture was the promotion of non-traditional export activities, specifically wildlife management, ostrich husbandry, and horticulture. As Moyo has shown, this has had a number of effects.[138] One has been the reinforcement of the division of labour between smallholders and large-scale farmers; the latter expanded operations to non-traditional activities, while smallholders stayed put, due to the historical constraints (land, water, credit, and infrastructure). By mid-decade, 36 per cent of the LSCF (some 1,000 farmers) was engaged in horticulture (vegetables, fruits, and flowers), predominantly in the Mashonaland provinces; 31 per cent of LSCF had come under wildlife, involving the conversion of the previously underutilised and speculatively-held land; and about 300 large-scale farmers had embraced ostrich husbandry. In the communal areas, it is estimated that only about 10 per cent of the households became involved in the new land uses. This has largely been in wildlife management, via the CAMPFIRE programme which, from the late 1980s onwards, was formally converting communal land to exclusive commercial exploitation. Horticulture and ostrich husbandry have been out of the grasp of smallholders.

A related effect, as Moyo has also shown, is that, in the process of converting land to wildlife, new relationships emerged between local agrarian and transnational capital (including regional). The establishment of 'conservancies' entailed the formation of private companies which held and managed groups of farms in one block; this restructured, concentrated, and de-personalised land ownership, while also consolidating lobbying power. Alongside this, there have emerged new land bidding patterns, both on prime lands and those historically designated as 'marginal'. Indeed, under the weight of ESAP, land bidding of both the civil and uncivil types intensified, involving agrarian capital, 'squatters', and other 'stakeholders', not least NGOs touting 'indigenous knowledge' within the framework of 'sustainable development'. Meanwhile, aspiring black capital called for the 'setting aside' of land in the interest of 'indigenisation', while also being directly co-opted by local white and transnational capital through 'linkages' promoted by donor-funded 'enterprise development programmes'. Just as well, 'squatter control' policy continued to be implemented, bringing about serial mass evictions.

Finally, the legal framework for land reform was also changed, though not by ESAP prescription. The new bifurcated land policy of 1990 was accompanied by constitutional amendments in 1990 and 1993 and a new Land Acquisition Act in 1992. Together, these enabled

---

[137] UNDP/UNCTAD (2000), p. 15, and ZCTU (1996), pp. 34–35.
[138] Moyo (2000a).

157

the state to designate and acquire land compulsorily, but without renouncing the market method; changed the compensation formula, now obliging government to pay 'fair compensation within reasonable time' (rather than 'prompt' and 'adequate') and in local currency; and crafted a compromise on 'non-justiciability', which sought to deny courts the power to declare land acquisition unconstitutional, but which received 'trenchant criticism' and ultimately led the government to bow to the principle of legal recourse.[139] In 1993, government also appointed a Land Tenure Commission (LTC) to study land tenure reform, which reported in 1994. Nonetheless, progress was inadequate. The LTC itself served as a substitute for public debate, consulting elitist farming interests. And land acquisition remained slow. By 1993, only 90 farms had been designated, the bulk of which were in the less fertile regions (71% in Natural Regions III, IV, and V), while 36 of these farms became undesignated through the stipulated legal process. The government proceeded to allocate land to 600 peasant families displaced by the construction of the Osborne Dam in Makoni District and thereafter, on a leasehold basis, to black capitalist farmers.[140] Between 1992 and 1997, some 790,000 hectares of land were acquired, bringing the total since independence to 3.38 million hectares.[141] By this time, 400 black capitalists were leasing 400,000 hectares of state land, and 350 had bought their own.[142] Notably, tension between the Zimbabwean and UK governments persisted, and worsened from 1996 onwards, as the UK now made funding conditional on the 'community initiated, market assisted' model of land reform.[143]

The tally of structural adjustment was disastrous. Sectoral and social disarticulation was reinforced, particularly by the onset of de-industrialisation, such that domestic purchasing power became even less relevant to the decisions of capital. In fact, capital appropriated larger shares of the national income and went on, by the cutting of social expenditures, to shift the cost of social reproduction to an even greater extent onto the semi-proletarian household – women in particular. This occurred just as HIV/AIDS began to strike.[144] Functional dualism remained firmly in place: the rural homestead remained the 'production site' for an increasingly run-down labour force, while social differentiation within the communal areas and landlessness intensified. The latter, notably, had consequences for the ability of local government institutions to regulate effectively the economic downturn; rural conflict and state violence proliferated. In terms of debt, the country's external component increased by 40 per cent in 1990–95; by 1998, total official debt

---

[139] Moyo (2001b), pp. 27–29.
[140] Moyo, (1995a), ch. 8.
[141] Government of Zimbabwe (1999a), p. 11.
[142] Moyo (2001b), p. 1.
[143] Moyo (2001b), p. 24–25.

stood at 95 per cent of GDP, of which 60 per cent was external; in the same year, debt service was 38 per cent of export earnings (exceeded only by Burundi and Brazil).[145] But we must remember that 'global development' was never the purpose of structural adjustment, and in this sense, structural adjustment *succeeded* in Zimbabwe. The liberation movement was no longer a threat to imperialism: it had been converted into an imperial social prop; and international finance was firmly in control of the Zimbabwean state. Zimbabwe could turn its back on finance, and seek an alternative development path, only at great cost to itself.

Nationalism Re-radicalised

But turn its back it did. How Zimbabwe managed to earn pariah status a second time will be shown in detail subsequently. Suffice it here to provide an overview. Policy after ESAP was torn by the neo-colonial contradictions that ESAP had inflamed. Upon ESAP's expiry, government did not alter its export-oriented strategy, but sought to deepen it by the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) Act, following regional policy trends. Subsequently, a new IFI-sponsored development programme was drawn up, ZIMPREST, to focus on 'unfinished business' – the restructuring of public enterprises, reform of the financial sector, even land reform (market-based and bifurcated).[146] And like ESAP, it was launched in the language of 'national self-determination'. 'Today', wrote President Mugabe (in a foreward dated February 1998), 'we take pride as Zimbabweans in the fruits of our co-operative efforts, as we, as a nation, take ownership of this important policy document'. By this time, however, government was already deeply contradicting IFI demands, on account of the announcement of unbudgeted pension disbursements to disaffected war veterans, in August 1997, and, subsequently, in November, the designation of about 40 per cent of the LSCF for compulsory acquisition. Unlike ESAP, ZIMPREST misfired.

Zimbabwe's liberal project began to unravel from November onwards. The currency crashed, losing a breathtaking 74 per cent of its value in a four-hour period of trading (on 14 November), to be restored only modestly by Reserve Bank intervention.[147] This, in turn, ushered in a further round of price-hikes and job losses, and was accompanied by food riots and serial industrial action – including unprecedented national strikes and stay-aways led by the ZCTU – as well as the use of violence by the state to suppress popular demands. The political convulsions did not remain confined to the urban areas. In fact, as early as June 1998 the first round of a high

---

[144] The deterioration of living standards is indicated in UNDP, Poverty Reduction Forum, and IDS (1998).
[145] *Zimbabwe's Debt Crisis and its Impact on Development* (1999), pp. 42–45.
[146] Government of Zimbabwe (1998b).
[147] Bond and Manyanya (2002), pp. 38–42.

profile land occupation movement began. This was organised through grassroots circuits of dissident party leaders and war veterans, and made to coincide with an International Donors' Conference on land reform hosted by the government. What all this amounted to was the most serious legitimacy crisis for the ruling party, both from *within* its ranks and from without. Meanwhile, the IFIs withheld funding for ZIMPREST and demanded a return to 'the path'. But to no avail. In 1998, price controls were re-introduced on staple goods, and tariffs were re-imposed on luxury goods. Then, in August of the same year, government embarked on a military campaign in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), straining further the national budget. By the end of the decade, Zimbabwe had defaulted on its loans and the national situation had reached boiling point.

The economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe has been, and will continue to be, subject to heated debate. It would surely have been a less disputed matter (especially among the Left), had the ruling party simply persisted on 'the path' (*i.e.*, liberalisation *cum* violence). But in the midst of its most serious crisis of legitimacy, and with elections just around corner, the leadership of the ruling party performed a political manoeuvre that deserves to be appended to Machiavelli's *Prince*. On the one hand, it *conceded* to basic semi-proletarian demands on land; on the other, it wedged itself with force back into the rural-urban fault lines of the semi-proletariat. By 2000, the ruling party was re-invoking its radical liberation credentials, returning populist land reform to the agenda, and making it the central plank of its electoral campaign ('land is the economy, the economy is land'). The following two years witnessed the compulsory acquisition of the bulk of the large-scale sector, reducing it to about 20 per cent of its 1980 acreage, and the re-allocation of land to an estimated 160,000 households, amounting to one million people (out of a population of 13 million), on a smallholder basis (involving inheritable, non-alienable use rights). Added to this was a plan to accommodate small-scale black capitalists ('master farmers') by inviting applications for land on a 99-year leasehold basis – some 51,000 applications were approved – as well as members of the ruling elite. At the same time, the ruling party encouraged ruthless tactics against members of opposition – not least organised labour – on the farms, in communal areas, and in the towns. It is estimated that well over 100 people, mainly members of opposition, lost their lives in political violence in 2000–02.

The easiest way to engage with this convulsion is to reach for moral high grounds. One such move has served directly imperial ends – moral grandstanding, after all, is intrinsic to imperialism. The liberal press and its ultra-imperial patrons seized upon the authoritarian image of Robert Mugabe, detaching the phenomenon from its context as a matter of course, and rendering the crisis as a particularly acute case of 'bad governance'. The UK government invoked

explicit 'civilisational' language. The domestic social props of imperialism sang a similar song. More genuinely perplexed, intellectually and politically, was the Left. And, here, two opposite positions emerged: one that took the side of civil society and concerned itself with ensuring free and fair multiparty elections, while remaining cognisant of the bourgeois nature of the 'civil' electoral platform; another that took the side of the 'uncivil', endorsing the radical land acquisition programme of the ruling party, while remaining cognisant of the latter's democratic deficit. Neither claimed ideological cleanliness, yet at the crux of the dispute lay concrete political differences: one concerning the ability of urban-based working class movements to provide leadership on the agrarian question – *i.e.*, a dispute over the appropriate political agency of the semi-proletariat; the other, a difference on the possibility of civil solutions to neo-colonialism.

To understand the limitations and potential of the agencies involved – rural and urban, civil and uncivil – it is imperative that they are historicised, placed in the global context of the 1990s, and understood in relation to one another.

PART II:

PEASANT-WORKERS IN ZIMBABWE UNDER STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

.

.

.

CHAPTER 5

Trade Union Nationalism

The ZCTU emerged from under the wing of the ruling party in the second half of the 1980s to become the epicentre of organised oppositional politics. This was the time in which the ZCTU was in its most 'uncivil' mode, professing Marxism-Leninism and bucking both the state and imperialism. But its incivility stood on weak organisational legs: it lacked solid links to the shopfloor; workers themselves lacked familiarity with trade union affairs in their occupational sectors; and both were poor. The transformation of the trade union centre into a worker-controlled and viable force would occur over the following years under difficult conditions: at the national level, ESAP was being set into motion and state violence being deployed against the disenfranchised; at the global level, the Soviet Union was collapsing and international trade unionism being reduced to the social democracy professed by the ICFTU. It is the argument here that the ZCTU eventually emerged as a social force to be reckoned with, but that in the process it underwent a significant identity change, or 'civilisation'. This process can be traced through three phases: that of radical political unionism (1990–95); social democratic strategic unionism (1995–97); and social democratic political unionism (1998–2000). The identity change touched every aspect of the centre's teachings, from its understanding of national sovereignty, to worker participation, to who are the 'natural' allies of the working class, which in the early phase consisted in the peasantry.

5.1 Confronting Bourgeois Nationalism, 1990–95

In a 1988 statement, the new leadership of the ZCTU highlighted the multiple problems confronting the movement and proposed that the centre adopts a five-year development plan.[1] The Secretary General identified a long list of urgent tasks: the improvement of the administrative capacity and efficiency of the national centre; the mobilisation of workers and the democratisation of the movement; the amalgamation of unions; the establishment of full-time Information/Publicity and International departments; the achievement of financial self-sufficiency; the establishment of a Labour College; the regaining of control of the annual May Day celebrations; and the revival of the labour movement's newspaper, The Worker, which had been out of circulation since 1987. In all, the project of the ZCTU was one of prying itself away

---

[1] Secretary General's Proposals on the ZCTU Five Year Development Plan (1988).

from the grip of the state and gaining an independent capacity and voice in the affairs of the nation.

The 1990 Congress of the ZCTU launched the movement into the 'global' world:

> In the past ten years the ideals of the liberation struggle to bring economic and political power to the people have been increasingly shelved. Real democracy and strong worker/peasant representation in political leadership has been traded in for peace with the capitalists and a leadership that has joined the wealthy in spirit and in flesh.[2]

The Congress furthermore warned of the known dangers of structural adjustment:

> The Government strategy of staking the people's hopes on World Bank structural adjustment policies, on foreign investment, on privatisation and on trade liberalisation ignore the evidence of the devastating effects of these policies on working people across the globe and dooms a vast section of the society to permanent joblessness, hopelessness and economic insecurity. It further mortgages the economy to foreigners and leaves the nation economically powerless and without control over its future.[3]

The Congress proceeded to issue a number of resolutions, affirming its non-affiliation to any political parties, its commitment to mobilisation, gender equality, democratisation, and amalgamation of unions, and the imperative of gaining control of its voice by taking over May Day, relaunching *The Worker*, and establishing an Information Department.

ESAP was formally launched in 1991 and it began to pinch soon after, with retrenchments in the clothing, textile, leather, and agricultural sectors, and the introduction of cost recovery measures in schooling and health provision. By 1992, inflation was galloping at 50% and wiping out pay increments of 24% that had been won during the collective bargaining season. 1992 was also the year in which the Labour Relations Act was amended. The ZCTU responded by protesting both the content of the amended LRA and the procedures by which it was enacted, pointing out that the labour movement had been effectively sidelined from the review of the LRA of 1985. While in 1987, in the spirit of tripartism, a tripartite committee had been composed to review the LRA, the set of changes agreed in that committee did not enter into the Bill that was eventually presented to Parliament. As in the case of the Investment Code and ESAP itself, the labour movement was denied a voice. Lack of consultation 'creates a climate of adversarial industrial relations', noted the ZCTU, 'that will undermine our ability to meet the economic

---

[2] ZCTU, *Strategy Document for the 1990 Congress*, p. 2.
[3] ZCTU, *Strategy Document for the 1990 Congress*, p. 3.

164

challenges we face in the 1990s....We are led to perceive the Labour Relations Amendment Act as a symptom of a deeper issue related to ESAP'.[4] The ZCTU further protested by withdrawing its delegation from the 1992 ILO conference in Geneva and by holding peaceful marches in seven centres in the country. The government, in its turn, did not show signs of relenting. In 1992, President Mugabe for the first time refused to attend the May Day celebrations, in a symbolic denigration of the working class and its contribution to national life. And in June of the same year, government invoked the colonial Law and Order (Maintenance) Act to ban a march in Harare against ESAP and the LRA Bill and to arrest six members of the ZCTU.

The widespread mobilisation against ESAP that was being spearheaded by the ZCTU raised suspicions among ZANU(PF) that the labour centre was following the footsteps of its Zambian counterpart to form a political party – in Zambia this had led to the removal of UNIP from power after almost three decades at the helm. In 1992, however, the ZCTU affirmed its commitment made at its 1990 Congress to remain unaffiliated to any political party and to focus instead on building a strong labour movement with solid roots at the shopfloor. But the ZCTU did not also shy away from seeking political involvement in the national dialogue and from taking the government to task on the broad political issues that affected workers. Tsvangirai pointed out that '[o]nce the union starts calling for better living conditions for workers in terms of wages, health, safety or even pay increases, labour laws and economic policies, it has already entered into politics. There is no running away from that. The labour movement cannot therefore afford to shy away from politics since by its very nature it has to fight both government policies and employers' actions....What the unions are fighting for is political involvement'.[5] Gibson Sibanda re-affirmed the ZCTU's political role; '[o]ur mandate is to make sure that workers are fairly treated, in and beyond the workplace. In this age of ESAP we have learned as unions, that we cannot be silent in any area affecting workers because our silence is our loss'.[6]

These positions hardly assuaged the fears of government. In late 1992, John Nkomo, the Minister of Labour, refused to attend the ZCTU's bi-annual meeting in Chinhoyi. And in 1993, President Mugabe for the second consecutive year refused to attend the May Day celebrations, while further seeking to belittle workers: 'The moment you turn yourself into a political party I will tell you I am ZANU-PF. I cannot go to May Day celebrations to be a subject of ridicule by school children like students at the University of Zimbabwe'.[7]

---

[4] *The Worker*, No. 1, March 1993.
[5] *The Worker*, No. 1, March 1993.
[6] *The Worker*, No. 4, June 1993.
[7] *The Worker*, No. 4, June 1993.

Snubbing May Day and identifying workers as non-adults were part of the struggle over the meaning of national liberation at the time of its 'liberalisation'. The ZCTU did not shun the national debate. The theme and slogan of its May Day celebration in 1991 was focused precisely on the same meanings: 'Liberalisation or Liberation?'. In 1993, Tsvangirai re-affirmed the importance of this moral struggle. 'The slogan', he argued, 'summarised exactly what we understand about the Structural Adjustment Programme – an offensive recolonisation of Zimbabwe, rolling back the spirit and achievement of our liberation'. And, in re-valuing the experiences of the besieged working class which government sought to belittle, he continued: '[t]oday we know clearly what that recolonisation means. The child who has dropped out of the school that was built after independence knows it. The mother who cannot afford to deliver her second baby at the clinic where she delivered the first one knows it. The worker who has lost his job knows it. The unionist who met the batons of the riot police for staging a peaceful march knows it'.[8]

The nationalism of the labour centre in these early years was also anti-imperialist – even if more populist in tone than Marxist-Leninist – expressly rejecting the authority of the IFIs and the 'developmental' intentions of structural adjustment. At an international symposium of trade unionists in Harare in April 1993, Gibson Sibanda accused the Bank and Fund of imposing liberalisation on African economies while Northern countries continued to protect their own. 'In international trade', he added, 'there is no love, there are no permanent friends, but there are permanent interests'.[9] In the same vein, the labour centre accused the government of serving foreign interests. 'Suddenly, in the middle of this', wrote Tsvangirai in reference to the tripartite consultations of the late 1980s, 'we heard from London that Zimbabwe was introducing a new Investment Code. Later, we realised that this was the first step towards our so called homegrown Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. This was in fact a classical Washington hatched World Bank/IMF package (even with American spelling in the government document)'.[10] He proceeded to dispute the validity of the debt-service 'imperative' to which the government was buying into: 'Political independence is a shallow victory when one's own economy cannot serve the fundamental interests of the population. World Bank SAP's do not build economies that serve the interests of African people. They build economies that pay and service debt'. 'One of the fundamentals of democracy', Tsvangirai added, 'is the right to determine one's own priorities. Is servicing the foreign debt really our economic priority in Africa?'[11]

---

[8] Tsvangirai (1993).
[9] *The Worker*, No. 3, May 1993.
[10] Tsvangirai (1993).
[11] Tsvangirai (1993).

The priorities which the labour centre emphasised were structural in nature, with land reform occupying centre stage, along with promotion of non-farm and informal activities. As articulated in the critique of the 1989 Investment Code and in the *Workers' Participation and Development* manual,[12] Sibanda reiterated that land reform remained a priority, for only this could ensure food security in the future and higher rural incomes: '[u]nless subsistence agriculture is transformed into a thriving industry that offers rural people a promise of rising incomes and new opportunities, the rural-urban exodus will continue thus compounding the open unemployment problem in the urban areas'. 'African governments', he concluded, 'should not measure the success of the adjustment programme by looking at their balance of payments, but the well-being of suffering of their people because at the end of the day that is all that matters'.[13] The labour centre furthermore made a number of recommendations to the Land Tenure Commission in session at the time, stressing the importance of egalitarianism in redistribution, the need for caution on the issue of title deeds, recognition of the predicament of farm workers, and the participation of trade union representatives in the Commission.[14]

The government continued to fend off accusations that ESAP was 'imposed from the outside', and sought to affirm its liberation credentials with reference to the land question. 'For the benefit of those ambassadors or high commissioners', Mugabe told his audience on Heroes Day 1993, 'who have taken up the cause of the white farmer as their cause merely because those farmers are white and the rest of the people who are suffering are black, when we fought the struggle for liberation, we fought for the sovereign right to rule ourselves. And that right gives us ways and means of determining how the imbalances of the past can be corrected'.[15] Both, in fact, the government and the labour movement employed 'anti-imperialist' language. The difference between the two was that the government's nationalism steered clear of class analysis and relied on race. The voice of the labour movement was not devoid of populism, but it was much more attuned to class analysis. Not only did it accuse the government of making peace with capital, it also pointed out that black bosses were just as capable and just as guilty of exploiting workers. 'Black advancement started as a noble thing', Tsvangirai recalled in mid-decade on occasion of a flurry of industrial action in parastatals; he went on to indicate that black managers had themselves become as oppressive as 'colonial masters'.[16] In the same spirit, labour leaders in the clothing, construction, banking, and commercial farming industries jointly condemned the

---

[12] ZCTU (1989) and ZCTU (1993).
[13] *The Worker*, No. 8, October 1993.
[14] *The Worker*, No. 16, August 1994.
[15] *The Worker*, No. 7, September 1993.
[16] Reported in *The Worker*, No. 12, April 1994.

indigenous employers who were evading supervision by NECs by evading registration of their businesses with the relevant authorities. The labour leaders further pointed out that indigenous employers were engaged in unfair labour practices, such as the victimisation of unionised workers, non-payment of deducted union fees, non-payment of deducted pensions, and payment of low wages.[17]

The early-decade victories of the labour movement must be seen in the context of the liberal assault on existing rights and living standards. The labour movement was firmly on the defensive and struggling to gain a position from which to bargain. In 1993, the average wage increase of 12.5% fell far below the cost of living index, while in 1994 the labour demand for a 25% increment during collective bargaining itself appeared doomed. Meanwhile, despite the institutionalisation of collective bargaining, Labour Minister John Nkomo continued to intervene in wage-setting by issuing warnings that wage increments must not derail the economic reform programme and giving employers the green light to fire striking workers. Nonetheless, in early1994, Post and Telecommunication (PTC) workers went on strike demanding payment of a 12.5% increment that, after dispute, had been awarded to them by the Labour Relations Tribunal, but that the employer was still refusing to pay. The industrial action started as a go-slow but turned into a fully-fledged strike by mid-February, finally compelling the PTC to abide by the ruling. On a different front, the ZCTU was challenging the constitutionality of the government's use of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act against the striking workers in 1992. In March 1994, after the PTC success, another victory was scored in this parallel front. The Supreme Court ruled against the government and for amendment of the Act, in a landmark ruling that opened the way for less inhibited political activity. In the process, the labour movement confirmed its leading role in the democratisation movement.

Suggesting a possible re-opening of dialogue in light of impending elections in 1995, Florence Chitauro attended May Day celebrations in 1994, but without taking the platform, and also without stemming the momentum of the labour movement. In August 1994, the bank workers' union (ZIBAWU), inspired by the PTC workers' success and the Supreme Court ruling, went on a week-long strike of its own, gaining credibility among the work force in the process and adding 600 new members to its roster. This action was followed by construction workers and security guards. The tide finally compelled President Mugabe to address labour issues publicly for the first time since the freezing of relations. Thus, on Heroes Day 1994, Mugabe issued a call on employers to meet the pay demands of workers – a move which, in any case, was widely seen as electioneering.

---

[17] *The Worker*, No. 38, August 1996.

Despite such victories, workers in both public and private sectors were awarded increments below the 25% that had been demanded by the ZCTU in May 1994. Moreover, formal sector job cuts continued to take a toll on working people. Between January 1991 and March 1994, job losses amounted to 20,710.[18] Significantly, the textile industry was one of the casualties of the early 1990s, on account of both ESAP and the expiry of the 1964 trade agreement with South Africa; Cone Textiles liquidated in 1994, shedding 6,000 workers (without compensation). Adding to the predicament of the industry, the government denied ZCTU participation in the negotiations with South Africa on a new trade agreement, while the South African side did include COSATU (which, in turn, made common cause with the ZCTU on a social clause). Economic prospects continued to worsen into 1995, with increases in the price of petrol (7.3%) and diesel (20%) in January; with the government announcing its intention to introduce a Drought Levy of 5% with effect from April; and with the ZCTU threatening, in turn, to carry out a national strike. This sequence of events was finally to bring Mugabe and the labour leaders together in a landmark meeting in March 1995, signalling a possible thawing of relations between state and labour.

5.2   Mobilisation and Democratisation

The ability of the trade unions to represent workers in national life was undermined by the perennial organisational problems inherent in a semi-proletarianised, migrant, and poor workforce. In the early 1990s, two surveys were conducted within the labour movement to assess the status of union organisation and to devise strategies for mobilisation and democratisation.[19] As one of the survey reports acknowledged in the outset, '[t]rade unions are grass-roots movements', and thus, '[t]heir strength is derived from the confidence and support they enjoy from the ordinary workers who labour in the factories, mines, plantations and other enterprises'.[20] The assessment of this confidence and support confirmed the magnitude of the organisational task at hand. Two more evaluations of the movement were conducted in 1996 and 1997.[21]

Taken together, the early surveys found that workers generally lacked information on the unions in their sectors and the work that these carry out. Workers had a low level of understanding of how their wages were determined and also a low level of awareness of their legal rights and what constituted 'unfair labour practices'. Workers who were members of

---

[18] *The Worker*, No. 17, September 1994.
[19] Peta *et al.* (1991) and Chibatwa, Peta, and Ncube (1993).
[20] Peta *et al.*, (1991), p. 11.
[21] Sibanda (1996) and Mihyo and Powell (1997).

workers committees were more aware on such matters, but workers committees were themselves weak. The committees often lacked constitutions, or workers were simply not aware of them, held general meetings infrequently, and also met infrequently with union officials. Although general meetings organised by the committees tended to be well attended, the question of wages, as expected, monopolised the agenda, but without further issues gaining sufficient hearing, and without workers' concerns more generally being linked to broader macro-level issues. Worker representatives, furthermore, were ineffectively representing workers' concerns to management, acting instead as a vehicle of information from management to workers. Gender discrimination was found to be total, insofar as women were absent from executive positions on the committees. Thus, workers representatives and committees were not playing the requisite role on matters of conscientisation, recruitment, democratisation, representation to management, and communication with unions. Meetings organised by unions themselves at branch level were less effective, as they were poorly attended. In this case, impediments to attendance included lack of notification of workers, lack of time, fear of victimisation by employers, and lack of confidence in the ability of unions to increase wages.

Thus the strengthening of shopfloor structures, as well as their incorporation into union structures, was an organisational imperative. A parallel task was the broadening of the membership and economic base of the movement in order to gain self-sufficiency and a self-sustaining mobilisational and educational effort. The precise strategy at the turn of the decade, as announced by the Secretary General, was two-fold, involving, on the one hand, a comprehensive education and mobilisation campaign with the stated aim of increasing the unionisation rate to 50%, and, on the other hand, the administrative enforcement of subscription payments by affiliate unions to the national centre.[22]

Towards the first end, a workers' education (APADEP) programme that had been ongoing since 1984 – with the support of the Dutch FNV and the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague – was honed, after 1987, to the specific needs of Zimbabwean workers. Course materials began to be developed by the ZCTU in 1989, and by 1990 the first edition of the home-grown *Workers' Participation and Education* manual was produced. This became the main guide in seminars and instructors' courses. Union branch officials, workers committee representatives, and trade union activists were recruited into the education programme in this period. An evaluation of the programme conducted in 1997 noted that between 1991 and 1996, 569 persons were trained, 25% of whom were women, further noting that attendance had been lower than projected,

---

[22] *The Worker*, No. 1, March 1993.

especially that of women.[23] Nonetheless, the evaluation noted that the centre and its affiliate network had built considerable education capacity and capacity-building potential. The specialised training of trade union cadres was also undertaken with a view to improve skills in collective bargaining, grievance handling, basic economic and legal issues, and financial administration. This arose as a pressing need when the movement began to distance itself from the state in the late 1980s. By 1992, however, only 25 para-legals had been trained in the movement, with 4% of these being at the shopfloor, 32% at branch level, 8% at the regional, and 56% at the national; on the economic side, 21 cadres had been trained, most of them at national level.[24] No such data exist for the latter half of the 1990s.

Building stronger links between the unions and the shopfloor has also entailed an active policy of incorporating workers committees into union structures by supporting the placement of union members into the committees. The 1996 survey noted that 93% of enterprises had workers committees, up from 90% in 1991/92, but that there unionisation of committee members was not yet total.[25] The survey also noted that the victimisation of committee members continued to be extensive, rendering the unionisation of committees all the more urgent.[26] Alongside the tapping of committees, the labour centre decentralised its organisation in 1992 by creating six regional offices (in Mutare, Masvingo, Bulawayo, Gweru, Chinhoyi, and Harare) and district committees below them to coordinate activities and to improve communication with the grassroots. The educational programme itself contributed to the process, by conscientising non-unionised workers and by building organisational capacity among affiliates and between affiliates and the centre.

Nonetheless, unions continued to find themselves in a low-membership/low-resource trap, hindering their educational and organisational efforts, and creating foreign dependence. Figures on membership are generally elusive. One of the surveys above stated that, in 1993, one-third of men and less than one-tenth of women were unionised, while the overall unionisation level stood at 41% percent of the work force.[27] The latter figure is not convincing, however, as it would suggest that the Zimbabwean labour movement had already attained the organisational status of much more established movements (both in Africa and Europe). A more realistic figure was provided in 1993 by The Worker which reported that total membership amounted to 201,800 workers.[28] This figure was likely to be an underestimation of the real membership, however,

---

[23] Mihyo and Powell (1997).
[24] Chibatwa et al. (1993), pp. 31–32.
[25] Sibanda (1996).
[26] Sibanda (1996), p. 14.
[27] Chibatwa et al. (1993), p. 26.
[28] The Worker, No. 2, April 1993. This was confirmed in interview with Galileo Chirebvu, Head of Accounts Department.

given that unions routinely under-reported their memberships in order to evade the subscription fees that they owed to the national centre. The real unionisation rate was likely to be around 20%. Despite retrenchments throughout the ESAP period, during which the unionisation numbers have ebbed and flowed, the unions have managed to close the decade again with a 20% real unionisation rate, according to the Accounts Department, with 196,200 members actually declared by unions, but possibly twice as many workers in reality belonging to unions.[29] Notwithstanding the realities of membership, the financial constraints associated with a declared membership of 196,200 were enormous. The union centre remained under-funded and dependent on foreign donors. In 1997, only one-third of the centre's budget derived from subscription fees, while as much as two-thirds derived from donors.[30]

Relations between the national centre and its affiliates were not devoid of acrimony. The non-payment of subscription fees by affiliate unions to the national centre was a source of ongoing conflict. In 1992, less than one-third of the affiliates (10 of 35) were paid up, with a total of Z$270,000 owed to the centre. Among the non-compliant unions were those which rejected the increase in fees (from 5 to 15 cents per member) that had been legislated at the 1990 Congress, on the grounds of economic hardship. Such claims, however, were not entirely convincing to the national centre. While the centre appreciated that under the harsh economic climate some unions would face financial difficulties, which in turn it would take into consideration, it also believed that some unionists had ulterior motives. The dispute reached a low point when dissenting unionists sought the intervention of the Ministry of Labour on their behalf – and giving the state the opportunity to pursue divide-and-rule policies. The labour centre responded by issuing ultimatums to the non-compliant unions to pay up or face suspension. The problem was not to have an easy resolution. By 1993, only 2 more affiliates had met their obligations, bringing the number to 12, while no suspensions had been carried out. In January 1994, the General Council convened a special meeting at which it renewed its ultimatum, giving unions three more months to pay up. Clearly, the non-compliance of unions, combined with the under-declaration of membership, was jeopardising the viability of the centre. In fact, the latter was resorting to borrowing funds from its donor-funded and earmarked project accounts. By 1995, the financial position of the centre was in trouble, with almost Z$500,000 owed to its project accounts and Z$78,998 owed to the AFL-CIO's African American Labor Centre.[31]

---

[29] ZCTU Subscription Roster for 1999 and interview with Galileo Chirebvu. The ZCTU was considering changing its methods of revenue collection so that union fees would be deducted from salaries and allocated directly to unions and the union centre.

[30] Kudenga and Co., Chartered Accountants, Zimbabwe (1997).

[31] *The Worker*, No. 29, October 1995.

While under-reporting, evasion, and more genuine economic distress on the part of affiliates were at the crux of the financial problem, it is also true that the problem was compounded by the excessive number of unions in existence and the failure of the centre itself to promote amalgamations in allied industries. There had been well over 30 unions in existence throughout the decade, some of which gained recognition despite their being too small and weak to operate effectively. At its 1990 Congress the labour movement resolved to pursue mergers as a matter of urgency, yet by the close of the decade the national centre continued to be excessively segmented, with 38 unions on its roster. The multiplicity of unions has detracted from the ability of the movement to reap economies of scale across allied industries, reduce administrative costs, and meet obligations to the national centre – and not least from the ability to mobilise workers in larger numbers and represent them more effectively. The fragmentation owed partly to the lack of resolve on the part of the national leadership in desisting from registering splintering and non-credible unions.[32] It owed also to the lack of sufficient authority on the part of the centre to push through mergers without fear of unions going alone or, worse, defecting to the state-endorsed Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Unions (ZFTU, to be discussed).[33] This also suggests that the patronage motive within the movement had not been eradicated.

Given such internal divisions, financial matters came to occupy the top of the centre's agenda at its 1995 Congress. Besides being the 'Beyond ESAP' Congress, it was also dubbed the 'make or break' Congress, and coincided with negotiations between the ZCTU and the large and well-organised civil servants' unions, ZIMTA and PSA, for the possible affiliation of the latter two. The ZCTU had thus to put its house in order. The tone was set at a General Council meeting prior to the Congress, where it was agreed that five particularly non-complaint affiliates would be only be accorded observer status at the Congress. The tone was set, furthermore, with a prior report issued by the General Council's on the challenges to be confronted:

> Disrupted coordination and communication between the ZCTU and affiliates diverted attention, work and time away from more serious issues confronting workers and deprived the ZCTU of the financial viability needed to meet those serious issues. It produced uncomradely, undemocratic and unprincipled behaviour resulting in some persons using outside parties to resolve disputes before the internal, democratic organs of the ZCTU had been used or exhausted.[34]

---

[32] See the editorial comment in *The Worker*, No. 27, August 1995.

[33] Interview with Galileo Chirebvu.

[34] *The Worker*, No. 29, October 1995.

In the event, Congress resolved to increase subscriptions to 40 cents, with effect from January 1996. It was also acknowledged that no progress had been made on the issue of amalgamations; however, inadequate time and dialogue was spent on the issue. It was only agreed that small unions should be induced into mergers by making them pay a minimum of Z$500 per month to the national centre.[35]

Despite the new measures, as well as the eventual affiliation of PSA in August 1996, financial difficulties continued to haunt the centre throughout the remainder of the decade. In March 1996, *The Worker* reported that 11 non-complaint affiliates were no longer being invited to partake in activities organised by the centre.[36] In June 1996, labour leaders convened a meeting in Nyanga to map out a five-year strategy on, *inter alia*, achieving self-sufficiency. In January 1997, dues were again increased from 40 cents to Z$1 under the pressure of inflation. And, in August 1997, Tsvangirai was once again threatening defaulters with expulsion, but with the exception of those with 'genuine' financial problems, including the PSA.[37] With regards to amalgamations, the inducement mechanism proved insufficient to the task, as the centre closed the decade with 38 affiliates. In the context of liberalisation, more resolve would have been required to stem the splintering of unions and actually reverse their proliferation. One notable victim of the decade was the National Union of Clothing Industry (NUCI), which splintered after a combination of massive job losses (13,000) in the industry in 1997, loss of faith by the workers in the ability of NUCI to represent them, and infighting within the leadership. NUCI splintered in 1999, giving rise to the Clothing Industry Workers Union (CIWU), which, however, was not recognised.

Internal divisions between the centre and its affiliates were not confined to one-way grievances by the centre against affiliates. Affiliates had grievances of their own, and these related to the perceived heavy-handed tactics of the leadership and the aloofness of the centre's staff. Grievances against the leadership surfaced at the 1995 Congress, when the General Council sought to expand the number of vice-presidents from three to five, with a view to accommodate the powerful ZIMTA and PSA within the ZCTU. After heated debate, over one-third of the delegates (the number required to arrest a Constitutional amendment) rejected the proposal. The dissenting delegates went on to call on the leadership to revamp itself and become more efficient, rather than bloating its structures for purposes of political accommodation. At the same Congress, the office of First Assistant Secretary General was won by a newcomer, Isidore Zindoga (of the

---

[35] *The Worker*, No. 29, October 1995.
[36] *The Worker*, No. 33, March 1996.
[37] *The Worker*, No. 43, February 1997, and No. 49, August 1997.

Leather, Shoe and Allied Workers Union) beating the incumbent, Nicholas Mudzengerere, in a victory seen as providing a check on the ways of the leadership. Finally, grievances were again voiced at a meeting of labour leaders in Nyanga in June 1996, when certain among the centre's staff were accused of being uncooperative, even 'untouchable'.[38]

One of the major weaknesses of the movement was the gross under-representation of women in the membership and the leadership. This was first acknowledged in 1985, when the ZCTU adopted a resolution to establish a Women's Desk, mandated with the promotion of gender equity within the movement. In 1986, the Women's Desk organised a workshop with women representatives from each trade union to map a way forward. The delegates recommended that branch committees be formed and educational and training programmes be established. The recommendations were accepted by the General Council and 16 committees were established around the country soon after. In 1987, a ZCTU Women's Council was formed from the 16 committees, and this met for the first time in Masvingo to issue the Masvingo Declaration of Women's Activities, which set the terms of reference of the Council and its programmes. Also in 1987, a ten year education programme was initiated with funding from Norway; by 1992, some 4,500 women from all affiliates had received training in seminars and workshops on a range of matters, including trade union functions, ESAP, collective bargaining, grievance handling, women and leadership, and fundamental rights.[39]

In 1992, women representatives from affiliates met in Chinhoyi to map out the further strategy for conscientisation and mobilisation. In the same year, the Women's Advisory Council (WAC), which had been created by constitutional amendment at the 1990 Congress, was established as an integral part of the ZCTU's executive with a mandate to ensure that women were represented at all levels of the organisation. In 1998, a Gender Perspective Team was established which comprised of an equal number of men and women and which was tasked with developing training material and accelerating gender balance. In January1999, finally, the Education and Women's Departments were merged, under the logic that, by this time, much of the gender programme had been incorporated satisfactorily into union structures.

While the centre was indeed moving in the right direction on gender issues, real progress on the ground was much slower. On the one hand, there existed an ongoing education and mobilisation programme that reached out to mobilise and sensitise the rank and file. This received, furthermore, an institutional boost by the formation of WAC and the Gender Perspective Team. On the other hand, the culture of male dominance had been hard to break. As

---

[38] *The Worker*, No. 37, July 1996.
[39] See Pswarai (1992).

the 1997 evaluation concluded, '[u]nions generally tend to project that unions are for men. The culture of union organisation and mobilisation centres around the ideology of brotherhood as opposed to comradeship'.[40] Women continued to be grossly under-represented in leadership structures and in the membership. By 1997, there were only two women in leadership positions at the union level, as president and vice-president of unions; and only one woman at the national level, as Third Vice-President, elected at the 1995 Congress. Furthermore, it was pointed out that women had not actually been receiving equal access to workshops and seminars. This had been the case either because the courses had often been conducted outside working hours, thereby overlooking the needs of working mothers and preventing women from gaining the necessary education to move up through the structures;[41] or because they had not focused sufficiently on the sectors where women workers are concentrated, as in agriculture.[42] Finally, by decade's end, there were no statistics on women's membership.[43] The Economics Department itself had been slow to produce research on gender, devoting a paper to gender issues in 1998[44] and planning to include a chapter on gender in its *Beyond ESAP II* study prepared for 2000. And the ZCTU-sponsored book, *Keep on Knocking*, on the history of the labour movement did not bring out the gender dimension sufficiently.[45] The generally slow progress on the status of women in the ZCTU became an issue, in fact, during the affiliation negotiations with the public service associations, when the President of the Zimbabwe Nurses Association, which is predominantly composed of women, voiced concern and called for more favourable policies on women's issues.[46]

Much less of an issue in the labour movement had been the ethnic dimension of Zimbabwean politics. Ethnic politics had been neutralised to a large extent by the fact that the national leadership for over a decade had comprised of a President of Ndebele origin and a General Secretary of Shona origin. Nonetheless, the judgement must be an ongoing one. While ethnic politics within the labour movement may not have held much sway since the independence of the labour centre from the ruling party, the question of ethnic representation did arise in relation to the leadership of the MDC,[47] suggesting that, in times of power restructuring, issues of ethnicity are capable of resurfacing.

---

[40] See Mihyo and Powell (1997), p. 28.
[41] See Mutambanengwe (1997).
[42] See Mihyo and Powell (1997), p. 27.
[43] The problem cited here was that union rosters do not indicate full first names but only initials, thus making it impossible to derive a gender breakdown of the membership. There was a plan in progress to rectify this. Interview with Miriro Pswarai, Head of Education and Gender Department.
[44] Kanyenze (1998a).
[45] This was specifically noted by Miriro Pswarai, in interview.
[46] *The Worker*, No. 34, April 1996.
[47] See *The Zimbabwe Mirror*, 21–27 January 2000.

Finally, it is important to round off the mobilisation/democratisation profile by indicating that the labour centre confronted the ongoing challenges of ESAP by adopting non-conventional strategies and reaching out to new constituencies. One of the new strategies was to reach out to youth, both employed and unemployed, and to organise youth structures within the labour movement so as to conscientise them and give them a voice in the working class. To this end, in February 1995 in Chitungwiza, a conference was organised jointly by ZCTU and ICFTU/AFRO on issues facing young workers. This was a follow-up conference on the World Youth Rally held in Kingston, Jamaica in 1992, which the ZCTU had attended. The Chitungwiza conference called for the creation of structures and representation at all levels and for an educational programme on a broad array of issues, including gender, unemployment, training opportunities, alcohol and drug abuse, and HIV/AIDS. Thereafter, workshops were organised nation-wide with the support of ICFTU/AFRO, drawing participants from affiliates and between the ages of 18 and 35 years.

Another strategy, which was of longer lineage but which began to bear fruit in the late 1990s, was the unification of workers across public and private sectors. One approach was to intervene in the labour law deliberations and demand the harmonisation of private and public sector labour laws. The other was to go ahead and affiliate civil servants in spite of the legal segregation. At the union level, the first such unification occurred in 1994 when the Zimbabwe Construction and Allied Trade Workers' Union (ZCATWU), whose membership had dropped from an all-time high of 43,000 in 1993 to 15,000 in 1995, succeeded in incorporating workers in the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing.[48] This was followed in August 1996, at the height of the public servants' strike, by the full-scale incorporation of the PSA into the ZCTU, which boosted the labour movement in both numbers (47,000 PSA members in 1999) and confidence.

Finally, the ZCTU sought to build solidarity with the unemployed and workers in the informal sector, by engaging the Zimbabwe Unemployed and Retrenchees Organisation (ZURO) and the Informal Traders Association of Zimbabwe (ITAZ). The labour centre's constitution allowed for these organisations to join as associate members and with observer status on the General Council. Progress in this regard had been lacking, however. The ZCTU devoted some funds towards organising these constituencies but found it very difficult, due to leadership problems and lack of consistency on the part of the latter. Moreover, with the advent of MDC and the reorientation of the ZCTU towards the political cause, there prospects of refocusing energies on organising the informal sector workers and the unemployed diminished.[49]

---

[48] *The Worker*, No. 28, September 1995.
[49] Interview with Galileo Chirebvu.

Along with the above moves, the centre continued to build solidarity with a host of civic organisations, deepening and expanding the national democratisation movement that gained momentum in the late 1980s. Together with its internal consolidation, the external links which the ZCTU continued to build enabled it, by the late 1990s, to emerge as a formidable opponent of the ruling party. Yet, the centre continued to have no rural structures outside commercial farming; it was only in 1999, as we will see, that the centre engaged the rural areas, and then under the banner of MDC.

5.3   Appealing for National Dialogue, 1995–97

By 1995, the ZCTU's political unionism was bearing fruit. Aside from its recruitment strategies, the status of the ZCTU in national life was benefiting from the growing discontent with ESAP. The ZCTU managed to harness the popular tide and organise, articulate, and lead the resistance to the state, capital, and ESAP. Despite its low level of unionisation, the centre enjoyed widespread legitimacy in national life as the leader and mouthpiece of opposition. In early 1995, in the midst of retrenchments, price rises, and an impeding Drought Levy, the ZCTU issued an ultimatum to the government to withdraw the Levy or face nation-wide industrial action. This resistance, compounded with the fear on the part of government that the labour movement was on its way to forming a political party, succeeded in bringing President Mugabe and the labour leaders into dialogue in March 1995 for the first time in the decade. The meeting signalled a thawing of relations, culminating in an invitation to Mugabe to be the guest of honour at the May Day 1995 celebrations and to open the ZCTU Congress in Mutare in August, as well as to Nathan Shamuyarira, the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, to adjourn the Congress.

1995 was also the year in which the ZCTU changed strategy, with the objective now being dialogue with the state and the IFIs. Whereas the May Day theme in 1991 had been 'Liberalisation or Liberation', by 1995 it had become 'Progress through Co-operation, Participation, Involvement'. In the same spirit, the 1995 Congress in Mutare was billed as the 'Beyond ESAP' Congress, where the *Beyond ESAP* draft document was adopted and its call for national dialogue issued. 'This theme', said Sibanda to his May Day audience,

> reflects our belief that for us to be effective in representing our constituencies, we
> have to be involved through participatory democracy in decision-
> making....Rather than resort to ad hoc consultations that have characterised our
> relationship with government, we need a more permanent institutional framework

through which issues of development should be discussed by government and representatives of civil society.[50]

In its turn, government reciprocated the call for reconciliation by chastising employers for exploiting workers under ESAP. Minister Shamuyarira condemned the state of labour relations, characterised by retrenchments and dismissals upon striking, and expressed his own wish for a re-invigoration of the tripartite spirit.[51] The conciliatory mood extended into 1996 when *Beyond ESAP* was launched and presented at a national seminar in Kadoma, attended by business, government, and civic organisations. This further culminated in a tripartite study visit to South Africa in October 1996, aiming to examine the South African concept of a National Economic, Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). Thereafter, a tripartite technical team was established to draw up the framework of such a consultative forum for Zimbabwe, to be called ZEDLAC, the Zimbabwe Economic Development and Labour Council. In the meantime, in April 1996, for the first time the government invited the labour movement to join in the negotiations with South Africa on a new trade agreement.

Yet, the rapprochement was less profound than it might appear. Industrial conflict persisted into the period of dialogue. The government passed the EPZ Act in 1995, thereby suspending the application of the LRA in EPZs, and dealing a blow to the labour movement. This action was reinforced in 1996 when the government announced special regulations to govern the terms and conditions of employment in EPZs. The regulations allowed for long working hours, as well as work on Sundays, holidays, and at night at normal pay rates; allowed employers to fire workers at will and deny them legal representation in case of dispute; and prohibited strikes.[52]

Conflict persisted in the public sector as well. In fact, the biggest post-independence strike occurred in this period. On 19 August 1996, a walkout by nurses in Chinhoyi triggered a nation-wide civil servants' strike. Festering grievances over low pay and authoritarian industrial relations erupted when the public sector was awarded a 6% cost of living adjustment as compared to the wage increments above the 22% inflation rate that had been secured in the private sector during collective bargaining. At the height of the strike, the PSA formally affiliated to the ZCTU. The civil servants resumed work on 5 September, but without the dispute having been resolved. Subsequently, temperatures rose again over lack of progress and distrust of the intentions of government. In late October, nurses and doctors renewed the job action, this time staying away for several weeks. The temperature rose further in mid-November, when the ZCTU, which until

---

[50] *The Worker*, No. 24, May 1995.
[51] *The Worker*, No. 25, June 1995.
[52] *The Worker*, No. 70, July 1999.

179

then had been playing an advisory and mediating role, called for a General Strike, the first in the post-independence period, in an attempt to put pressure on the government to resolve the dispute. In the event, the strike call was not heeded by workers, however, and this in turn caused controversy within the ZCTU. As it emerged, there had been insufficient consultation between the centre and its affiliates, as well as between affiliates and their memberships. The leadership of the ZCTU was taken to task for failing to ensure consultation, and the movement as a whole had once again come face to face with its weaknesses.[53]

In October of the same year, a new labour centre was formed, the Zimbabwe Federation of Trade Union (ZFTU), with the tacit endorsement of the ruling party – though it was not actually registered by the government until July 1998. While it was proving at the time to be a 'passing nuisance', as Tsvangirai put it, it is noteworthy that the means by which the alternative centre sought to legitimate itself entailed an accusation of the ZCTU as 'donor driven'. A statement issued by the ZFTU claimed that the ZCTU

> has been operating under funding donors, particularly the Americans who by and large have an influence over the activities of the centre. The ZCTU programmes and actions have clearly been donor driven instead of worker initiated. This has resulted in the ZCTU becoming an ivory tower, neglecting the aspirations of the workers in Zimbabwe.[54]

In a reversal of the direction of public criticism, the ZCTU was now the recipient of 'foreign stooge' accusations, the same accusation that the centre had meted out to government at the launch of ESAP. Thus, ZANU(PF), in its ZFTU guise, was striking at the heart of the organisational predicament that has haunted African labour movements, and using it to undermine the ZCTU's legitimacy. The accusation warranted a prompt response. Tsvangirai retorted that

> [w]e, as the ZCTU, have enjoyed solidarity from our international trade union fraternity. We will not apologise for this. After all, it allowed us to build our capacity. We have come to accept that this solidarity will not be extended in perpetuity, and thus, we have been working towards self-reliance since 1990. Although we receive this support, we have never been influenced in designing our policies and programmes and in executing our activities.[55]

---

[53] See *Behind the Strike* (1996); see also *The Worker*, No. 42, December 1996/January 1997.
[54] *The Worker*, No. 41, November 1996.
[55] *The Worker*, No. 41, November 1996.

Over the following three years, the 'foreign stooge' accusation came to occupy the heart of the ZANU(PF) critique of the ZCTU, and was extended to all the donor dependent actions spearheaded by the ZCTU, including the NCA and MDC.

Yet, while the ruling party sought a smoke screen for its own bourgeois project, the critique indeed struck a chord. For there was a distorted truth in it: not that the ZCTU was being 'driven' by 'foreign' interests, but that it had been transformed in its collision with the imperialism, in both its 'domestic' and 'foreign' manifestations. The ZCTU did not emerge unscathed from its half-decade-long encounter with liberalism, or the state violence deployed against it, or from its long-standing dependence on Western donors. The dialogue which the ZCTU sought in 1995 was on terms that were much more palatable to the state, capital, organised metropolitan labour, and the IFIs. The dialogue was not to be on matters of direct worker control of production, or the democratisation of global institutions, but over a much more circumscribed realm of social life. The ZCTU was no longer 'shouting from the outside', as the Chief Economist put it.[56]

The *Beyond ESAP* document marked the change of strategy. It shifted the focus of the 'development' problem from politics to economics, identifying the problem not as a political one requiring worker control, but as a technical one requiring state-level solutions. The document had a 'modernist' thrust to it, employing non-Marxist structuralist language which sought to emphasise the 'structural rigidities' of the Zimbabwean economy. This view approached the notion of sectoral and social disarticulation. It identified a 'formal' sector that was 'enclave' in nature and extroverted; and a 'non-formal' sector which provided labour and food commodities to the formal. Moreover, it called for the 'endogenisation' of growth by the integration of the two through land reform and state-led industrialisation. However, it placed among its principal objectives 'the need to upgrade the performance of the economy so that it meets international standards of global competitiveness',[57] thereby pinning its hopes on the 'invisible hand' of the market after 'take off'. As Bond observed, '[t]he ZCTU's own failure to express the popular anti-ESAP outrage reflected not the "failure of the policy" but ESAP's success in reducing all analysis to modernisation theory and all policy discourse to encouraging capital accumulation'.[58] The corollary of this is that the document evaded the contradictory relationship of the peripheral economy to the central one, thereby letting imperialism off the hook. The ZCTU was now social democratic – 'civilised'.

---

[56] Interview with Godfrey Kanyenze.
[57] ZCTU (1996), p. 10.
[58] Bond (1999), p. 4.

Indeed, the ZCTU was warming up to the global agencies. In April 1996, a seminar was jointly organised by the ZCTU and the IFIs, in the first move by the IFIs to consult with labour. The seminar was attended by trade unionists from the region, including the ICFTU/AFRO representative, Andrew Kailembo. Trade unionists welcomed the new interest on the part of the IFIs in the labour movement, and especially the Bank's interest in labour issues, as demonstrated by its 1995 World Development Report on 'Workers in an Integrating World'. Kailembo condemned the previous exclusion of labour from the design of SAPs, which he declared 'economic sabotage'. Other trade unionists went much further to call for compensation from the IFIs. Despite the new engagement with labour, however, the IFIs remained unrepentant, claiming, in Westphalian spirit, that responsibility for consultation with social partners rested with governments. Just as well, the ZCTU pulled its punches. Godfrey Kanyenze, the Chief Economist, argued that 'African governments have always danced to the tune of these western donors at the expense of their people at home', but he proceeded to veer away from the subject by refocusing his critique on the state: '[o]ur governments have one problem. They want to control everything, leaving no room for others to say'.[59]

In May 1996, the debate was again evading the issue of control at the global level. The ZCTU, the ILO, and now together with the World Bank, were arguing against the IMF visiting representative for the need for government to 'consult stakeholders' on the second phase of ESAP. In a new twist, Tsvangirai was now appealing to the IMF to exercise influence over the government of Zimbabwe in the interest of the labour movement: '[t]here is need for the IMF to use its influence to bring about meaningful consultations between government and all the social partners'.[60] In the event, the IMF team leader, Jürgen Reitmaier, did not oblige: 'I have my reservations in playing a more active role in pushing the government'; 'it calls for deep intrusion' into Zimbabwe's "sovereignty"'.[61] He added, however, that he had read the Beyond ESAP document and had found it 'impressive'.[62]

This has been the ZCTU's 'strategic' unionism: calling for 'worker friendly' economics without challenging political dispensations. While this has been a trend with respect to global issues, the strategic approach was also adopted in relation to issues of 'worker control' at the level of the workplace, manifest in the ZCTU's response to privatisation (to be discussed). Suffice it to note here that the strategic approach of the ZCTU on matters of workplace and global democracy continued for the remainder of the decade.

---

[59] The Worker, No. 35, May 1996.
[60] The Worker, No. 36, June 1996.
[61] The Worker, No. 36, June 1996.
[62] The Worker, No. 36, June 1996.

In relation to democracy at the level of the state, however, the strategic call for dialogue with the ruling party did not last long. While there were contradictions all along – ongoing strikes, the enactment of EPZ legislation, the formation of the ZFTU – the reconciliation was to meet its fate in the latter part of 1997 over the ZEDLAC concept, as well as over government's decision to award war veterans unbudgeted compensation packages. With regards to ZEDLAC, agreement to establish it was reached after the tripartite visit to South Africa. There was, however, a parallel initiative in progress at the time between government and the business sector, in the form of the Business Forum. In the event, the President's Office took the initiative to create an alternative to both ZEDLAC and the Business Forum, to be called the National Economic Consultative Forum (NECF), and created a national steering committee to this end. Controversy arose, however, when the discussions within the committee pertaining to the structure and composition of the NECF were not taken into consideration by the President. Whereas the discussions had led to an understanding that labour, business, academia, other civic organisations, and the state would nominate their own delegates to the forum, and that the body's decisions would be binding, it emerged eventually that the President had overruled this framework in favour of a forum consisting of members invited by the President himself. This violated the principle of civic representation upon which the original idea of dialogue has been premised. The ZCTU wrote to the President in September 1997 indicating that the labour movement would withdraw from the forum unless the principle of representation was respected. The ZCTU received no response and proceeded to boycott the first NECF meeting in January 1998.[63]

Meanwhile, the country in 1997 continued to be rocked by industrial action, as living standards continued to erode. By 1996, the share of wages and salaries in the national income had declined to 40% from the 64% mark a decade earlier, while the share of profits accruing to owners of capital had increased to 60% from 37% over the same period, indicating beyond doubt that the share of the burden of ESAP has been borne by the working people.[64] In 1997, as in the year before, strikes gripped several industries; this time they spanned construction, commercial, hotel and catering, clothing, commercial farming, and cement and lime, as well as railways, urban councils, and post and telecommunications. In all, the year saw more than 230 strikes in 16 sectors. Most notably, farm-workers downed tools for the first time in protest over poor working conditions and wages which stood at less than one-sixth of the Poverty Datum Line (Z$359/Z$2,400), demanding a 135% increase against the 20% offered by employers. In the clothing industry, developments reached dramatic proportions, with the dismissal in July of

---

[63] See the ZCTU Press Release (1998).
[64] See Kanyenze (1998b).

13,000 striking workers, of whom 11,000 were later reinstated as casuals on short-term contracts. And in parastatals, mass retrenchments of up to 1,200 loomed in the horizon, adding to the 2,000 jobs already shed over the previous five years.[65] These developments formed the backdrop to the ZCTU's decision to stand its ground on the urgent issue of national dialogue.

That which broke the camel's back, however, was President Mugabe's promise in August, a month after the national budget was presented to Parliament, to award war veterans a Z$50,000 compensation package plus a Z$2,000 monthly pension. This promise sought to diffuse an emergent crisis between the ruling party and the lower echelons of its most crucial constituency, a crisis that had been precipitated by the looting of the state-sponsored War Victims Compensation Fund. In July 1997, during the African-African American Summit, war veterans demanded an audience with the President over the matter, and moved to disrupt the Summit. The state responded once again in a heavy-handed manner by banning strikes and re-invoking the colonial Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which had previously and successfully been challenged by the ZCTU. Despite the ban, however, President Mugabe was indeed being held to ransom by the constituency that had been providing government with security for two decades – an event that might be seen as a 'soft coup'. The President capitulated and announced a new compensation package for the veterans, amounting to about Z$4,000 billion, without consulting Parliament. To meet the new fiscal outlay, it was announced that a 5% tax would be imposed. This was then presented to Parliament in November, despite objections by MPs. To make matters worse, it was announced that further burdens were to be placed upon workers. Besides the war veterans' levy, there was also to be an increase in the electricity levy by 5%, an increase in sales tax by 2.5% (from 15-17%), and increase in duty on fuel by 20 cents per litre. In the same month, government took the first step of what turned out to be a process of re-radicalisation, by designating 1,471 for compulsory acquisition. And on 14 November, the Zimbabwe dollar crashed by 74 per cent in a four-hour period of trading. Thus, national boiling point was reached.

The new levy announcements, in particular, pit the labour movement and war veterans in direct confrontation and struggle over the status of each constituency in national life. The events coincided with the launch of *Keep on Knocking*, the ZCTU-sponsored book whose aim was precisely to recover the history and status of the labour movement. Tsvangirai seized the opportunity to challenge the official nationalist narrative, noting that '[i]t is the workers who gave birth to the nationalist struggle, and not the other way around'.[66] These words echoed those in the preface to the book; '[t]he history of a nation-in-the-making should not be reduced to a selective

---

[65] *The Worker*, No. 50, September 1997, and No. 51, October 1997.
[66] *The Worker*, No. 53, December 1997/January 1998.

heroic tradition, but should be a tolerant and continuing process of questioning and re-examination'.[67] The struggle over national meanings was matched by the organisational struggle on the ground. Throughout September and October, the ZCTU held consultative meetings with workers in all regions, in the newly conceived Labour Forums, to decide what action should be taken. The failure of the 1996 call for a General Strike had driven home the point that full consultation with workers was a fundamental prerequisite for national action. Through the Labour Forums, a decision was finally reached to stage a country-wide strike and demonstration on 9 December, if the government refused to withdraw the announced levies.

The government did not acquiesce to the ZCTU's ultimatum – or the scrutiny of the IFIs, which now demanded to know where the funds would come from. Thus, on 9 December the labour movement proceeded to bring production to a halt in all six regions, in the first nation-wide, ZCTU-organised industrial action in the post-independence era. Workers demonstrated in large numbers in all major centres, including Bulawayo, Masvingo, Mutare, Gweru, and Marondera. Events transpired differently in Harare, however, and its adjacent town, Chitungwiza. An expected turn out of 250,000 persons in the capital was violently disrupted by riot police, who used teargas, batons, and dogs against demonstrators converging on the centre. The demonstrators were prevented from entering Harare.

The magnitude of the strike and the resort by the state to coercion indicated that the tide had finally swung. The scale of the resistance dealt a blow to the ruling party. And the national mood had been transformed. As *The Worker* reported in its special issue on the strike,

> [t]he political landscape of this country will never be the same after December 9, 1997. Rampant corruption and unemployment, collapse of health services, an ailing economy and an unaccountable government are sure recipes for disaster. The people have risen to blaze the way to salvation and it may just be a matter of time.[68]

Two days after the strike, the use of violence took a more strategic turn, with an assault on the leadership of the ZCTU. Several assailants appeared in Morgan Tsvangirai's office on 11 December and proceeded to beat him unconscious. Notably, the assault and the suppression of a peaceful demonstration internationalised the situation, with condemnations of the government and solidarity messages pouring in from the ICFTU, AFL-CIO, ITSs, African trade unions, and others.

---

[67] Tsvangirai (1997). p. xi.
[68] *The Worker*, Special Issue, December 1997.

The national mood had indeed changed, and the ruling party had to face the reality. Realising the magnitude of the resistance, government finally moved to withdraw the war veterans levy, which was due to come into effect in January 1998. But in spite of the national budget, the government did award the war veterans the promised compensation.

The government also moved to scrap the electricity and fuel hikes, but the sales tax was retained. The ZCTU in its turn, enjoying a further boost of confidence, raised the stakes. The labour centre demanded the removal not only of the remaining sales tax, but also of Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri and Home Affairs Minister Dumiso Dabengwa. The tenuous dialogue that had been ushered in by the *Beyond ESAP* project two years earlier had finally been laid to rest.

5.4 Changing Notions of Worker Participation

Before proceeding onto the period of renewed confrontation, it is important to assess the parallel transformation of the ZCTU's notion of worker participation at the workplace under the global 'reality' of privatisation. Recall that while the first phase of ESAP was to focus on stabilisation, trade liberalisation, and public enterprise reform, the latter project did not get far off the ground. The agricultural marketing boards were commercialised, but this was the only noteworthy change. Thus, the second phase, ZIMPREST, was to focus on the privatisation of public enterprises. To this was added the project of land reform, all within the evolving framework of indigenisation.

On the eve of ZIMPREST, the labour movement acknowledged the poor performance record of the parastatals, the corruption within them, the drain on the public burse, and the need for change. 'If these companies are left operating based on the present system', Tsvangirai argued, 'the country's economy will eventually be in shambles'.[69] But the ZCTU's response was drastically different than that contained in its critique of the liberal investment code of 1989 and in its Workers' Participation Manual, when it called for public ownership of the economy and an accountable civil service.[70] The ZCTU now understood privatisation as inevitable, and one that it must influence towards workers' ends. As the Friederich-Ebert Stiftung's (FES) Rudolf Traub-Merz put it, 'trade unions must decide whether they should be onlookers or get involved with their own concepts in the whole exercise of privatisation'.[71] In this spirit, Tsvangirai indicated

---

[69] *The Worker*, No. 39, September 1996.
[70] ZCTU (1989) and ZCTU (1993).
[71] Reported in *The Worker*, No. 40, October 1996.

that '[t]here is need to negotiate for better packages for those workers who will be affected during the process....It is also important to embark on retraining and redeployment of the victims. Privatisation should be accepted as a labour consumption aspect for an economic need'.[72]

Thus, the ZCTU, together with FES, commissioned a study on privatisation which was produced in 1997.[73] Then, in June 1998, with the support of the Zimbabwe Enterprise Development project, the labour centre organised a workshop in Harare for trade union leaders on the topic of employee ownership. And in 1999, a regional research effort was launched, entitled 'The Privatisation and Commercialisation of State Entities', and involving the ZCTU, COSATU, and the National Union of Namibian Workers, to assess the various country experiences with privatisation. The regional labour centres then held a conference in March 2000 in Harare, where they each presented their country case studies.[74]

The commissioned study of 1997 pointed out that the main problems of the privatisation exercise have been the absence of a comprehensive policy approach, a legal framework, and an independent authority to oversee it. The study advised the ZCTU to put pressure on the government to establish all of the above and, furthermore, to participate in the privatisation exercise so that employee welfare would be safeguarded. Besides ensuring that the LRA provisions are observed throughout the process, the study indicated that the ZCTU had a role in ensuring that employees benefit from privatisation via 'employee share ownership' schemes and the establishment of a National Investment Trust for the warehousing of shares. Subsequently, the General Council of the ZCTU adopted the concept of employee share ownership, in relation to both private and public enterprises, and this was reaffirmed at the workshop in 1998. This, again, was drastic change of identity; earlier the ZCTU had rejected 'employee share ownership' as a system of 'petty shareholding' that was 'designed to confuse the class identity of the workers and neutralise the class struggle'.[75]

The Zimbabwean case study produced by the ZCTU conducted in-depth assessments of privatisation and commercialisation with reference to a number of enterprises. The study re-affirmed the concerns raised above. At the close of the decade, there remained no clear privatisation strategy, there was no consistency in the exercise, workers were being largely ignored, the process was not transparent, and political interference was rife. A privatisation authority was finally established in February 2000, as the Privatisation Authority of Zimbabwe

---

[72] *The Worker*, No. 39, September 1996.
[73] Godana and Hlatshwayo (1997).
[74] The Zimbabwean case study was carried out by the Economics Department of the ZCTU; see Kanyenze (2000).
[75] ZCTU (1993), p. ix.

(PAZ), but even this did not meet the independence criterion, for it was placed in the Office of the President.

Privatisation was presented as a *fait accompli*. One of the most telling cases was the commercialisation of the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ).[76] The rhetoric of reform started gaining momentum in 1995, when the restructuring of NRZ was authorised by government. Workers were not consulted in this. The restructuring plan at this time involved the separation of infrastructure from commercial operations: the state was to assume responsibility for the infrastructure, while commercial operations were to be reorganised into two companies, both owned by the state, one for provision of rail services and the other of repair services. Unions protested against their exclusion from these decisions, as the whole exercise was to have far-reaching implications for workers. The plan was presented to unions in a meeting with the Ministry, the NRZ Board, and management in February 1998, at the same time as Parliament passed the new Railways Bill. The unions then proceeded to make demands on the commercialisation process itself, calling for transparency, protection of workers, and replacement of inept managers. The only positive outcome of the meeting was the establishment of a NRZ Tripartite Restructuring Committee (TRC), with equal representation by the ministry, management, and labour, although even this turned out to be ineffective, for it was circumvented on key decisions. Then, in 1999, the restructuring plan was suddenly changed, on occasion of changes in the Ministry of Transport and Energy involving the appointment of a new minister and a new permanent secretary, as well as the expiration of the term of office of the NRZ Board that had been overseeing restructuring. The new strategy now called for concessioning of the NRZ into two vertically integrated concessions based on geographic considerations, instead of splitting the railways between infrastructure and commercial operations. This time, neither management nor workers were consulted.

Workers were marginalised elsewhere as well, and generally had to engage with the process to cut their losses. Unions protested the *ad hoc* methods of the government, their exclusion of workers from decision-making, and the absence of transparency. Meanwhile, heavy retrenchments had already been experienced; for example, 1,000 workers lost their jobs in the Cold Storage Company, 2,500 in the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe, and 1,300 in the Grain Marketing Board. In such cases, workers typically engaged with the restructuring process to negotiate the conditions of retrenchment. The issue of employee share ownership had been less visible, affecting the restructuring cases that had moved beyond commercialisation to privatisation.

188

While there have been 'success' stories in privatisation, one being Dairibord and another the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe (COTTCO), the employee share ownership experience was negative. For example, COTTCO was first commercialised and then incorporated in 1994, and was finally listed on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange in December 1997. Government took over the debt of CMB, and thereafter COTTCO restructured operations and succeeded in turning around the failing financial performance of the CMB. Yet, not only were retrenchments large (2,500), the workers that remained did not benefit meaningfully from employee share ownership. Only 5% of total shares were allocated to employees, while 20% to small-scale cotton growers. Importantly, both small-scale growers and employees subsequently off-loaded their shares onto the market in order to meet current expenditures in times of economic hardship. The ZCTU study noted that small-scale growers were the worse off, given spiralling input prices.

5.5   Resolving for State Power, 1998–2000

The labour movement entered 1998 with heightened confidence *vis-à-vis* both the state and capital and with indignation towards the state's scare tactics against the leadership. The new year began with fighting talk. Provocations were issued to the state, with such articles in *The Worker* as 'Will Tsvangirai Run For President?'. Similarly, taunts and signals were sent to unconvinced employers. 'We cannot rule out that the situation will be explosive', warned the Chief Economist, as early as six months prior to collective bargaining. 'It will be really a tough time for industry. The only way out is for employers to negotiate in good faith and they must make a commitment to pay their workers reasonably'. The President of the PSA was more apocalyptic: '[o]ne cannot rule out the possibility of industrial anarchy'. The headlines of *The Worker* further drove the point home: 'Workers Want 50% Salary Rise or Else...'. Meanwhile, the ICFTU was exerting pressure of its own, calling on President Mugabe to investigate 'the brutal attack' on Morgan Tsvangirai.[77]

The situation deteriorated much earlier than expected. The new year brought with it price hikes in basic commodities by 17% to 42%, including that of maize-meal by 21%. This brought the country to a new convulsion. By mid-January, violent protests erupted in Harare and Chitungwiza, and these quickly spread to other city centres. Businesses closed down and shops were ransacked, while the government deployed the army and helicopters. The toll was unprecedented. Eight persons were killed and 3,000 arrested.[78]

---

[76] The case is presented in Kanyenze (2000).
[77] *The Worker*, No. 55, February 1998.
[78] *The Worker*, No. 55, February 1998.

In the face of public outrage, government moved to reverse the increase in the price of maize-meal. However, it remained intransigent on the sales tax and also on the outstanding 5% development (formerly drought) levy and the 15% tax on pensions that was due to come into effect in January 1998. Following the food riots, the General Council of the ZCTU met and resolved that the sales tax must be removed, and further added to the list the 5% development levy and the 15% pension tax. After the meeting, Gibson Sibanda called on the government to enter into dialogue towards a social contract, with the intention of clearly defining the sacrifices of each social partner rather than placing the burden of adjustment wholly on the shoulders of workers.[79] Nevertheless, the labour leadership moved also to consult the movement once again, as it had prior to the December strike, on the merits of pursuing renewed mass action. Upon wide consultation and agreement, a new ultimatum was issued to government to withdraw the levies or face a job stay-away in the first week of March. As a new tactic, the stay-away aimed to bring production to a halt, while also avoiding a violent encounter with security forces.

Government and labour soon entered into talks but these again collapsed, and the labour movement proceeded to issue a nation-wide call for a stay-away. This was indeed heeded by a broad spectrum of the workforce, public and private, and in fact surpassed the December strike. The March stay-away was the largest industrial action since 1948, succeeding in closing down 80% of industry, business, and public offices, particularly in the larger centres, but also in medium-sized and some smaller towns. The majority of workers who had been informed about the action and its issues in advance joined the action: more than half a million workers from all sectors. The stay-away was less successful in the rural districts and smaller towns, due to inadequate information and mobilisation, serving in this instance as a reminder of the continuing weakness of the labour movement in the countryside. Nonetheless, the urban success of the action demonstrated that lessons had been learned, mainly the principle of consultation. Besides reliance on Labour Forums, the success of the stay-away was also attributed to its non-violent format and, further, to its appeal to non-unionised sections of society. In all, the success of the event confirmed more than ever that the ZCTU enjoyed the support of a broad section of society.[80]

Despite the organisational success, however, the government did not relent. Thus, in April, the ZCTU began once again consulting with workers nation-wide on the next course of action. The possibility of a second stay-away was aired, but now calls were also heard for the ZCTU to form a political party to challenge ZANU(PF) directly at the polls. It was, of course, not the first time that the latter thought had crossed the minds of workers, but in the wake of two

---

[79] *The Worker*, No. 56, March 1998.
[80] See *Staying Away To Move Forward: A Report on the National Stay-Away* (1998).

major industrial actions against an aloof government, such calls carried more weight than usual. Reservations, however, were quickly expressed by trade union leaders. The Second Deputy Secretary General, Nicholas Mudzengerere, said that it would be 'very unfortunate' if the ZCTU was derailed from its trade union agenda, while the General Secretary of the PTC Workers Union, Gift Chimanikire, warned of the dangers involved, invoking the recent Zambian and British examples of labour parties forsaking their working class constituencies. 'Our main focus should be to deal with the politics of the stomach', Chimanikire affirmed.[81] In the same month, ZIMPREST was launched, two years after its scheduled date.

The temperature for another stay-away mounted, as collective bargaining began. The persisting militancy on the part of workers was placing employers on the defensive, with some even suggesting that businesses close down to avoid the possibility of damage to property. Tsvangirai himself predicted (or warned) as much: '[t]he collective bargaining scenario will be characterised by very high tension because we're living in a hyper-inflation situation'.[82] In the event, workers in at least 16 industrial sectors were awarded increases of 34% on average, above the inflation rate of 29% but near the anticipated inflation at year's end.

Worker militancy also brought President Mugabe back to the negotiating table in early July, for the first time in three years. The labour leaders called on the government to stamp out corruption, withdraw the levies, and restructure the NECF in accordance with the originally agreed framework. At the same time, however, workers were warning the leadership not to back down on any demands.[83] At the meeting the government announced that the sales tax increase would be withdrawn at the beginning of 1999, but remained adamant about the levies. In the same month, the government went ahead and registered the new labour centre, the ZFTU.

Judging the response to be disappointing, the ZCTU, by the end of July, was again issuing an ultimatum and planning a stay-away for early September. This time, under mounting pressure and aware of the organising successes of the ZCTU, government relented. On 4 September, four days prior to the planned stay-away, a tripartite meeting was held at which government agreed to remove the sales tax, the development levy, and the pensions tax, and also agreed to restructure the NECF.

Although this marked a new victory for the ZCTU, it was once again to be overtaken by events. In August, the government embarked on a military campaign in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), without consulting Parliament or tax-payers. By September, inflation had

---

[81] *The Worker*, No. 57, April 1998.
[82] *The Worker*, No. 57, April 1998.
[83] *The Worker*, No. 60, July 1998.

reached 34%, equal to the wage increases that had been won two months prior. In October, following a depreciation of the currency, fuel prices shot up by 67%, sending inflation to 45% in November and to 46% in December. The delay of ZIMPREST had also denied the government the requisite balance of payments support from the IMF and the donors who follow suit.

In early November, new riots broke out in Bulawayo, Chitungwiza, Harare, and Gweru over the fuel hike, amid public recognition of corruption at NOCZIM, the state-owned oil-procurement monopoly, and allegations of a link between the fuel hike and the DRC intervention. On 7 November, the ZCTU's General Council called for a 20% cost of living adjustment and the suspension of the fuel hike, and resolved to stage stay-aways every Wednesday and review the situation every two weeks. Two stay-aways were held, on November 11 and 18, in the course of which a Mutare resident was shot and killed by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) during a riot. A third stay-away was finally suspended after government requested to reconvene an urgent tripartite meeting. This did not resolve the stand-off, however, for on 27 November, the State President issued a decree banning stay-aways for 180 days, under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act.

After three successful nation-wide industrial actions over the course of one year, the labour movement had discovered its strengths, but also its limitations. Besides being able to mobilise unionised workers, the ZCTU could claim to command the respect and support of a broader swathe of the nation that was not incorporated into its structures. The ZCTU certainly appeared to have become the leading oppositional force in Zimbabwe. But one limitation was that industrial action would make enormous demands on workers (who would sacrifice wages and face intimidation upon return to work) without effectively stemming the tide of job cuts and wage erosion. Another limitation, although less acknowledged, was the fact that, despite the groundswell of support that the centre received, it still lacked organisational grounding in the rural areas. Indeed, at this time, the countryside was witnessing its first high profile protest movement against government, *outside* ZCTU structures, in the form of mass land occupations. These were being organised by circuits of dissident local party cadres and war veterans, and timed to coincide with the International Donors' Conference on land (to be discussed). In the event, the latter limitation did not override the first. For in light of the ineffectiveness of industrial action, the ZCTU began to consider seriously the option that had overshadowed Zimbabwean politics throughout the decade, that is, the formation of a political party and the removal of ZANU(PF) by the ballot.

The objective of prying open the national debate had been pursued by the ZCTU via the NECF strategy, by which the centre sought to by-pass Parliament, but also via electoral reform

which sought the prying open of Parliament itself. The ZCTU was part of a broader movement, inclusive of human rights organisations, churches, academics, students, and opposition parties, whose origins were to be found in the late-1980s mobilisation against the one-party state. The high-point of this movement in the 1990s was the boycotting by opposition parties of the 1995 elections in protest against the first-past-the-post system of representation, which was enabling the ruling party to monopolise Parliament and maintain a *de facto* one-party state. The broad social movement, however, remained loose and relatively ineffective until January 1998. At this juncture, it consolidated itself into the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) with a mandate to carry out civic education programmes and to campaign for wide-ranging constitutional reforms. At the time of its inception, the NCA marked a formidable consolidation of diverse civic organisations into a formal alliance against the ruling party. It furthermore linked all of these to the organisational powers of the ZCTU.

Hereafter, the removal of ZANU(PF) entailed the double project of constitutional reform and formation of a political party. One turbulent year after the founding of the NCA, it had become clear to the opposition that restoring the rule of law and removing the ruling party were urgent and parallel projects. Apart from the repeated use of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act in defiance of a 1994 Supreme Court ruling, the government in January 1999 once again overstepped constitutional boundaries by giving the military the green light to arrest and torture journalists of *The Standard*, a private newspaper, after they published a story alleging that there had been a foiled military coup against the government in protest over the DRC intervention.[84] The President sought to justify his government's actions by labelling the private press as 'white' and 'foreign owned', 'bent on ruining national unity'.[85] The journalists were committing 'treason' against the state, and hence, in the words of the Permanent Secretary, were 'subject to military law'.[86]

In late February, the task of forming a new political party to remove ZANU(PF) gained momentum. Over 40 civic organisations, including the ZCTU, convened a National Working People's Convention to discuss the formation of a political movement. The Convention arrived at a proposal to mandate the ZCTU to spearhead the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), but also established that the civic organisations must return to their constituencies to consult on the proposal, receive feedback, and then reconvene a final meeting on 5 May. It was also agreed at the Convention that the MDC would not be an exclusively workers' movement but that it would

---

[84] *The Standard*, 10 January 1999.
[85] See Raftopoulos (1999c); quotations originally appeared in *The Herald*, 9 February 1999.
[86] See Raftopoulos (1999c); quotations originally appeared in *Financial Gazette*, 28 January 1999.

also serve the interests of professionals, civic organisations, business, peasants, the informal sector, and the unemployed.[87] For its own part, the ZCTU held labour forums throughout the country, during which the proposal received wide support. The movement received resounding support among the other constituencies as well and was finally launched in May. This however was still a 'movement', not a party. Forming the party was the next task. On 7 August, the ZCTU held an extraordinary congress at which 164 delegates from the affiliates met and voted unanimously in favour of the ZCTU's role in facilitating the transformation of the MDC into a political party.

The events of 1998/99 had transpired at such a quick pace that the reservations expressed only one year earlier by top trade unionists had been drowned out by popular mobilisation and state repression. Only scattered sceptics remained, warning against the dangers of subordinating the longer-term objectives of workers to a broad array of interests whose sole point of convergence was the finite objective of state power. An observer close to the labour movement voiced precisely such scepticism in June. 'I am alarmed', wrote Yash Tandon, 'at what seems to be an emerging consensus within the ranks of the general membership and the present leadership of the ZCTU'.[88] While acknowledging that the ZCTU had an important role to play in politics, he urged for a politics of opposition. It is only in 'oppositional mode', he argued, that the labour movement could best pursue the interests of workers, pointing to the contrary experiences in Zambia and South Africa. Tandon further warned of the organisational weaknesses at the grass roots of trade unionism in Zimbabwe, the dangers of an untrained leadership taking over the labour movement and becoming subservient to their mentors in a post-ZANU(PF) government, and the 'illusion that these "working class" ministers will be able to break with the present hold of the IMF and the World Bank over the economy when in power'.

The alarm was sounded, but the range of options available to the labour movement seemed limited at this juncture. Nor was the mood in the street patient. Nor, for that matter, had the leadership articulated in the public sphere a global understanding of the Zimbabwean working class. Over the previous few years, the centre's contribution to the public debate had increasingly zeroed in on the 'national economy' and its 'mismanagement' by ZANU(PF), the result of the squeeze put on by liberalisation, repression, and the governance synthesis, which reduced the range of the 'acceptable' in the development dialogue. 'The ZCTU has not really changed', claimed Tsvangirai at the millennium, in a telling interpretation of his own. 'It has always been

---

[87] *The Worker*, No. 68, April/May 1999.
[88] Tandon (1999b).

social democratic in practice. The Marxism-Leninism of the 80s was rhetorical, within the political climate created by ZANU(PF)'.[89]

The party was launched at Rufaro Stadium on 11 September, with 15,000 supporters in triumphant spirit. Gibson Sibanda proceeded to relate the MDC project as the successor to previous national struggles, as the 'third chimurenga/umvukela', invoking even biblical imageries:

> Our struggle in Zimbabwe has always been a struggle for the dignity and sovereignty of the people. We, the workers and peasants have always been in the leadership of that struggle. In our first chimurenga/umvukela, workers fought against massive exploitation in the mines, farms and industry, and peasants against the expropriation of their land. The nationalist and liberation movement that led the second chimurenga/umvukela was born from and built on the struggles of workers and peasants. But after twenty years of Independence, we now have a ruling nationalist elite that has exploited this long history towards its own ends, betraying the people's struggles. Is this the country that we fought for and rejoiced in 1980?...For how long shall we wait for the biblical Moses?[90]

The fact that State House is not the Promised Land continued to be demonstrated throughout the year as workers locked horns with capital. From the inception of ESAP to the millennium, real wages had collapsed by 50%,[91] while employers continued to siphon off increases in productivity and the bulk of gross domestic income. Between 1985/90 and 1991/97, productivity had increased by 4.4%, while real average earnings had declined by 12.5%, and the share of wages and salaries in gross domestic income had declined to 39% in 1997 from 54% in 1987. In the private sector, the lowest minimum wage (excluding domestic service) in April 1999 was a starvation wage, as low as 21% of the Poverty Datum Line.[92] The latest struggle, now in 1999, was being waged over the 20% cost of living adjustment demanded by workers in November 1998, after inflation soared far beyond average salary increments for the year. By mid-January 1999, only half of the National Employment Councils had agreed on the 20% adjustment. By April, one-fourth of NECs were still refusing to pay, most notably in the textile, transport operating, engineering, and commercial farming sectors. In the latter, a strike was averted when GAPWUZ and employers agreed on a 15% adjustment.[93] By the time of collective bargaining in July, inflation was hovering above 53%. Employers provoked further controversy when they sought to withdraw the 20% adjustment during bargaining. And government outdid employers

---

[89] Interview with Morgan Tsvangirai.
[90] Gibson Sibanda's speech, *The Worker*, No. 72, September/October 1999.
[91] *The Worker*, No. 70, July 1999.
[92] ZCTU Economics Department (1999), p. 6.

when in August it announced that it would raise the salaries of government ministers by a whopping 182%. By September, a wide range of wage bargains had been struck between workers and employers, from as low as 25% by the Commercial Workers Union to 65% by the Construction and Allied Trades Workers Union, while in some sectors negotiations were still pending. Strikes continued for the remainder of the year. Hospitality industry workers took their employers to task for several days in September, demanding a 70% wage increase, while junior doctors thereafter brought the health system to a halt for several weeks, as the government refused to improve their wages and conditions.

Nonetheless, at the turn of the millennium the State House objective gained further credence. The national situation deteriorated to a desperate state on account of severe foreign exchange shortages and a crippling fuel crisis, alongside frustration over the ruling party's aloofness over constitutional reform, and all against the background of the DRC diversion. The resentment culminated in the stunning rejection of governments' own draft constitution at the February referendum, which government had sought to win on a radical land acquisition clause, handing the ruling party its most crushing defeat in its twenty years at the helm.

This was a turning point for intra-ZANU(PF) politics, and national politics by extension. With parliamentary elections around the corner, the leadership was compelled to re-assert radical nationalist ideals; these were now stripped of the Marxist-Leninist mantle but nonetheless re-kindled a popular orientation. Soon after the rejection of the draft constitution, war veterans and supporters embarked on a series of mass land occupations of white commercial farms. Leading members of government expressed their unequivocal support at this juncture, not least the President himself who went further to issue threats to 'those who try to cause disunity among our people': 'death will befall them'.[94] Such threats resonated among the leadership of the ex-combatants as well, who warned of a return to war and the installation of a military government in the event of a ZANU(PF) defeat at the polls.[95] High Court orders to evict squatters were ignored by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Police, on the grounds that squatting was now a 'political' issue. As the election period dragged on, land occupations proliferated, on as many as 900 farms, while the threats against members of opposition, black and white, were indeed carried out. The occupations dovetailed with an electoral campaign, which saw also systematic violence, including beatings, rapes, killings, and the displacement of scores of villagers from their homes.

---

[93] *The Worker*, No. 68, April/May 1999.
[94] *Daily News*, 17 March 2000.
[95] *The Herald*, 16 March 2000.

The implementation of radical land reform was the ruling party's means of rescuing its ailing legitimacy among its most important electoral constituency, the peasantry, when finally pushed into the corner by both the ZCTU and radical elements within the party's own ranks. The manoeuvre amounted to a concession to the land cause, but also an intensified polarisation of the semi-proletariat along the rural-urban divide. At the June 2000 parliamentary elections, the ruling party managed to come out on top, though the electorate was clearly split between rural and urban areas. The important exception was in the Matabelaland provinces, which crossed the rural-urban divide to vote for MDC, in an expression of the painful grievances and unresolved contradictions of the post-independence period.

Before addressing the more informal and rural semi-proletarian politics of the 1990s, it is important to look more closely into the international trade union politics within which the ZCTU has participated, and which have conduced to its 'civilisation'.

CHAPTER 6

Trade Union Internationalism

The end of the Cold War facilitated the embourgeoisement of the national debate by lending legitimacy to the aspirations of the emergent black bourgeoisie. This was the culmination of a decade-long process of conversion of the liberation movement into an imperial social prop. The end of the Cold War also facilitated the transformation of the labour movement into an oppositional force within 'acceptable' limits, as defined by the governance synthesis. This process entailed the systematic exclusion of the ZCTU from dialogue on national development policy, until it could speak with a less 'ideological' voice. It is worth, therefore, inquiring into the way the ZCTU has related to international trade union bodies and global institutions. These relations dovetailed with liberalisation and political repression at home to produce a trade unionism in Zimbabwe whose class and anti-imperialist politics had been blunted.[1]

6.1   Sources of Internationalism

The ZCTU's international effort has always been secondary to the national one, and its international policy-making apparatus less developed. In this sense, 'globalisation' caught the ZCTU unprepared, at a time when it was prying itself away from the state. By decade's end, the process of foreign-policy making remained much less public and virtually detached from rank and file. Policy debate remained largely confined to the General Council of the ZCTU, whose proceedings are confidential. Foreign policy initiatives were often left to the President and the General Secretary who, in turn, depended on the Economics Department for advice, though not invariably. The latter was not party to General Council meetings. An International Committee was set up in the 1990s, which included the Economics Department, but this did not get off the ground. Nor did the centre seek to inform its membership on pressing international issues. The ZCTU's monthly newspaper, *The Worker*, was slow to respond to these, launching an international column only in 2000; for the whole of the 1990s, there was no coverage of foreign affairs. The procedures for making foreign policy were thus quite centralised, unlike those for national policy.

---

[1] This interpretation derives partly from interviews with key trade unionists, which included Gibson Sibanda, Morgan Tsvangirai, Galileo Chirebvu, Collen Gwiyo, Nicholas Mudzengerere, and Godfrey Kanyenze; see the 'Interviews' section in the bibliography for further details.

Within the ZCTU, the division of labour on international policy roughly developed as follows. The Economics Department sought to cultivate a global vision by publishing research on various issues that were of immediate relevance. For example, globalisation, the Lome Convention, the SADC Trade Protocol, Regional Productivity, EPZs, and Labour Standards, all received attention.[2] Meanwhile, diplomatic relations, and often political initiatives, were pursued by the leadership alone. Throughout the 1990s, the Secretary General, Morgan Tsvangirai, oversaw regional relations, while serving as the Secretary General of SATUCC between 1994 and 1998. In turn, the President of the ZCTU, Gibson Sibanda, oversaw the centre's continental and global relations, while serving on a number of international bodies – as Vice-President of ICFTU/AFRO, Member of the General Council of OATUU, Member of the Governing Body of the ILO, and Chairperson of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC).

The ZCTU maintained relations with trade unions in the region, the continent, and beyond. In the 1980s, the ZCTU followed a policy of non-alignment, along the lines of OATUU of which the ZCTU has been a member since its inception. In this period, the ZCTU maintained educational and financial relations with both the Western-based ICFTU and the Eastern-based WFTU, and allowed ZCTU affiliates to join individually the International Trade Secretariats (ITSs) of the ICFTU and the Trade Union Internationals (TUIs) of WFTU. The ZCTU has also been a member of SATUCC, which was formed in 1983 with the specific purpose of organising against apartheid. In the 1990s, the ZCTU and its regional partners embarked on the process of transforming SATUCC into a trade union movement with developmental aims – alongside the transformation of SADC – and set itself towards the promotion of trade union rights, democracy, and regional integration. The collapse of the East-West divide was followed by the shrinking of WFTU to insignificance and the reassertion of OATUU as a trade union body with an 'anti-imperialist' agenda. OATUU thereafter resumed its competition with the ICFTU's African Regional Organisation (AFRO) for the loyalty of trade unions on the continent. The ZCTU responded to these changes by formally affiliating with the ICFTU in 1991, balancing OATUU against the ICFTU, and devoting the bulk of its energies to SATUCC's regionalist agenda. The ZCTU is also a member of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC).

The ZCTU maintains bilateral relations with national trade union centres in the North. These include the national centres of the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, UK, Canada, and USA. Bilateral relations have consisted in funding and solidarity action. The ZCTU has also

---

[2] ZCTU (1998), Kanyenze, ZCTU Economics Department (no date), *SATUCC Position on the SADC Trade Protocol* (1997), *SATUCC Position of Productivity* (1997), *ZCTU Position on Export Processing Zones*

received funding from Northern NGOs, and over the years these have included Friederich-Ebert Stiftung, FOS Belgium, HIVOS, OXFAM, and Christian Aid. As we have seen, in 1997 as much as two-thirds of the centre's funding derived from foreign sources.

The ZCTU began in the 1990s to engage with multilateral institutions, namely the IMF, World Bank, and WTO. With the former two, it began to pursue a policy of dialogue towards 'national ownership' of the reform programme. In relations to the WTO, the ZCTU was slow to respond, producing research on the proposed trade-linked Social Clause on the eve of the Third Ministerial Meeting in Seattle. This latter case is of particular significance, because it demonstrated the ongoing weakness of the foreign policy-making apparatus of the centre.

The thrust of the ZCTU's international approach in the 1990s, above all, was a regionalist one. The ZCTU devoted much of its international energy to the creation of a Southern African regional trade union bloc, the integration of the regional economy, and the harmonisation of labour laws, in accordance with the changing regionalist understanding of development. Within SATUCC, the ZCTU joined in solidarity action against violations of human rights in the region, pursued successfully the adoption of a regional Social Charter, and engaged in extensive research on matters affecting the regional labour force. Although SATUCC has been subject to growing pains, it is in regional co-operation and integration that the ZCTU invested the bulk of its hopes.

A major vulnerability of the ZCTU in its international relations has been its financial dependence on its Northern-based donors and labour counterparts. It is fair to say that the social democratic turn of the centre has paved the way for a smoother engagement with its like-minded partners, such that the issue of 'interference' has diminished. Yet, even a common social democratic orientation did not iron out all North/South trade union differences – evident precisely in the ZCTU's desire to build a regional block with the muscle to engage in the global dialogue on its own behalf. It is clear that social democratic unions in the periphery can still differ with their metropolitan counterparts on global issues, such as on the trade-related Social Clause, and such differences can be smothered by relations of dependence.

Financial dependence has also affected the ZCTU's status in the national debate. We have seen how government sought political mileage from this weakness and, in the midst of liberalisation, went so far as to label the ZCTU a 'foreign stooge'.

(1998), Kanyenze (1999a).

6.2   Between ICFTU and OATUU: The Post-Cold War Dilemma

The collapse of the Soviet Union, the shrinking of WFTU, and the emergence of a virtually unchallenged ICFTU, forced many peripheral trade unions into a period of soul-searching and, ultimately, political transition. Not only had a popular economic model suddenly lost legitimacy; the non-aligned bargaining position of peripheral trade unions in the context of two competing superpowers had suffered a setback. On the African continent, international trade unionism had gained a further twist by the concurrent democratisation of South Africa. The democratisation process had raised the status of the ICFTU on the continent by virtue of the crucial international role that the ICFTU had played in the recognition of democratic trade union forces under apartheid. The status of the ICFTU had reached a low point in the late 1960s and early 1970s, as we have seen, with the withdrawal of the AFL-CIO and its financial resources in 1969 and with growing hostility on the part of African trade unions to the agendas of their metropolitan counterparts. At this time, a continental trade unionism emerged to fill the vacuum: OATUU was founded in 1973, largely through OAU sponsorship, and propounded an anti-imperialist, non-aligned position. Nevertheless, through its role in the anti-apartheid movement, the ICFTU began to make a comeback.

Continental trade union politics were thus fuelled by the return of the ICFTU and the eventual establishment of AFRO. And they were further invigorated by the founding of SATUCC in 1983 as OATUU's southern regional grouping. OATUU and SATUCC sought to check the influence of ICFTU; however, since their inception, both OATUU and SATUCC have also been plagued by financial dependence on states and international donors which, in turn, have detracted from their own capacity and legitimacy. In the late 1980s, the collapse of the Cold War complicated continental politics further, as African trade union centres flocked to the ICFTU while maintaining their membership in OATUU. Since then, trade union politics on the continent have come to be characterised by competition between OATUU and ICFTU for continental leadership and ideological loyalty on emerging global issues.

As a Southern African national centre, the ZCTU is a member of SATUCC, OATUU, ICFTU, as well as CTUC. This multi-level engagement is part of what became a strategy by the ZCTU to keep all options open in a period of global transition and uncertainty, to participate in all possible labour fora, and to maximise the possibilities for solidarity action. However, simultaneous membership in OATUU and ICFTU has not been unproblematic, and indeed was a contentious issue in the early 1990s when it presented itself.

The decision to affiliate with the ICFTU was taken in a General Council meeting. Despite the gravity of the issue, affiliation was never discussed in the 1990 Congress. And as the proceedings of General Council meetings are confidential, there is no public record of the debate. The debate on ICFTU membership was evidently 'heated', especially since there were union leaders in the meeting who had had long-standing relations with, and had even held positions within, either one or the other of the Cold War internationals. In the event, three-fourths of the ZCTU affiliates came to support membership in the ICFTU. The conclusion reached was that Pan-Africanism and internationalism (within the remaining International) were not contradictory policies. It was decided that membership in both a global and a continental body was crucial. The former would provide an arena for dialogue and solidarity action at the global level; the latter would continue to voice an African position within the global dialogue.

In this period of flux, the ICFTU vigorously pursued the leadership of the ZCTU to bring the national centre into the International's ranks. The ZCTU was regarded as an important player on account of its radicalism and prestige in the region. The ICFTU's logic was that if the ZCTU could be brought into the fold, SATUCC as a whole would follow. Given furthermore SATUCC's status on the continent, OATUU would eventually be overtaken. Thus, the ZCTU was regarded as one of the pivotal trade unions for the ICFTU's return to the sub-region and beyond.

Since then, SATUCC has sought to play a mediating and reconciliatory role between OATUU and ICFTU (as we will see in a later section). Yet, the situation remains far from ideal: problems have continued within OATUU, in the OATUU-ICFTU relationship, and with the ZCTU's membership in the ICFTU itself. Regarding the latter, the Secretary General of the ZCTU noted dissatisfaction on matters pertaining to the domination of the labour agenda by Northern trade union interests. Issues such as the Social Clause at the WTO are 'uncomfortable', he admitted, while at the moment 'there exists no labour forum in which to articulate Southern issues of development'. With regards to OATUU, the Secretary General noted its drawbacks in the development dialogue. OATUU remains too dependent on states and 'is not moving with the times'. Furthermore, he noted, 'OATUU represents an African voice but not a Latin American and Asian one'. Ideally, 'there should be a Northern and a Southern International, but this remains impossible because of dependence on Northern unions'.[3]

6.3   Appealing to the IMF and the World Bank

The ZCTU rejected the logic of liberalisation in the early 1990s in no uncertain terms. On occasion of the announcement of the liberal Investment Code, the ZCTU protested that '[t]he moral from history and Cecil John Rhodes is that the wealth and resources of a people are acquired by positive seizure in the same manner as our political independence was won'.[4] In mid-decade, the centre began to engage directly with multilateral institutions, seeking dialogue with the IMF and World Bank in an effort to influence the direction of the second phase of structural adjustment, ZIMPREST. The publication of *Beyond ESAP* was a landmark in this regard.[5] The document marked a change of strategy, away from 'shouting from the outside'. On the one hand, *Beyond ESAP* proved the capacity of the centre to speak in rigorous technical language and furnish a wealth of evidence on the failures of ESAP; on the other hand, through this technicalisation of its critique, the ZCTU became party to a managerial dialogue, entailing fundamental concessions to the development orthodoxy. *Beyond ESAP* was part and parcel of the centre's new 'strategic unionism' towards both the state and the IFIs. The change of strategy subsequently came to an end in relation to the state – upon the ZCTU's withdrawal from the National Economic Consultative Forum (NECF) in January 1998 and the renewal of confrontational politics – but the policy continued in relation to the IFIs.

The *Beyond ESAP* document succeeded in gaining rhetorical recognition from the IFIs. The IMF, for example, offered token acknowledgement of *Beyond ESAP* as 'impressive', while remaining typically aloof towards the notion of 'national dialogue', for which *Beyond ESAP* also appealed.[6] The Bank engaged more actively in the national debate, but with the specific objective of cultivating consent for further liberalisation. Indeed, there was little evidence of the *Beyond ESAP* critique in ZIMPREST. The second phase of structural adjustment consisted in a re-affirmation of the liberal paradigm, with special emphasis now on privatisation and 'community initiated, market assisted' land reform, while tapping explicitly into the 'indigenisation' language of the black bourgeoisie.

Notably, the Bank launched the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI) in 1995 in a number of countries, including Zimbabwe, in response to the 'Fifty Years is Enough' campaign. This initiative aimed to involve civil society in the evaluation of ESAP. The resulting evaluation was critical, and it led to the carefully worded response by the Resident

---

[3] Interview with Morgan Tsvangirai..
[4] ZCTU (1989), pp. 3–4.
[5] ZCTU (1996).
[6] *The Worker*, No. 36, June 1996.

Representative that '[t]he reforms under ESAP could certainly not be regarded as a roaring success' and that 'getting the prices right' is 'a necessary but not sufficient condition' for development.[7] He went on to express the need to 'buy in' civil society to the reform programme for the purpose of achieving national commitment. Subsequently, the ZCTU objected to the Bank's definition of 'dialogue', arguing that '[t]his takes the programme as a given, a fixed element'; 'to achieve real national ownership of the programme implies starting from scratch, and not presupposing the existing programme is acceptable to all parties, and in particular, civil society groups'; 'what civil society groups want is total participation, at all levels, in the formulation of the programmes'.[8] However, the ZCTU's invocation of the principle of national self-determination still fell far short of a critique of imperialism; it continued to gravitate to a developmentalist vision.[9]

6.4   Equivocating over the Social Clause at the WTO

The ZCTU's engagement with the WTO came about in response to the call for a trade-related Social Clause at the level of the WTO. The Economics Department rejected this proposal on the eve of the Third Ministerial Meeting in Seattle.[10] The rationale for the rejection was that such a Social Clause would make third world workers even more vulnerable to Northern industrial and labour interests, given that the WTO is institutionally unbalanced in favour of Northern states who can act unilaterally against their much weaker Southern counterparts. The alternative suggestion was to rely on the regional Social Charter – in place since April 1999 – which is subject to regional tripartite supervision.

While the Economics Department rejected the Social Clause on valid procedural grounds, it accepted its logic, in its regionalised application, as a valid response to the functional dualism that is characteristic of peripheral accumulation. In effect, the response disconnected wages, conditions of employment, and child labour from sectoral and social disarticulation. This was a missed opportunity to voice a specifically semi-proletarian perspective on the labour standards debate, which is otherwise dominated by a Eurocentric definition of 'the worker'. It is notable that both the *Beyond ESAP* document and earlier statements, such as the *Workers' Participation and Development* manual, had provided a different insight into the problem. The manual, for

---

[7] Allen (1999), pp. 4–5.
[8] Kanyenze, ZCTU Economics Department (1999b).
[9] It is noteworthy that the ZCTU went on to join international NGO forums and workshops concerned with the reform of the global financial architecture. In 1999, it attended two such workshops in Washington, DC, organised by OXFAM and the Overseas Development Council.

example, had specifically addressed itself to the connection between inequitable land distribution and the pressure on wages: 'as long as the land issue remains unresolved, these problems will persist'.[11]

The case is of further significance because it revealed the ongoing weakness of the ZCTU's foreign policy-making apparatus. The ZCTU President attended a Preparatory Meeting of the ICFTU prior to Seattle without consulting the Economics Department, and during these high level talks the President supported the Social Clause. Thus, despite the position of the Economics Department, the ZCTU officially supported the ICFTU agenda, and meaningful dialogue within either labour centre did not take place. Moreover, the case demonstrated how the lack of preparation, co-ordination, and adequate dialogue at the regional level can undermine the democratisation of international trade unionism as a whole. Just prior to the Seattle meeting, the ZCTU Economics Department participated in a regional workshop in Johannesburg, in October 1999, organised by regional trade unions and OXFAM and attended by regional and continental trade unionists and a number of regional civic organisations. SATUCC trade unionists (though not representing SATUCC officially), OATUU, and the civic organisations issued a joint statement rejecting the inclusion of new issues, and particularly the Social Clause, at the Seattle meeting.[12] The SATUCC representatives further affirmed this position and called on SATUCC to prepare adequately and issue a joint statement of its own.[13] These dissenting voices, however, did not influence official positions and, in turn, an official call for substantive dialogue within the ICFTU was not made. Indeed, something of the opposite occurred: there was an annoyed reaction within the ICFTU upon hearing of this lack of discipline among rogue trade unionists in Southern Africa.

6.5 The SATUCC Experience: A Regionalist Internationalism?

While the ZCTU has sought to participate in all possible labour fora, it has devoted the bulk of its international effort to the development of a strong regional trade union block. The ZCTU and its regional partners have come to see the development of an economically integrated and politically cohesive Southern African sub-continent as the best hope for workers and Southern Africans as a whole. As a SATUCC statement put it,

---

[10] See Kanyenze (1999a).
[11] ZCTU (1993), pp. 36–38.
[12] *Statement of African Civil Society on the Third Ministerial Conference of WTO* (1999).
[13] *Statement of SATUCC Trade Unionists and Social Movement Activists on the Seattle Ministerial* (1999).

workers and other concerned citizens of Southern Africa understand that in the current competitive global economy, with strong regional blocks such as NAFTA and the EU, developing alternatives to global liberalisation and creating sustainable, appropriate development strategies depends upon our countries working together as a regional block. The formation of such a block in Southern Africa would build upon deeply rooted political, economic, labour market and other links between our peoples and countries.[14]

SATUCC has thus come to express what might be called a 'regionalist' internationalism. The regional body has laid emphasis on the common history of Southern Africans, the regional dimension of economic and social problems, the necessity of a common development vision, and the need to articulate and gain recognition for this vision in the development dialogue.

Alongside the recasting of SADC as a 'development community' in the post-apartheid era, SATUCC has assumed new aims, with regional integration and the protection of the worker being the pillars of its new vision. SATUCC has sought to impress upon member states the imperative of prioritising the regional good systematically and of counteracting the centrifugal forces of the region. To be sure, the forces of fragmentation have been powerful. The region is characterised by gross disparities in industrial development, with South Africa at the regional centre, while the countries are further located in a liberal order whose priority is national restructuring in global, not regional, terms. The power of these forces is manifest in the nature of Southern African responses in the 1990s. As SATUCC has pointed out, states have continued to engage with global agencies and northern states largely on bilateral terms, rather than multilaterally, and they have continued to think and act in the 'national interest'.[15] The implementation of structural adjustment is the obvious case in point. Regional states have implemented national policies of adjustment to the global economy, and these have typically submerged and contradicted the regional agenda, particularly with regards to investment, industrialisation, and labour market reform strategies. Similarly, the establishment of EPZs has aggravated interstate competition for investments and has also exerted downward pressure on wages and conditions of employment. Meanwhile, bilateral trade relations and commitments have continued to take primacy over regional ones. Most dramatically, South Africa moved to enter into a free trade agreement with the EU, while the SADC Trade Protocol complied with the WTO commitments of member states. The regional labour movement sought in the 1990s to counter all these forces of fragmentation and to foster a regional consciousness.

---

[14] SATUCC Statement (1996).
[15] SATUCC Statement (1996).

206

The regional body also sought to impress upon the member states of SADC the importance of tripartite decision-making at the regional level. The primary site of labour participation in SADC has been the tripartite Employment and Labour Sector (ELS). The ELS was established in 1996, after its predecessor, the Southern African Labour Commission, was dissolved. The Sector is concerned with issues of employment creation and social protection, implementation of labour standards, and harmonisation of labour legislation. Within this forum, SATUCC has spearheaded the regional Code on HIV/AIDS and Employment, which was adopted by Heads of State in August 1997, and has further spearheaded the regional Social Charter, which was adopted in April 1999. At the same time, SATUCC has engaged the ELS on the problems of EPZs and on issues of regional productivity, while also working towards the harmonisation of health, safety, and environment policies.

However, the notion of 'social dialogue' in the region has been superficial. The first annual ELS conference in Lilongwe in 1996 was denounced by the labour movement for not living up to the spirit of regional tripartism. SATUCC noted that the structure of the dialogue was weighted in favour of governments, whose officials merely reported to the other social partners rather than inviting inputs from them. Labour leaders furthermore participated as part of country delegations and became subsumed by government representatives. Important issues were referred to national tripartite structures for discussion, under the false assumption that these are functional and embody the tripartite spirit throughout the region.[16] In 1997, progress was noted, in the form of an agreement in principle that SATUCC would attend and participate in all SADC forums.[17] Nonetheless, participation continued to be impeded by lack of resources on the part of SATUCC (to be elaborated below). Furthermore, the commitment to participation proved to be vacuous on matters of the highest importance such as the Trade Protocol, from whose deliberations the labour movement was excluded. Finally, it is important to note that the notion of 'social dialogue' at the regional level has not overcome the problems that were encountered at national levels, such as in Zimbabwe. The dialogue has been such that the liberal project imposes the agenda for discussion, leaving room for debate mainly on issues of implementation. As a commentator argued, 'participation will also carry dangers of co-optation and pseudo participation if the real decisions are taken in other bodies [i.e., the IFIs]'. 'Social dialogue becomes important in order to manage the opening of markets and to adjust and respond at the national level'.[18]

---

[16] SATUCC, Annual Report, 1996/97, and Minutes of SATUCC Strategic Planning Meeting, 14 July 1996.
[17] Secretary General's Report, SATUCC Executive Council, 26 July 1997, Gaborone, Botswana.
[18] Torres (1997).

Trade union participation in the regional dialogue, therefore, must be seen in this context of a dominant liberal agenda, the exclusionary and repressive practices of states, and the lack of resources to participate effectively. Regional trade unionism must also be seen outside of the conferences and board rooms, however. Trade unions have often been at the forefront of democratisation struggles, and the regional body has engaged in solidarity action in this regard throughout the decade. Besides the labour movement in Zimbabwe, the Malawian and Swazi labour movements in particular have come under severe repression in the 1990s. In both these cases, SATUCC mobilised regional support and sent high-level delegations to demand release of political prisoners and the respect of civic freedoms.

Another realm in which the labour movement has contributed in a significant way has been that of research and advocacy on emerging global issues with relevance to Southern African workers. Research is either conducted in institutes that are associated with national labour centres, as in South Africa and Namibia; or in departments within the labour centres, as in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Mozambique; or in conjunction with other relevant local and international NGOs and IGOs. One of the most important research projects has been on EPZs. SATUCC has sought to educate governments on the hazards of EPZs with respect to environment, labour conditions, adverse regional competition, and the poor long-term development vision of the strategy. Research was begun in 1996 and a resource pack was produced to promote discussion in national and local workshops. A policy position on EPZs was also presented at the ELS Annual Conference in April 1996. The regional labour movement has also conducted research on the WTO, the Lomé Convention and SADC–EU relations, the regional labour market, privatisation, and structural adjustment. On the latter, the ZCTU's *Beyond ESAP* has been promoted as a model or pilot, and has been discussed widely in regional fora. However, the one issue of relevance to Southern Africans that SATUCC has not addressed is that of land reform. This remains a crucial weakness in the vision of regional trade unionism, and is further reflected in its advocacy for a regional Social Charter.

In its broader international relations and vision, SATUCC has sought to engage with donors and other organisations as 'a body independent of all international bodies', although it has not proclaimed to be an international labour federation but a 'coordinating council'. In its continental politics specifically, SATUCC has had to carve out a diplomatic role for itself. At its 5th Delegates Conference in 1994, SATUCC noted that all its members are OATUU members but not all are ICFTU members and, in the event, SATUCC resolved to 'harmonise' relations between OATUU and ICFTU-AFRO, while also resolving 'to strengthen OATUU and contribute

to the development and clarification of its policies and role'.[19] Relations between OATUU and ICFTU-AFRO continued to deteriorate, however, putting pressure on SATUCC to enhance its diplomatic effort.[20]

Beyond the continental level, the meaning of regionalist internationalism has been in the process of definition, as SATUCC has staked out positions on old and new trade union issues. The issue of labour standards has been one such issue, and in this case, regionalism has manifested veritable meanings. In the first instance, the adoption of a regional Social Charter has consisted in the regional institutionalisation of the prevailing global social democratic trade union values. This suggests that SATUCC has played the role of advocate of global norms at the regional level. This it has done also in relation to the Social Clause at the WTO as well as the national struggles against human rights violations within the states of the region. In the second instance, dissident Southern African trade unionists have given a different meaning to the regionalist internationalism by articulating a 'third world' difference in trade union circles precisely on the issue of labour standards.

Finally, it is noteworthy that one of SATUCC's stated aims has been to become 'the communications hub of an international trade union network' in order to 'promote the sharing of successful organisational and campaigning ideas and practices of union organisations'.[21] Although the idea of an international trade union hub is far removed from existing SATUCC realities, it demonstrates the desire to de-centre contemporary international trade unionism from its metropolitan base and to begin to articulate a 'Southern' voice on an independent and sustainable basis.[22]

That such a hub is not currently viable is evident in the troubled history of SATUCC in the 1990s and the enormous growing pains that is has had to endure. In 1994, as South Africa and SADC were launching a new beginning, SATUCC identified the challenges it confronted. It cited lack of co-ordination between its affiliates; lack of information about each other's problems; lack of research co-ordination; lack of integrated educational and women's programmes; lack of an international policy framework; problems of communication; and financial insolvency.[23] The context of these problems can be elaborated to take account of state repression in the region, regional imbalances in trade union membership and capacity, near total financial dependence, and

---

[19] SATUCC 5th Delegates Congress, Johannesburg, South Africa, November 1994.
[20] Secretary General's Report, SATUCC Executive Council, 26 July 1997, Gaborone, Botswana.
[21] SATUCC Proposal for Support of a Strategic Agenda for Trade Union Cooperation in Southern Africa, 1999-2001.
[22] The recurring irony here is that the proposal for support for this strategic agenda was submitted to Northern-based donors.
[23] SATUCC 5th Delegates Congress, Johannesburg, November 1994.

inadequate checks and balances within SATUCC structures. The capacity and substance of internal communication and of participation in regional dialogues have suffered accordingly.

In mid-1992, the SATUCC offices in Lilongwe were closed down by the Government of Malawi in a crack-down against the labour movement there. Chakufwa Chihana, the Secretary General of both the Malawi Congress of Trade Unions and SATUCC, was imprisoned after campaigning for human and trade union rights and entering politics with the opposition. In August 1993, Morgan Tsvangirai was elected Acting Secretary General of SATUCC and was confirmed in 1994. However, *ad hoc* administrative arrangements in Zambia and Malawi, administrative confusion, and logistical problems debilitated communication and undermined SATUCC operations until 1996 when a new office was established in Gaborone and a full-time Trade Union Co-ordinator appointed. State repression, more generally, resulted in the focusing of the energies of labour centres on national politics and away from international institution-building efforts, as we have seen in Zimbabwe.

Regional imbalances in industrial development have combined with imbalances in membership and organisational capacity among the national trade union centres to produce fertile ground for conflict, competition, suspicion, and disunity among SATUCC affiliates. COSATU alone accounts for 45 per cent of SATUCC's total membership and is better organised and better equipped to engage in research and debate on regional and global issues. Smaller national centres have sought to benefit from COSATU's capacity, but they have also been marginalised by it. SATUCC as a whole has succeeded in moving ahead on issues of common concern, such as the Code on HIV/AIDS, EPZs, and the Social Charter; on other crucial issues, such as migrant labour and the growing protectionism in South Africa, national centres in the regional periphery have been less able to have their differential needs recognised.

The financial insolvency of SATUCC has been one of its greatest organisational impediments. In the period of administrative transition from Lilongwe to Gaborone, donors became reluctant to fund an organisation in disarray. In 1993, the ICFTU, LO-Norway, and the AFL-CIO's AALC provided funding, but also expressed concern over reporting irregularities and SATUCC's bilateral funding relations.[24] Funding from ICFTU was subsequently 'severely cut'.[25] In the same year, only one SATUCC affiliate, OTTU of Tanzania, paid its annual contribution, while the Zambian national centre for its own part provided office space.[26] By 1994, significant

---

[24] Minutes of the SATUCC Finance and Administrative Committee Meeting, 14 May 1994, Lilongwe, Malawi.
[25] Record of Discussions held at SATUCC Sub-Office, Kitwe, Zambia, April 14, 1994.
[26] SATUCC, Annual Progress Report, 1993.

debts were owed and SATUCC moved to sell office assets.[27] In the same year, the South African NACTU affiliated to SATUCC and paid its fees, but this was the only income deriving from affiliation fees and accounted for less than one per cent of SATUCC's total income. In the following two years, no affiliate contributions were made. In June 1996 a Donors Conference was arranged in Geneva to coincide with the ILO meetings. The issue of the failure of affiliates to contribute was raised by donors, along with other issues concerning lack of co-ordination and clarity in organisational strategy.[28] In the following years, funds were received mainly from the Dutch FNV, the Finnish SASK, and LO-Norway, as well as from USAID, AALC, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, and CTUC. National affiliates continued to contribute a minuscule amount – about two per cent of SATUCC's total expenditure.[29]

Financial constraints have often paralysed SATUCC activities. In 1998, for example, the Executive Council of SATUCC cancelled its February meeting and met only once for the whole year in August. Also, few of the planned activities were carried out in this period. Furthermore, SATUCC affiliates struggled to attend the ELS meeting in April in Mauritius due to funding delays as well as denial of funding by national governments for labour delegates. In the event, the regional labour movement was under-represented.[30] While donors have blamed delays of disbursements on SATUCC for failing to report effectively and regularly, SATUCC also expressed objection to the ways donors would relate to SATUCC which, according to the Secretary General, 'border on total disrespect for the regional body'.[31]

Financial constraints and administrative dislocation have also impeded progress in co-ordination and mobilisation on the gender front. At the 5th Delegates Conference in 1994, SATUCC resolved to employ a full-time gender co-ordinator, with responsibility to co-ordinate meetings, research, and educational programmes, but this did not materialise. The whole of the period between 1992 and 1997 was extremely difficult. The SATUCC Women's Committee, which had been established in 1988, itself did not manage to hold any formal meetings in this period. Between 1994 and 1996 a platform for networking in the region was organised by Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, in the form of the Annual Southern African Trade Union Women's Forum, and this was the only way of maintaining contact in the absence of viable SATUCC structures. In November 1997, the SATUCC 3rd Women's Conference was finally held in

---

[27] Minutes of the SATUCC Finance and Administrative Committee Meeting, 14 May 1994, Lilongwe, Malawi.

[28] Minutes of SATUCC Strategic Planning Meeting, 14 July 1996.

[29] SATUCC National Congress Resolutions, 6th National Congress, 26-27 November 1998.

[30] Secretary General's Report to SATUCC Executive Council Meeting, 25 August 1998, Johannesburg, South Africa.

[31] Secretary General's Report, SATUCC Executive Council, 26 July 1997, Gaborone, Botswana.

Durban, at which a new Women's Committee was elected and a Programme of Action produced for the period of 1998-2001.[32]

Finally, the combination of differential national agendas, mistrust, and administrative dislocation has revealed inadequacies in the checks and balances in SATUCC institutions, which, in turn, have exacerbated suspicion and mistrust. There have been internal complaints over the procedures used to appoint SATUCC staff, the supervision of staff, and the handling of funds. There have also been conflicts among executive members over such matters, as well as over the overall performance of SATUCC. Such disputes were serious enough to culminate in the resignation of the Secretary General in 1998, and since then, the position has remained vacant. In the words of the now former Secretary General, SATUCC is 'limping'.[33]

SATUCC, therefore, has been in a process of reconciling vast differences against financial and organisational obstacles, while also confronting liberalisation and state repression. The meaning of SATUCC's regionalist internationalism has emerged on a number of issues, and has been contested on others, while the ground has been laid for the further development of a Southern African trade union voice. That which is amply clear is that SATUCC as a whole has the research capacity to articulate rigorous global visions. It is also clear, however, that the regional partners have not yet articulated a specifically semi-proletarian voice; and that such a voice would be a challenge to the internationalism of the ICFTU.

---

[32] SATUCC Women's Committee Report (1997).
[33] Interview with Morgan Tsvangirai.

CHAPTER 7

Rural Peasant-worker Nationalism

The ZCTU's radical critique of ESAP in the early 1990s acknowledged peasant-worker mobilisation across the rural-urban divide as a fundamental class project. Thus, in its workers' manual of 1993, whose purpose was to conscientise workers on the history and specificity of the labour movement, the ZCTU affirmed:

> '[t]he natural alliance in Zimbabwe is between peasants and workers, not between peasants and big landowners': '[p]easant households grow the food of the people, rear children and look after old aged workers. Workers share their wages with their parent relatives and spend their holidays planting and reaping together. In real life the workers are united with the peasants in many ways. This is unity in action without unity in organisation. This should not be so'.

The ZCTU concluded: 'The workers' struggle to end exploitation will not succeed without an organised conscious peasant class'.[1]

The ZCTU did not realise this alliance; it did not develop rural structures of its own outside commercial farming, nor did it manage to affiliate the ZFU. On the contrary, as the ZCTU gravitated to the 'reason' of the governance synthesis, the rural-urban political gap widened. The labour centre finally embarked on a rural campaign in 1999, but by this time it was in the name of the cross-class and increasingly 'multi-racial' alliance of the MDC. The ZFU, for its part, remained in the hands of elitist farming interests; and ZANU(PF), the self-proclaimed custodian of peasant interests, normalised its relationship with capital and adopted the 'indigenisation' project of the black bourgeoisie. The rural grievances of the semi-proletariat therefore remained in uncivil terrain.

Meanwhile, local government structures remained a patchwork of institutions, from traditional and elected authorities, to local party structures, to village and ward development committees. 'This profusion of overlapping and incongruent local organisational structures, each with its own boundaries and drawing on different sources of legitimacy, has...created weak and disparate local institutions', the Land Tenure Commission concluded in 1994.[2] Rural politics continued to be conducted through this complex set of structures, seeking to exercise pressure on the ruling party, as well as gain economic and political protection from whichever authority would afford it.

---

[1] ZCTU (1993), p. 44.
[2] Land Tenure Commission (1994), p. 26.

213

7.1 Land Occupations under Structural Adjustment

By the end of the 1980s, a stalemate had emerged on the land question, whereby, on the one hand, the landless and landshort had lost the leverage they once had over land policy, and, on the other, government was incapable of controlling, through its squatter control apparatus, land self-provisioning. The onset of structural adjustment undermined local government further, due to the intensification of demand for land by the poor (rural and urban) and by white and black capitalists seeking to enter non-traditional land-based product markets. Low profile but intense land occupations characterised this period, along with deepening land markets and rural violence.

Macro-level 'Squatting': The National Picture

A number of new squatting trends emerged under structural adjustment which complicated the task of squatter control. One was that squatting spread from large-scale commercial farming areas to other land tenure regimes, such that the bulk of officially recognised squatters were now in communal areas and state lands, and not in the LSCF sector. Table 6.1 indicates that 33.3 percent of squatters were in communal areas, a near equal amount in state lands, and only 10 percent in the LSCF; 12 percent were now in resettlement areas.

Table 6.1: Squatter Situation by Land Tenure in Mashonaland West and East

Land Tenure Category	Number of Squatter H/h's	% of Total Squatters
Communal Areas	3,520	33.3
Resettlement Areas	1,268	12.0
LSCF	1,440	13.6
State land:		
Parks	283	2.7
ADA	NA	
Others	3,000	28.4
Urban	1,057	10.0
Total	10,568	100.0

Source: Moyo (no date).

214

A second trend was the deepening of land sales and rental markets in communal and resettlement areas. Land in these areas has legally belonged to the state, while in communal areas, specifically, land entitlements have customarily been administered by chiefs in the first instance. Over the 1990s, the deepening of land markets saw land being increasingly allocated by payment of fees, or political obligation, to local MPs, ruling party members, chiefs, headmen, village heads, and spirit mediums. Land markets therefore further undermined the conventional framework of land administration and adjudication, and worked to the economic and political detriment of the poor. Moyo noted that in the communal area of Chegutu District (Mashonaland West) 82 families were reported to have paid for land covering their homesteads and fields; and reflecting the oligopolistic conditions, the sellers amounted to a total of nine persons, all among local authorities.[3] Thus, the market solution was being embraced by those who were in the position to both implement it and benefit from it. On the other hand, it has been noted elsewhere, with reference to Shamva, that by far the majority of communal and resettlement area farmers did not find the sale of arable and grazing land acceptable, with the main reasons given being that the land is properly 'owned communally' and that it is 'a gift of nature'.[4]

In this context, land sales have also precipitated conflicts between 'the community' and 'the foreigners', the latter being of different ethnic/linguistic background, or from other regions or countries. Furthermore, land sales have given rise to the erosion of legitimacy of local authorities in the eyes of pre-existing villagers. A 1988 study conducted by AGRITEX noted complaints on the part of villagers against kraalheads, as well as calls for the trimming of customary powers.[5] Finally, the emergence of land markets also gave rise to increasing competition among local authorities and between local authorities and central government. Thus, Moyo notes, 'local chiefs, headmen, party chiefs, members of parliament and other people not only compete with central government politicians and bureaucrats over land control, they also compete amongst themselves for the political and economic capital to be gained from the control over allocating land rights'.[6]

Another trend was that the 'contested settlers' were relying on customary authorities for security. Unlike squatters who were not confirmed by customary authorities, the contested settlers had the prospect of becoming integrated into local structures and eligible for government services, such as drought support and agricultural extension. Moreover, they had a chance of gaining political protection by customary authorities against the threat of eviction by central

---

[3] Moyo (no date).
[4] See Moyo, Matondi, and Marongwe (1998), pp. 167–70.
[5] Zishiri (1998), pp. 16–17. AGRITEX is the Department of Agricultural, Technical, and Extension Services, in the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture.
[6] Moyo (no date).

government (as represented by the Rural District Council). Moyo has noted that peasants would take advantage of internecine struggles and the splintering of the ruling party's power system to gain a measure of 'informal solace'.[7] However, it is also true that they would fall victim to the same struggles and power system. As we will soon see, in spite of fees paid and obligations undertaken, protection was never guaranteed, for Rural District Councils did not abandon the given eviction policy, and continued to pursue it with variable results.

Beyond contested settlement, there were a number of other notable 'everyday' forms of unauthorised land use. Squatters included communal area farmers who were short of grazing areas and who encroached on game reserves, and state and other lands;[8] women tasked with gathering woodfuel and water for the household, or planting gardens on river banks;[9] gold-panners, either from local communal areas or from beyond, mainly male and often of diverse ethnic and regional origins; and households of retrenched mine and farm workers without links (or severed links) with communal areas, often 'foreigners', staking out plots of land in a variety of locations.[10] Unauthorised land users also included 'bushboarders': children of squatters living far from educational facilities and who would build huts around school premises to reside during their studies; and 'destitutes', along urban centres and growth points, including street kids and 'mentally handicapped'.[11]

The changing political economy of land, in conjunction with deteriorating living standards, generated a highly volatile situation in the countryside. The legitimacy of the ruling party and its liberation promise suffered accordingly. While the semi-proletariat may not have been able to discern the wider national and global processes which altered their location in the land question, they experienced structural adjustment immediately, in terms of the erosion of land rights and security – precisely the goods they had mandated the ruling party to protect and expand.

Micro-level 'Squatting': Overview of Shamva District

A district-level approach to land politics may illuminate further the rural political economy. The next two sections provide case studies of land occupations in Shamva District, with reference to gold panning and contested settlement. The studies are based on interviews conducted with the

---

[7] Moyo (no date).
[8] See Moyo *et al.* (1998).
[9] See Wekwete (1998), ch. 1; see also Moyo (1995b), pp. 13–31.
[10] See Moyo (no date).
[11] Zishiri (1998), pp. 4–5.

assistance of an interpreter in August and September 1999 in Shamva with a total of 25 squatters, comprising gold panners in Pote Valley and contested settlers in Madziwa Communal Land. Interviews were also conducted with grassroots, district, and provincial authorities, public health authorities, representatives of commercial farmers in the district, ZANU(PF) in the province, and with ZimRights in Harare.[12]

Suffice it here to provide an overview of Shamva under structural adjustment. A comprehensive study of the Shamva economy under ESAP found that liberalisation was experienced differentially in the district and that the gap between rich and poor had widened.[13] Access to new export markets had been limited to large-scale farmers.[14] Thus, 89% of communal area farmers continued to concentrate on maize; resettlement farmers with access to irrigation managed to engage more in horticulture; and commercial farmers embraced a much broader range of products, such as soyabeans (21%), wheat (58%), cotton (94.7%), and horticulture (74%), and maize (90%).[15] The deregulation of marketing improved prices to smallholders, though not resolutely, while the price of farming inputs (fertiliser and tools) and basic foodstuffs increased; the result was a general deterioration in the cost of living, as well as the bankruptcy of some smallholders' groups.[16] The productivity of smallholders' land also deteriorated, due to population pressure, the limited size of the plots (5.6 acres in CAs and 9.8 acres in RAs), the high cost of fertilisers, soil erosion, and the loss of draught power during the 1991-92 and 1993-94 droughts.[17] Farm income among smallholders accounted for 45% of total income, with remittances, pensions, and other off-farm income from self-employment, wage labour, and small business activities accounting for the rest.[18] However, remittances from urban-based family members declined during ESAP, due to inflation and retrenchments, to such an extent in fact that in some cases there was even a reversal of remittances, now from rural to urban family members, in the form of maize.[19]

With the crisis of social reproduction, smallholders were resorting to the over-exploitation of the natural environment. Cultivation was being extended to marginal lands, such as river banks and grazing areas; wood-fuel was increasingly becoming the only source of energy, with women travelling five to six kilometres to collect firewood; and men were turning to gold

---

[12] See the 'Interviews' section in the bibliography for further details; see also the Appendix for the questionnaire used.
[13] Masuko ed. (1998).
[14] Moyo et al. (1998), pp. 161–66.
[15] Moyo et al. (1998), and Matanda and Jeche (1998), pp. 220–39.
[16] Matanda and Jeche (1998), Wekwete (1998), p. 35, and Amaiz (1998).
[17] Wekwete (1998).
[18] Matshe (1998), p. 62.

panning. The pressure on the environment was thus severe, accentuating deforestation, soil erosion, and the siltation of rivers. Conflicts over the illegal use of land proliferated between communal area farmers and squatters, as well as between squatters and local government, the latter taking on the task of squatter control as a form of environmental management.[20] The absence of representative channels of expression in local government compounded the plight of the smallholders,[21] leaving few options but to carry on with illegal activity and avoid detection.

What follows is a case study of the political economy of squatting in Shamva, with reference to gold panning and contested settlement.

7.2   The Gold Panning Solution in Pote Valley

Gold panning activity is ubiquitous in Shamva, this district being one of the earliest gold mining sites in Mashonaland. In 1999, both legal and illegal panning activities were being pursued, alongside industrial mining. Legal claims and mills existed throughout the district on a variety of tenure regimes. Since the Mines and Minerals Act would give precedence to prospectors over the rights of property owners, any prospector could be granted permission to prospect, register a claim, hire labour, build a settlement, and exploit the mineral resources, while always occupying property belonging to someone else. Claim-holders were typically based in provincial towns or Harare, and were required to inform their respective property owners of the location of the claim and the whereabouts of the labour force. In reality, however, legal claims were not only exploited by a registered labour force; not every mill serviced permit-holders; and there was poor communication between claim holders and property owners. The further reality was that individuals and households would descend upon Shamva in pursuit of a living, establish panning activities in non-registered areas or poach from legal claims, and sell their gold to local claim-holders or other town-based buyers who would visit the area periodically. The institutions designed to prevent illegal panning were, to the tentative benefit of panners, ineffective in their task: there was limited monitoring of panning activity by the Ministry itself – a task which, in any case, would have been a Herculean one, given the scattered nature of panning in remote and hidden sites. Moreover, according to commercial farmers who sought to monitor the situation themselves, access to the records of the Ministry to establish which were and were not legitimate claims, and who were and were not legitimate panners, was cumbersome, and the process of

---

[19] Wekwete (1998), pp. 46–47.
[20] Wekwete (1998), pp. 29–44.
[21] See Masuko (1998), pp. 318–19.

eviction by a landowner through the Ministry and the courts was equally cumbersome and costly. There was a case in Shamva in which a commercial farmer (with the means of commercial farmers) found it easier to buy someone's mining claim and shut down operations, rather than pursue eviction through the Ministry and the courts.[22]

Panners would organise their survival strategy in a number of ways. In one case, on Lion's Den Estate, a large white-owned commercial farm, both legal and illegal panners were at work. The legal panners worked on a claim registered to a Harare-based merchant, who visited the site twice per week. The labour force consisted of 17 Malawian men, who, along with their families, resided legally on the farm, near the claim. The claim also had a mill, which, however, according to the farm-owner, was servicing the panning activities not only of the legal panners but also of a plethora of other non-permit-holding panners on his farm. While the farmer sought to monitor the situation, he complained that he received no cooperation from the Mining Commissioner in Harare in establishing which claims were legal, and he also received no information from the claim-owner regarding the number of employees. The illegal panners lived separately from the legal ones and 'pinched' ore from the legal claim. Of the illegal panners interviewed, one was a communal farmer from Murewa, Mashonaland East. His wife and four children remained in Murewa to tend the farm and livestock while he panned for cash, the only source of income for the household. He had been panning for seven years. Another panner was from Shamva and was accompanied by his wife and three children on the site; his parents' plot in the communal lands was already too small to be subdivided further, leaving panning as the only source of survival for the household. In this case, the children were enrolled in a nearby school, for which they were paying fees, and the family had in the past accessed the hospital in Shamva, for which they had also paid and which is one hour away by bus. Both panners were in their mid-twenties, and had attended six and seven years of school, respectively.

A second case was near Pote River. Here there existed a legal claim, again on commercial farmland, with several dozen households residing within the limits of the claim. However, because the productivity of the legal claim was poor, the panners panned illegally on the shaft-ridden banks of Pote River. All interviewed were men, whose families lived with them on the claims. The men were all in their late twenties and had anywhere from one to six children, while half had finished Form 4 (*i.e.*, 11 years of schooling). One-third were from Mashonaland Central, while the rest came from as far away as Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Matabeleland

---

[22] Interview with French Guy; the absence of monitoring and the 'difficulty' of eviction was also noted by the Malcolm Vowles, Regional Executive Officer, Commercial Farmers' Union, and Mr. Bruk-Jackson, owner of Lion's Den Estate.

South, and Mozambique. All had been panning for the most part of the decade, with one having inherited the trade from his parents – suggesting an intergenerational dimension to panning – who themselves had finally abandoned panning upon purchasing land in communal areas. The large majority were retrenched mine and farm workers. The panners paid rent to their claim-owner either in gold or by devoting one day's work to him per week. During peak agricultural seasons, the men sold their labour to commercial farmers, who would round them up and take them away in lorries. The panners' wives typically supplemented the household income by selling fruit and vegetables at the bus terminus at Wadzanai township in Shamva. The children that attended school did so on commercial farms, by permission of the farmers, where they paid fees. The households used Shamva hospital where they also paid fees, and which is twenty minutes away by bus.

A third case is closely connected to the above. This is the case of panners working on the same river, while living in the compound of John White Farm, a large commercial farm, owned by a black farmer and leased out to another black farmer who also owned two more farms in the valley. In this case, the panners and their families sold their labour to the farmer in return for permission to reside in the compound, while their cash income derived mainly from panning, as well as agricultural labour on this and other farms. None was on contract. Both men and women were interviewed in the compound in the presence of a manager. The men were in their late twenties and were retrenched workers. About half had their families living with them in the compound, while the families of others lived away in the communal lands, in Shamva and other provinces. The men had between eight and eleven years of schooling. The women interviewed had between two and four years. One woman was 36 years of age, had two children, and her husband was a panner. Both she and her husband also provided labour to the farmer. Their children were withdrawn from school, and their access to Shamva hospital was difficult due to the fees. Another woman was 41 years of age, had recently lost her husband, and was caring for seven children, while also selling her labour to the farmer. She could not afford to pay school fees for her children, nor hospital fees.

Shamva district experienced a cholera outbreak between February and May 1999, with 217 cases reported. Squatters from the mining claims accounted for 94 of these cases, and on the compound of John White Farm three children died. Squatters are the most susceptible to such outbreaks, as they have poor sanitation facilities and unsafe water, whether on mining claims or on the compound. Also, they are among the poorest and cannot afford hospital care or transportation to hospital; their children are often not immunised. Moreover, as squatters, they are not sufficiently integrated into local structures and are the last to be the beneficiaries of

preventative health services. Shamva hospital at one time had operated a Farm Health Scheme, focusing on immunisation and conscientisation on matters of hygiene, but the fleet had been grounded due to economic constraints. Thus, squatters are best understood as objects of health crisis management. In the case of the cholera outbreak, chlorine tablets and sprays were distributed, and the patients were treated in Shamva hospital and on site. Beyond the epidemic, there are longer-term afflictions. Malnutrition of children under five is common, due not only to low access to food but also to poorly cooked food, which in turn is due to the practice of child-to-child care, parents leaving children to the care of children while away at work. Tuberculosis is recurrent, as squatters' homes, often made of pole and dagga, are overcrowded and poorly lit, and generally unsuitable for habitation. Prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, are also widespread in squatter communities.[23]

The case of the cholera outbreak on John White Farm compound is especially indicative of the 'breakdown' of health service provision – or, to use Charles van Onselen's more precise term, 'the economics of death'.[24] This was not the first outbreak on the compound. A prior one had been experienced in 1993, and since then, no improvement of sanitation facilities and water accessibility had been undertaken by the farmer; the workers continued to build facilities for themselves, with whatever meagre resources were available to them. The matter was, in fact, urgent, as another outbreak was expected to occur by the health authorities in the forthcoming wet season. According to the farm owner, responsibility for the welfare of the labour force now rested with the person who leased the farm, as the labour force was transferred to the lessee with the farm. However, there was no 'incentive' for the lessee to improve sanitation, given the abundance in the supply of labour; to the farmer, the workers were dispensable. The only mechanism was in fact a 'stick' that could have been wielded by the local health authorities. According to the Public Health Act, the health authorities could obtain a court injunction to see to it that the farmer removed the causes of the health risk by building adequate water and sanitation facilities. Despite the experience of a cholera outbreak on the compound, and another one on the way, no such action had been taken by the authorities, which in turn cited the lack of resources and inadequate staff.

The case of squatters on John White Farm is also one of 'interlocking markets' – the modern-day term for 'human bondage'. The squatters would provide labour to pay rent to reside on the farm to provide labour. They were not able to accumulate to escape their condition. Should they have wished to organise and protest, their replacement may well have been instantaneous,

---

[23] Interviews with Shamva District Nursing Officer and Shamva District Environmental Health Officer.
[24] See van Onselen (1976), ch. 2.

given the nature of the Southern African labour pool. When this was brought to the attention of the (white) Chairperson of the Pote Valley Farmers' Association, he frowned upon the practice. 'Our blacks', he said in tone befitting a slave-owner, 'are on contract'.

Despite the advantages of the regional labour market to the farmers, they were frustrated by the squatting problem on their properties. They complained about the poaching of wood-fuel, siltation of rivers, uncontrolled traffic through their land, prostitution, and theft. These were all blamed on the squatters. The squatters did not find wrong in any of these, of course, but they resented the fact that they were labelled as thieves. 'Everything is blamed on the squatters. But we are not thieves. The farm-workers are the ones who steal maize. We only buy it from them'.

Besides the 'black market', the farmers were frustrated more generally with the constant violation of private property. There was in fact an initiative by the regional office of the Commercial Farmers' Union to find a solution to the problem, though there were a range of views among the farmers that had to be reconciled. The Regional Executive Officer noted that some farmers were 'too radical', calling for a 'Law and Order' type of regime with an effective and systematic eviction apparatus. However, this solution, he said, was 'too idealistic', and other more pragmatic ones had to be found, such as the provision of mine-shaft refilling equipment. Another farmer had a more final solution: 'they should just be killed'.

The predicament of squatters was compounded by the absence of channels of political representation. Some expressed their wish to vote in the forthcoming national elections (originally scheduled for April 2000), although only half of the panners interviewed were registered to vote. The reason for the latter was mainly that they lacked information about when and where registration took place. Yet others were registered but saw no point in voting.

Elections for local government were a more involved matter. Squatters from surrounding districts were not eligible to vote in Shamva, since they were not registered with Chaminuka Rural District Council. The option of returning to their own districts to vote was not realistic, but nor was it reasonable, since they no longer lived there. The panners also did not have access to organised local meetings, such as VIDCOs and WARDCOs. In short, they were unorganised and unrepresented. Moreover, there was no effort on the part of local government to remedy this situation. On the one hand, to do so would have implied a legitimation of their status; on the other, there was an interest by the ruling party to keeping them away from the ballot box. The Provincial Administrator and Information Officer of ZANU(PF), when asked whether there had been any 'outreach' voter-registration programmes for the squatters, responded thus: 'No. When you go to them you will see, they just run away. Anyway, most of them are Mozambicans'.

Had the squatters been able to articulate their grievances formally, these would have coalesced around the following themes. The demand for resettlement land was pervasive. The panners on Pote River were the most uninhibited in their indictment of the government's resettlement promise. They expressed the view that panners were being passed over by the government, which 'is only concerned about the effects of panning', not the landlessness of the panners themselves. Panners were being excluded from the process. Being completely landless, with most having been engaged in panning for the greater part of the decade, they felt that they should be considered for resettlement before communal people; 'the needy must be considered first'. But it is not only that the criteria for eligibility did not favour them, it is also that the procedures for applying for resettlement land were skewed against them. Councillors in their own communal homes who, along with chiefs and the RDC, administered the selection process, often required fees and often also favoured their own relatives. And in Shamva, where many of the panners have been residing for years, they were excluded by virtue of being 'non-resident', while non-Zimbabweans had even less of a claim. The panners on John White farm were of the similar view, though expressed more cautiously, that 'there is no proper communication' in the resettlement process, a problem which 'is made worse because there are too many who want land'.

Access to land, however, was not an end in itself. A *secure livelihood and future* was more precisely the coveted end, with land of one's own being understood as the main pillar of this security. Beyond access to land, farming would have to be viable; access to credit and extension services, such as provision of fertilisers, would be important in securing survival on the land. Alongside farming, the panners expressed that access to a secure cash income from employment would remain crucial; this constituted a second pillar of survival. The Pote River panners agreed that they were likely to continue to pan even if they had land, because neither farming nor panning alone could provide security. Similarly, panners on John White farm expressed the view that the government should implement employment creation policies so as to provide more sources of income in the countryside. In the absence of other sources of income, the Pote River panners expressed the view that panning should be legalised and monitored more effectively, so that panners would not be required to pay rent to claim-holders and would not be subjected to the constant threat of eviction, arrest, and physical violence by farmers and local authorities.

A third pillar of security was understood to be the household's access to education for the children and to health services. Access to education and health services was hindered by both the physical distance that one would have to travel to schools and clinics *and* the fees that one would have to pay. While the panners whose children lived at their communal homes with their mothers

and grandparents complained mainly about school fees, the panners whose children lived in the settlements complained about both the travel distance and fees. This suggests that access to land serves as a conduit (albeit a limited one) to other sources of security, such as social infrastructure. It serves also to improve one's access to the procedures for obtaining fee exemptions, via the assistance of local authorities. Those households that were not integrated into local structures were the most socially distant from such procedures. Landless panners on Pote River, John White farm, and Lion's Den Estate all reported that in the past they had paid fees at local clinics, despite filling out social welfare forms. In the case of the two women interviewed on John White farm, they both reported that they had in fact withdrawn their children from school due to their inability to pay fees. The gap between needs and realities was larger still: other panners on John White farm expressed the need for *pre*-school facilities so that children would not be left to care for themselves while their parents are at work. They also expressed the view that adequate water and sanitation facilities were needed, though, in the presence of a farm manager, they did not indicate whose responsibility this project might be.

It is important to indicate the differential experience of landlessness and squatting among women, inasmuch as can be revealed from the two interviews on John White farm. The first woman, the single mother of seven, had no relations on communal lands, as both her parents had died when she was very young. In fact, she had never known where her communal home might have been. Since her husband's death, the household had lost his panning income. Now she cared for the household on her own, while her children, withdrawn from school, also worked on farms in the district to gain cash. Thus, she and her household were without access to communal land; without access to relations of her own on communal land; without access to her husband's relations, since the family of a deceased husband does not normally feel obligations towards the widow; and without access to local political structures through which to be considered for fee exemptions and resettlement land (which she indicated that she wanted). The only 'source of security' was her income from farm-work. She expressed that she wanted to vote but that she was not registered, as 'the registration committee never comes here'. But, she added, even if she were to register, 'there is no choice'.

The second woman, the married mother of two, whose children were also withdrawn from school, was the only interviewee to state that she did not want resettlement land. Puzzling though this might be, it seemed to reveal an alienation of different magnitude, namely, lack of faith in anything beyond the 'security' of the compound. It appeared as if no other institution, whether local or national, was, or had ever been, a trustworthy or relevant factor in the daily struggle for security; anything beyond the certainty of the compound was a risk. Faced with

equally untrustworthy interviewers, she stated cautiously that she wanted to vote, but that she was not registered 'due to ill health' at the time of registration. When asked about responsibility for the cholera outbreak, she responded in similarly cautious terms, that, simply, 'it comes from the water'.

None of the squatters/panners was integrated into the local political structures. As is the case with social infrastructure, legal access to land is what brings political infrastructure within reach. Many expressed their frustration that their complaints to councillors and local authorities fell on deaf ears, as panners did not constitute an electoral constituency to be courted by aspiring local politicians. There were no community meetings to attend, such as those in communal areas. And the District Administrator (DA) did not consider complaints that did not rise through the communal area structures. In the panners' words, 'there are no politics here'. Pote River panners said that the only time they met was at funerals. Information about national politics was also scarce. Only two panners had heard about the constitutional review exercise that was being conducted by government at the time; however, they did not know where the meetings were, or what the difference was between the government's Constitutional Commission and the opposition NCA. Nonetheless, they were all too conscious of being excluded from politics and also of being denied the means to be more conscious: 'we are oppressed because no-one here is educated enough to know what's going on'.

Despite the lack of adequate information, and despite their exclusion from local and national infrastructure, the panners, to a significant extent, shared an understanding of their situation, inasmuch as can be distilled from the responses that they were willing to give. On the failure of the resettlement promise, the government and local politicians enjoyed pride of place in the panners' invective. The two women were less forthcoming in their responses to two male interviewers, but their differential experience was evident in the 'social death' of the first and the 'risk-averse' tactics of the second, in a social context devoid of security and governed by relative male privilege.

The most unimpeded and articulate in their condemnations of their moral order were the panners on Pote River, who worked in groups and without foremen. They denounced the government in the most unequivocal terms for failing to deliver on its promises. Although they felt exploited by claim-holders and commercial farmers, it was with the government that they felt they had a 'contract', not with anyone else: not with local politicians, not with farmers, not with farmers' unions, and not with a 'world bank'. It was the government that they had mandated to deliver meaningful liberation. Addressing himself to this failed contract, one panner remarked:

'The price of everything has gone up. We can't buy food. Where is the land, the schools and the hospitals that they promise. Instead they give us structural adjustment. *Is this freedom?*'

7.3   Contested Settlement and Eviction in Madziwa Communal Land

Besides panning, illegal land purchase was another 'solution' common in Shamva. In search of security, access to social services, and political protection, landless would seek and gain access to marginal land with the consent of grassroots authorities. In Madziwa communal land, the largest in the district, with 9 wards and 52 villages, land self-provisioning had a long history which pre-dated the ESAP crisis but which had also been accentuated by it. This communal land has been the site of a large 'contested settlement', and the site also of its violent eviction. The settlement was located in Mwoyowamira, an expansive grazing area of 2,189 hectares south of Madziwa town. What follows is an account of a process that begins with contested settlement, culminates in eviction, and is followed by contested re-settlement. Eviction here turned out to be not merely a method of environmental management in the context of inadequate land reform: it was also a triumph of 'legal' villagers over 'illegal' ones in a context of local patronage politics; and a disjunction between local and central government on matters of resettlement policy and responsibility.

Squatting in Mwoyowamira began in the early 1980s. It emerged as a problem in the district in 1985 when complaints by legal villagers against settlers were first voiced to the (pre-amalgamated) Chaminuka District Council.[25] The grazing area was jointly used by eight villages, four from Chidembo (ward 9), two from Nyamaropa (ward 10), and two from Mutumba (ward 7). Land was allocated unsystematically to incoming settlers by Chiefs, a councillor, and two kraalheads from the nearby communal lands. These two councillors became the spokespersons of the settlers, along with two more kraalheads that emerged among the settlers in the grazing area. There is evidence, as we will see, that in the Mwoyomamira case the land allocations went beyond the grassroots authorities to gain Council approval in both official and unofficial ways. There is also evidence, which was eventually presented to the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), that the communal-land kraalheads and the councillor collected fees from some of the settlers.

Even though the number of settlers grew steadily in the years that followed the first complaint, the first registration exercise and head-count was only conducted by the RDC in 1994. This found that most of the settlers were retrenched workers from farms that had been bought by

---

[25] The official facts of this case are in correspondences and reports in the Mwoyowmira eviction file held in Chaminuka Rural District Council, Chikanda, Shamva (see bibliography).

the government, as well as from mines in the area, like the Trojan Nickel Mine; a smaller amount were communal farmers from Shamva who faced land shortages. One hundred and fifty-six families were registered at this time, and of these, 47 were Mozambican, 15 Malawian, one Zambian, 82 Zimbabwean from other districts, and 11 Zimbabwean from Shamva. A second registration was carried out in 1996, and found that the number of families had swelled from 156 to 235; and by the time of the eviction in November 1996, a total of 361 families were resident in Mwoyowamira, of which 113 were Mozambican, 19 Malawian, 2 Zambian, 180 Zimbabwean from other districts, and 47 from Shamva. It thus appears that the majority was settled between 1994 and 1995, under the worsening economic conditions.

The RDC vigorously denied that the settlers had received its approval, claiming that the kraalheads had defrauded the settlers. However, the evidence pointed in the direction of the RDC as well. Settlers received seed packs, fertiliser, and grain loans from government. AGRITEX land extension officers pegged the drainage system in the area, and also assisted the settlers in registering with the Grain Marketing Board and Cotton Company of Zimbabwe as local farmers. The DA demarcated wards. The Council began to collect development levies in 1989. The settlers contributed to the building of a school. And a number of them were issued National Identity cards that reflected their new district, which could only have been done with the consent of the Council.[26] The then Chief Benson Mutumba himself stated that he had approved the settlements with the knowledge of the Council.[27]

A brief look into the life stories of some of the evictees will help to elaborate the Mwoyowamira profile. One family interviewed consisted of a Zimbabwean mother, a father of Mozambican origin who had acquired Zimbabwean citizenship, and their six children. They had come to Mwoyowamira in 1990, after the father had been retrenched from Trojan Nickel Mine. Though a citizen, the father did not have ties of his own to Zimbabwe's communal lands from which to seek resettlement, and his wife could not make claims on her own kin. They had thus sought land in Mwoyowamira, which they were finally allocated by a kraalhead, without a fee. They did not pay development levies, but they stated that the DA had confirmed them and that they had voted for local councillors. A second male household-head interviewed had also been retrenched from Trojan Nickel Mine and had come to Mwoyowamira in the late 1980s. He stated that the DA had come to his village, along with the kraalhead that had allocated him land, and demarcated the village.

---

[26] See *Zimbabwe Human Rights Update*, 3 December 1996; Chimhini (1996), Mugabe (1996), District Development Fund (1996).
[27] *ZimRights News*, July 1997.

227

A third male household-head had come to Mwoyowamira from Murewa in 1986, with his wife and six children, in search of land. He had been allocated seven acres of land by a kraalhead for no fee, and had gone through the formal process of transferring his residency to Shamva, with a letter from his former DA to the new one. He paid development levies, received extension services and drought relief, and voted for a local councillor. In his case, one of the two chiefs, Chief Nyamaropa, was not involved in his settlement, and therefore never recognised him as a legitimate settler; this was to be an important factor in his eviction.

A fourth interviewee, a widowed woman with six children, stated that she and her husband had annexed land on their own in 1980 in the grazing area; their original home was in a near-by village in Chidembo area, but they were facing land shortage. They were not settled by any of the local authorities, and they remained registered in Chidembo.

Given the substantial involvement of the Council in the settlement process over a whole decade what reason could there have been for pursuing the eviction? In fact, despite its official and unofficial approvals over the years, the Council was simultaneously taking slow steps towards eviction, suggesting a lack of coherence in local land policy. At the time of the first complaints lodged in 1985, the Council resolved that the ward councillors would deal with this problem themselves. The problem persisted, however, and meetings were subsequently convened in August 1987 between the Council Chairman, the councillors, and the settlers. In November 1987, the Council Chairman informed the Council that, despite the meetings, the majority of the settlers refused to move, and recommended that force be used. The Council first took responsibility for the matter in 1988, when it issued formal notices to the settlers to vacate the land. In a show of resistance, the acknowledgment of receipt of the notice was signed by only 16 of the settlers, while the rest refused and some threw the notices at the doorstep of the councillor at night. At this juncture, '[t]he Council failed to enforce the eviction because it was in deficit and had no funds'.[28]

The official justification for eviction was two-fold. First, there was growing conflict over natural resources between the settlers and villagers. Mwoyowamira was traditionally used by 711 families from eight villages, which now were in competition with the settlers. The natural resources, trees, animals, and soils, were under pressure, while the livestock of the villagers was being deprived of adequate grazing. It has been reported that the villagers were resorting to renting grazing land in nearby farms and Farming Cooperatives and paying up to Z$2,000 to graze 50 cattle for a period of 8 months.[29] In fact, in 1988, following the failure of the Council to

---

[28] Chaminuka Rural District Council, *Mwoyowamira Squatters Report* (no date).
[29] This is reported in Moyo (no date), where he also refers to the Mwoyowamira case.

act, the villagers resolved to take matters into their own hands, proposing that the grazing area be fenced and forming committees to look into this project.

The second justification concerned the unsuitability of the land for cultivation and the larger environmental effects that this was causing. The settlers were indeed tilling the land, which was exacerbating erosion and causing the siltation of Mupfurudzi dam several kilometres away. This, in turn, was affecting the Mupfurudzi Fishing Company Project, a company owned by the community around the dam and run on a CAMPFIRE basis, involving about 350 shareholders. Moreover, siltation of the dam was said to be affecting irrigation schemes downstream and Madziwa Nickel Mine whose population of 3,748 was being supplied by the dam. As the DA's Office put it, '[t]he number of squatters involved is far less than the number of people being disadvantaged. The benefits of squatting are far outweighed by the disadvantages being caused'.[30]

A third justification, mentioned only in an internal Council report, concerned the designation of Mwoyowamira for a grazing scheme, as well the foreign funding that had been secured for this purpose. As the report put it, '[f]unding for the Grazing Scheme and land rehabilitation have been sourced and one of the Giant Donors [the European Union] felt it unnecessary to contribute for the cause unless the illegal settlers are removed away'.[31] An alignment of such local and foreign interests was putting pressure on the Council to act. The events transpired as follows.

In December 1992, a Special Council meeting was held with people who had purchased land. They produced receipts signed by the sellers and amounting to Z$6,180. The matter was turned over to the ZRP and the Magistrate, but the latter refused to prosecute, without providing an explanation. In 1993, the settlers appealed to the Head Office of the Ministry of Local Government that they were no longer receiving crop and fertiliser packs and free tillage. In January 1994, the now amalgamated Chaminuka Rural District Council resolved to evict squatters by force and allocated $6,000 for this task.

Responding to the appeals of the settlers, Head Office took a stand on the matter for the first time, advising the Council, via the PA, not to proceed with the eviction process. At this stage, the Council noted that it 'realised the sensitivity of the eviction' but also that 'pressure was mounting from the legal local residents who wanted the squatters evicted'.[32] In April 1994, therefore, the Council wrote to the Minister of Local Government asking for authority to evict. The Ministry this time did not respond.

---

[30] Office of the District Administrator to the Provincial Administrator (1996).
[31] Chaminuka Rural District Council, *Squatter Report and Update* (no date).
[32] Office of the District Administrator to the Provincial Administrator (1996).

In the 1996 fiscal year, the RDC once again budgeted to evict the squatters, setting the date for June 1996. Meanwhile, the Council also sought legal advice from a Harare-based practice to ensure the legality of an eviction that lacked ministerial approval. The solicitors replied affirmatively, referring to the Communal Lands Act No. 20/1982 to declare that occupation of communal land for residential and agricultural purposes without the consent of the RDC is illegal and that the squatters were liable to fine, imprisonment, and eviction. They recommended that the matter be pursued via the ZRP and the district Magistrate Court. They further recommended that, in the case that the ZRP and Public Prosecutor refused to cooperate, as they had done in the past, the matter could be taken to the High Court, from which the Council could obtain a summons for eviction.[33]

By this time, the number of households in Mwoyowamira had swelled to the 360 mark; and the Council was equipped with a confirmation of its right to evict. A meeting was thus called at Dora Bridge on 9 April to inform the settlers of their impeding eviction. The meeting was attended by 200 settlers. The official entourage consisted of Nicholas Goche, the local Member of Parliament (MP) and Deputy Foreign Minister, who made a public appearance on the matter for the first time, along with the DA, the District CEO, the ZRP, AGRITEX, the Department of Natural Resources, a Resettlement Officer, and four councillors, among others.[34] The DA spoke first. He 'started by saying that he was pleased that they had come in great numbers but however was disappointed by the show of disrespect to the councillors and chiefs by some of the squatters'. The DA went on to tell the settlers that 'they had been cheated by those who illegally allocated them land'. And he added that 'that noone was above the law in Zimbabwe'. Finally, he affirmed that '[t]he government at local level was represented by the council which is the local authority', and that '[t]he council has designated Mwoyowamira area as a grazing area'. 'Besides this the land is not suitable for tilling as the Mupfurudzi dam downstream is silting very fast because of this new illegal settlement in the catchment area'.

Referring to the alternatives at the disposal of the settlers, '[t]he District Administrator told the gathering that the government was not responsible for resettling squatters but genuine landless people who appear on the council waiting list'. 'Those who had genuinely transferred to Shamva but were settled on the grazing land should consult with the council or whoever allocated them that land'. 'Those who have acquired citizenship should start looking for alternate land in the communal area of Shamva or any other district in Zimbabwe'. The DA also 'reminded those aliens who had acquired Zimbabwean citizenship of the conditions of the oath of loyalty they

[33] Musimbe (1996).
[34] Minutes of the District Squatter Control Committee Held at Dora Bridge with The Squatters (1996).

signed. They promised that they would observe and abide by the laws of Zimbabwe. Thus refusing to vacate from the grazing area was tantamount to disobeying the laws of the country. This citizenship can also be withdrawn'.

There are several notable moves here. First, the DA labelled the squatting problem in Shamva as a 'district' problem, not a national one, thereby absolving the central government of responsibility. The Council was elevated to moral and legal authority, while the chiefs were accorded honourable mention, their authority apparently having been disputed. Second, the DA distinguished between 'genuine' landless and the 'ungenuine'. The former were the ones that were 'genuinely transferred to Shamva but were settled on the grazing area'. Herein lies an admission *and* contradiction of a legal transfer transpiring but leading to illegal settlement. Third, the DA referred to a new category, 'those aliens who had acquired Zimbabwean citizenship' but whose citizenship could be revoked upon violation of the law, implying that they still had not achieved full Zimbabwean nationality – they remained a step removed from the 'more genuine' nationals. Finally, all these gradations of status were rendered meaningless in light of the fact that *all* the settlers, whether or not legally transferred or foreign, were denied a meaningful voice in the matter.

Complaints were voiced in vain by the settlers about having paid for land and of having had no legal recourse. Then Nicholas Goche spoke last; the minutes note:

> [t]he Member of Parliament told the meeting that he was re-affirming what had already been said by the District Administrator. He said the problem of squatters is not a new subject in the country. Recently in parliament there was debate on Nyaminyami squatters who have been evicted. The debate was not condemning eviction of squatters but the procedure and timing. He reiterated that the council was the land authority and that no one was above the law. The land belonged to government and was not for sale. He challenged those who sold land to speak out [!]. He finally told the meeting that there was no alternative to vacation as this land was grazing land.

The eviction date was set for 31 July 1996.

Following Dora Bridge, the settlers sought the assistance of the District Development Fund, which was sympathetic and which communicated with the PA. The settlers also sought the assistance of ZANU(PF) Head Office in Harare and the Ministry of Local Government. A communication between the DA's Office and the PA states that the settlers 'claimed that they had been advised not to move', reflecting ongoing politics between the Ministry and the Council, and

possibly the MP.[35] In another internal report, the Council reaffirmed its stance, and, moreover, stated its 'position with regard to other allegations', possibly pertaining to 'parochialism', 'tribalism', or 'nepotism':

> [t]he Squatter Eviction process by Chaminuka Rural District Council is no exception or different from other eviction exercises hence should not be viewed as having political, regional *or any other isms*. Council is only acting in adherence to existing national laws executed within the delimitation of Council powers to preserve land and natural resources, our common heritage.[36]

Finally, the settlers also sought the assistance of ZimRights. ZimRights appealed to the Minister of Local Government on 19 April, emphasising the existing evidence that the settlers had indeed been formalised by the Council. ZimRights received no response and appealed again on 26 May. Evidently, the Ministry was not making any decisive moves either in relation to ZimRights or the Council. Thus, the Council proceeded to take the matter to High Court and obtained a summons on 23 September.

In November 1996, the squatters 'were returned to their original homes', as the succeeding DA put it in defending his predecessor. The nature of the eviction reveals the less visible political currents. The post-eviction interviewees in the Madziwa area, all recounted, in separate unstructured interviewing sessions, the same story. The eviction took several days. The DA was present in some instances. Armed police officers were also present, but were in small numbers; they were not the ones who carried out the evictions. The evictions were carried out by the legal villagers themselves, who set fire on houses around the clock. The Council arranged also for bulldozers to raze the houses to the ground. Two interviewees stated that their houses were burned after midnight. One stated that the villagers moved his furniture outside the house before setting it on fire. Some of the livestock was burnt in the pens; other livestock was 'sold' to the police and villagers. The District Development Fund provided lorries to transport the settlers. The lorry drivers demanded payment from the settlers, either in cash or kind (*i.e.* livestock). The settlers that were taken on the lorries were then left on the Bindura-Mt. Darwin road, some fifteen kilometres away, where they were to spend the entire wet season. Seven evictees are reported to have died of exposure-related diseases (cold and malaria).[37]

The way that the Council organised the eviction and the willing and prominent role assumed by the villagers reveals the resentment and tension that had built up and had indeed

---

[35] Office of the District Administrator to the Provincial Administrator (1996).

[36] Chaminuka Rural Dstrict Counctil, *Mwoyowamira Squatters Report* (no date), emphasis added.

become available as political capital to be gained by local authorities and the local MP. Some interviewees believed that the villagers had been organised and hired by the MP, but, they admitted, this was speculation. Another interviewee stated that the villagers that set the house on fire were the ones that had wanted the land for grazing. What is readily apparent is that the Council found an inexpensive way to carry out the eviction of 360 families, which would have otherwise required an army. This, in fact, was not an unknown method of eviction. A ZimRights Legal Officer stated that, while the proper procedure called for a messenger of court to employ the ZRP, and while the use of locals was not sanctioned by the courts, the use of locals was known to have occurred elsewhere under the squatter control policy.[38]

All the interviewees stated that both the MP and the ZANU(PF) provincial office were of 'no use'. 'How could we appeal to them? They were the evictors'. 'If they were on our side', another said, 'they would have found resettlement for us'. The ZANU(PF) provincial office confirmed their own valuation of the settlers. When asked to suggest whether others, beyond the DA and Council staff, could be usefully interviewed, the response was straightforward: 'No. Those are the ones that matter'. The councillors themselves were ZANU(PF), though there were conflicts between them. While the kraalhead-*cum*-councillor that represented the settlers sought to defend them, the Council Chairman (the chief councillor) was vigorously pushing for their eviction. The same councillor who defended the settlers was also at loggerheads with Chief Nyamaropa. In the case of one of the interviewees, mentioned earlier, Chief Nyamaropa had not approved of his settlement, and the Chief was defied by the councillor who went ahead and settled them. When eviction time came, the evictors came from Nyamaropa.

The role of the Chiefs in Mutumba area is also noteworthy. The former Chief, Benson Mutumba, had approved of the settlers and had stated, as mentioned above, that he had done so with the knowledge of the Council. The succeeding Chief, Marufu Mandaza Mutumba, however, resented his loss of power *vis-à-vis* the Council, and resented also that the kraalhead/councillor that defended the settlers circumvented him and dealt directly with the Council. The Chief's aid stated that the kraalhead/councillor had never been approved by the new Chief and was not one of the Chief's 86 headmen. The Chief has been quoted as follows: 'I am not interested with the evictions because the people who were forced off the land settled there without my knowledge. The truth about this problem is that the district council has taken over all chiefs' judicial powers, including the hiring and eviction of people vis-à-vis land'. For him, disinterest in the eviction was

---

[37] These testimonies are also reported in *Zimbabwe Human Rights Update*, 3 December 1996, and *ZimRights News*, July 1997.

[38] Interview with Peter Maregere.

a political statement about the loss of his power. He continued: 'Council is giving people land and when that goes against land use plans from the top, they start accusing chiefs of having created that problem'.[39] Meanwhile, the former Chief stated that he 'deplored the loss of life, land, livestock and human dignity which resulted from the evictions'; 'such inhumanity by a council on its people could only be perpetrated during the colonial regimes'.[40]

In the context of mutual recriminations, the settlers were defended by no one. The Assistant DA absolved the Council of responsibility, with the argument, 'why should Chaminuka Rural District Council be responsible for the resettlement of someone from Guruve?' When asked about the non-Zimbabweans, and how they might have been 'returned to their original homes', he responded that they had not been, indicating that Zimbabwe has obligations under the 'Geneva Convention'.

It is safe to assume that in the wake of the eviction most of the contested settlers in Madziwa communal land were evictees from Mwoyowamira. It is also safe to assume that contested re-settlement in the area was the only solution available to most, as the majority of them had in the past been retrenched mine and farm workers without ties in communal lands, and as one-third had their origins in neighbouring countries. Moreover, under the force of eviction, many found not only that they had to enter a land market, but that they had to do so on terms that were most unfavourable to them. The post-eviction situation was thus one characterised by ongoing insecurity and social tension.

Of the eight contested re-settlers interviewed in the Madziwa area, only three stated that they had paid a fee for the new land that they now occupied. The rest said that they had not. However, under the insecurity of the situation, it is quite possible that they wished not to reveal the extent of their illegality. The following stories of six of these households will suffice as a profile of the contested re-settlers of Madziwa.

One household, the one with the father of Mozambican origin, was allocated a plot of land in a near-by village by a local kraalhead without a fee. This plot, however, had been too small and could only produce two bags of maize. Thus, survival remained difficult, with only *ad hoc* sources of revenue on commercial farms and elsewhere. They could not afford to send their children to school. They had, however, received assistance at the local clinic free of charge. In the past, they had received partial drought relief: the husband had been eligible on the basis of old age, but the wife had not qualified. They were soon to begin to pay development levies of Z$40 to the Council, but they felt that their tenure was not secure enough, nor their land adequate for

---

[39] Quoted in *ZimRights News*, July 1997.
[40] *ZimRights News*, July 1997.

subsistence. The household head attended VIDCO meetings. These, however, were useless to them; the issues on the agenda did not address the particular plight of the 'foreigners'. When asked his opinion about the lack of land redistribution in the country, the father responded: 'the government says there is no land, but I doubt that this is true'. He added that, since the eviction, he had resolved never to vote again.

A second settler, the one who had legally transferred his papers from Murewa to Shamva, could not return to Murewa to seek land, as his legal ties there had been severed upon transfer. He, his wife, and six children did not find land via local kraalheads, but were offered land to lease by a local villager. They were paying Z$1,500 per year. They paid development levies, though they had no land of their own; they paid school fees; they did not pay hospital fees. They were not registered to vote, and had not heard about the constitutional review exercise.

A third settler, the widowed mother of six, stated that she could not access land in her former home in Chidembo, but that she had been allocated land by a kraalhead in a different area without a fee. Her husband, a policeman, had passed away not long before the eviction. The family had received pension money (Z$40,000) from the ZRP, but this was all spent on the building of a new home on their new plot. She would sometimes attend VIDCOs, but not often, because they were of no use to her either. She was aware of the constitutional review process. She was not registered to vote. 'There is no point in voting', she said; 'nothing has changed'.

A fourth settler, member of a three-generation household with three children, stated that, upon eviction, they sought land in a nearby village from a villager. The villager had asked for money, but the settler refused to pay. He stated that they were given land anyway. The exact nature of the tenure arrangement was not readily apparent, though it was clear that relations were tense. The household sold maize and also wove straw mats for sale. They paid school fees and they did not pay hospital fees. They had previously paid Council levies, but had stopped paying because they were not receiving any benefits. Their relations with the local villagers were also poor. He stated that they were not receiving fertiliser and seed, because the locals were deliberately excluding them. He said the locals were relatives of Nicholas Goche, and they regarded the 'foreigners' as 'bad' people, because they had crossed swords with their patron and son. He had stopped going to local meetings. He said he had applied for resettlement, but their names had been removed from the list. He was not registered, but wanted to vote; he had heard of the Constitutional Commission, but had not attended any meetings.

A fifth settler, an aged and retired widower who lived alone, stated that a kraalhead had felt pity for him and had allocated land to him, on which he managed to put a pole-and-dagga home. He had been in Mwoyowamira since 1987. On the day of his eviction, he managed to save

some of his livestock, while the rest was lost. He did not feel that his new neighbours were pleased with his presence. His children worked in Harare and remitted money to him. He had no other sources of revenue. When asked about resettlement, he said he had no tools and was too old to work the land. When asked about responsibility for the lack of resettlement, he hurriedly produced ZANU(PF) membership papers, revealing concern about the true identity of his interviewers.

A sixth settler, an aged man of Malawian origin who lived with his wife, stated that he had paid Z$150 for his new land. His children worked in town, and they remitted money to their parents. He stated that he voted, attended local meetings, and paid a Council development levy of Z$40.

What the Mwoyowamira and post-Mwoyowamira episodes indicate is that contested settlement may have provide 'informal solace', but it was also a temporary and highly insecure one. The settlers may have gained political protection for some time, but this was not guaranteed, and they could, in the long run, become pawns of larger power struggles. They were often treated as 'foreigners', as 'unvirtuous', as 'bad people', and experienced exclusion from community decision-making mechanisms. Their particular concerns – their lack of secure tenure arrangements and their more limited material resources, in terms of farm sizes, tools, and livestock – differed from the established villagers, and these concerns did not enter the local agenda. And their 'foreigness' certainly precludes access to political patrons who might have been able to channel resources their way. They too lived a 'social death'. Their status as 'squatters' was deeply resented and vehemently contested. One of the settlers, expressing the consciousness of many more, responded resolutely to such claims: 'They say we are squatters. *We are not 'squatters'. We are Zimbabweans!'*

7.4   The ZCTU's Engagement with the Rural Peasant-worker

The condition of semi-proletarianisation does not lend itself to unionisation and the cultivation of a unitary peasant-worker identity. The above case studies indicate that explosive grievances animate the countryside, but they are neither organised in a coherent peasant-worker identity nor vented through formal channels of expression. At a basic level, a common experience does exist, understood in terms of the broken promises of national liberation, but beyond that, the rural semi-proletariat is highly fragmented.

The organisational task was undertaken for the first time by the ZCTU in 1999. The ZCTU at this time was at the forefront of oppositional politics, and well-placed to enter into

dialogue with the diversity of workers, to mobilise, and to articulate a unitary class vision nationally and internationally. The centre's outreach to the poorest and most unorganised households in the rural areas thus marked the most significant development in its politics.

The ZCTU began to establish local structures in each of its six regions in April 1999. It was becoming clearer by this time that the ZCTU was going to challenge ZANU(PF) at the polls. It was therefore also becoming clear that a rural outreach programme was urgently needed to strike at the rural base of the ruling party. Local structures were established in growth points, with the objective of inviting 'key' persons – community leaders and teachers – to discuss national problems. Throughout, the organising approach sought to emphasise the peaceful nature of the movement, in a context still overshadowed by the violence of the liberation war and ongoing fear of contravening the ruling party. The Head of the Organising Department of the ZCTU, where the mobilisation programme was headquartered, stressed the importance of this new politics in the countryside. 'ZANU(PF) does not know how to mobilise', he said, 'they use fear, as they did during the war when they mobilised peasants by pointing guns at them'.[41]

With the actual launch of MDC, the organisational effort in the countryside gained momentum. Local structures continued to be established and linked to a hierarchy of MDC structures, from the national level, to the provincial, district, branch, and cell. The branch level was central in organising meetings and mobilising members, and furthermore spearheading the formation of cells in the communal lands. Both branches and cells were structured on the same format, consisting of a chairperson, vice chairs, an information and publicity officer, a treasurer, a women's coordinator, and a youth coordinator. By December 1999 in Shamva, 11 cells had been set up, with a goal of 20. By February 2000, Tsvangirai claimed that the MDC had managed to spread its reach over 60% of the country.[42]

One of the main organisational problems, according to branch leaders in Shamva, was the fear-instilling tactics of ZANU(PF). Intimidation of MDC sympathisers and members was routine, as was the deployment of the CIO at MDC meetings. At an MDC rally in Shamva in early December 1999, the reluctance of people gathered in Wadzanai township to hear MDC leaders speak was palpable; ZANU(PF) had a strong presence of its own at the rally. Eventually, the meeting got off the ground at a town hall, though concern about the ZANU(PF) presence persisted. The issue of intimidation was discussed at the meeting itself, where the MDC officers urged the audience to report all instances of intimidation to the local officers of MDC who would pursue them with the police. A second notable organisational obstacle manifested itself in early

---

[41] Interview with James Makore, Head of Organising Department.
[42] *Zimbabwe Independent*, 4 February 2000.

February 2000 when the Shamva District Chairperson of the MDC was brought before a Shamva magistrate on charges of contravening the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, by uttering statements in public that were 'likely to bring the head of State to hatred or contempt'.[43] At the height of the pre-election land crisis, the situation in the district deteriorated leading to the death of an MDC supporter in Madziwa.

The rural outreach was a landmark in the history of the ZCTU. The question, however, as to whether a working class identity was being cultivated by ZCTU/MDC is answerable in the negative. The MDC speakers at the Shamva rally emphasised that the MDC is a 'workers' party'. But the allusion to workers' solidarity remained rhetorical, as the notion of 'the worker' was articulated in terms other than those pertaining to their relation to employers and landowners – as had been articulated in the *Workers' Participation and Development* manual earlier in the decade. Rather the concept of 'work' was associated with 'suffering'. 'Even if you are working for yourself or your family, you are still working – and suffering'. Speaker after speaker made this connection. The Women's Coordinator appealed to women in similar terms: 'during the war, women cooked for fighters but received no compensation. Today women are selling in the [informal] market, and suffering. Women are suffering the most'. If suffering was the prominent theme in the rally, the source of suffering was identified as ZANU(PF) and its misrule: corruption, the DRC, ESAP, unemployment, elites taking land for themselves, manipulating the constitutional review process. 'Unless we remove ZANU(PF) leaders', the Provincial Chair asserted, 'we will continue to suffer'.

The implication of such an appeal was that political participation of workers in the sphere of production was not made an issue. The issue was framed in terms of reclaiming the state from elected officials who were enriching themselves at the expense of 'the people'. The 'exploiters' were not employers and landowners but those who inhabited public office. The message of the MDC/ZCTU rural outreach was clearly a populist one. To be sure, it was a message that had the potential of striking a chord among many of the rural poor who, as in the case of the squatters, felt that the once revolutionary leadership had failed them. However, the ZCTU was not taking on the task of organising and articulating the disparate grievances of the rural poor on the basis of their exclusion from the means of production; in this sense, the solidarity being cultivated was tailored to the finite project of entering State House.

What is more, the local structures that were being built were to be formally disassociated from the ZCTU as the MDC grew organisationally independent. The hierarchy of organisations

---

[43] *The Daily News*, 4 February 2000.

from the cell to the national level were to belong to MDC in due course.[44] Although it was understood that a ZCTU-MDC partnership would continue for some time in one way or another, it was clear that the ZCTU's direct access to rural households would attenuate and eventually be severed. In this sense, the national centre missed its chance to build an enduring relationship with the countryside.

The implications extend further. This would have been the first large-scale effort by a Southern African trade union centre to establish roots of its own in a rural domain and to claim legitimacy as an oppositional force with a rural base and agenda. The ZCTU had been the nucleus of oppositional politics throughout ESAP, but it had by no means incorporated the rural constituency, nor had it led the debate on a most pressing national issue, that of land reform. Especially in the final years of the decade, the centre's contribution to the land debate was being cast in term of 'bad governance', singling out the stalling of government in the aftermath of the 1998 International Donor's Conference. Importantly, the centre did not issue an independent assessment of the proposed World Bank model of 'community initiated and market assisted' reform. This lack of depth with regards to rural issues proved crucial in the run-up to the elections, as the ruling party reached for the moral high ground on land. The implications extend to the international realm as well. As a civic organisation with a rural and urban social base, the ZCTU would have had unique insight, legitimacy, and research capacity to articulate the connections between land and labour in international politics. That such an insight went missing was evident in the ZCTU's contribution to the regional and global debates over 'social charters', in which the problem of 'labour standards' was de-linked from land reform.

7.5   The Return of High Profile Land Occupations

The stalemate that characterised the state-peasant relationship from the late 1980s came undone in the second half of the 1990s. This period was ushered in by a mass land designation exercise undertaken by government in November 1997 under the Land Acquisition Act (1992), and was followed first by public land occupations on occasion of the International Donors' Conference of September 1998, and then again, in a more sustained manner, in the aftermath of the constitutional referendum of February 2000. The new period of high profile land politics, however, was not precipitated directly by the squatting situation. Labour relations, as we have seen, continued to be highly adversarial in the second half of the decade, despite an attempted rapprochement. Besides the sustained mobilisation by ZCTU, civil servants themselves staged a

---

[44] Interview with Morgan Tsvangirai.

239

nation-wide strike in 1996, the largest in the post-independence period, and this from a sector that was relatively 'trusted' by the state. Meanwhile, industrial action was undertaken in several other industries, and this continued into 1997 when more than 230 strikes were held in 16 sectors – including commercial farming, where farm workers downed tools for the first time. In the midst of this burgeoning legitimacy crisis, war veterans themselves fell out with the higher echelons of the ruling party in July 1997, most immediately over the looting of the state-sponsored War Victims Compensation Fund. The war vets demanded that the state compensate them from the national budget, while, in effect, holding the government hostage by threatening to withdraw security. In the event, President Mugabe conceded to the fiscal outlay. This was followed by the initial step of what turned out to be a re-radicalisation of the land cause, though at this stage it remained driven ambiguously by both popular and black bourgeois interests. In November 1997, the government designated 1471 farms for compulsory acquisition.

The new designations amounted to 5 million hectares of land, or about 40% of the lands in the large-scale commercial farming sector. The lands designated were understood to be derelict, underutilised, in multiple ownership, held by absentee owners, or contiguous to communal areas, and were spread across agro-ecological regions (2.2 million hectares in NR II, 1.1 million in NR III, and 1.7 in NR IV and V). The designations gave renewed impetus to the land debate. The government produced a policy framework for a 'second phase' of the land reform programme (LRRP-2) – the first phase having been that of 1980–97 – which was released in June 1998.[45] The government also commissioned a study in 1998, whose terms of reference had already been discussed and agreed before the designations; this study was designed to move beyond the Land Tenure Commission (which had reported in 1994) and to produce a comprehensive land policy framework paper for discussion with civic organisations and for eventual adoption by government.[46] These moves signalled to civic organisations and donors the government's intentions to implement an orderly reform.

The designation also drew bilateral and multilateral donors into the fray. In the 1990s, alongside the promotion of structural adjustment, there was already an emerging interest among donors in land reform. In 1991, the World Bank accepted for the first time that there was underutilised land in Zimbabwe and that there was 'poverty reduction' merit in land reform, although a land reform programme was not incorporated into structural adjustment.[47] In 1993, Bank staff produced a working paper that was to form the theoretical background to the Bank's

---

[45] Government of Zimbabwe (1998a).
[46] The drafting team was led by Issa G. Shivji and first reported in November 1998; an abbreviated discussion paper was later produced; see Government of Zimbabwe (1999a).
[47] See World Bank (1991b).

new land reform policy world-wide, known as 'community-initiated, market-assisted' (CIMA).[48] Then in 1996, the British ODA conducted a feasibility study of its own in Zimbabwe and recommended land reform on the CIMA basis. The British government went on to rally support among donors towards this end, thereby also steering land acquisition away from the more resolute provisions of the Land Acquisition Act (in terms of compulsory acquisition and partial compensation linked to improvements on the land).[49] The new designations therefore jolted the liberal consensus and forced the position of donors. International appeals for a consultative and accountable reform joined the ongoing domestic ones, a process which culminated in the scheduling of an International Donor's Conference for September 1998, hosted by the auspices of the government.

The scheduling of the conference, in turn, jolted land politics in the rural areas. Indeed, the conference was mediated by the largest high-profile land reform demonstration in the post-independence period. In June 1998, three months prior to the conference, villagers from Svosve in Marondera, Mashonaland East, began to move onto commercial farms in the area with the tacit or explicit support of traditional leaders, local ZANU(PF) leaders, and the War Veterans Association.[50] These occupations received unprecedented media coverage, attracted national politicians to the scene, including Vice President Simon Muzenda, and had a demonstration effect around the country. Following Marondera, occupations spread to Guruve, Makonde, Macheke, Hurungwe, Odzi, and elsewhere. From June onwards, thousands of peasants left their homes to occupy dozens of farms. As Rachael Knight put it, 'land invasion followed land invasion, becoming almost a national movement'.[51]

It is clear that the occupations were initiated form within the ruling party – that is, grassroots circuits of local leaders and war veterans – and were also treated to sympathetic reception at the higher echelons. As President Mugabe exclaimed at the time, 'Why should we use teargas? Why should be use force on our people who are hungry for land?'[52] It is also likely that the invasions were manipulated by the government to put pressure on donors to commit funds; during the conference in September, donor representatives were organised and brought to

---

[48] Recall that in 1993 the Bank went on to publish its own theoretical justification for land reform; see Binswanger, Deininger, and Feder (1993). Significantly, the long absence of a land policy framework at the Bank was justified by the Bank in Harare in terms of the 'polarised' and 'prohibitive' climate of the Cold War, not the Bank's role in it; interview with Rogier van den Brink, Senior Economist/Deputy Resident Representative, World Bank Resident Mission in Zimbabwe.
[49] See Moyo (2000a), ch. 3.
[50] See Knight (1998).
[51] Knight (1998), p. 4.
[52] Quoted in Knight (1998), p. 16; the quote originally appeared in *The Herald*, 26 June 1998.

Svosve 'in a motorcade of white minivans' to speak to the villagers themselves.[53] However, what is also clear is that the invasions gave expression to a local-central government cleavage and the local frustration with central government's handling of reform. Importantly, protest was being pursued under the umbrella of the local ZANU(PF) leadership in order to avoid the kind of repressive response form the central government that would otherwise have been meted out to an 'opposition' group.[54] The invasions also gained a strategic approach over time, targeting properties of persons of influence, such as among the CFU and the black elite. Moreover, the invasions got out of control, insofar as the government was concerned, since, by August, riot police were driving villagers off the farms, and President Mugabe was warning that 'Government will be forced to take action against such people. We admit that we have been slow in implementing the programme but I must tell you resettlement of the land hungry is forthcoming'.[55]

The conference elicited commitments from donors to co-fund with government an 'inception', or trial, phase of acquisition and redistribution, so long as the principle of transparency was upheld and it met poverty alleviation criteria. It was also agreed at the conference that government would 'test' the World Bank's model of reform, the 'community-initiated, market-assisted approach'. Subsequently, the Inception Phase Framework Plan (IPFP) was prepared, deriving from the LRRP-2 and from consultation with civic organisations, to chart a 24-month programme of action for the resettlement of 77,000 families on one million hectares, and this was approved by government in April 1999.[56] The IPFP incorporated the agreement to include CIMA, among state-led methods, while the Bank reciprocated in July by appraising the project towards the commitment of funds.[57] Typically, the Bank was positioning itself so as to steer the land reform programme in its own direction.

In the meantime, however, the government's own approach was getting bogged down. In November 1998, the government de-listed 624 farms of the original 1471 and issued notices for compulsory acquisition to 841 of the farms. Of these, 85 were not contested by their owners, while the filing of the remaining became mired in administrative error and confusion. Thus, by March 1999, government had acquired only 27 farms at market value and in cash at a cost of Z$79 million (Z$38=US$1), and these were to provide the starting point of the inception phase.[58]

---

[53] Knight (1998).

[54] See Knight (1998), p. 26.

[55] Quoted in Knight (1998); the quote originally appeared in *The Herald*, 20 August 1998.

[56] Government of Zimbabwe (1999b).

[57] World Bank (1999).

[58] Moyo (2000c), p. 4.

Over the course of the following months, the inception phase was to continue at a snail's pace, until it ultimately derailed. Neither the government nor the donors provided their share of funding (agreed at 40% each). By February 2000, government had provided no more than 15% of its planned spending, while donors had only made initial disbursements towards technical support. Now reaching for the moral high ground on 'poverty alleviation', donors expressed concern over the government's commitment to 'good governance' and 'the poor', noting specifically the government's ongoing commercial farm scheme through which it leased previously-purchased farms to black commercial farmers.[59]

For its own part, government continued to alienate civil society with heavy-handed tactics. The last two years of the decade, saw national politics reach boiling point with food riots, a national strike, and two stay-aways in protest against run-away inflation, government crack-downs, and the DRC campaign. In 1999, the ZCTU opted for removal of ZANU(PF) by the ballot, seeking electoral reform via the NCA and ultimately forming MDC to contest the parliamentary elections (originally scheduled for April 2000). These events precipitated the demise of the inception phase of the land reform programme. Witnessing its legitimacy evaporate, government sought refuge in the land cause. It repositioned land at the centre of the constitutional question – it inserted in its own draft constitution provisions enabling compulsory acquisition and assigning responsibility for compensation to the former colonial power – as well as its electoral campaign, with the slogan 'land is the economy, the economy is land'. The draft constitution was then struck down at the referendum in February 2000. While the inception phase framework plan had not yet been officially replaced, the 'spirit' of the Donors Conference had obviously gone amiss. The inception phase was then superseded by renewed rural mobilisation and land occupations, led by war veterans.

There is ongoing debate over the nature of the revived land occupations movement and its political language. On the one hand, there have been condemnations of the movement as an 'assault on the state', and of its political language as an 'exhausted', or even a 'new', nationalism.[60] On the other hand, there are those – present author included – that see continuity in the nationalism; and the 'assault on the state' as an assault on the *neo-colonial* state specifically, which holds out the prospect for the national democratic revolution that Zimbabwe never had.[61] This debate will certainly continue. But at this stage, it should suffice to outline the features of the changing political economy.

---

[59] See Moyo (2001b).
[60] Raftopoulos (2001), Alexander (2001), and Bond and Manyanya (2002).
[61] Moyo (2001a).

Following the constitutional referendum, war veterans in Masvingo Province occupied white farms in retaliation against what they saw as political involvement by white farmers in the NCA campaign against the draft constitution. Government enthusiastically endorsed the initiative, which then quickly spread to Manicaland, Mashonaland, and, at a slower pace, in Matabeleland.[62] Occupations peaked around election time in June; it is estimated that they reached between 685 and 900 farms, with Mashonaland at the epicentre. It is further estimated that about 300 of these occupations were marked by violence, including rape, torture, and killings.[63] Farms occupied were owned mainly by whites, as well as, to a much lesser degree, by members of the political elite and other black capitalists. It is generally agreed that, by and large, war veterans provided leadership to the movement through the hierarchy of national, provincial, and district committees of the National Liberation War Veterans Association – while another group of war veterans, under the Liberators' Platform for Peace and Development, distanced themselves from the movement. It is also clear that agencies of the state, including the CIO and defence forces, provided logistical support.

The occupations, however, evolved in a complex way, driven by regional and local particularities, such that dismissal of the movement as a merely 'orchestrated' affair is unfounded. While violence was meted out to those who failed to be convinced by the land campaign, or who stood to lose from it, including farm workers, local communities participated actively (sometimes farm workers themselves) in the occupations, at times even without war veteran leadership; traditional leaders and individual MPs also assumed leadership roles, and in some cases sought to 'formalise' their status by appealing to war veterans. There were also instances of antagonism between local initiatives and the higher echelons of the war veterans' command structure. Land occupations also changed over time in terms of their social base, as urbanites and petty-bourgeois elements entered the fray; and the type of land targeted – the movement expanded from underutilised land to productive land which fit other criteria, such as multiple ownership, foreign ownership, and contiguity to communal areas. Finally, there were also 'opportunistic' elements, claiming to be war veterans, who jumped on the bandwagon to extort money from farmers or poach wildlife and natural resources – which indicated also the loss of control of the movement by war veterans and the ruling party.[64]

Throughout the process, government gazetted legislation which contravened the norms of 'international society' and assaulted the neo-colonial *status quo*. In April 2000, government went

---

[62] On Matabeleland, see Alexander and McGregor (2000).
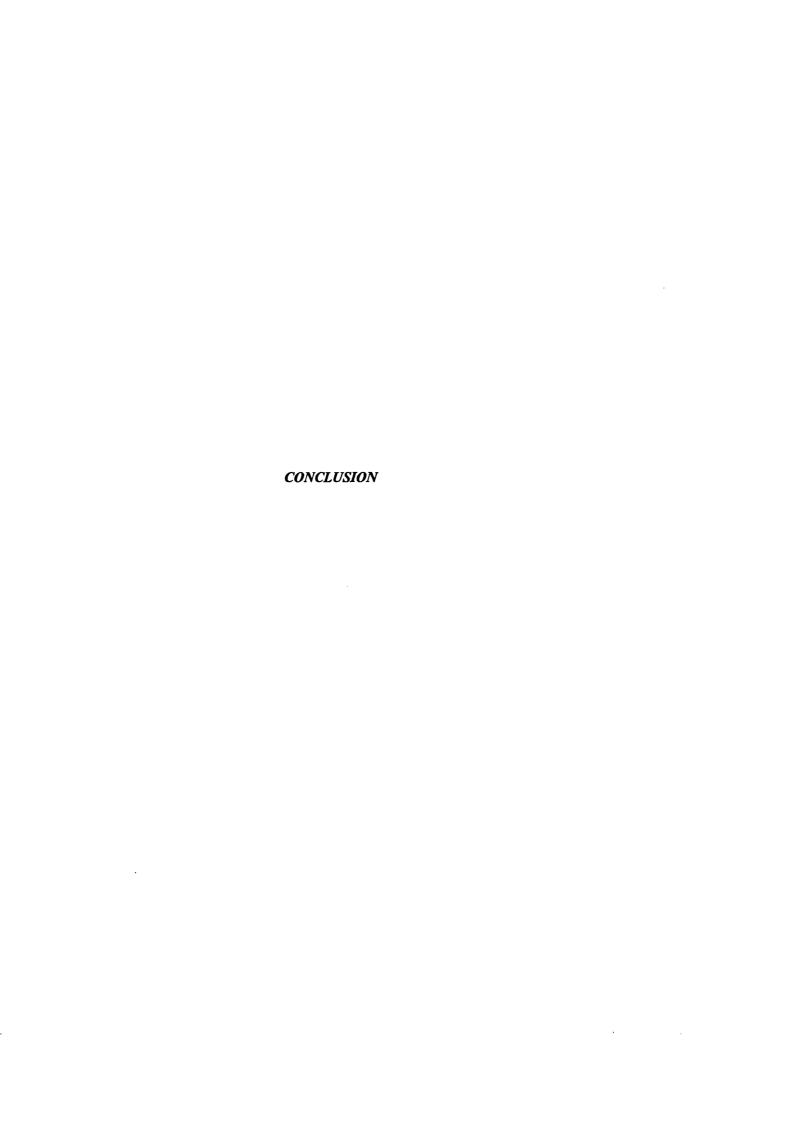[63] Moyo (2001d).
[64] See Moyo (2001a).

ahead with constitutional reforms pertaining to land, by inserting into the constitution provisions for compulsory acquisition with compensation limited to improvements on the land and explicitly relegating any other responsibility for compensation to the UK. Thereafter, by presidential decrees, under the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act – government proceeded to amend the 1992 Land Acquisition Act several times, thereby eliminating the requirement of designation (which legally complicated acquisition), spelled out compensation procedures (staggered payment in cash, bonds or other securities over a five-year period), and removed several other legal and procedural obstacles pertaining to the notification of acquisition and contestation of land. In effect, it sought to remove land reform from the jurisdiction of the courts. With the same logic, it passed the Rural Land Occupiers (Protection from Eviction) Act in July 2001, by which occupiers would be afforded legal protection from eviction. These legislative changes were conducted through repeated confrontation with the High Court and Supreme Court.[65]

Land acquisition entered high gear after the June parliamentary elections, which the ruling party narrowly won; at this juncture, war veterans increased the stakes and denounced the slow pace of government action on land. In turn, government resolved to implement the 'second phase' of land reform and resettlement that had been abandoned, but now on an accelerated pace, code named 'fast track' – whose precedent had been the 'accelerated' resettlement programme of the early 1980s. Under the revived LRRP-2, the initial figure for acquisition was 5 million hectares; this, however, was soon increased drastically. By late 2001, government had acquired 9 million hectares of land, some 4,800 farms, and had re-allocated 7.3 million to 160,000 smallholder families, amounting one million people, on the A1 model (involving inheritable, non-alienable use rights); the rest of the land was allocated to 51,000 small- and medium-scale indigenous commercial farmers on a 99-year leasehold basis.[66] There are also indications that some land was allocated to members of the political elite. Yet, the popular orientation is indisputable: the resettlement numbers are more than double those of the first seventeen years of independence. To be sure, redistribution has not been ideal: evidence suggests that farm workers were displaced in large numbers (estimated at 30,000 families); reportedly, they accounted for only 1.7 per cent of resettled households. Women were also denied proper recognition; while female-headed households constitute about 35 per cent of all households in the country, they accounted only 16 per cent of resettled households.[67]

---

[65] See UNDP (2002), pp. 24–32.
[66] UNDP (2002), pp. 10–15.
[67] UNDP (2002), pp. 35–37.

Alongside large-scale redistribution, government did not relent on its persecution of opposition, including organised labour. Especially on the eve of the Presidential elections of March 2002, government proceeded to enact draconian measures – namely the Public Order and Security Act, in replacement of the colonial Law and Order (Maintenance) Act – against civil expression; this period also saw political violence take another 30 lives. Moreover, government manipulated the electoral process by various means, thereby securing the return of President Mugabe to another term at the helm. Thereafter, government began to take steps to disband the opposition, which included the promotion of ZFTU at the expense of the ZCTU.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 8

'Waiting for the Barbarians'

This thesis has provided an account of the political economy of civilisation, the process through which good citizenship is defined and enforced on a global scale. It has also indicated the conditions for the expansion of the civil domain: this, by necessity, is a global process; it requires the resolution of the agrarian question; and it is a matter of social struggle. In these concluding pages, I summarise the basic arguments before offering some thoughts on the future of Zimbabwe, the meaning of international solidarity, and the nature of a post-liberal civilisation.

8.1   Summary of Arguments

Contemporary democratic theory will continue to obscure the process of social change as long as it fails to theorise (a) the underlining tendencies of a structurally heterogeneous capitalist economy and (b) the global sources of civility and incivility. Global capitalism continues to operate in accordance with the laws of motion of the centre-periphery structure. The main alteration has consisted in the partial disarticulation of the central states and their re-articulation into a 'regionalised triadic bloc structure'. Thus, we may still speak of a periphery: this is sectorally and socially disarticulated; it reproduces semi–proletarianisation on a grand scale; and is exceptionally prone to economic, social, and political crisis. Disarticulated accumulation has been defended by the definition and enforcement of a 'property friendly' civil domain until the 1970s, and a 'market friendly' one thereafter. Both have derived from the changing class balances within the ultra-imperial alliance and the course of the Cold War; they amount to *global* modes of rule, which interact with 'local' social relations in veriable ways.

The obfuscation of the centre-periphery dynamics in the postwar period has been abetted by a body of 'development theory' which has conceived of development as a process of imitation – the 'universal' being claimed by the centre itself – rather than transformation of global social relations, and the centre-periphery relationship in particular. As such, from its inception, development theory has sought to manage the agrarian question without undermining extroverted class alliances across the centre-periphery axis. Indeed, the purpose of 'development theory' has not been 'development' at all, but the management of the centre-periphery relationship itself, from the initial concerns of 'turning peasants into workers' by social engineering, to the 'rural development' turn of the 1970s concerned with subsidising functional dualism on a global scale,

to the period of liberalisation concerned with displacing the 1970s crisis and consolidating politically the disarticulated pattern of accumulation.

The outstanding cases of industrialisation and sustained growth in the periphery, notably East Asia, are to be understood as cases in which the constraints of the centre-periphery relationship have been relaxed for geopolitical ends, or overcome. The evidence of this is to be found as much in the extensive assistance provided to the developmentalist states of the region during the Cold War, as in the assault on these same developmentalist states in the aftermath of the Cold War. It is also to be found in the withholding of such assistance to the rest of the periphery, where the Cold War was successfully managed by a combination of military and less drastic economic means. The case of Zimbabwe provides ample evidence of the development of underdevelopment. Its most impressive growth rates were recorded in the UDI period, when the state effectively delinked from the international law of value while continuing to receive overt and covert support from white supremacist allies. With the onset of neo-colonialism, any politics that sought delinking, whether bourgeois or working class, were systematically sanctioned, while disarticulated class alliances were actively nurtured (the violent process which I have termed 'civilisation'). In Zimbabwe, this process operated with such success that the decision to embark on structural adjustment was taken in the absence of a balance of payments crisis. There may certainly be more cases in the future of sustained accumulation in the periphery (in Zimbabwe or elsewhere), but these will have to be explained again as instances in which the powerful tendencies of the centre-periphery structure have been overcome, not as evidence that these tendencies do not exist.

This brings us to the final point, the importance of a politics that seeks to broaden the civil domain and alter the pattern of accumulation in the periphery in the first instance. The civil domain, by definition, cannot be broadened by civil society. The onus lies on progressive uncivil politics in the periphery, as well as on international solidarity with such politics in the centre. I will elaborate on international solidarity below. Suffice it here to note that the most important economic and political phenomena of the postwar period occurred under pressure from uncivil politics, especially in the course of the Cold War; these would include the abolition of formal imperialism; European reconstruction and integration; the restructuring of East Asian economies in the course of the Chinese revolution; the transformation of feudal-like relations in Latin America on account of the Cuban revolution; and the defeat of white-minority rule in Southern Africa after armed struggle. In the current, post-Cold War period, it is progressive uncivil politics once again, and rural movements in particular, that are challenging the shrunken civil domain of the governance synthesis and seeking to obtain historical movement.

8.2   Zimbabwe's Future

The future is never entirely predictable, of course, but we can still outline the basic features of the present and the conditions of social change. That which is clear at present is that there has been an initial widening of the home market in Zimbabwe through large-scale redistribution of land. This means that there will be a new process of accumulation and new social contradictions. It also means that land tenure will remain in a state of flux, on account of both the 'communalisation' of the large-scale farming sector (in formal terms) and the likely persistence of the commoditisation of communal land (both formally and informally). Below, I outline in schematic terms three scenarios for Zimbabwe; these are not mutually exclusive in their entirety, but they assist us in identifying key political-economic processes.

The first scenario is that of a human catastrophe in Zimbabwe. At the time of writing, Southern Africa is in the midst of severe drought, which has placed a large part of the sub-continental population in danger of starvation (as many as 12 million people) and the cash-strapped states of the region at the mercy of the 'international community'. This applies as much to 'rogue' Zimbabwe, as to the states that have been doing 'the right thing'. Thus far, donor agencies, central states, and multilateral institutions have responded slowly to the call for 'humanitarian assistance'; some (most prominently USAID and the IMF) have sought to instrumentalise Zimbabwe's unfolding famine so as to exact property- and market-friendly concessions. This scenario synergises most ominously with the AIDS pandemic (national HIV/AIDS rates in the region range between 20 and 30 per cent), as weakened populations succumb to the virus, or as destitute women resort to prostitution and acquire the virus; both AIDS and the food crisis have now been declared national disasters. The catastrophic scenario has raised fears in some quarters of a 'complex emergency'. While criminality will certainly increase, civil war is unlikely as long as the state retains the monopoly of violence and no external interference occurs, whether overt or covert.

The second scenario is that of 'neo-colonisation', following on the heels of the initial attack on the neo-colonial state. There is a real possibility that the rural households that have been allocated land will not be able to pursue sustainable farming, given the lack of infrastructure for petty-commodity production and social reproduction more generally in the 'fast-tracked' lands; drought and famine are themselves undermining the land reform. The land that has been allocated may be alienated quite rapidly and re-concentrate in the hands of larger-scale capitalists. This would entail a re-shrinking of the home market, to the extent that it could cancel out the prospect

250

of 'accumulation from below'. It would also herald the emergence of a powerful black agrarian bourgeoisie in a more or less direct replacement of the white agrarian bourgeoisie. The neo-colonisation scenario would then see the black bourgeoisie find its place in a disarticulated pattern of accumulation and reproduce functional dualism in its extreme forms. Importantly, such a turn of events is being actively encouraged by the donor community by the withholding of funds for land reform; at present, Zimbabwe's shift towards introverted accumulation is under international sanctions. In the political sphere, neo-colonisation would find two bourgeois parties competing in parliament (ZANU(PF) and MDC), propagating two bourgeois nationalisms (one black and one 'multi-racial'), and arguing over who can better manage the economy. It is possible that, in the medium term, the members of the capitalist class will 'bury the hatchet' and begin a new 'reconciliation', given that the basic inter-capitalist conflict of the 1990s has largely been resolved through land redistribution; how such a reconciliation will play out in an MDC-controlled Matabeleland is as dangerous and unpredictable as ever. Finally, neo-colonisation would set out once again on the civilisation of opposition under both the state and international labour, though possibly with each patronising its own trade union centre (the ZFTU and ZCTU, respectively). Likewise, the rural areas would be demobilised, either through ruling party structures, or through chiefs (whose jurisdiction could be extended to the new resettlement areas). This would mean a highly fractured semi-proletariat; and it would also see the security agencies of the state continue to be deployed against the disenfranchised.

The third scenario is that of 'accumulation from below'. This depends on the political strength of the semi-proletariat vis-à-vis the forces of imperialism. This scenario would see the semi-proletariat compel (a) the state to remain engaged in the economy, to continue to control current and capital accounts, and to coordinate inter-sectoral relations for a dynamic pattern of articulated accumulation, delinked from international prices; and (b) the donor community to re-engage with the land reform process over an extended period of time to ensure that the requisite economic and social infrastructure in the fast-tracked lands are established. It is clear that the donor community, and the World Bank's model of land reform in particular, have been shaken by the eruption of the land question in Zimbabwe, and some donors (like the UNDP) are looking for ways to re-engage.[1] The key issues in any rapprochement between Zimbabwe and the donors would be Zimbabwe's debt and its model of development. The ruling party at present is staunchly resisting any return to liberalisation; while the IMF is refusing to re-engage on any other terms. In this scenario, Zimbabwe could seek to split the donor community and continue to occupy a tense

---

[1] The sending of a fact-finding mission in late 2001, whose interim report was cited in the previous chapter, has been part of a process aiming to re-establish informed policy dialogue.

status between civility and incivility in the development order, unless this order itself begins to move beyond liberalism. The desirability of the 'accumulation from below' scenario lies in both its economic and political potential. With a broader economic base and with a state nurturing introverted accumulation, Zimbabwe could very well realise a national democratic revolution, in which the private sector would be pried open, accumulation through the state and corruption would recede, landlordism would dissipate, and class differences would become more clearly expressed within Zimbabwean nationalism. It ought to be noted that this third scenario would still exhibit violent tendencies, quite possibly of the 'schizophrenic' type witnessed in the 1980s; certainly, the ruling party would continue to pursue its own divide-and-rule tactics vis-à-vis the semi-proletariat.

The onus is on the semi-proletariat and its agencies; as before, neo-colonisation would be a reflection of the organisational weakness and divisions of the semi-proletariat and the preponderant power of imperialism. The semi-proletariat must resist the divide-and-rule tactics of the state by seeking to form rural-urban alliances while always keeping civil society at bay. This objective requires a significant identity change on the part of both the ZCTU and the war veterans' association. The ZCTU has now seen the consequences of forming a political party instead of consolidating a peasant-worker alliance; and it is now also being undermined by the ZFTU. The ZCTU would have to begin to withdraw from its cross-class alliances and devote itself once again to trade union activity; it would also have to reassess its relationship to the rural areas by (a) unionising the new rural proletariat and (b) seeking alliances with rural movements; moreover, it would have to distance itself from the social democracy of the ICFTU (and the 'good governance' doctrine generally). For their own part, the war veterans would have to decide how to relate to a mobilised countryside that is now facing famine. Under the worst of circumstances, the rural movements must resist demobilisation from the higher echelons of the ruling party, while the war veterans must now consider cultivating class alliances beyond ZANU(PF), nationally, regionally, and internationally; this process must bring about formally organised political movements with democratic structures that can sustain political struggle over the long term. The ideal situation in the foreseeable future might consist in a strategic alliance between a re-radicalised ZCTU and a war veterans association that is willing to consolidate the rural semi-proletariat, rein in opportunistic violence, and resist the embourgeoisement of the ruling party.

8.3   On International Solidarity

The onus for bringing about peripheral accumulation is on international labour as well. Peripheral accumulation requires solidarity of a different kind, which the ICFTU has not been inclined to provide. We have seen that the tripartite model of industrial relations which the ICFTU defends has been crafted to the needs of securely employed workers located mainly in the industrial centres. This means not only that it is inappropriate for the insecure workers of the centres, but also that it is Eurocentric in its essence, by virtue of separating out 'industrial relations' from 'agrarian relations' and thereby eliding the agrarian question. The semi-proletariat – the bulk of the world's labour force – straddles these two domains, and has grievances that arise from both the workplace (wages, conditions of employment) and the family farm (land shortage, security of tenure). These grievances do not see the light of day under tripartism. International solidarity requires, first, that 'the worker' is re-defined in a more universal way; and, second, that tripartism is abolished.

The latter requirement entails the supersession of 'social democratic' internationalism. The meaning of social democracy may have changed over the last century, reaching its apogee within the central economies in the nationalist period, but it has always actively sought the disarticulation of the periphery and has fed off its underdevelopment. The social democracy of the post-1970s crisis has assumed markedly new fundamentals: it abandoned the substantive issues of the past (for example, the principle of full employment) and it largely embraced procedural democracy (as reflected in the basic ILO conventions, which together comprise the 'social clause'). The crisis of the 1970s could have acted as a stimulus towards international solidarity against imperialism, but under the leadership of organised metropolitan labour, it led to a new labour imperialism wedded to liberal democracy. The new liberal convictions were potent enough for the ICFTU to take a firm stance on apartheid, but were not prepared to see to the transformation of apartheid-era patterns of accumulation; indeed, soon after the end of apartheid, South Africa embarked on liberalisation. Thereafter, the social democratic vision of the ICFTU proved benign enough to international capital to be taken on board by the ultra-imperial alliance (notably, in the course of the 'social clause' debate at the WTO). We have yet to see a social democratic vision that is not imperialist.

In the periphery, the meaning of social democracy remains obscure. It has not produced any discernible tradition; neither neo-colonial nation-building, nor specific expressions of it, like Peronism, fit comfortably into the category. In the 1990s, peripheral social democrats have generally been coopted into the ICFTU's project. To be sure, on the issue of the social clause, a

difference between North and South has been expressed, but this has amounted to a rejection of the ICFTU orthodoxy rather than the formulation of a substantive peripheral alternative. In this regard, those who still wish to claim a place for social democracy in the periphery must articulate a vision that reflects the semi-proletarianised reality of the peripheral labour force. To be sure, modernisation theories, such as articulated by the ZCTU in the mid-1990s, do not confront the power relations of the global political economy.

Herein lies the importance of uncivil rural movements today. Through direct action they pose fundamental challenges to the closures of tripartism and social democracy, and are therefore the primary source of the expansion of the civil domain. This, of course, is not to be idealised in any way. Uncivil politics, whether of the 'everyday' or well-organised variety, have their costs in terms of insecurity and loss of life. Moreover, they have suffered defeat after defeat, as the civil domain has proceeded to shrink rather than expand with the onset of the governance synthesis. Yet, as we have seen, uncivil politics cannot be underestimated either, for the major events of the postwar period cannot be understood in the absence of uncivil agency. In the present juncture, uncivil politics are once again knocking on the door, unsettling the ultra-imperial closures, expanding and consolidating their positions, challenging civil society to take note, even sweeping civil society aside – as in Zimbabwe.

International solidarity would consist in the nurturing of rural-urban alliances that challenge the logic of disarticulated accumulation in the first instance. Such a political re-orientation would require a fundamental transformation of metropolitan trade unionisms, but also peripheral ones, like those of the ZCTU and SATUCC, which have sought a niche in the social democratic world. A re-orientation of this sort remains more plausible in the periphery, given that the survival of social democratic trade unions can be at stake when they fail to take note of the realities of semi-proletarianisation (Zimbabwe being a case in point). In the event that new peripheral trade unionisms emerge in response to the uncivil challenge, they will enter into direct conflict with the centrally-based international trade unionism of the day. And in such an event, the splitting of the International along the centre-periphery axis should be seriously considered, if only as a stepping stone to a more universalist internationalism in the future. The organisational unity of the working class is not an institutional requirement but a political project.

8.4   Beyond Liberalism

Despite claims of a 'post-Washington consensus', the global order is still dominated by a liberal consensus, whose foundation is the ultra-imperial alliance. The consensus, however, is on much

shakier ground today: a quarter-century of liberalisation has been inflaming the deep contradictions of the global economy and inducing diverse oppositional politics, from militant rural movements in the periphery and 'anti-globalisation' protests at the centre, to fundamentalisms and neo-fascisms. It is no surprise that the ultra-imperial alliance is increasingly resorting to its military power to maintain its position, while also seeking a substitute for the Cold War system by invoking new 'evils' and new crusades, as against 'terror'.

Thus far, the 'war on terror' has served well to brigade the alliance partners into line, and is likely to continue to do so. At a time when the US economy is operating with an expanding trade deficit, the US leadership will continue to seek to discipline its partners by stressing their military dependence, even increasing their insecurity by rattling sabres against the new 'evils' – placing North Korea in the 'axis of evil', for example, destabilised the delicate diplomacy of the Korean peninsula and reminded Japan of its security dependence. If, in the 1990s, the US-led alliance thrived on the chaos of the new financial regime, it is possible that it will now thrive also on the 'security chaos' of 'terrorism'.

The 'war on terror' has also had palpable disciplinary effects on social protest by squeezing all violence around the world into the category of 'terrorism'. Thus, in its second meeting (2002), the new World Social Forum, designed as a counter-point to the World Economic Forum, renounced armed struggle.[2] What we are in fact witnessing is a further specification of the meaning of 'incivility' in light of the proliferation of social protest and civil strife. In the postwar period, the 'uncivil' domain expanded under ultra-imperial auspices from the 'property unfriendly' to the 'market unfriendly'; the latter was honed in the 'governance synthesis' of the 1990s. The new category of 'terror' is now serving to complement the governance synthesis by formulating a concerted policy (morally and militarily) towards the militant incivilities that it produces.

It has been suggested that the way out of the present impasse lies in the consolidation of the European Union and its assertion against the United States; entailed in this argument is the belief that a strong EU would temper the unilateral excesses of the United States and also the virulent liberalism of the Dollar-Wall Street regime.[3] In other words, it is suggested that the way to a post-liberal order is through a new inter-imperial rivalry. It is by no means clear, however, that a European re-assertion will not simply lead to a new ultra-imperial accommodation. And it is certainly clear that any social democratic compromise that emanates from the EU will not be

---

[2] See http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br.
[3] Gowan (1999).

prepared to dissolve the centre-periphery relationship. The only hope resides in social struggle that places the agrarian question at the centre of the agenda.

Without the ability to specify the post-liberal civilisation with any certainty – 'the owl of Miverva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk'[4] – we may sketch its essential features. This civilisation will be neither 'post-Westphalian' nor 'post-national', even if a post-liberal transition succeeds in consolidating and democratising the institutions of global government. To this day, the state remains a fundamental juridical pillar of global government, and although it co-exists with the EU and international law-making bodies like the WTO, it is far from being eclipsed by them. We may recall that the rise of global government has stood on the back of the nation-state, allocating responsibility for adjustment nationally and deepening its multilateral corollary (by means of 'surveillance' decisions). It did not dare sweep the principle of national self-determination aside just two decades after decolonisation; instead, it instrumentalised national self-determination by emasculating its ends and means.

Any post-liberal transition will have to continue to weave the national question into its fabric. More than this, any attempt to dislodge the national question from the moral centre of global civilisation must be staunchly resisted, as this would constitute a fundamental triumph of imperialism. We have seen that essential to the legitimation of imperialism is its ability to claim universality and, accordingly, to render development and underdevelopment in the periphery in terms of successful 'imitation' or a stubborn 'failure to imitate' – the latter being typically attributed to 'local' social and political 'traits'. Under imperialism, the meaning of 'development' may have changed over time, but its Eurocentrism has not; as Amin astutely observes, it continues 'to consort with its damned soul: ineradicable racism'.[5] So long as imperialism exists, therefore, the national question must remain alive.

---

[4] Hegel (1952), p. 13
[5] Amin (1989), p. 77.

APPENDIX: FIELDWORK QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Profile of Respondents

1.   Household: Male-headed_____ Female-headed_____ Size_____

2.   Individual: Male_____ Female_____ Age_____

3.   Previous location of work/residence:_____

4.   Occupational status:
        Communal area farmers:_____
        Retrenched mine workers:_____
        Retrenched farm workers:_____
        Retired mine workers:_____
        Retired farm workers:_____
        Ex-combatants:_____
        Other:_____

5.   Assets owned:
        Livestock:_____
        Equipment:_____

6.   Sources of income:_____

7.   Nationality:_____ Ethnicity:_____

8.   Education (years completed):_____

II. Profile of Land

1.   Who owns the land? State:_____ CA:_____ LSCF:_____

2.   What kind of land is it?
        Arable:_____
        Grazing_____
        Wildlife:_____
        Other:_____

III. Nature of Demands

1.   What kind of land is sought and for what uses?
        Farming:_____
        Grazing:_____
        Residence:_____
        Gold Panning:_____
        Woodfuel:_____
        Game:_____
        Other:_____

2. What kind of tenure is sought?
        Communal:_____
        Individual title:_____

3. What other resources and services do you expect from government?
        Health provision:_____
        School:_____
        Sanitation facilities:_____
        Agricutlural extension:_____
        Credit:_____

4. What response is sought from government by the occupation of land?
        No response is sought:_____
        Resettlment:_____ If so, where:_____
        Formalised tenure *in situ*:_____
        Other:_____

5. What response is anticipated?
        Recognition of demands:_____
        Dialogue towards solution:_____
        Eviction:_____
        Arrest:_____
        Physical violence:_____
        No response is anticipated:_____
        Other:_____

IV. Politics, Institutions and Representation

1. In your opinion, why has resettlement or secure tenure not been achieved?

2. Who do you hold responsible for failure to secure tenure/resettlement?

3. Do you participate in local meetings?

4. To what extent has the occupation of land been organised collectively?

5. Are local representatives and institutions being accessed?

6. Are you registered to vote in the national elections next year?

7. Have you attended constitutional review meetings? If so, which (CC or NCA)?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Published Sources

Adler, Glenn and Eddie Webster (1999), 'The Labour Movement, Radical Reform and the Transition to Democracy in South Africa', in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, edited by Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Alexander, Jocelyn (1991), 'The Unsettled Land: The Politics of Land Redistribution in Matabeleland, 1980-1990', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17: 4: 581–610.

Alexander, Jocelyn (1995), 'Things Fall Apart, The Centre *Can* Hold: Processes of Post-War Political Change in Zimbabwe's Rural Areas', in *Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War, Volume II*, edited by Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Alexander, Jocelyn, JoAnn McGregor and Terence Ranger (2000), *Violence and Memory: One Hundred Years in the 'Dark Forests' of Matabeleland*, Oxford, Portsmouth, NH, Capetown, and Harare: James Currey, Heinemann, David Philip, and Weaver Press.

Amin, Samir (1976), *Unequal Development*, translated by Brian Pearce, Sussex: The Harvester Press.

Amin, Samir (1989), *Eurocentrism*, translated by R. Moore, London: Zed Books.

Amin, Samir (1997), *Capitalism in the Age of Globalisation*, London: Zed Books.

Anonymous Correspondent (1991), 'Towards Worker-Controlled Internationalism', *South African Labour Bulletin*, 15: 7: 32–39.

Arnaiz, Maria (1998), 'Coping with Economic Structural Adjustment: Farmer Groups in Shamva District', in *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Arrighi, Giovanni (1973a), 'Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianization of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia', in *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul, New York, NY, and London: Monthly Review Press.

Arrighi, Giovanni (1973b), 'The Political Economy of Rhodesia', in *Essays in the Political Economy of Africa*, Giovanni Arrighi and John S. Saul, New York, NY, and London: Monthly Review Press.

Arrighi, Giovanni and John S. Saul (1973), *Essays in the Political Economy of Africa*, New York, NY, and London: Monthly Review Press.

Augelli, Enrico and Craig Murphy (1988), *America's Quest for Supremacy and the Third World: A Gramscian Analysis*, London: Pinter Publishers.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1984), 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, edited by M. Holquist, translated by C. Emmerson and M. Holquist, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bangura, Yusuf and Peter Gibbon (1992), 'Adjustment, Authoritarianism and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Introduction to Some Conceptual and Empirical Issues', in *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*, edited by Peter Gibbon, Yusuf Bangura and Arve Ofstad, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Baran, Paul A. (1957), *The Political Economy of Growth*, New York, NY: Monthly Review.

Barth, Fredrik, editor (1969), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Bates, Robert, editor (1989), *Toward a Political Economy of Development: A Rational Choice Perspective*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Bates, Robert (1981), *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press.

Bates, Robert (1989), *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bates, Robert H. (1995), 'Social Dilemmas and Rational Individuals', in *The New Institutional Economics and Third World Development*, edited by John Harriss, Janet Hunter and Colin M. Lewis, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Bauer, P.T. (1976), *Dissent on Development*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Bayart, Jean-Francois (1993), *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, trans. M. Harper, C. and E. Harrison, London and New York, NY: Longman.

Beckman, Björn (1992), 'Empowerment or Repression? The World Bank and the Politics of African Adjustment', in *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*, edited by Peter Gibbon, Yusuf Bangura and Arve Ofstad, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Bell, C.L.G. (1974), 'The Political Framework', in *Redistribution with Growth*, Hollis Chenery, Montek S. Ahluwalia, C.L.G. Bell, John H. Duloy, and Richard Jolly, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bello, Walden (1998), 'East Asia: On the Eve of the Great Transformation?', *Review of International Political Economy*, 5: 3: 424–44.

Berdal, Mats and David Keen (1997), 'Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars: Policy Implications', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 26: 3: 795–818.

Bernal, Martin (1987), *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation: Volume I, The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785-1985*, London: Free Association Books.

Bernstein, Henry, editor (1996), *The Agrarian Question in South Africa*, London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Bernstein, Henry (1990), 'Agricultural "Modernisation" and the Era of Structural Adjustment: Observations on Sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 18: 1: 3–25.

Bernstein, Henry (2000), '"The Peasantry" in Global Capitalism: Who, Where, and Why?', in *The Socialist Register 2001: Working Classes, Global Realities*, edited by Leo Panitch and Colin Leys, London: The Merlin Press.

Bernstein, Henry and Bonnie Campbell, editors (1985), *Contradictions of Accumulation in Africa*, Beverly Hills, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Bernstein, Henry, Ben Crow, Maureen Mackintosh, and Charlotte Martin, editors (1990), *The Food Question: Profits versus People?*, London: Earthscan.

Bhagwati, Jagdish N. (1977), 'Introduction', in *The New International Economic Order*, edited by Jagdish N. Bhagwati, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bhagwati, Jagdish N. (1984), 'Rethinking Global Negotiations', in *Power, Passions, and Purpose: Prospects for North-South Negotiations*, edited by Jagdish N. Bhagwati and John Gerard Ruggie, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bhagwati, Jagdish (1988), *Protectionism*, London and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Bhagwati, Jagdish N. and John Gerard Ruggie, editors (1984), *Power, Passions, and Purpose: Prospects for North-South Negotiations*, Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Binswanger, Hans P., Klaus Deininger and Gershon Feder (1993), 'Power, Distortions, Revolt, and Reform in Agricultural Land Relations', *Policy Research Working Paper Series*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Birmingham, David and Terence Ranger (1983), 'Settlers and Liberators in the South', in *History of Central Africa, Volume II*, edited by David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin, London and New York, NY: Longman.

Blackhurst, Richard (1998), 'The Capacity of the WTO to Fulfil its Mandate', in *The WTO as an International Organization*, edited by Anne O. Krueger, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Bond, Patrick (1998), *Uneven Zimbabwe: A Study of Finance, Development, and Underdevelopment*, Trenton, NJ, and Asmara: Africa World Press.

Bond, Patrick (1999), 'Grassroots Struggles: Beyond Blueprints for Economic Strategies', *The Journal on Social Change and Development*, 46: 4–10.

Bond, Patrick (2000), *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*, London, Sterling, VA, and Scottsville: Pluto Press and University of Natal Press.

Bond, Patrick (2001), 'Radical Rhetoric and the Working Class during Zimbabwean Nationalism's Dying Days', in *Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post-colonial State in Zimbabwe, 1980–2000*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Lloyd Sachikonye, Harare: Weaver Press.

Bond, Patrick and Masimba Manyanya (2002), *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, Scottsville, London, and Harare: University of Natal Press, The Merlin Press, and Weaver Press.

Booth, David (1985), 'Marxism and Development Sociology: Interpreting the Impasse', *World Development*, 13: 7: 761–87.

Borras, Satumino M. (1998), 'The Bibingka Strategy to Land Reform and Implementation: Autonomous Peasant Mobilizations and State Reformists in the Philippines', *Working Paper Series No. 274*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Brass, Tom (1992), 'Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re)Emergence of a (Post) Modernised (Middle) Peasant', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 18: 2: 173–205.

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle (1997), *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bratton, Michael (1994), 'Micro-Democracy? The Merger of Farmer Unions in Zimbabwe', *African Studies Review*, 37: 1: 9–37.

Bratton, Michael (1987), 'The Comrades and the Countryside: The Politics of Agricultural Policy in Zimbabwe', *World Politics*, 39: 2: 174–202.

Brewer, Anthony (1990), *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, Second Edition, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Brittain, Julie and Brian Raftopoulos (1997), 'The Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1965–1980', in *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–97*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Ian Phimister, Harare: Baobab Books.

Bull, Hedley and Adam Watson, editors (1984), *The Expansion of International Society*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bull, Hedley (1995), *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Busch, Gary K. (1983), *The Political Role of International Trades Unions*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Buttel Frederick H. (1990), 'Biotechnology and Agricultural Development in the Third World', in *The Food Question: Profits versus People?*, edited by Henry Bernstein *et al.*, London: Earthscan.

Byres, T.J. (1991), 'The Agrarian Question and Differing Forms of Capitalist Agrarian Transition: An Essay with Reference to Asia', in *Rural Transformation in Asia*, edited by Jan Breman and Sudipto Mundle, Oxford, Delhi, and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto (1979), *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, translated by M.M. Urquidi, Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Carr, Edward Hallett (1945), *Nationalism and After*, London: Macmillan.

Carter, Michael R. and Ramón Salgado (2001), 'Land Market Liberalisation and the Agrarian Question in Latin America', in *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action*, edited by Alain de Janvry, Gustavo Gordillo, Jean-Philippe Plateau, and Elisabeth Sadoulet, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cavafy, Constantine P. (1981), 'Waiting for the Barbarians', in *Voices of Modern Greece*, edited and translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Channock, Martin (1985), *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chatterjee, Partha (1993), *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Post-colonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chenery, Hollis (1974), 'Introduction', in *Redistribution with Growth*, Hollis Chenery, Montek S. Ahluwalia, C.L.G. Bell, John H. Duloy, and Richard Jolly, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chimombe, Theresa (1986), 'Foreign Capital', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Chossudovsky, Michel (1998), *The Globalisation of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms*, London and New York, NY: Zed Books.

Christodoulou, Dimitrios (1989), *The Unpromised Land: Agrarian Reform and Conflict Worldwide*, London: Zed Books.

Chung, Fay (1988), 'Education: Revolution or Reform?', in *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Race, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Stoneman, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.

Clarke, D.G. (1980), *Foreign Companies and International Investment in Zimbabwe*, London and Gwelo: Catholic Institute for International Relations and Mambo Press.

Cliffe, Lionel (1988), 'Zimbabwe's Agricultural 'Success' and Food Security', *Review of African Political Economy*, 43: 4–25.

Cohen, Robin (1991), *Contested Domains: Debates in International Labour Studies*, London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Zed Books.

Corbridge, Stuart (1990), 'Post-Marxism and Development Studies: Beyond the Impasse', *World Development*, 18: 5: 623–39.

Cornia, Giovanni Andrea, Richard Jolly, and Frances Stewart, editors (1987), *Adjustment with a Human Face, Volume I, Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cox, Robert (1977), 'Labor and Hegemony', *International Organization*, 31: 3: 385–424.

Cox, Robert (1987), *Production, Power and World Order*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Cox, Robert (1999), 'Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order', *Review of International Studies*, 25: 1: 3–28.

Crosby, Alfred W. (1986), *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

263

Cumings, Bruce (1998), 'The Korean Crisis and the End of 'Late' Development', *New Left Review*, 231: 43–72.

De Janvry, Alain (1981), *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America*, Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

De Janvry, Alain and Elisabeth Sadoulet (1989), 'A Study in Resistance to Institutional Change: The Lost Game of Latin American Land Reform', *World Development*, 17: 9: 1397–1407.

De Janvry Alain, Elisabeth Sadoulet, and Wendy Wolford (2001), 'The Changing Role of the State in Latin American Land Reforms', in *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action*, edited by de Janvry *et al.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

De Janvry, Alain, Gustavo Gordillo, Jean-Philippe Plateau, and Elisabeth Sadoulet, editors (2001), *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Deininger, Klaus (2001), 'Negotiated Land Reform as One Way of Land Access: Experiences from Colombia, Brazil, and South Africa', in *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action* edited by de Janvry *et al.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diamond, Larry (1987), 'Class Formation in the Swollen African State', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25: 4: 567–96.

Dicken, Peter (1998), *Global Shift: Transforming the World Economy*, Third Edition, London: Paul Chapman Publishing.

Eichengreen, Barry (1996), *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Eley, Geoff (1994), 'Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century', in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Cambridge, MA, and London: The MIT Press.

El-Ghonemy, M. Riad (1999), 'The Political Economy of Market-based Land Reform', *Discussion Paper No. 104*, Geneva: UNRISD.

Escobar, Arturo (1995), *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Feder, Ernest (1976), 'The New World Bank Programme for the Self-Liquidation of the Third World Peasantry', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 3: 3: 343–54.

First, Ruth (1983), *Black Gold: The Mozambican Miner, Proletarian and Peasant*, Brighton: Harvester.

Frank, Andre Gunder (1967), *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York, NY, and London: Monthly Review Press.

Friedmann, Harriet (1993), 'The Political Economy of Food: A Global Crisis', *New Left Review*, 197: 29–57.

Fröbel Folker, Jürgen Heinrichs, and Otto Kreye (1980), *The New International Division of Labour*, translated by P. Burgess, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fukuyama, Francis (1989), 'The End of History?', *National Interest*, 16: 3–18.

Gaidzanwa, R.B. (1998), 'Cross-border Trade in Southern Africa: A Gendered Perspective', in *Labour Markets and Migration Policy in Southern Africa*, edited by Lloyd Sachikonye, Harare: SAPES Trust.

Gibbon, Peter and Michael Neocosmos (1985), 'Some Problems in the Political Economy of "African Socialism"', in *Contradictions of Accumulation in Africa*, edited by Henry Bernstein and Bonnie Campbell, Beverly Hills, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Gibbon, Peter (1992), 'Structural Adjustment and Pressures Towards Multipartyism in Sub-Saharan Africa', in *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa*, edited by Peter Gibbon, Yusuf Bangura, and Arve Ofstad, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Gibbon, Peter (1993), 'The World Bank and the New Politics of Aid', *European Journal of Development Studies*, 5: 1: 35–62.

Gibbon, Peter (1995), 'Introduction: Structural Adjustment and the Working Poor in Zimbabwe', in *Structural Adjustment and the Working Poor in Zimbabwe: Studies on Labour, Women Informal Sector Workers and Health*, edited by Peter Gibbon (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Gibbon, Peter, editor (1995), *Structural Adjustment and the Working Poor in Zimbabwe: Studies on Labour, Women Informal Sector Workers and Health*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

Gowan, Peter (1999), *The Global Gamble*, London and New York, NY: Verso.

Gramsci, Antonio (1971), 'State and Civil Society', *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gwaunza, Elizabeth (1998), 'The Impact of Labour Migration on Family Organisation in Zimbabwe', in *Labour Markets and Migration Policy in Southern Africa*, edited by Lloyd Sachikonye, Harare: SAPES Trust.

Habermas, Jürgen (1989), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, translated by T. Burger, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Haggard, Stephen and Sylvia Maxfield (1996), 'The Political Economy of Financial Liberalization in the Developing World', in *Internationalization and Domestic Politics*, edited by Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, Fred (1996), *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, London and New York, NY: I.B. Tauris.

Harriss, John (1987), 'Capitalism and Peasant Production: The Green Revolution in India', in *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Second Edition, edited by Shanin Teodor, Oxford and New York, NY: Basil Blackwell.

Harvey, Neil (1998), *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy*, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hegel, G.W.F. (1952), *Philosophy of Right*, translated by T.M. Knox, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hegel, G.W.F. (1975), *Natural Law*, translated by T.M. Knox, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hegel, G.W.F. (1977), *Phenomenology of Spirit*, translated A.V. Miller, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helleiner, Eric (1995), 'Explaining the Globalisation of Financial Markets: Bringing States Back In', *Review of International Political Economy*, 2: 2: 315–41.

Hirst, Paul and Grahame Thompson (1999), *Globalization in Question*, Second Edition, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Honneth, Axel (1995), *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflict*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Huntington, Samuel (1993), 'The Clash of Civilisations?', *Foreign Affairs*, 27: 3: 22–49.

Hyden, Goran and Michael Bratton, editors (1992), *Governance and Politics in Africa*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner.

Hyman, Richard (1999), 'Five Alternative Scenarios for West European Unionism', in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, edited by Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Isaacman, Allen F. (1993), 'Peasants and Rural Social Protest', in *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalism World System in Africa and Latin America*, Frederick Cooper, Allen F. Isaacman, Florencia E. Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Jackson, Robert (1990), *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, John H. (1998), 'Designing and Implementing Effective Dispute Settlement Procedures: WTO Dispute Settlement Appraisal and Prospects', in *The WTO as an International Organization*, edited by Anne O. Krueger, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Chalmers (1993), 'History Restarted: Japanese-American Relations at the End of the Century', in *Pacific Economic Relations in the 1990s: Cooperation or Conflict?*, edited by Richard Higgott, Richard Leaver, and John Ravenhill, St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

Kadhani, Xavier M. (1986), 'The Economy: Issues, Problems and Prospects', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Kautsky, Karl (1970), 'Ultra-Imperialism', *New Left Review*, 59: 41–46.

Kautsky, Karl (1988), *The Agrarian Question*, translated by P. Burgess, London and Winchester, MA: Zwan.

Kay, Cristóbal (2000), 'Conflict and Violence in Rural Latin America', *Working Paper Series No. 312*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Kay, Cristóbal (1998), 'The Complex Legacy of Latin America's Agrarian Reform', *Working Paper Series No. 268*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Keohane, Robert O. (1984), *After Hegemony*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Killick, Tony and Jennifer Sharpley (1984), 'Extent, Causes and Consequences of Disequilibria in Developing Countries', in *The Quest for Ecnonomic Stabilization: The IMF and the Third World*, edited by Tony Killick, London: Overseas Development Institute.

Kooijmans, Joost, David Tajgman, and Aurelio Parisotto (1996), *Labour Standards in Export Processing Zones: A Southern African Perspective*, Policy Paper Series No. 1, Harare: ILO/SAMAT.

Krasner, Stephen (1985), *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Krieger, Norma (1992), *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices*, Cambridge and Harare: Cambridge University Press and Baobab.

Krueger, Anne O., editor (1998), *The WTO as an International Organization*, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Kuusinen, O., editor (1961), *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Lal Das, Bhagirath (1999), *The World Trade Organisation: A Guide to the Framework for International Trade*, London, New York, NY, and Penang: Zed Books and Third World Network.

Lal, Deepak (1997), *The Poverty of 'Development Economics'*, Second Edition, London: The Institute of Economic Affairs.

Lambert, Rob and Eddie Webster (1988), 'The Re-emergence of Political Unionism in Contemporary South Africa?', in *Popular Struggles in South Africa*, edited by William Cobbett and Robin Cohen, London: *Review of African Political Economy*, in association with James Currey.

Lan, David (1985), *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Lenin, V.I. (1996), *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chicago, IL, and London: Junius Publications and Pluto Press.

Lenin, V.I. (1964), *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Second Edition, Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Léons, Madeline Barbara and Harry Sanabria (1997), *Coca, Cocaine, and the Bolivian Reality*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York.

Levin, Richard and Daniel Weiner (1996), 'The Politics of Land Reform in South Africa after Apartheid: Perspectives, Problems, Prospects', in *The Agrarian Question in South Africa*, edited by Henry Bernstein, London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Lewis, W. Arthur (1958), 'Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour', in *The Economics of Underdevelopment*, edited by A.N. Agarwala and S.P. Singh, New Delhi, Oxford, and New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

Leys, Colin (1996), *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*, London, Bloomington, IN, and Nairobi: James Currey, Indiana University Press, East African Educational Publishers.

Linklater, Andrew (1998), *The Transformation of Political Community: Ethical Foundations of the Post-Westphalian Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lipton, Michael (1976), *Why Poor People Stay Poor: A Study of Urban Bias in World Development*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Loewenson, René and David Sanders (1988), 'The Political Economy of Health and Nutrition', *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Race, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Stoneman, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.

Low, D.A. and J.M. Lonsdale (1976), 'Introduction: Towards a New Order, 1945–1963', in *History of East Africa, Volume III*, edited by D.A. Low and Alison Smith, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Maier, Charles S. (1977), 'The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II', *International Organization*, 31: 4: 607–33.

Mamdani, Mahmood (1996), *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Mandaza, Ibbo, editor (1986), *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Mandaza, Ibbo (1986a), 'The Political Economy of Transition', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Mandaza, Ibbo (1986b), 'The State and Politics in a Post-White Settler Colonial Situation', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA

Marx, Karl (1975), 'Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State', in *Early Writings*, Karl Marx, introduced by Lucio Colletti, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Marx, Karl (1970), *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Marx, Karl (1976), *Capital, Volume I*, London: Penguin Books.

Masuko, Louis, editor (1998), *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Masuko, Louis (1998), 'The Institutional and Economic Interface between Small Towns and Rural Economy', *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Matanda, Margaret and Petronella Jeche, 'Impact of the Economic Structural Adjustment on Agricultural Marketing Activities and Systems in a Rural Economy: The Case of Shamva', in *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies, 1998.

Matshe, Innocent (1998), 'Labour Allocation in Smallholder Agriculture in Shamva District: A Household Economic Approach', in *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Mayall, James (1990), *Nationalism and International Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McMichael, Philip (1997), 'Rethinking Globalization: The Agrarian Question Revisited', *Review of International Political Economy*, 4: 4: 630–62.

McMichael, Philip and David Myrhe (1991), 'Global Regulation vs. The Nation-State: Agro-Food Systems and the New Politics of Capital', *Capital and Class*, 43: 83–105.

Mihyo, Paschal and Freek Schiphorst (1995), 'A Context of Sharp Economic Decline', in *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*, edited by Henk Thomas, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Miller, David (1995), *On Nationality*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Milner, Helen V. (1988), *Resisting Protectionism: Global Industries and the Politics of International Trade*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mlambo, A.S. (2000a), 'Manufacturing in Zimbabwe, 1980–90', in *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, A.S. Mlambo, E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Mlambo, A.S. (2000b), 'The Manufacturing Sector under ESAP, 1991–95', in *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, A.S. Mlambo, E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Mlambo, A.S., E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister (2000), *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Mosley, Paul, Jane Harrigan, and John Toye (1995), *Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policy-Based Lending, Volume I, Analysis and Policy Proposals*, Second Edition, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Moyo, Sam (1995a), *The Land Question in Zimbabwe*, Harare: SAPES Books.

Moyo, Sam (1995b), 'A Gendered Perspective on the Land Question', *SAFERE*, 1: 1: 13–31.

Moyo, Sam, Prosper B. Matondi, and Nelson Marongwe (1998), 'Land Use Change and Communal Land Tenure under Stress: The Case of Shamva District', in *Economic Policy*

Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Moyo, Sam (1999), *Land and Democracy in Zimbabwe,* Monograph Series, Harare: SAPES Books.

Moyo, Sam (2000a), *Land Reform under Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: Land Use Change in the Mashonaland Provinces,* Uppsala: Nordiska Africainstitutet.

Moyo, Sam (2001a), 'The Land Occupation Movement and Democratisation in Zimbabwe: Contradictions of Neoliberalism', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies,* 30, 2: 311–30.

Mumbengegwi, Clever (1986), 'Continuity and Change in Agricultural Policy', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986,* edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Munck, Ronaldo and Peter Waterman (1999), *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order,* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Ndlela, Daniel B. (1986), 'Problems of Industrialisation', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986,* edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Neocosmos, Michael (1993), *The Agrarian Question in Southern Africa and 'Accumulation from Below',* Uppsala: Nordiksa Afrikainstitutet.

Nogués, Julio J. (1998), 'The Linkages of the World Bank with the GATT/WTO', in *The WTO as an International Organization,* edited by Anne O. Krueger, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

North, Douglass C. (1981), *Structure and Change in Economic History,* New York, NY: Norton.

North, Douglass C. (1990), *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Brien Robert (2000), 'Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement', *Review of International Studies,* 26: 4: 533–55.

O'Brien Robert, Anne Marie Goetz, Jan Aart Scholte, and Marc Williams (2000), *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olson, Gary (1974), *US Foreign Policy and the Third World Peasant: Land Reform in Asia and Latin America,* London and New York, NY: Praeger Publishers.

Oman, Charles P. and Ganeshan Wignaraja (1991), *The Postwar Evolution of Development Thinking,* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Palmer, Robin (1977), *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia,* London, Ibadan, Nairobi, Lusaka: Heinemann.

270

Pangeti, E.S. (2000), 'The Economy under Siege: Sanctions and the Manufacturing Sector, 1965-1979', in *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, A.S. Mlambo, E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Patnaik, Utsa (1990), 'Some Economic and Political Consequences of the Green Revolution in India', in *The Food Question: Profits Versus People?*, edited by Bernstein *et al.*, London: Earthscan.

Pauly, Louis W. (1997), *Who Elected the Bankers? Surveillance and Control in the World Economy*, Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press.

Petras, James (1997), 'Latin America: The Resurgence of the Left', *New Left Review*, 223: 17–47.

Phimister, Ian (1988), *An Economic and Social History of Zimbabwe, 1890–1948*, London and New York, NY: Longman.

Phimister, Ian (1993), 'Rethinking the Reserves: Southern Rhodesia's Land Husbandry Act Reviewed', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19: 2: 225–39.

Phimister, Ian and Charles Van Onselen (1997), 'The Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–1945', in *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–97*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Ian Phimister, Harare: Baobab Books.

Phimister, Ian (2000a), 'The Origins and Development of Manufacturing in Southern Rhodesia, 1894–1939', in *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, A.S. Mlambo, E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Phimister, Ian (2000b), 'From Preference Towards Protection: Manufacturing in Southern Rhodesia, 1940–1965', in *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890–1995*, A.S. Mlambo, E.S. Pangeti, and I. Phimister, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.

Polak, Jacques J. (1994), *The World Bank and the IMF: A Changing Relationship*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Popkin, Samuel L. (1979), *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, and London: University of California Press.

Powelson, John P. (1984), 'International Public and Private Agencies', in *International Dimensions of Land Reform*, edited by John D. Montgomery, Boulder, CO, and London: Westview Press.

Prebisch, Raúl (1959), 'Commercial Policy in the Underdeveloped Countries', *American Economic Review*, 49: 2: 251–73.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1992), 'Beyond the House of Hunger: Democratic Struggle in Zimbabwe', Parts I and II, *Review of African Political Economy*, 54: 59–74 and 55: 57–66.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1997), 'The Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1945–1965', in *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–97*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Ian Phimister, Harare: Baobab Books.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1999a), 'Problematising Nationalism in Zimbabwe: A Historiographical Review', *Zambezia*, 26: 2: 115–33.

Raftopoulos, Brian and Ian Phimister, editors (1997), *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–97*, Harare: Baobab Books.

Raftopoulos, Brian and Lloyd Sachikonye, editors (2001), *Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post-colonial State in Zimbabwe, 1980–2000*, Harare: Weaver Press.

Raftopoulos, Brian and Tsuneo Yoshikuni, editors (1999), *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History*, Harare: Weaver Press.

Raikes, Philip and Peter Gibbon (2000), '"Globalisation" and African Export Crop Agriculture', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 27: 2: 50–93.

Ramalho, José Ricardo (1999), 'Restructuring of Labour and Trade Unions in Brazil', in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, edited by Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Ranger, T.O. (1967), *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896–97*, London: Heinemann.

Ranger, T.O. (1970), *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia*, London: Heinemann.

Ranger, Terence (1985), *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Riddell, Roger C. (1990), 'Zimbabwe', in *Manufacturing Africa: Performance and Prospects of Seven Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Roger C. Riddell, London and Portsmouth, NH: James Currey and Heinemann.

Roessler, Frieder (1998), 'Domestic Policy Objectives and the Multilateral Trade Order: Lessons from the Past', in *The WTO as an International Organization*, edited by Anne O. Krueger, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Roseberry, William (1993), 'Beyond the Agrarian Question in Latin America', in *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labor, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America*, Frederick Cooper, Allen F. Isaacman, Florencia E. Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steve J. Stern Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rosenau, James N. (1992), 'Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics', in *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, edited by James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rostow, W.W. (1990), *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Third Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rothstein, Robert (1979), *Global Bargaining: UNCTAD and the Quest for a New International Economic Order*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ruggie, John G. (1982), 'International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order', *International Organization*, 36: 2: 379–415.

Ruggie, John Gerard (1984), 'Another Round, Another Requiem?', in *Power, Passions, and Purpose: Prospects for North-South Negotiations*, edited by Jagdish N. Bhagwati and John Gerard Ruggie, Cambridge, MA: MIT.

272

Ruggie, John Gerard (1993), 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution', in *Multilateralism Matters*, edited by John Gerard Ruggie, New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Rupert, Mark E. (1995), '(Re)Politicising the Global Economy: Liberal Common Sense and Ideological Struggle in the US–NAFTA Debate', *Review of International Political Economy*, 2: 4: 658–92.

Rutherford, Blair (2001), *Working on the Margins: Black Workers, White Farmers in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe*, Harare, London, and New York, NY: Weaver Press and Zed Books.

Sachikonye, Lloyd (1998), 'Rethinking about Labour Markets and Migration Policy in a New Era', in *Labour Markets and Migration Policy in Southern Africa*, edited by Lloyd Sachikonye, Harare: SAPES Trust.

Sachikonye, Lloyd (1986), 'State, Capital and Trade Unions', in *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition, 1980–1986*, edited by Ibbo Mandaza, Dakar: CODESRIA

Said, Edward W. (1979), *Orientalism*, New York, NY: Random House.

Schmidt, Elizabeth (1990), 'Negotiated Spaces and Contested Terrain: Men, Women, and the Law in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890–1939', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16: 4: 622–48.

Schultz, Theodore W. (1964), *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*, London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Schuurman, Frans J., editor (1993), *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Scott, James C. (1976), *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press.

Scott, James C. (1985), *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press.

Shadur, Mark A. (1994), *Labour Relations in a Developing Country: A Case Study on Zimbabwe*, Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Avebury.

Shanin, Teodor, editor (1987), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Second Edition, Oxford and New York, NY: Basil Blackwell.

Sholte, Jan Aart (2000), 'Civil Society and the Democratisation of the Fund', in *Poverty in World Politics: Whose Global Era?*, edited by Sarah Owen Vandersluis and Paris Yeros, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Sibanda, Arnold (1988), 'The Political Situation', in *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Race, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Stoneman, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.

Skålnes, Tor (1995), *The Politics of Economic Reform in Zimbabwe*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Sklair, Leslie (1988), 'Transcending the Impasse: Metatheory, Theory, and Empirical Research in the Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment', *World Development*, 16: 6: 697–709.

Smith, Anthony D. (1986), *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Blackwell.

So, Alvin Y. and Stephen W.K. Chiu (1995), *East Asia and the World Economy*, Thousand Oaks, CA, London, and New Delhi: Sage.

Southall, Roger (1988), 'Introduction', in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialisation of the Third World*, edited by Roger Southall, London, Ottawa, and Pittsburgh, PA: Zed Books, University of Ottawa Press, and University of Pittsburgh Press.

Southall, Roger (1995), *Imperialism or Solidarity? International Labour and South African Trade Unions*, Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press.

Spalding, Hobart A., Jr. (1988), 'US Labour Intervention in Latin America: The Case of the American Institute for Free Labour Development', in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialisation of the Third World*, edited by Roger Southall, London: Zed Books.

Stewart, Frances and Willem van der Geest (1995), 'Adjustment and Social Funds: Political Panacea or Effective Poverty Reduction?', in *Adjustment and Poverty: Options and Choices*, edited by Frances Stewart, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Stoneman, Colin and Lionel Cliffe (1989), *Zimbabwe: Politics, Economics and Society*, London and New York, NY: Pinter Publishers.

Stoneman, Colin, editor (1988), *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Race, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.

Stoneman, Colin (1989), 'The World Bank and the IMF in Zimbabwe', in *Structural Adjustment in Africa*, edited by Bonnie K. Campbell and John Loxley, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Stopford, John M. and Susan Strange (1991), *Rival States, Rival Firms: Competition for World Market Shares*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strange, Susan (1985), 'Protectionism and World Politics', *International Organization*, 39: 2: 233–59.

Strange, Susan (1986), *Casino Capitalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Strange, Susan (1988), *States and Markets*, Second Edition, London: Pinter Publishers.

Strange, Susan (1998), *Mad Money*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sutcliffe, Bob (1999), 'The Place of Development in Theories of Imperialism and Globalization', in *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to a New Paradigm*, edited by Ronaldo Munck and Denis O'Hearn, London and New York, NY: Zed Books.

Swinnen, Johan F.M. (2001), 'Transition from Collective Farms to Individual Tenures in Central and Eastern Europe', in *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action*, edited by de Janvry *et al.* , Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sylvester, Christine (2000), *Producing Women and Progress in Zimbabwe: Narratives of Identity and Work from the 1980s*, Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Szelényi, Iván (1998), 'Introduction', in *Privatizing the Land: Rural Political Economy in Post-Communist Societies*, edited by Iván Szelényi, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Tandon, Yash (1999a), *Globalization and Africa's Options*, Harare: International South Group Network.

Tandon, Yash (2001), 'Trade Unions and Labour in the Agricultural Sector in Zimbabwe', in *Striking Back: The Labour Movement and the Post-Colonial State in Zimbabwe, 1980–2000*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Lloyd Sachikonye, Harare: Weaver Press.

Taylor, Charles (1989), *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, Henk (1995), 'The Erosion of Trade Unions', in *Globalization and Third World Trade Unions: The Challenge of Rapid Economic Change*, edited by Henk Thomas, London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Thompson, E.P. (1980), *The Making of the English Working Class*, London: Penguin Books.

Thompson, Carol B. (1985), *Challenge to Imperialism: The Frontline States in the Liberation of Zimbabwe*, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.

Thomson, Don and Rodney Larson (1978), *Where Were You, Brother? An Account of Trade Union Imperialism*, London: War on Want.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1984), *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Dialogical Principle*, translated by W. Godzich, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Todorov, Tzvetan (1984), *The Conquest of America*, translated by R. Howard, New York, NY: Harper and Row Publishers.

Toye, John (1994), 'Structural Adjustment: Content, Assumptions, Origin and Diversity', in *Structural and Beyond in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Rolph van der Hoeven and Fred van der Kraaij, Hague, London, and Portsmouth, NH: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, James Currey, and Heinemann.

Toye, John (1987), *Dilemmas of Development: Reflections on the Counter-Revolution in Development Theory and Policy*, Oxford and New York, NY: Basil Blackwell.

Tsvangirai, Morgan (1997), Preface, in *Keep on Knocking: A History of the Labour Movement in Zimbabwe, 1900–97*, edited by Brian Raftopoulos and Ian Phimister, Harare: Baobab Books.

Van der Pijl, Kees (1984), *The Making of an Atlantic Ruling Class*, London: Verso.

Van der Pijl, Kees (1998), *Transnational Classes and International Relations*, London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Van Onselen, Charles (1976), *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900–1933*, Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Veltmeyer, Henry, James Petras, and Steve Vieux (1997), *Neoliberalism and Class Conflict in Latin America*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Vines, David (1998), 'The WTO in Relation to the Fund and the Bank: Competencies, Agendas, and Linkages', in *The WTO as an International Organization*, edited by Anne O. Krueger, Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Wade, Robert (1996), 'Japan, the World Bank, and the Art of Paradigm Maintenance: *The East Asian Miracle* in Political Perspective', *New Left Review*, 217: 3–36.

Wade, Robert (1990), *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Wade, Robert and Frank Veneroso (1998a), 'The Asian Crisis: The High Debt Model versus the Wall Street–Treasury–IMF Complex', *New Left Review*, 228: 3–22.

Wade, Robert and Frank Veneroso (1998b), 'The Gathering World Slump and the Battle over Capital Controls', *New Left Review*, 231: 13–42.

Walker, R.B.J. (1988), *One World, Many Worlds: Struggles for a Just World Peace*, Boulder, CO, and London: Lynne Rienner and Zed Books.

Walter, Andrew (1991), *World Power and World Money: The Role of Hegemony and International Monetary Order*, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wangel, Arne (1988), 'The ILO and Protection of Trade Union Rights: The Electronics Industry in Malaysia', in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialisation of the Third World*, edited by Roger Southall, London: Zed Books.

Waterman, Peter (1998), *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms*, London and Herndon, VA: Mansell.

Watts, Michael (1990), 'Peasants under Contract: Agro-Food Complexes in the Third World', in *The Food Question: Profits versus People?*, edited by Henry Bernstein *et al.*, London: Earthscan.

Weiner, Dan, Sam Moyo, Barry Munslow, and Phil O'Keefe (1985), 'Land Use and Agricultural Productivity in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 23: 2: 251–52.

Weir, Andy (1986a), 'How the US tries to Buy African Unions', *International Labour Reports*, 15: 20–22.

Weir, Andy (1986b), 'Africa Divides: African Union Unity Collapses with a Shove from the US', *International Labour Reports*, 15: 19–20.

Wekwete, Naomi (1998), 'Implications of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme on Population and Environment: The Case of Shamva', in *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*, edited by Louis Masuko, Harare: Institute of Development Studies.

Wolf, Eric R. (1969), *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*, New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Wolford, Wendy (2001), 'Case Study: Grassroots-initiated Land Reform in Brazil: The Rural Landless Workers' Movement', in *Access to Land, Rural Poverty, and Public Action*, edited by Alain de Janvry *et al.*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wood, Brian (1988), 'Trade-Union Organisation and the Working Class', in *Zimbabwe's Prospects: Issues of Race, Class, State and Capital in Southern Africa*, edited by Colin Stoneman, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers.

Wyatt-Walter, Andrew (1996), 'The United States and Western Europe: The Theory of Hegemonic Stability', in *Explaining International Relations since 1945*, edited by Ngaire Woods, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yeros, Paris (1999), 'Towards a Normative Theory of Ethnicity', in *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa*, edited by Paris Yeros, London: Macmillan Press.

ZCTU (1996), *Beyond ESAP: Framework for a Long-term Development Strategy in Zimbabwe Beyond the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme*, Harare: ZCTU

ZCTU (1998), *Globalisation: Effects and Challenges*, Harare: ZCTU.

ZCTU (1993), *Workers' Participation and Development: The ZCTU Perspective – A Manual for Workers' Education*, Harare: ZCTU.

ZCTU (1989), *ZCTU on the New Investment Code: Its Implications to National Independence and the Position and Conditions of the Working People*, Harare: ZCTU.

Zishiri, O.J. (1998), *An Inquiry into the Squatter Problem and Possible Solutions in Mashonaland West Province*, Working Paper No. 4, Economic Advisory Project, Harare: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

Newspaper Articles

Kanyenze, Godfrey (1998b), 'Review of 1998/99 Collective Bargaining', *The Worker*, No. 61, August.

Mutambanengwe, Jean (1997), 'Will There Ever Be A Woman ZCTU President?', *The Worker*, No. 45, April.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1999c), 'Whither the National Constitutional Assembly?', *The Zimbabwe Mirror*, 5–11 November.

Tandon, Yash (1999b), 'Stay Out of Politics, ZCTU Warned', *The Worker*, No. 69, June.

Tsvangirai, Morgan (1993), 'ESAP and Democracy – Unions as a Vital Organ of Democracy', *The Worker*, No. 3, May.

Unpublished Sources

Alexander, Jocelyn and JoAnn McGregor (2000), 'Elections, Land and the Politics of Opposition in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe', mimeo.

Alexander, Jocelyn (2001), '"Squatters", Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe', mimeo.

277

Alexander, Jocelyn (1993), 'The State, Agrarian Policy and Rural Politics in Zimbabwe: Case Studies of Insiza and Chimanimani Districs, 1940–1990', D.Phil., Oxford University.

Allen, Thomas W. (1999), 'Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: The World Bank Perspective', paper prepared for the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI) First Forum, Harare, 2 September.

Kanyenze, Godfrey, ZCTU Economics Department (no date), 'SADC and the Lome Convention: The Way Forward – Background Information', mimeo.

Kanyenze Godfrey (1996), 'Labour Markets and Employment During ESAP', mimeo.

Kanyenze, Godfrey (1998a), 'Engendering Budgets in the Zimbabwean Context', paper presented at the Women's Budget Workshop organised by UNIFEM, 9 November.

Kanyenze, Godfrey (1999a), 'Problems of International Trade Liberalisation and Labour Standards – Zimbabwe's Perspectives', paper presented at the ZIMTRADE, Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung and LOTRU National Workshop on 'WTO – Seattle – Multilateral Trade Negotiations: What are Zimbabwe's Interests and Concerns?', Harare International Conference Centre, 26 October.

Kanyenze, Godfrey, ZCTU Economics Department (1999b), 'Way Forward on Structural Adjustment: A Review of the World Bank's Perspective', mimeo.

Kanyenze, Godfrey (2000), 'The Privatisation and Commercialisation of State (Public) Enterprises in Zimbabwe', mimeo.

Knight, Rachael (1998), 'Zimbabwe's 1998 Land Invasions: An Investigation into the Grassroots Politics of Land Redistribution and Resettlement', mimeo.

Lastra, Rosa M. (2001), 'IMF Conditionality', paper presented at the conference in Tribute to Sir Joseph Gold, Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, London, 1–2 June.

Moyo, Sam (no date), 'ESAP, Land Policy, and Land Markets', mimeo.

Moyo, Sam (2000b), 'The Land Question in Southern Africa', Concept Paper for the SARIPS Land Research Programme.

Moyo, Sam (2000c), 'Framework for Economic Reform Policy Formulation in Zimbabwe: Past, Present and Future', a synopsis paper intended as a review of the World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy, the Government's Millennium Recovery Programme and an emerging strategy for Official Development Assistance, SARIPS mimeo.

Moyo, Sam (2000d), 'The Interaction of Market and Compulsory Land Acquisition Processes with Social Action in Zimbabwe's Land Reform', paper presented at the SARIPS of the SAPES Trust Annual Colloquium on 'Regional Integration: Past, Present, and Future', Harare Sheraton Hotel and Towers, 24-27 September.

Moyo, Sam (2001b), 'The Interaction of Market and Compulsory Land Acquisition Processes with Social Action in Zimbabwe's Land Reform', public lecture, *Millennium* Lecture Series, London School of Economics, 2 May.

Moyo, Sam (forthcoming), 'Peasant Organisations and Contradictions of Rural Civil Society in Africa: An Introduction', in *Peasant Organisations and Change in Rural Africa*, edited by Sam Moyo and Ben Romadhane, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Moyo, Sam and Ben Romadhane, editors (forthcoming), *Peasant Organisations and Change in Rural Africa*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1996), 'Labour Internationalism and Problems of Autonomy and Democratisation in the Trade Union Movement in Southern Rhodesia', mimeo.

Raftopoulos, Brian (1999b), 'The State, Politics and the Indigenisation Process in Zimbabwe: Class Formation Behind Closed Doors: 1990–96', mimeo.

Raftopoulos, Brian (2001), 'The State in Crisis: Authoritarian Nationalism, Selective Citizenship, and Distortions of Democracy in Zimbabwe', mimeo.

Sachikonye, L.M. (1996), 'The State and the Union Movement in Zimbabwe: Co-optation, Conflict, and Accommodation', mimeo.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. (1998), 'More Instruments and Broader Goals: Moving Toward the Post-Washington Consensus', WIDER Annual Lecture, Helsinki, 7 January.

Torres, Liv (1997), 'Strength and Challenges of Labour in Southern Africa', paper presented at SATUCC Labour Symposium, Durban, South Africa, 24–26 November.

UNDP/UNCTAD (2000), *Zimbabwe: Globalization, Liberalization and Sustainable Human Development*, Country Assessment Report, first draft, mimeo.

Zimbabwe's Debt Crisis and its Impact on Development (1999), Workshop Proceedings 26, 9–11 May, Harare: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.

Official Publications

Government of Zimbabwe (1991), *Framework for Economic Reform, 1991–95*, Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe (1998a), *Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase II: A Policy Framework and Project Document*, Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.

Government of Zimbabwe (1998b), *ZIMPREST: Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation, 1996–2000*, Harare: Government Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Lands and Agriculture (1999a), *National Land Policy Framework Paper*, November.

Government of Zimbabwe (1999b), *Inception Phase Framework Plan, 1999 to 2000: An Implementation Plan of the Land Reform and Resettlement Programme, Phase II*, Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.

Land Tenure Commission (1994), *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Appropriate Land Tenure Systems, Volume 1*, Harare: Government Printers.

UNDP (1999), *Human Development Report 1999: Globalization with a Human Face*, Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

UNDP, Poverty Reduction Forum, and IDS (1998), *Zimbabwe Human Development Report 1998*, Harare: UNDP, PRF, and IDS.

UNDP (2002), *Zimbabwe: Land Reform and Resettlement: Assessment and Suggested Framework for the Future*, Interim Mission Report, January.

World Bank (1975), *The Assault on Poverty*, London and Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

World Bank (1981), *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (1986), *Zimbabwe: Land Subsector Study*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (1989), *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth: A Long-Term Perspective*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (1990), *World Development Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

World Bank (1991a), *World Development Report*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the World Bank.

World Bank (1991b), *Zimbabwe: Agricultural Sector Memorandum*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank (1992), *Governance and Development*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank (1993), *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1995), *World Development Report 1995: Workers in an Integrating World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (1999), *Project Appraisal Document on Zimbabwe Land Reform Support Project*, Report No. 19618-ZW, July.

Ministry of Local Government Archives (Harare)

Squatter Control File

Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (1988), *Discussion Paper on Squatter Policy*, Memorandum, 15 August, Ref: C/54/10.

Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (1992), *Local Authority Circular No. 160*, to Local Authorities, Provincial Administrators, and District Administrators, 6 October.

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions Archives (Harare)

Behind the Strike: The 1996 Public Sector Strikes (1996), a study commissioned by the ZCTU with FES support, Harare, December.

Chibatwa, G., G. Peta, and M. Ncube (1993), *Trade Unions in Zimbabwe: Results of a Country-wide Survey*, Harare.

Godana, Tekaligne and Ben Hlatshwayo (1997), *Privatisation and Commercialisation of Public Enterprises: A Study Commissioned by the ZCTU and FES*, Harare.

Kudenga and Co., Chartered Accountants, Zimbabwe (1997), *Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions Amalgamated Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December 1997.*

Mihyo, Paschal and Glyn Powell (1997), *Evaluation of the OATUU/ZCTU/ISS/FNV/APADEP Programme in Zimbabwe.*

Minutes of SATUCC Strategic Planning Meeting, 14 July 1996.

Minutes of the SATUCC Finance and Administrative Committee Meeting, 14 May 1994, Lilongwe, Malawi.

Peta Gregory, Gift Chibatwa, Etwell Whanya, Trust Ngirandi, and Douglas Phiri (1991), *An Organisational Survey of Five Trade Unions in Zimbabwe*, ed. Yash Tandon, Harare: Zimababwe Congress of Trade Unions.

Pswarai, Miriro (1992), paper presented at the 1st Constituted Women's Conference, ZCTU, Chinhoyi, 9-13 November.

Record of Discussions held at SATUCC Sub-Office, Kitwe, Zambia, April 14, 1994.

SATUCC 5th Delegates Congress, Johannesburg, November 1994.

SATUCC National Congress Resolutions, 6th National Congress, 26–27 November 1998.

SATUCC Position on Productivity (1997), prepared by Godfrey Kanyenze, ZCTU Economics Department, May.

SATUCC Position on the SADC Trade Protocol (1997), prepared by Godfrey Kanyenze, ZCTU Economics Department, May.

SATUCC Proposal for Support of a Strategic Agenda for Trade Union Cooperation in Southern Africa, 1999–2001.

SATUCC Statement (1996), *Regional Economic Integration or Disintegration – What Future for SADC?*

SATUCC Women's Committee Report (1997), compiled by Miriro Pswarai, SATUCC Women's Committee Secretary.

SATUCC, Annual Progress Report, 1993.

SATUCC, Annual Report, 1996/97.

Secretary General's Proposals on the ZCTU Five Year Development Plan (1988), presented at the ZCTU seminar on 'Strategies for Mobilising and Decisive Action', Mutare, 5–9 December.

Secretary General's Report to SATUCC Executive Council Meeting, 25 August 1998, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Secretary General's Report, SATUCC Executive Council, 26 July 1997, Gaborone, Botswana.

Sibanda, Arnold (1996), *Workers Participation Development Programme: A Report on Research Findings from the 1993, 1994 and 1995 Educational Seminar Surveys, No. 1*, prepared for the ZCTU General Council Policy Workshop, Jamaica Inn, Bulawayo, 24–27 July.

Statement of African Civil Society on the Third Ministerial Conference of WTO (1999), OXFAM-Trade Unions Workshop on 'Trade and Investment in the New Millennium', Johannesburg, 11–13 October.

Statement of SATUCC Trade Unionists and Social Movement Activists on the Seattle Ministerial (1999), OXFAM-Trade Unions Workshop on 'Trade and Investment in the New Millennium', Johannesburg, 11–13 October.

Staying Away To Move Forward: A Report on the National Stay-Away (1998), *March 3 and 4, 1998*, a study commissioned by the ZCTU and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Harare, June.

ZCTU Position on Export Processing Zones (1998), paper prepared by Godfrey Kanyenze for the Tripartite Review of Export Processing Zones as a Development Strategy for Zimbabwe, November.

ZCTU Economics Department (1999), *Position Paper on the 1999/2000 Collective Bargaining Process*, June.

ZCTU Press Release (1998), 'Highlight of Events Leading to the Withdrawal of ZCTU from the National Economic Consultative Forum', 12 February.

ZCTU Subscription Roster for 1999.

ZCTU, *Strategy Document for the 1990 Congress*.

Chaminuka Rural District Council Archives (Chikanda, Shamva)

Mwoyowmira Eviction File

Chaminuka Rural District Council, *Mwoyowamira Squatters Report: Shamva Distict*, (no date).

Chaminuka Rural District Council, *Squatter Report and Update: Mwoyowamira Grazing Scheme Area* (no date).

Chimhini, David (1996), Executive Director, ZimRights, to The Minister of Local Government and Urban Development, 19 April.

District Development Fund (1996), Record of Meeting Held on 16 April in Director Operations' Office on the Proposed Eviction of 400-500 Families from Moyowamira Area under Chief Mutumba in the District of Shamva.

Minutes of the District Squatter Control Committee Held at Dora Bridge with The Squatters (1996), 9 April.

Mugabe, Makusha (1996), Information Officer, ZimRights, to the District Administrator, Shamva, 26 May.

Musimbe , I. (1996), McNaught Wickwar, to Chaminuka Rural District Council, 26 March.

Office of the District Administrator to the Provincial Administrator (1996), 23 April.

Interviews

Bruk-Jackson, Mr., Owner of Lion's Den Estate, 30 August 1999.

Chirebvu, Galileo, Head of Accounts Department (ZCTU), 3 November 1999.

French, Guy, Chairperson of Pote Valley Farmers' Association, 8 September 1999.

Gwiyo, Collen, Secretary General, Zimbabwe Bank Workers Union (ZIBAWU), 19 January 2000.

Kanyenze, Godfrey, Chief Economist (ZCTU), various occasions, October 1999 to April 2000.

Peter Maregere, Legal Officer, ZimRights, 14 September 1999.

Makore, James, Head of Organising Department (ZCTU), 3 November 1999.

Mudzengerere, Nicholas, Secretary General, Hotel and Catering Workers Union, 1 February 2000.

Pswarai, Miriro, Head of Education and Gender Department (ZCTU), 7 March 2000.

Shamva District Environmental Health Officer, 8 September 1999.

Shamva District Nursing Officer, 8 September 1999.

Sibanda, Gibson, President (ZCTU), 8 November 1999.

Tsvangirai, Morgan, Secretary General (ZCTU), 13 January 2000.

Van den Brink, Rogier, Senior Economist/Deputy Resident Representative, World Bank Resident Mission in Zimbabwe, Harare, 13 March 2000.

Vowles, Malcolm, Regional Executive Officer, Commercial Farmers' Union, 30 August 1999.

Zimbabwe News Sources

Financial Gazette

The Daily News

The Herald

The Worker

The Zimbabwe Mirror

Zimbabwe Human Rights Update

Zimbabwe Independent

ZimRights News