

# Public Administration in Zimbabwe

## Critical overview of Mukonoweshuro's contribution to Public Administration

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### ABSTRACT

*The late Professor Eliphaz Mukonoweshuro, who had a passion for good governance, made a vital contribution to public administration in Zimbabwe. The new political dispensation after independence triggered the expansion of the Zimbabwean public service thereby creating a skills gap which the government had to address through encouraging school leavers to enrol for tertiary education. During this period Mukonoweshuro was the Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Zimbabwe. In 2008, Mukonoweshuro was elected Member of Parliament for Gutu South and was subsequently appointed Minister of Public Service under the new Government of National Unity in 2009. His contribution to academia and government is appreciated by many who knew him. In order to have an appreciation of his contribution to public administration, relevant literature on the late professor, condolence messages, his publications and his curriculum vitae were perused and analysed. These documents show that the professor was an extraordinary educationist and professional bureaucrat who wanted to restore credibility to the public service. An urgent need exists in Zimbabwe for an efficient, accountable, transparent and professional officialdom. The public service must be motivated and depoliticised in order to improve service delivery.*

### INTRODUCTION

When they have left this life, people are remembered for a variety of reasons. Normally they are remembered for the good things they did for their communities. In deeply polarised communities it is extremely difficult to find a person who is admired by people from different political persuasions since they are usually mainly interested in perpetuating the agenda of the political party to which they belong. Professor Mukonoweshuro was the Minister of Public Service. Although he was a member of a different political party, the President of Zimbabwe



described him as a hard-working person. The President stated: "I have directed that he be granted a state-assisted funeral, itself a modest gesture to a man who served his country well both as an academic and as a minister of Government" (*Herald* online 6 August 2011). Professor Mukonoweshuro distinguished himself as an eminent scholar well versed in the science of politics and public administration and is a rare example of a person who commanded respect from members of the different political parties in the coalition government.

At the time of his appointment as a minister, the Ministry of Public Services was experiencing administrative and management problems. He soon embarked on consultative meetings with labour union leaders and instituted a civil servant audit that unearthed 75 000 ghost workers who were on the government payroll. Professor Lovemore Madhuku asserted that Mukonoweshuro "will certainly be remembered as a Public Service Minister who rigorously instituted reforms aimed at weeding out ghost workers from the civil service payroll" (*The Zimbabwean* 6 August 2011). Mukonoweshuro had seen the urgent need for a professional public service system anchored in efficiency, responsiveness, transparency, fairness and accountability. Being an academic-cum-bureaucrat, Mukonoweshuro contributed to the teaching and practice of public administration in Zimbabwe. Sindane (2011:8) notes that "(r)eactively the teaching and practice of public administration should address current issues in public affairs as they unfold".

The research that informed this tribute was undertaken as a reflection on Mukonoweshuro's contribution to national development against the background of public administration. The objective of the research is to describe how professional training in public administration improves service delivery. To achieve this objective, the researcher reviewed and analysed relevant literature, and applied it to the Zimbabwean situation. The current state of affairs in the public service was scrutinised by investigating how the public service ended up with ghost workers when there are recruitment, selection and appointment procedures that should be followed.

## **PROFILE: ELIPHAS MUKONOWESHURO**

Mukonoweshuro died on 5 August 2011 at Johannesburg's Milpark Hospital in South Africa where he had been receiving medical treatment. He was 58 (*The Zimbabwean* 8 August 2011). His untimely death was received with shock and disbelief by many Zimbabweans from across the political spectrum. In a tribute to Mukonoweshuro, Festus Dumbu, an MDC-T Parliamentarian for Zaka West, chronicled the history of the professor ([www.zimbabwepos.com](http://www.zimbabwepos.com)). Mukonoweshuro was born on 22 June 1953 at Gutu Mission Hospital and had briefly studied at the University of Rhodesia (now University of Zimbabwe), but in 1973 was arrested for student activism and was incarcerated at Kadoma Prison for 14 months. After his release from prison, he clandestinely left the country through Botswana and went to the United Kingdom where he took up his studies at the University of Birmingham. He graduated with the following degrees: Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts and a Ph D in Political Science. According to his CV, he was a research fellow at the Fourah Bay College at the University of Sierra Leone from 1978 to 1979, and from 1980 to 1981, a teaching assistant at the Centre for West African Studies at the University of Birmingham. He joined the University of Zimbabwe as a lecturer in 1982 and left university teaching following his appointment as Cabinet Minister in 2009.

Mukonoweshuro believed in upholding social justice and improving the living standards of the marginalised members of society. His publications were not restricted to Zimbabwe but also covered other countries in Africa. "To succeed in any reform programme, it seems that the new government would have to disregard all *sacred cows* in policy formulation and implementation," Mukonoweshuro wrote in one of his articles published in 1991, entitled, *The Basis of Structural Violence – Between Verwoerd and the ANC: Profiles of Contemporary Repression, Deprivation, and Poverty in South Africa's 'Bantustans'* (Mukonoweshuro 1991:178). His abridged CV reflects that his master's dissertation and PhD thesis were not focussed on Zimbabwe but on Uganda and Sierra Leone respectively. The title of his Ph D thesis, which was submitted in 1981, is *Politics and Class Formation in Sierra Leone*. From some of his articles it can be deduced that Mukonoweshuro cared for the well-being of the common people and opposed the exploitation of the poor by the rich. He detested dictatorship. He published books and articles in international journals, some of which are listed in the annexure.

Mukonoweshuro was a principled person who boldly pointed out in his articles that the Zimbabwean government had abandoned the wishes and aspirations of the people and urged the SADC to flex its muscle so that the Zimbabwean government would revert to respecting the will of the people by allowing good governance and democracy to thrive once again. In 2007, Mukonoweshuro delivered various papers at esteemed international universities as reflected on the annexure.

On the basis of his publications it can be argued that he was a fearless academic who had a passion for good governance and social justice. The people of Gutu South who elected him to represent them in Parliament and the Executive which subsequently appointed him the Minister of Public Service have recognised his passion for efficient service delivery, good governance and social justice.

Some colleagues, in government and academia, ex-students and parliamentarians across the political divide, who paid tribute to Mukonoweshuro, agree that his contribution to public administration in both government and academia was immeasurable. Many people who expressed their condolences have described him as a very humble and down-to-earth educationist who had the welfare of public servants at heart. Commenting on his academic credentials, Anthony Jongwe (*Financial Gazette* 12 August 2011), commented: "(t)hat the late Professor Mukonoweshuro was a brilliant scholar is beyond doubt judging from his impressive academic qualifications obtained from a leading international university". He also emphasised that "Professor Mukonoweshuro contributed immensely to the workforce development of the country to the extent that today some of the top bureaucrats in the public sector passed through his capable hands". In a parliamentary tribute to Mukonoweshuro, a ZANU PF Member of Parliament for Mberengwa East, Makhosini Hlongwane, described him as a very humble and down-to-earth individual ([www.zimbabwereporter.com](http://www.zimbabwereporter.com)). Takura Zhangazha (*The Zimbabwean* 6 August 2011), lamented the untimely death of Mukonoweshuro, "The country has lost a good man, a good intellectual, a democrat and a committed citizen," and Professor Lovemore Madhuku described him as "true servant of the people, who at the time of his death was working tirelessly to ensure that civil servants get better remuneration and working conditions" (*The Zimbabwean* 6 August 2011).

Addressing mourners at his burial, Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai acknowledged the professor's academic achievements: "Mukonoweshuro made his mark as an academic of

repute at the University of Zimbabwe where he spent many years sharpening the minds of future leaders as a lecturer" (*The Zimbabwean* 8 August 2011). The President of Zimbabwe also acknowledged that he was very competent in the execution of his duties and ordered the State to meet all the repatriation expenses (*The Herald* online 6 August 2011). Such words and action from the President is indicative of Mukonoweshuro's ability to work with anybody in the inclusive government regardless of their different political orientations. For once the nation was united by the death of a patriotic citizen. People should put the nation first before they think of individual gains or political delusion. Mukonoweshuro proved to be a shining example in this regard.

Professor Jonathan Moyo, who worked with Mukonoweshuro at the University of Zimbabwe as well as in government, described his colleague as a gifted academic with an exceptional mind and noted that many Zimbabweans had benefited from his wisdom (*The Herald* online 6 August 2011). From the various contributions by people who worked with Mukonoweshuro, it can be concluded that he was indeed an icon many people would want to associate with the development of public administration and management in Zimbabwe. They appreciate his contribution to public administration and management as an educationist as well as a Member of Parliament and Cabinet Minister.

## METHODOLOGY

In carrying out the research, a qualitative content analysis was used. Literature on public administration was reviewed in order to establish the relevance of his contribution to the current state of public administration in Zimbabwe. Following Mukonoweshuro's death, both the print and electronic media published messages of condolence from various people and organisations. These newspaper articles and speeches delivered at his funeral were perused and analysed. However, the major limitations were that some of these articles could not be verified and are sometimes a reflection of emotions and for such reasons they may not be used successfully to sustain an argument of an academic nature.

## PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

There is no single definition of public administration but all the definitions have something in common. Some scholars have come to the conclusion that: public administration is easier to explain than to define. For a quick conceptualisation of the term *public administration* it is necessary to start by defining the term *administration*.

Administration, according to Gladden (1966:11), "is concerned with the management of human affairs. Thus administration is as broadly based as the whole range of social activities". Administration can be viewed as the organisation and direction of human and material resources to achieve the desired end. It aims at ensuring efficient behaviour on the part of its members (Pfiffner and Presthus 1967:6). Similarly, Simon, Smithburg and Thompson (1950:3) define administration as "the activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common goals".

From the definitions provided above it can be deduced that administration is about organised human action aimed at achieving set objectives. The action involves the use of

resources set aside to accomplish the objectives. With this in mind eminent scholars have provided the following definitions of public administration:

According to White (1926:1), one of the pioneers of the study of Public Administration, “public administration consists of all those operations having for their purpose the fulfilment or enforcement of public policy”. Henry (1980:26) defines public administration as “a broad-ranging and amorphous combination of theory and practice,” Pfiffner and Presthus (1967:7) describe public administration as “the coordination of individual and group efforts to carry out public policy”. As a discipline, Public Administration involves the study of human beings engaged in administrative and managerial duties in organs of the state (Thornhill and Van Dijk 2010:95). Though written a long time ago, White’s contribution to the study of Public Administration continues to inspire contemporary authors.

Judging by the definitions given above by pioneers and contemporary scholars of the discipline, it can be concluded that public administration deals with the actions and activities of government. It evolves around the day-to-day operations of governments and policy implementation. Thus governments are constantly confronted with new public demands which they have to respond to through formulating and implementing relevant policies. It is therefore imperative to consider how Mukonoweshuro responded to the demands of the Zimbabwean public service.

## **SCOPE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Public administration is not only about the activities of government but it is also a discipline that can be studied systematically like any other discipline. The study of Public Administration has been necessitated by the multiplicity and complexity of government activities (White 1926). Public administration has gained a recognisable and identifiable acceptance in professional practice in the public sector and has also shaped teaching and research in university programmes and studies (Kuye 2005:528). In the light of the above observations, Mukonoweshuro as a distinguished lecturer and researcher made a major contribution to public administration not only in Zimbabwe but also in Africa, as shown in the literature available.

Using the viewpoints from the definitions of public administration outlined above, public administration can be described as related to the activities of government. These government activities can be carried out on behalf of government at three spheres, namely: the national, provincial and local sphere. Put simply, public administration refers to all the activities that the government performs to achieve its goals. It involves government taking care of its people in order for them to attain good living. In order for government to meet its obligation of taking care of the people, it must first put in place proper and functional public administration structures. The demands of the citizens are many; they are complex and are constantly changing in accordance with the changing political, social, economic and technological environment. Nonetheless, government is expected to respond timeously to these demands. The immediate objective of public administration is the most efficient utilisation of resources at the disposal of officials and employees. Efficient management is aimed at the elimination of wasting material resources, the conservation and effective use of human resources, and the protection of the welfare and interests of employees (White 1926:3). Henry (1980:26) observes that the purpose of public administration is “to promote

a superior understanding of government and its relationship with the society it governs as well as encourage public policies more responsive to social needs and to institute managerial practices attuned to effectiveness, efficiency, and the deeper human requisites of the citizenry". The three branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) are expected to provide the much needed checks and balances to ensure that no government department acts in an *ultra vires* manner. Public officials are, therefore, expected to observe the code of conduct. Cloete (1994:63) sums it up: "Observance of the guidelines should keep the legislatures from passing *malenactments*, the government office-bearers from practising *misgovernment*, and the public officials from committing *maladministration*".

The origins of the study of Public Administration can be traced back to Wilson's (1887) essay, *The Study of Administration*, which has become important in the field of Public Administration. Wilson's article set the foundation for the need for a systematic study of Public Administration. For government to perform well, it needs people with special skills to advise and direct its operations. There is a need for public officials to have an appreciation of both the theory and the practice of public administration. Wilson argues that practical considerations are at the forefront of the field, but theory is the basis of best practices. Wilson believed that the study of Public Administration helps to straighten the paths of government to make it businesslike, to strengthen and purify its organisations, and crown its duties with dutifulness. He also argued that the activities of government increase and become complex with time, hence the need for public officials to study Public Administration. Thus the study of the discipline can expose some of the weaknesses inherent in government departments and prepare public officials to deal with eventualities. By addressing the weaknesses and responding to unanticipated public challenges, the government becomes more relevant to its people. Governments need professional advice from competent people so that they meet the needs of the changing times.

Of course the problems of yester-year may not be the same with current government challenges, but Wilson's article did trigger a debate and the desire among public officials to study Public Administration. Such studies might produce solutions to current and future problems. Public administration is a dynamic field which is constantly changing, hence the need to study the discipline. Optimistic about the teaching and practice of public administration and management, Mishra (2011:16) concurs with Wilson on the need to have trained public service officials, but regrets that "the focus of the training programme is more oriented towards preparing the civil servants who can apply the rules and public policies judiciously and rationally rather than preparing them to have a first-hand information of the needs and goals of a democratic system which exists at three levels, central, state and local". In a similar vein, Kuye (2005:529) asserts that "Schools of Public Administration and Management must emphasise pragmatic reforms in the way theory and practice must be crafted in their educational programming".

After studying various works by his predecessors and contemporaries on public administration functions, Gulick, writing in the 1940s, created the acronym POSDCORB for Planning, Organising, Staffing, Directing, Co-ordinating, Reporting and Budgeting, which has remained a focus of public management at some universities. This was a positive development in the study of Public Administration and Management because it confirms that Public Administration and Management is a discipline that can be studied and subjected to rigorous scientific tests like any other social science. For public officials to understand

the dynamics of public administration they should have an appreciation of the management principles as outlined by Gulick.

The field of study of Public Administration has become complex as a result of more responsibilities in contemporary communities. Faced with such challenges, activities of a government would have to increase because it is the state's responsibility to ensure peace and stability for its people. Changes in technology have also necessitated the expansion of government activities. Officials with the required skills and expertise are now in demand. With the right people at the right places, knowledge of public administration and management can contribute significantly to quality service delivery. Any mishap or changes in a community creates new demands which the state would have to address through formulating and implementing new and relevant policies. Failure could result in society losing confidence in their government's ability to protect them. Thus public administration relates to whatever action the government decides to take. Public administration and management is, therefore, the rock on which governments are built and without which, effective governance is impossible. For governments to practise effective public management and good governance public officials must be accountable and transparent. Kakumba and Kuye (2006:813) note that "efficient management styles may be compromised for political expediency, and it is no exaggeration to say that several managerial, technical and proficiency demanding appointments are made in the interest of expanding the political base for the wielders of state power". It is important to note that public administration and management will continue to gain prominence in the contemporary world because challenges that need government action are complex and on the rise.

The literature reviewed helped the researcher to establish and describe Mukonoweshuro's contribution to public administration and management in Zimbabwe.

## **EXPANSION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN ZIMBABWE**

The focus of this article is on Mukonoweshuro's contribution to public administration and management in Zimbabwe using the viewpoints of eminent scholars outlined above. As an academic, Mukonoweshuro was heavily involved in the teaching of the subject and as the Minister of Public Service he was involved with the practical side of public administration and management.

To understand Mukonoweshuro's contribution to public administration in Zimbabwe, a brief historical development of the public service in Zimbabwe is imperative. Soon after independence in 1980, Zimbabwe became the jewel of southern Africa. The government of President Robert Mugabe crafted and adopted policies that attracted investors. While acknowledging the wishes and aspirations of the black majority who had been marginalised for years under colonial rule, the government introduced a policy of reconciliation which was well received by all Zimbabweans. Parties that had been in conflict at one stage were urged to forget the hostile relations of the past and to forgive one another. People started working together in rebuilding the country. The government continued to formulate policies aimed at redressing colonial imbalances. The landless were allocated land under a properly planned resettlement scheme implemented in the early 1980s. Schools and clinics were built in the resettlement areas and in other areas where the facilities were inadequate for





the local communities. Road networks were also developed to make the resettlement areas accessible. Free primary education was introduced and every child was given an opportunity to go to school. The bottle-neck system in education was replaced by the *education for all* approach which saw many students completing their primary and secondary education. The need for tertiary institutions emerged as the existing institutions could hardly cope with the increasing number of school leavers. The demand for skilled personnel also rose with the establishment of new institutions in areas previously neglected under colonial rule. New universities, teachers' colleges, nurses' training centres, agricultural colleges and vocational training centres had to be established throughout the country to train personnel to take up positions in the expanding civil service. The government promoted tertiary education by introducing the loan and grant facility. Thus no student could be barred from receiving tertiary education. The government also came up with the growth point concept. Some townships were upgraded to become growth points. Instead of leaving their rural homes to seek employment or other services previously found in towns and cities, local communities could now receive such services at their nearest growth point. Not all growth points have been successful. Some have failed to operate as anticipated due to limited economic activities. It was anticipated that these growth points would become new towns within 10 to 15 years (Gasper 1988:425; Wekwete 1988).

## MINISTERIAL INITIATIVES

Before joining politics on a full-time basis, Mukonoweshuro lectured at the University of Zimbabwe. He rose to prominence as an articulate lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe, where he later became Dean of the Faculty of Social Studies (*The Zimbabwean* 8 August 2011). In its tribute to the professor, the Parliament of Zimbabwe noted that Mukonoweshuro was the only person in the history of the University of Zimbabwe to attain a full professorship directly from being a lecturer ([www.zimbabwepress.com](http://www.zimbabwepress.com)). This development was no mean achievement. It proves his teaching competence as well as the quality and quantity of his research output as evidenced by his numerous publications. Mukonoweshuro played a critical role at a very critical stage in the history of Zimbabwe in that the attainment of independence in 1980 had ushered in a new philosophy in the public service. There was a need to train more officials to take up positions in the new and expanding public service. The University of Zimbabwe, at that time the only local university, was the hub of human resource development and the new government expected it to respond to the country's various human resource needs. New programmes were introduced to match the required skills and expertise. One such programme was the Master in Public Administration (MPA) degree. There was also a sharp increase in student enrolment.

The growth of the public service was justifiable, because unlike the situation under colonial rule, the new government was responding to the needs and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. It can be argued that the President provided visionary leadership that saw the expansion and growth of the public sector. His policies soon after independence captured the euphoria of the moment. The majority of Zimbabweans who had been sidelined for a long time wanted the new government to deliver on the promises made to the people during the liberation struggle. With investors gaining confidence in President



Mugabe's administration they provided alternative service delivery in areas approved by government. In some cases communities went into partnerships with government. Thus as the nation reflects on Mukonoweshuro, described by the Deputy Prime Minister, Professor Mutambara as a "reservoir of wisdom", in that he could match academic excellence with social responsibilities (*The Herald* online 17 November 2011), people must acknowledge that President Mugabe was also a champion of public administration and management in the newly independent Zimbabwe. He ably created an environment that was conducive to the expansion and growth of the public sector. Employment opportunities and the general welfare of the Zimbabwean people improved. However, the situation has since changed due to the current economic crisis which has resulted in massive unemployment.

When the MDC was formed in September 1999, Mukonoweshuro became a member of the newly formed opposition party whose aim is to provide the people of Zimbabwe with an alternative choice of leadership. In the harmonised general elections held on 29 March 2008, Mukonoweshuro won the Gutu South parliamentary seat. His victory demonstrated that the people from Gutu South had confidence in his ability to spearhead development in the constituency. He proved that he was not only an academic, but that he could identify with the ordinary citizens as well. In his speech at the burial of the professor (*National News* July 2011), the Prime Minister and MDC-T President, Tsvangirai, described him as a great man who believed in democratic resistance and inter-party dialogue. According to the MDC-T President, Mukonoweshuro had predicted the inclusive transitional authority as the only way to bringing a legitimate and credible government in Zimbabwe.

Mukonoweshuro was appointed minister of Public Service under the coalition government at a time when the civil servants were striking for a salary review and improved working conditions. They argued that the government was not addressing their plight urgently. Their salaries had become pathetically low, thus forcing some civil servants to resort to moonlighting in order to augment their salaries. The situation had become unpalatable and volatile. Unions were calling for an indefinite national strike and Mukonoweshuro responded by organising meetings with union leaders with a view to defusing the impending strikes by civil servants over poor salaries and working conditions. As the search for a lasting solution continued, the Minister engaged Ernst and Young, an Indian insurance company to carry out a human resources audit exposing the existence of 75 000 ghost workers. By instituting the civil servant audit, Mukonoweshuro demonstrated that he believed in accountability and transparency. According to Smit and Cronje (cited by Sikhakane and Reddy 2011:86) accountability implies that "the responsible employees will be expected to account for outcomes, positive or negative, for that portion of the work directly under their control". Vast amounts of money were siphoned off to the ghost workers, while genuine and deserving civil servants were suffering as a result of poverty. The fundamental values and principles of the public service had been eroded by corruption and under-hand dealings. At the time of Mukonoweshuro's death, the Cabinet had not yet decided the fate of the exposed ghost workers. Nevertheless, Mukonoweshuro proved to be a professional civil servant who was transparent, accountable, approachable and resolute. To him, no task was insurmountable.

Mukonoweshuro worked tirelessly to transform the public service which had become so deeply politicised that it lacked accountability, transparency and professionalism. Kakumba and Fourie (2007:660) note the effect of politicisation on accountability: "Public accountability

is affected by the expanding scope of administrative politicisation caused by the growing power of political executives like ministers, who exert influence on the public service”.

## **CONCLUSION**

It is refreshing and motivating to consider the contributions of a renowned scholar who acquitted himself well in the execution of his duties. As shown in this article, Mukonoweshuro was not only a patriotic citizen but also an astute intellectual who was respected by people from all walks of life. His academic background did not deter him from associating with the ordinary people. He earned respect from colleagues in the Government of National Unity because he was humble, principled and tolerant of opposing viewpoints from political rivals. Thus he survived the sometimes slippery political terrain because he placed national issues ahead of party politics. In both theory and practice, he articulated the need for social justice, unity of purpose and improving the welfare of the citizens. From the above discussions it can be concluded that academics are not just critics, good at theorising but they can also use their academic skills and expertise to influence government activities and even proffer solutions to national challenges.

It must be emphasised that the Zimbabwean civil service should be apolitical, accountable and transparent. Public officials should be appointed on merit while the recruitment and selection processes should always be done transparently. If service delivery is to improve, competent people with the requisite skills should be appointed regardless of their political affiliations. Service delivery improves if the workers are motivated. Unfortunately Mukonoweshuro died before a decision was taken on the fate of the 75 000 ghost workers who were undeservedly consuming a huge amount of money meant for civil servants.

## ANNEXURE

### MUKONOWESHURO'S SELECTED PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS PRESENTED AT INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

- 2001. Lineages of Absolutism in the Zimbabwe Political Discourse. *Journal of Third World Studies*, 13(Issue 1).
- 1993. *Colonialism, Class Formation and Underdevelopment of Sierra Leone*. Maryland: University Press of America.
- 1991. Japanese Commercial Interests in South Africa. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 21(Issue 1).
- 1991. The Basis of Structural Violence Between Verwoerd and the ANC: Profiles of Contemporary Repression, Deprivation, and Poverty in South Africa's "Bantustans". *JSTOR: Social Justice*, 18(1-2).
- 1990. Problems of the Structural Determination of Class: A critical methodological review. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, 36(Issue 1).
- State "Resilience" and Chronic Political Instability in Madagascar. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 24(3).
- 1986. Underdevelopment and Class Formation in Sierra Leone: A neglected analytical theme. *Journal Asian and African Studies*, XX1, 3-4.
- 1984. Commoditization and Class Formations: A critical synthesis and contribution to theory. *Civilisation: XXXIV*, 1-2.
- "Lineages of Dictatorship and Economic Collapse in Zimbabwe" – paper read at the University of Birmingham.
- "Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the European Union (EU)'s New Cooperation Formula" – paper read at the University of Sheffield.
- "South Africa, SADC and the Hidden Refugee Crisis" – public lecture delivered at the University of Pretoria.

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