



Midlands State University

Faculty of Social Sciences

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

**THE RATIONALE BEHIND ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY RE-ALIGNMENT IN
THE CONTEXT OF RE-ENGAGING THE WEST (2009 - 2016)**

BY

TIGERE TINASHE KELVIN

REGISTRATION NUMBER: R10996T (BLOCK RELEASE)

**THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE AWARD OF THE
MASTER OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEGREE**

APRIL 2016

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Dedication

To my late grandfather Mahere K. Tigere and mother Milcent Tigere for their hard work and love in raising me. Also my late father Sam for being blessed with a brilliant son like me though he passed on untimely. To my grandmother Tsitsi Tigere for her unwavering support before and during these studies.

Acknowledgements

To all the individuals who sacrificed their time and knowledge pertaining to this research, these include the government officials who participated in the interviews and answering questionnaires, civil society organisations and my parents for enabling me to come this far in life. The department of Politics and Public Management for providing the opportunity for me to get such a life time experience that is essential for my growth in the academia. Not forgetting Mr. W. Mudyanadzo for the continuous guidance, support, time, critiques and contributions in shaping this paper. Thank you so much Sir. Glory be to the Almighty God for His grace upon my life.

Abstract

This research examined the rationale or the fundamental reasons behind the recent Zimbabwe's foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West. Several aspects were looked at by the researcher so as to establish the reasons why Zimbabwe should engage. The main reason being the current economic situation in Zimbabwe where the Finance Ministry is at times even struggling to pay the civil servants, there is high rate of unemployment and the university graduates are now as good as the rural folk just to mention a few.

The researcher used the purposive sampling which is a type of non - probability sampling technique because only crucial and relevant officials were selected from some government ministries and departments, relevant civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations including relevant universities. Data was collected through the use of questionnaires, interviews and observations. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. The researcher used tables, charts and graphs to present and analyse data.

Finally, the conclusion was that Zimbabwe has a good number of policies that it has to revise so as to promote the re-engagement process. A lot has to be done on the fiscal policy, land reform programme, human rights and all the other actions that are viewed as a threat to international peace and security. This will then allow the West to lift sanctions and Zimbabwe can be eligible for financial aid from the Bretton Woods institutions without any problems. Re-engagement of the West is crucial because it will enable the opening of the lines of credit and investment to promote economic growth. The solution lies in the creation of an enabling environment for bilateral and multilateral co-operation to take place.

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CHAPTER ONE

Overview of the Study

Introduction

This chapter highlighted the background to the study, statement of the problem and significance of the study. It also outlined the research questions, assumptions, hypothesis, objectives of the study, limitations, delimitation and definition of key terms used in the research project will also be worked on in this chapter

Background of the study

The researcher speculated over the current situation in Zimbabwe which is characterised by a lot of social, political and economic hardships like high unemployment rate, closure of manufacturing industries, and poor performance in agricultural production among others. The assumption of the study places emphasis on foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West as the answer to the Zimbabwean situation. Zimbabwean economy had been struggling especially from the year 2000 up to the present day (2016). The question is “Until when?” and this is what has pushed the researcher into analyzing the current foreign policy of Zimbabwe from the year 2000 to the present day because there is no any state that can survive without interacting with others. This period is crucial because it marks the verge when the relations between Zimbabwe and the West became sour following the controversial fast track land reform programme in this Southern African land locked plateau. This attracted the economic sanctions from major European Union (EU) powers and the United States of America (USA). It is with no doubt that the Zimbabwean government then shifted from the West to the

Eastern block for survival as a state on the international arena which led to the official declaration of the “Look East Policy” by His Excellency President R.G Mugabe.

However, during the course of the time the Finance Minister has now announced to the nation that efforts are to be made towards re-engaging the West. Therefore, the researcher has opted to investigate on this foreign policy re-alignment so as to establish the rationale behind this re-engagement of the West which started in 2009 and the research evaluated the impact of this on Zimbabwe. The researcher also examined the extent to which the Zimbabwean Government has committed itself to this move.

The economy of Zimbabwe shrank significantly after the year 2000, resulting in a desperate situation for the country, widespread poverty and around 80% unemployment rate. However, after 2008, Zimbabwe's economy started to improve dramatically and it became one of the fastest-growing economies in Southern Africa. Between 2009 and 2011, Zimbabwe's GDP growth averaged 7.3 percent, making it one of the world's fastest-growing economies. Zimbabwe's participation from 1998 to 2002 in the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo set the stage for this deterioration by draining the country of hundreds of millions of dollars (Mail & Guardian. 30 January 2009). Hyperinflation in Zimbabwe was a major problem from about 2003 to April 2009, when the country suspended its own currency. Zimbabwe faced 231 million percent peak hyperinflation in 2008 (CIA-fact book 2010).

Stiff, P (2000) states that since the new millennium, Zimbabwe has took and redistributed most of the country's commercial farms by force due to the unresolved historical colonial inequalities since independence. The new occupants were usually inexperienced, or uninterested in farming – thereby failing to retain the labour-intensive, highly efficient, management of previous

landowners. Short term gains were achieved by selling the land or equipment. The contemporary lack of agricultural expertise has triggered severe export losses and negatively affected market confidence. Idle land is now being utilized by local peasants practicing meager subsistence farming. This has led Zimbabwe to sustain the 30th occurrence of recorded hyperinflation in world history (Scoones, 2010). Government spending is 97.8% of GDP. State enterprises are strongly subsidized, taxes and tariffs are high (Index of Economic Freedom, 2016).

There is also the indigenization economic policy which is a state regulation and is said to be costly to companies, starting a business is slow and costly. Labour market is highly regulated, hiring a worker is cumbersome and firing a worker is difficult. By 2008 unemployment had risen to 94%, (Mangena, 2014).

The Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas (2011) claim that at the time of independence, annual inflation was 5.4 percent and month-to-month inflation was 0.5 percent. Currency of Z\$2, Z\$5, Z\$10 and Z\$20 denominations were released. US\$1 was equivalent to Z\$0.657. Roughly 95 percent of transactions used the Zimbabwean dollar. Following the Lancaster House Agreement in December 1979, the transition to majority rule in early 1980, and the lifting of sanctions on the UDI of Ian Smith, Zimbabwe enjoyed a brisk economic recovery. The Bank goes on to say that real growth for 1980-1981 exceeded 20%. However, depressed foreign demand for the country's mineral exports and the onset of a drought cut sharply into the growth rate in 1982, 1983, and 1984. In 1985, the economy rebounded strongly due to a 30% jump in agricultural production. However, it slumped in 1986 to a zero growth rate and registered negative of about minus 3% in 1987, primarily because of drought and the foreign exchange crisis faced by the country. Zimbabwe's GDP grew on average by about 4.5% between 1980 and 1990 (Steenkamp et al, 1994). The government started crumbling when a bonus to independence war veterans was

announced in 1997 (which was equal to 3 percent of GDP) followed by unexpected spending due to Zimbabwe's involvement in the Second Congo War in 1998. In 1999, the country also witnessed a drought which weakened the economy more; the economy could not recover, which ultimately led to the country's bankruptcy in the next decade. In the same year, 1999, Zimbabwe experienced its first defaults on its IMF, World Bank, and African Development Bank debts in addition to debts taken out with Western lenders. (Chinamasa, 2015)

In recent years, there has been considerable economic hardship in Zimbabwe. Many western countries argue that the fast track land reform programme, recurrent interference with and intimidation of the judiciary, as well as maintenance of unrealistic price controls and exchange rates has led to a sharp drop in investor confidence. It is also said that between 2000 and December 2007, the national economy contracted by as much as 40%; inflation vaulted to over 66,000%, and there were persistent shortages of hard currency, fuel, medicine, and food.

The Zimbabwean Government under President R.G Mugabe attributes Zimbabwe's economic difficulties to sanctions imposed by the Western powers. It has been argued that the sanctions imposed by Britain, the US, and the EU have been designed to cripple the economy and the conditions of the Zimbabwean people in an attempt to overthrow President Mugabe's government. These countries on their side argue that the sanctions are targeted against Mugabe and his inner circle and some of the companies they own. Critics point to the so-called "Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001", signed by Bush, as an effort to undermine Zimbabwe's economy. Soon after the bill was signed, IMF cut off its resources to Zimbabwe. Financial institutions began withdrawing support for Zimbabwe. Terms of the sanctions made it such that all economic assistance would be structured in support of "democratization, respect for human rights and the rule of law." The EU terminated its support

for all projects in Zimbabwe. Because of the sanctions and US and EU foreign policy, none of Zimbabwe's debts have been cancelled as in other countries (Chengu, G (2009). Other observers also point out how the asset freezes by the EU on people or companies associated with Zimbabwe's Government have had significant economic and social costs to Zimbabwe.

In addition, as of February 2004 Zimbabwe's foreign debt repayments ceased, resulting in compulsory suspension from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This IMF suspension and the United Nations World Food Programme stopping its food aid due to insufficient donations from the world community, has forced the government into borrowing from local sources. Zimbabwe began experiencing severe foreign exchange shortages, exacerbated by the difference between the official rate and the black market rate in 2000. In 2004 a system of auctioning scarce foreign currency for importers was introduced, which temporarily led to a slight reduction in the foreign currency crisis, but by mid-2005 foreign currency shortages were once again severe.

On February 2, 2009 a final denomination was implemented, cutting 12 zeroes, before the Zimbabwe dollar was officially abandoned on April 12, 2009. Since then, Zimbabwe has issued a new currency which is the dollarization process through the newly installed national unity government which allowed foreign currency transactions throughout the economy as a measure to stimulate the economy and end inflation. The Zimbabwean dollar quickly lost all credibility, and by April 2009, the Zimbabwean dollar was suspended entirely, to be replaced by the US dollar in government transactions. In 2014 there were eight legal currencies - US dollar, South African rand, Botswana pula, British pound sterling, Australian dollar, Chinese Yuan, Indian rupee and Japanese yen. Dollarization reversed inflation, permitting the banking system to stabilize and the economy to resume slow growth after 2009. According to Hungwe, B (2014) dollarization also had other consequences, including:

- Reduced taxation and financial transparency, as people continued to keep their money out of the formal banking system.
- Extremely high real interest rates due to lack of capital.
- Government forced into a "pay as you go" system, unable to spend more than it takes in.
- Deficits of coinage for everyday transactions, leading to the adoption of South African rand coins, sweets, airtime for mobile phones or even condoms for small change.
- Counterfeiting currencies with which Zimbabweans are not familiar.

The Zimbabwe Independent (2007) highlighted that the Empowerment Bill to increase local ownership of economy was drafted for presentation to parliament in July 2007. It was signed into law by President Mugabe on 7 March 2008. The law requires all White or foreign owned business to hand over 51 percent of their business to indigenous Zimbabweans. Chimhangwa, K (2013) says that many economists predict this will plunge the country into deeper economic woes. Mpfu, T (2010) stated that in January 2010, Finance Minister Tendai Biti announced that Zimbabwe would seek highly indebted poor country (HIPC) status in order to cancel the country's \$6 billion debt. Despite criticism from some government officials and economists, Biti stated that, among other strategies considered, seeking HIPC status was the best option as stated by Banya, N (2010). Croft, A (2009) highlights that in addition to debt forgiveness; HIPC status (which is attained from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank) would also allow Zimbabwe access to World Bank resources and loans through the IMF's Poverty

Reduction and Growth Facility. Therefore, the researcher is seeking to establish the rationale behind all these moves.

CIA-fact book (2010) noted that the three parliamentary parties agreed on a Government of National Unity because by the beginning the year 2009 the situation had been catastrophic for some time. It is also mentioned that despite serious internal differences, this government made some important decisions that improved the general economic situation, first of all the suspension of the national currency, the Zimbabwean Dollar in April 2009. That stopped hyperinflation and made normal forms of business possible again, by using foreign currency such as the US American Dollar, the South African Rand, the EUs Euro or the Botswana Pula.¹² The former finance minister Tendai Biti of the MDC-T tried to hold a disciplined budget. In 2009 Zimbabwe recorded a period of economic growth for the first time in a decade (CIA-fact book, 2010)

Zulu, B (2013) claimed that while relations between President Robert Mugabe's ZANU - PF party and Western powers remain uneasy. He goes on to say that there was the resumption of direct talks between Zimbabwe and the international community. The three ministers from the inclusive government were in London to meet with western diplomats; the so-called friends of Zimbabwe and financial leaders in a fresh bid to break the ice ahead of the 2013 elections. Relations between Zimbabwe and the EU & USA nations deteriorated after the West imposed what they called targeted sanctions on President Mugabe, his inner circle, and related firms over alleged human rights abuses. Zulu stated that the successful constitutional referendum earlier in March 2013 prompted the European Union to ease its targeted sanctions, and the West said it will do the same if Zimbabwe holds peaceful, transparent and credible elections later that same year. African and European diplomatic sources said the time is ripe for the West to look beyond

President Mugabe and engage other ZANU - PF leaders in Harare. The Royal Institute of International Affairs Chatham House hosted event, saying the dialogue was aimed at discussing the way forward for the country, including the road to polls and prospects for Zimbabwe beyond the poll. The US ambassador to Zimbabwe, Bruce Wharton, said relations between Zimbabwe and the U.S have thawed significantly.

Furthermore, the Zimbabwe Independent (2014) noted that Patrick Chinamasa was appointed finance minister following ZANU-PF's landslide electoral victory in the 2013 general elections. Policies encouraging the indigenization of the economy were implemented and laws requiring that 51% or more of non-black Zimbabwean owned companies had to be handed over to black Zimbabweans were implemented. This has been credited with creating further uncertainty in the economy and negatively impacting investment climate in the country. Although legislation dealing with the indigenization of the Zimbabwean economy has been in development since 2007 and actively initiated by ZANU-PF in 2010, the policy has continued to be accused of being unclear and a form of "racketeering by regulation."

Yamamoto, K (2014) stated that in April 2014 Chinamasa admitted that the country was heavily in debt and that the country desperately needed to come up with policies to attract foreign direct investment. This does not only come from the Eastern Block, hence the need to re-engage the West. Officially Zimbabwe's debt is \$7 billion or over 200% of the country's GDP however this figure is disputed with figures as high as \$11 billion being quoted once debts to other African countries and China are included. Majaka, N (2014) has it that as of May 2014 it has been reported that Zimbabwe's economy was in decline following the period of relative economic stability during the Government of National Unity. It is estimated that Zimbabwe's

manufacturing sector requires an investment of roughly US\$8 billion for working capital and equipment upgrades.

According to the Africa Progress Panel report (2014), it has been found out that of all the African countries were looked at when working out how many years it would take to double per capita GDP, Zimbabwe fared the worst and that at its current rate of development it would take around one hundred and ninety years for the country to double its per capita GDP (Mungai, C, 2014).

Kachembere, J (2014), mentioned in the Daily Newspaper that Zimbabwe seeks to re-engage the European and Americas tourism markets as this is part of efforts to boost depressed tourist receipts due to the sour relations between Zimbabwe and the West. He stated that this comes as President Robert Mugabe's administration had in the early 2000s abandoned the key traditional source markets under a Look East policy, to focus on Asia. However, Europe and the West remain the major markets for the country's tourism industry as added by Kachembere. Therefore, in the meantime, government has intensified efforts to revive the tourism industry, targeting to contribute \$5 billion to the country's gross domestic product by 2018. The Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA)'s chief executive Karikoga Kaseke, said there is need to re-engage with the world's high value markets and improve destination image if the country is grow its tourism industry. Kaseke said the negative image tag attached to Zimbabwe as a tourism brand has continued to haunt the nation considering that the period 1980 to 1999 arrivals average growth rate was 14 percent per annum. This is why the researcher is eager to establish the rationale behind this re-engagement.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The researcher observed that the Zimbabwean government is now in a ‘desperate’ situation of re-engaging the West despite the fact that it had taken a hostile stance a decade ago claiming to be looking up to the East. The study therefore sought to understand the rationale the Zimbabwe government’s foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engagement with the West during the period 2009 - 2016.

This has risen due to the fact that almost all the government key ministries and departments are now calling for the re-engagement of the West as the best option so far. These include the likes of Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality, Ministry of Health and Child Welfare etc. All these have admitted that in as much as there are notable development from the East, there is also a great need for policy re-alignment through the re-engagement of the West because the country has continued to face a lot of economic challenges that in-turn negatively affects the social and political spheres of the Zimbabwean population.

Mugabe (2015) stated that the United States government has joined several Western countries warming up to Zimbabwe and has dispatched two senior officials to re-engage the government of Zimbabwe next week. The two were Dr Shannon Smith, who is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Steven Feldstein. In 2014 only two members of the European Union (EU) bloc that imposed illegal sanctions on Zimbabwe, Germany and Australia, expressed willingness to work with Zimbabwe. The two countries financed the construction of an independent water scheme in the dormitory town of Norton. The statement released by the US embassy in Harare was that,

“Dr. Smith and Feldstein would we going to be in Zimbabwe for seven days because the US government said they want to engage and they will engage government at various levels.”

Furthermore, “the Finance Minister Patrick Chinamasa is set to re-engage the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) to reschedule payment of a \$40 million loan that government owes the organization. Chinamasa said IFAD was one of the few remaining valuable partners which had continued to support Zimbabwe’s agricultural sector.” Chinamasa was quoted saying that “Sana Jata, Director of the Eastern and Southern regional division of IFAD) understood fully that we do not have resources and are going to write to IFAD for them to send a mission so that we start negotiations on rescheduling of the debts.” (Zwinoira, 2015)

In light of the above evidence, it is clear that both the Zimbabwean government and the Western powers are in an effort to rekindle the old flame. Zimbabwe is placing all its hopes on this foreign policy re-alignment through the re-engagement of the West. Therefore this research shall establish the rationale behind all these efforts.

1.3 Research objectives

The study sought to:

- Examine the rationale behind Zimbabwe’s Foreign Policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West.
- Evaluate the challenges that the country encountered in trying to re-align the Foreign Policy of the country.
- Proffer policy prescriptions on how Zimbabwe’s foreign policy could be re-aligned with the re-engagement agenda with the West.

Hypothesis

Zimbabwe's socio-economic crisis is emanating from power dynamics among the world's great powers (P3-P2 politics)

1.4 Research Questions

This study will therefore seek to answer the following questions:

- Why is the Zimbabwean government re-engaging the West?
- Are the Western countries a critical factor in Zimbabwe's development?
- How appropriate is Zimbabwe's diplomatic style in implementing her foreign policy in the 21st century?
- What are the implications of the Look-East policy on Zimbabwe's socio-economic spheres?

1.5 Significance/ Justification of the study

The research is being carried out so that the following would benefit:

Researcher: the study is important to the researcher as a source of training ground for both his academic and social scientific skills. This enhances the researcher's professional capacity in research methods, as well as fostering resourcefulness, relevance and accountability when solving similar problems later in life.

Government Ministries: if all the concerned ministries like that of Foreign Affairs, Finance and that of Tourism and Hospitality adopt and implement the recommendations of this research they

will not miss the mark because this study that involved key individuals/ officials and areas that are of importance to the nation at large.

All the ministries and its officials shall benefit a lot from the research findings if they are to consider the importance of social science research in their day to day business of foreign policy formulation, implementation and evaluation. The research outlined the advantages and disadvantages of Zimbabwe's foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engagement of the West.

Embassies: the concerned embassies and their officials shall be able to determine the pace on their efforts towards the re-engagement because all the synthesized data will be on the table for sound decision making.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

This research was conducted in Zimbabwe because that is the country in question. There at times no direct interaction with other high profile government officials like ministers mainly because of their work commitments but the researcher found some possible ways of conducting interviews even with other important officials.

The study only focused on the twenty-one respondents on both interviews and the questionnaires so as to curb unnecessary financial challenges and transport costs while the findings from the selected population can be generalized. In sampling, the non-probability sampling technique known as purposive sampling was used though it seems to be promoting bias. This is because the researcher had to choose those specific areas and individuals that are capable of providing relevant data for the research.

1.7 Limitations

Time constraints – The time seemed to be limited i.e from January – April 2016 and there were also other work assignments during this time of study which is so strenuous. However, to overcome this challenge the researcher carried out part of this research during vacation days, weekends and after hours. The researcher made sure that the little time at his disposal was utilized wisely and effectively.

Shortage of resources – Due to the unavailability of sponsorship and adequate funds it was difficult for the researcher to gather information. However, the researcher had to sacrifice his finances where necessary on transport costs, communication, stationery and accommodation in some areas for the success of this research project.

Internet breakdown – the researcher continued to face internet challenges because Wi-Fi was inaccessible sometimes and at times it will be not powerful enough to open journals. However, the researcher had to constantly visit those high cost internet cafes for progress' sake.

1.8 Assumption of the study

- The socio-economic challenges in Zimbabwe are a result of international isolation and lack of co-operation
- The respondents to personal interviews and questionnaires will do so in utmost good faith.
- Sample to be used is assumed to be a true representative of the population
- Some respondents may not be comfortable to disclose other important information because of confidentiality thus it might consume a lot of time for the researcher to acquire the necessary information.

1.9 Definition of terms and Abbreviations/ Acronyms

Rationale – means an explanation of the basis or fundamental reasons for something

Foreign Policy - consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations circles

Re-alignment - To cause to form new arrangements or to have a new orientation or to reorganize

Re-engagement - A renewed or repeated engagement, obligation or agreement

Western bloc (West) - Western Bloc or Capitalist Bloc - during the Cold War refers to the countries allied with the United States and NATO against the Soviet Union and its allies.

Eastern bloc (East) - Eastern Bloc was the name used to refer to the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe, generally the Soviet Union/ Russia, China and the countries of that belonged to the Warsaw Pact.

EU – European Union

UNO – United Nations Organization

P2 – P3 – power dynamics between the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council where P2 consists of the two allies which are China and Russia then P3 consists of United States of America (USA), Britain and France.

1.10 Summary

The direction that the research will take is outlined in this chapter, as stated in the background of the study. The challenges being faced by the Zimbabwean government socially, economically and politically were stated in the statement of the problem so as to examine the reasons or

rationale behind Zimbabwe's foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West. The importance of the study was also presented to the researcher, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomats, embassies, policy makers and other government ministries which have made the research worth undertaking. The limitations as well as delimitations were also stated. Assumptions of study were outlined to make the whole research project practical; the next chapter will focus on literature review on the re-engagement processes in international relations.

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CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter dwells entirely on the findings, assumptions, proposals and suggestions of other authorities on the subject concerned which is of the re-engagement processes in international relations. This shall be a consultation of other scholars or authorities on the foreign policy of Zimbabwe and foreign policy re-alignment the world over. In the view of Hancock and Algozzine (2006) literature review is an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars' and researchers.

2.2 Theoretical framework

Realism

The theory claims to rely upon an ancient tradition of thought which includes writers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, and Hobbes. The main tenets of the theory have been identified as Statism, survival, and self-help (Dannie et al, 2007). These principles are the ones at work as Zimbabwe is going to the east through the Look East policy as well as the re-engagement of the West which exhibits the quest for maintaining power as a state and survival at the same time. All this is self-help.

- **Statism:** Realists believe that nation states are the main actors in international politics. As such it is a state-centric theory of international relations. This contrasts with liberal international relations theories which accommodate roles for non-state actors and international institutions. This difference is sometimes expressed by describing a realist world view as one which sees nation states as billiard balls and liberals would consider

relationships between states to be more of a cobweb (Snyder, 2004). Zimbabwe as a state is trying by all means to maintain her status on the international arena, hence crafting/ forging relations from both the Eastern and the Western blocs.

- **Survival:** Realists believe that the international system is governed by anarchy, meaning that there is no central authority. Therefore, international politics is a struggle for power between self-interested states (Snyder, 2004). All the diplomatic efforts by the states in this world are centered on survival. It is a fact that the law of the jungle is at work in international politics where there is the survival of the fittest. In light of this tenet, it is crystal clear that Zimbabwe's stance on the re-engagement of the West is a fight for survival as she might have discovered that there is a great need for her to cooperate with the global economic giants.
- **Self-help:** Realists believe that no other states can be relied upon to help guarantee the state's survival and this is why Zimbabwe is running around for her own survival. The researcher will also try to find out on the possible ways in which Zimbabwe can help herself without relying much on the West.(Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d)

Realism makes several key assumptions. It assumes that nation-states are unitary geographically based actors in an anarchic international system with no authority above capable of regulating interactions between states as no true authoritative world government exists. Realism holds that in pursuit of their interests, states will attempt to amass resources, and that relations between states are determined by their relative levels of power. That level of power is in turn determined by the state's military, economic, and political capabilities (International Relations Theory,

2015). The research will be anchored upon this realist theory so as to examine the rationale behind Zimbabwe's Foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West.

2.3 Conceptual framework: Foreign policy

A country's foreign policy, also called foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations circles. The approaches are strategically employed to interact with other countries. He goes on to say that the study of such strategies is called foreign policy analysis. In recent times, due to the deepening level of globalization and transnational activities, the states will also have to interact with non-state actors (Foreign Policy, 2016). The above mentioned interaction is evaluated and monitored in attempts to maximize benefits of multilateral international cooperation. Since the national interests are paramount, foreign policies are designed by the government through high-level decision making processes. Therefore, this research shall assess if the government of Zimbabwe has prioritized national interest in line with the recent re-engagement of the West.

Moguluwa, S, et al, (2013) says that national interest accomplishment can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. Usually, creating foreign policy is the job of the head of government and the foreign minister (or equivalent). In some countries the legislature also has considerable effects. Foreign policies of countries have varying rates of change and scopes of intent, which can be affected by factors that change the perceived national interests or even affect the stability of the country itself. The foreign policy of one country can have profound and lasting impact on many other countries and on the course of international relations as a whole, such as the Monroe Doctrine conflicting with the mercantilist policies of

19th century European countries and the goals of independence of newly formed Central American and South American countries (Daddow. O: 2009).⁴

Chigora (2006) purports that the Foreign Policy of a country can be defined as a set of goals that seek to outline how that country will interfere at an official level with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors in pursuit of its national economic, political, social and cultural interest. In order to realize maximum benefit from its interaction with other countries, as well as to promote or influence some change in the policies, attitudes or actions of another state to achieve favourable goals, a country needs to also evaluate and monitor a broad spectrum of factors relating to those other countries. These factors could be economic, political, social, and military among many others.

Chigora and Goredema (2006), highlighted that the formulation and implementation of a foreign policy is therefore primarily based on a country's desire or obligation to foster and protect its national interests, national security, independence, sovereignty, ideological goals and economic prosperity.⁶ In light of this literature, the researcher is in an effort to find out if the Zimbabwean Government has taken into consideration the principle of defending its interests as it is re-engaging the West so as to find out the rationale behind the move.

2.4 Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy

Chigora (2006) states that Zimbabwe's foreign policy objectives are grounded in safeguarding the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity; the protection its prestige and image; the pursuit of policies that improve the standard of living of all Zimbabweans wherever they are; and the creation and maintenance of an international environment conducive for the attainment of these goals. In the creation and pursuit of these objectives, Zimbabwe is guided by its belief in self-determination and support for liberation movements; adherence to the principle of equality

among nations; belief in non-discrimination, whether based on colour, creed, religion or other forms; and the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Furthermore, it should be noted Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy, as with that of any other country, is an extension of its domestic policy since it is the supreme national interest that drives the conception of a country's foreign policy (Berridge. G.R: 2004). The fundamental principles of national security, national economic well-being and the image of the country that transcends the image of the Government of the day therefore form the foundation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy.

In Zimbabwe, the President of the country is both the head of State and Government and creation and enunciation of foreign policy is a prerogative of the Head of State and Government. It is then articulated either by the Head of State and Government or by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In some instances, the legislature may also have considerable oversight in formulating such policy (Chigora: 2006). Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is formulated through a transparent participatory or consultative process involving various stakeholders at various levels. Various dimensions of Zimbabwe's foreign policy converge in the person who is the head of the state and the administrative structure controlled by the Secretary of the President. Therefore, the president becomes central to the process of decision making and is in charge of this foreign policy implementation.

In addition, Carlsnaes, (2010) claims that foreign policy making, implementation and evaluation process in Zimbabwe is centered on the head of state and government because he is the one who ratifies the treaties and revoke them as he sees fit. The subsequent withdrawal of Zimbabwe from

the Commonwealth of Nations is a clear testimony of the overwhelming authority of the head of state in terms of foreign policy.

2.4.1 Role of the Head of State in Foreign Policy

Moreover, the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe sets the parameters of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy, whilst Government Ministries, for example the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense, Industry and Commerce, Regional Integration and Internal Co-operation, Health and Child Welfare and Transport and Infrastructural Development, play a significant role in moulding, shaping and refining the country's Foreign Policy. The parliament of Zimbabwe has a direct input into Zimbabwe's Foreign and abroad, relying mainly on its personnel at Head Office and at its diplomatic Missions located strategically. The ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a coordinating role of all international activities of the country, and making sure that all the other ministries sing from the same hymn so as to avoid discord in the country's foreign policy. It is the prerogative of the head of state to appoint a minister who is responsible for the ministry of foreign affairs. According to the constitution of Zimbabwe amendment 20 of 2013 "the President appoints ministers and assigns functions to them..."

In addition, the head of state is also responsible for the welcoming of foreign delegates, though he may choose to send his dignitaries to do this on his behalf, but it is through the head of state's approval that foreign dignitaries are welcome through official channels.

2.4.2 Role of Other Actors

Hussein (2011) also concurs with the notion as he argues that foreign policies are designed by the Head of state with the aim of achieving complex domestic and international agendas. Going beyond Zimbabwe, there are other different systems of governing that also suggest that the Head of state is the core of foreign policy formulation and enunciation. In the case of Zimbabwe,

Chigora (2006) argues that there are a number of actors that are involved in the foreign policy formulation in Zimbabwe, and they range from government ministries, civil society groups, academia and political parties. This shows the existence of other forces that tend to influence foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs template also acknowledges the role played by the parliament of Zimbabwe in influencing the foreign policy of the country. The template states that the parliament of Zimbabwe has a direct input into Zimbabwe's foreign policy through parliamentary debates and ratification of foreign and international treaties. It is also important to note that the parliament of Zimbabwe is empowered by the constitution of Zimbabwe to revoke certain policy decision made by the head of state if it sees it to fit through a two thirds vote in the parliament. Such instances include the decision on war and peace where the head of state is empowered to declare war and peace and parliament is empowered to revoke the decision. This observation serves to highlight that the creation and enunciation of foreign policy also involves other important force.

The implementation of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is guided by a number of considerations, namely, forging regional, political, economic and cultural co-operation with Zimbabwe's neighbors as well as with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the common market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) regions; promoting African unity and solidarity through the African Union (AU); development through regional and sub-regional initiatives; promoting solidarity and cohesion among developing countries through such organizations as the Non-Aligned Movement; promoting South-South cooperation through the Group of Fifteen (G15), the Group of Seventy-Seven (G77) and other organizations; and promoting international peace, security and co-operation through the United Nations (Chigora, P and Goredema, D: 2007).

Zimbabwe in its contribution to the on-going debate on UN reform, maintains that the UN should be more representative, democratic, and accountable and development oriented as stated by Hill (2011). It should be the main advocate and custodian of multilateralism in the face of growing unilateralism. Africa must be fully represented in the Security Council. Zimbabwe fully identifies with the African position or the Ezulwini Consensus on UN reform whose main element include the allocation to Africa in the security council of two permanent seats and three more non-permanent seats; and either scrapping of veto for all permanent members or extension of the same all members. It should be noted here that Africa is only continent without the veto in the present set up.

Foreign policy cannot limit itself to matters of high politics alone. Increasingly, it must also deal with socio-economic developmental issues especially in so far as these need co-ordination and co-operation between and among states. Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is thus designed to foster economic development and job creation globally and in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe must therefore engage with other countries, through regional blocs such as COMESA, to help shape the regional economic architecture in order to meet these ends. Zimbabwe has wholly endorsed the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) process as an African and African-driven initiative and believes that with proper management, the initiative can indeed benefit the continent.

2.4.3 Fast track Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Chitiyo and Kibble (2014) has it that the other integral feature of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is the land reform process in Zimbabwe which the West strongly criticised from its inception and the reluctance by some countries to recognise its centrality to economic development and stability has continued to strain relations with some sections of the international community.

Land will remain the vehicle for the total emancipation and liberation of the nation of Zimbabwe from the yoke of colonialism, settlerism and neo-colonialism in all its forms. Zimbabwe is very grateful for the solidarity and support received from SADC, the AU and the Non-Aligned Movement and China against Western resistance to the land re-distribution programme.

In the context of what has become the Western media's obsession with Zimbabwe over the latter's assertiveness and defence of its nationhood and national economic heritage, the Foreign Policy challenges arising therefore include the repeated references to Zimbabwe's relationship with its former coloniser, the UK; its relationship with the European Union (EU) and the United States' economically damaging legislation in the form of the punitive Zimbabwe democracy and Economic Recovery Act of December 2001. The bilateral dispute with the UK is a very wasteful standoff, which has turned attention away from the real priorities embodied in existing frameworks for bilateral and multilateral cooperation between Zimbabwe and Britain.

Zimbabwe - EU relations became strained when the EU imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe on the pretext that the 2002. Presidential elections, which the EU did not observe, were not free and fair. Subsequently, the bloc rejected the verdict of the March 2005 Parliamentary elections which gave the ruling party a landslide victory and, lately also rejected the results of the June 2008 Presidential runoff election. Since then the West has continued with its attempts at affecting illegal regime change in Zimbabwe, with the extent of even politicizing the cholera outbreak so as to justify interfering in the internal affairs of the country. Thus the EU has taken unilateral measures and made unilateral demands without due dialogue or engagement taking place yet Zimbabwe has always been ready to dialogue with it. Since the US's promulgation in December 2001 of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act, Zimbabwe has reeled under

tightened economic sanctions that include the prohibition of budgetary assistance by the IMF and the World Bank as well as other sources.

2.4.4 Look East Policy

Berhe. M and Hongwu. L (2013) articulates that the Government of Zimbabwe adopted the Look East Policy after having been confronted with these numerous challenges resulting from the sanctions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been on the forefront to implement this policy, guided by the Government's Policy, Vision and Strategy documents designed to increase Zimbabwe's cooperation with a number of countries in Asia and the Far East. The Visions and Strategies provide guideline on the thrust of Zimbabwe's co-operation and prioritise projects in which a cooperating country has expressed interest, projects in which Zimbabwe has comparative advantage, project that are ready for implementation, project that will promote exports, joint ventures and projects meant to assist in the re-capitalization of distressed public enterprises.

Consequently, a deliberate decision was made to initially focus on China, Iran, Indonesia, India and Malaysia in effecting the above policy, hence broadening the scope of Zimbabwe's foreign policy. However, in international relations, and therefore in the pursuit of a country's Foreign Policy, there is an unwritten understanding that there are no permanent friends or enemies, but permanent interests. Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy therefore, strives to foster long-standing relationships of mutual co-operation and trust. It must also be noted that advancing Zimbabwe's national interests is not a task for the Government alone, let alone the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but for all Zimbabweans. It requires dialogue and understanding among Government, business and the rest of the community. If Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is to succeed, it must aim to mobilize the understanding and support for all Zimbabweans.

Therefore, the review of literature of Zimbabwe's foreign policy has highlighted a lot of issues from formulation, implementation and evaluation. These aspects include national interests, liberation struggle, the role of the Head of State and Government, role of ministries and departments, the land reform of 2000, the "Look East Policy", UN reform agenda, Zimbabwe – EU sour relations and also regional co-operations. All these aspects shall be a guideline to the researcher so in an effort to find out whether it is practical for Zimbabwe to re-engage the West vis-a-vis the nature of her current foreign policy.

2.5 Some World Powers that went through Re-Engagement

- **China and the USA**

Greg A, (2015) 'Journal of Southeast Asian Economies' in the late September 2015 says that the Presidents of China and the United States reached a number of agreements on cyber security, cyber espionage and cyber-crime. They provide for a new high-level contact group as well as assurances to investigate and resolve complaints from each other. The agreements are important diplomatic breakthroughs, but they are relatively piecemeal when seen against the bigger picture. They may ultimately prove to be destructive if not followed up quickly by a more comprehensive agreement. From the United States' side, the agreements were intended to constrain China from using government-collected commercial intelligence for the benefit of its civil sector firms. So from this point of view it is clear that re-engagement comes with both negatives and positives and any state that seeks re-engagement must be ready for both.

- **Five Growth Strategies for Myanmar: Re-Engagement with the Global Economy**

Kudo, T et al (2011) state that the political and economic landscape of Myanmar is experiencing a new dawn, with the country moving towards political, civil and economic reforms. While the

world waited years for Myanmar to open up, the country responded only after the establishment of a "civilian" government led by President U Thein Sein in March 2011. Since then, Myanmar has responded positively, in both words and actions, presenting its development agenda to the world at large and to its immediate neighbours in Southeast and East Asia. It is said that to successfully re-engage with the global economy after decades of isolation, the development agenda for Myanmar would inevitably have to be comprehensive and challenging.¹⁹ Therefore it is a fact that challenges are inevitable in re-engagement.

- **From Retreat to Re-engagement: The New American Foreign Policy for Sub-Saharan Africa**

Dokubo (2007) mentions that after decades of Cold War, when Africa was simply viewed as a convenient pawn on the global chessboard, and a further period of neglect and retreat, Africa has once again emerged as a vital arena of US interests. It is clear that the US will be more dependent on foreign oil, and needs to ensure the stability as well as increase its suppliers from such sources that may not be entirely friendly. This strongly implies the linking of energy to national security, and the projection of US military might on a global scale to protect its national energy security interest. The reasons for re-engagement are linked to the war against terrorism and the incursions by Chinese oil companies into sub-Saharan African oil producing states and growing Chinese oil imports for its growing military power. It should be noted that the re-engagement with Sub-Saharan Africa, is based on US perception of threats to its vital interests in the region. Furthermore, the process of re-engaging Africa is directed at controlling both the territorial space and the resources within it. As such, it masks a new continuity in the subordination of the region to the world's only superpower and its allies.²⁰ Re-engagement has

far-reaching implications for the region's development; Zimbabwe is not spared from this and as an African state must keep a watchful eye on this so called engagement with the West.

- **EU–Korea Relations**

Harrison (2010) in a journal ‘An Introduction to the Legal Framework for EU–Korea Relations’ states that in, the European Union (EU) and the Republic of Korea launched a strategic partnership, through which they agreed to closer cooperation on a range of matters, spanning trade, investment, sustainable development and international peace and security. This research is concerned with the nature and depth of this cooperation and how the partnership is likely to develop over time. More specifically, it will focus on the proliferation of legal instruments, which has accompanied the strengthening of trade, economic and political relations between the Zimbabwe and other Western Powers.

- **Canada's Re-Engagement with India**

Arthur G. R (1998) in a piece entitled ‘Asian Survey’ highlighted that no state reacted more harshly to India's May 1998 nuclear tests-or maintained sanctions directed at New Delhi that were counter-productive to its own economic and political interests longer-than did Canada. Ottawa's hostile reaction to the Pokharan tests was the product of long-standing disenchantment with India. After pursuing a special relationship based upon a common middle-power perspective and shared British Commonwealth experience in the 1950s, Canadian-Indian relations deteriorated into irrelevance because of incompatible interests over such issues as Kashmir, the operation of the Indo-China Control Commission, and Suez. However, relations reached a new low after the 1998 nuclear tests because of the human-security agenda of then-Foreign Minister Axworthy, L which promoted global non-proliferation rather than Canada's

bilateral interests with India. In this case situation, re-engagement has remarkably worked with tangible results to both powers.

- **US - Russia Relations**

Dr. Sawczak, P, a researcher at Monash University wrote an article of '**Obama's Russia Policy: The Wages and Pitfalls of the Reset**'. He states that among the foreign policy priorities with which President Obama came to office was to set US-Russia relations on a qualitatively post-Cold War footing so as to achieve what Vice President Biden first famously called a "reset" in the relationship. There was a clear logic in this objective. The Obama administration's early push to build partnerships in support of US multilateral re-engagement could ill afford the anti-US rhetoric and default spoiler settings that had come to characterize Russian foreign policy under Putin's presidency. While Bill Clinton had incorrectly assumed that Russia would be democratized and George W. Bush that an authoritarian Russia could be ignored, Obama has instead pragmatically focused on identifying areas in which Russia might be persuaded that its interests and those of the United States overlap. The main secret is around those P2 – P3 power politics.

2.6 Why re-engagement for Zimbabwe is vital

Nyamutata, C (2015) a Political Analyst based in the UK on Aug 27, 2015 wrote in a periodical about some reasons why he thinks that re-engagement is vital. Nyamutata said that in the past few months, the US re-established relations with erstwhile archenemy states, Cuba and Iran. This was crowned with the reciprocal re-opening of embassies that had been shut down at the height of tensions. Relations with Burma, another "outpost," have also thawed, resulting in re-opening of diplomatic missions. Like Zimbabwe; the two were among states labeled as "outposts of tyranny" by former US secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

These developments attest to the fact that diplomacy does work. It can be argued that the tensions between the US and these countries were far worse than those between Zimbabwe and Washington. The US and Zimbabwe did not reach the point of shutting embassies. The channels for diplomacy remained open, and remain so today which is the same with the British and other European countries.

Nyamutata is of the view that if Iran, Cuba and Myanmar can re-establish relations with the world's biggest economy and other states, there is nothing that should stop Zimbabwe from doing the same. He said that we cannot repose our economic renaissance in mega-deals with China alone. In light of this view, the researcher is eager to establish if Zimbabwe can do it with only the East and without the West. This will then bring out the rationale behind the re-engagement with the West as the Finance Minister, Patrick Chinamasa said "We are too small to pursue a policy of confrontation," when calling for an end to hostility with the West. He goes on to say that "this is the path we must take. We are just midgets militarily and economically and must stop claiming phantom victories but pragmatic voices like Chinamasa, Walter Mzembi and others.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has looked at some literature which is related to the study under the following sub-headings: conceptual framework of the term foreign policy, Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy, Actors in foreign policy making process, the Look East policy, and some other world powers that went through re-engagement then why re-engagement for Zimbabwe is vital. This review has brought out a lot of crucial processes on foreign policy formulation, implementation and evaluation in general. The advantages and disadvantages as well as challenges associated with foreign policy re-alignment have been clearly outlined especially with the examples of other countries. All

these views shall be used as a guideline by the researcher to come up with answers to the rationale behind Zimbabwe's foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West.

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CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods that were employed by the researcher to collect data. It outlines the research design, data collection methods and procedures that were followed. The strengths and weaknesses of each research instrument are highlighted. Methodology will be identified and ways of research and data collection will be discussed.

3.1 Research design

Leedy (1984) suggests that a research design is a plan for the study that provides a framework for collecting data. It is also a strategy, plan or structure of conducting research. The researcher employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches of research design. Chisi (2000:71) refers to research methodology as an approach to be adopted when conducting a research. He describes qualitative research as a social research that is based on field observations that are analyzed without the use of statistics. This design involves face to face-to-face discussions with the participants in their natural settings. The data is collected mainly through the use of interviews, observations and questionnaires. Cohen (2000) has it that quantitative research design involves the use of numerical or statistical figures in the data collection, analysis and presentation. It should be noted that qualitative research design and quantitative research design complement each other and the two cannot be divorced.

Therefore, the two were used in this research because they allow for a deeper understanding of issues from both descriptive and numerical standpoints. Justification to the use of both methods

lies on the assumption that the research needs both descriptive/ qualitative data and some scale of measurement of data; that is qualitative.

3.2 Population

Best (1981) defines population as any group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common which are of interest to the researcher. Population is also defined by Chiromo (2009:16) as all the individuals, units, objects or events that were considered in the research project. The population in this study refers to the Zimbabwean Government officials within its crucial Ministries like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality, Ministry of Youth and Indigenisation and the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development. The population included the Embassies of the Western and Eastern countries, political/economic analysts, civil society and non-governmental organisations.

3.3 Sample and sampling procedures

Sampling is the process of systematically selecting representative elements of a population according to Borg et al (1963). He goes on to say that it is a subject of a portion of the total population. The sample should be a representative of the target population. Borrington and Stimpson (2008) assert that the sample helps getting results quicker and more accurate than the involvement of the whole population. They pointed out that each sample must be manageable in a size that should represent a wider area of a study. It is very expensive to investigate the whole population and therefore the researchers rely on samples drawn from the population to be studied. Owing to the nature of this research project, it is not practical to investigate the entire population; therefore, the researcher used a non-probability sampling technique known as purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling: A type of non - probability sampling in which the units to be observed are selected on the basis of the researcher’s judgment about which ones will be most useful or representative. In this case, crucial and relevant officials were selected from each ministry or government departments, relevant civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and relevant universities relevant UN specialized agencies and commissions.

Sample size: Saunders et al (2007) say that the sample size is determined on a 95% confidence rate interval, an estimate of margin of error and the total population which the sample was drawn from. Wood and Haber (1998) postulate that the general rule is to always use the largest sample as possible. The larger the sample the more representative it is going to be, smaller samples produce less accurate results because they are likely to be less representative of the population.

CATEGORY	SAMPLE
Government officials	6 (Each per Ministry/Department)
University Students	4 (UZ & MSU) IR Department
University Lecturers	2
Political & Economic Analysts	3
Embassies (Western and Eastern)	5
Civil society	3
TOTAL	23

The researcher will use the sample size as depicted by Morgan and Krejcie (1970), where a sample size model for all kinds of populations was developed. This model simplifies the number of respondents the researcher shall deal with as outlined in the table above.

3.4 Sources of data

These include the various areas where the researcher got the much needed information to complete this research. These sources are primary and secondary sources of information of which both of them were used for data collection so as to ensure that a variety of adequate information on foreign policy re-alignment has been gathered.

Secondary source: these offer interpretation or analysis based on primary sources. They may explain primary sources and often use them to support a specific thesis or argument or to persuade the reader to accept a certain point of view.

Examples of secondary sources include monographs, Journal articles, Biography, Encyclopedias, Dissertations, Research analysis, Newspaper articles (interpreting or analyzing news), Textbooks, and Reviews among others.

Primary source: When primary sources are used, data is acquired from the main source and is not derived from any pre-existing research. This is the information or data that the researcher found in the field. Collins (2000) said that in order to know the way humans feel, their experiences, things they remember about their lives, their emotions and motives we should ask them directly. Moorhead and Graffin (1990) say that primary data sources are important because they give out a direct experience because you will have asked the person who has the first hand information. In this research, primary data was collected through the use of the three research

instruments which are the use of questionnaires, interviews and non-participant observation and the researcher expects this data to give direct responses to the objectives at hand.

3.5 Research Instruments

Flor (2001) describes research instruments as the tools that are used to obtain responses from the respondents of the research. These are also a means with which a researcher used to solicit data from the respondents. The research opted for the observation, questionnaire and interview as instruments for collecting data.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used to cater for the shortfalls of the interview method, Borg and Gall (1983) observes the interview as having the tendency of the interviewer seeking out answers that support his or her preconceived notions. It cannot be used for example, quantitative data can be measured more accurately by other instruments like records and documentation hence if interviews are used on their own there is risk of failing to get the correct information.

The researcher used questionnaires to collect data from most of government officials and university students. It explores the attitudes, opinions and behaviors of the respondents towards a particular issue. Different sets of questionnaires were designed for the above mentioned groups according to a specific Ministry in order to produce accurate and appropriate data for descriptive and statistical analysis. The use of questionnaires has the advantage of versatility; it can be used to gather data speedily and cheaply. This is in agreement with Reis (1998) who defined a questionnaire as a list of questions that must be carefully formulated, constructed and sequenced to obtain the most useful data in the most cost effective manner. They are also effective in that

there is secrecy in that respondents can give their answers freely and data can be recorded, interpreted and analyzed easily.

Interviews

This is the other way of data collection used by the researcher through the structured face-to-face/ direct interviews. According to Chisi (2000), a structured interview has a pre-arranged questions or it may be open ended with the interviewer probing whenever they require more information. Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind the participants' experiences. The interviewer can pursue in depth information around the topic. The interviewer asks every respondent the same questions. The researcher came up with interview schedules for interviews with Ministers/ Permanent Secretaries, Ambassadors, Diplomatic Officials, Political/ Economic Analysts, civil society and UN agencies.

Best and Kahn (1989:201) asserts that, "It is in a sense an oral questionnaire, where instead of writing the response one gives the information orally and on a face-to-face basis. An interview provides an immediate feedback and usually much reliable because one has no adequate time to think out of topic in question for example thinking of his personal relationship with the interviewer and give answers that suits the relationship.

To justify the use of interview, Best and Kahn (1989) are of the opinion that the interview is an effective data collecting instrument especially in areas where human motivation is revealed through actions, feeling and attitudes. The interviewer can easily observe bodily gestures that can provide a great deal of information on the understanding of the subjects. The researcher can ask additional questions to explore a particular point of interest that develop during the interview. Also a great depth of responses is possible which were unlikely to be achieved through other means.

In addition Borg and Gall (1983) view an interview as having adaptability whereby basing on responses supplied by subjects, one can alter the interview situation. Through the careful motivation of the interviewees and maintenance of rapport, one can obtain the information that the subjects would probably not reveal under any other circumstances especially one which contains negative aspects of self and negative feelings towards others.

Observation method

According to Kasambira (1993), observation is a method of data collection in which the situation of interest is being watched and relevant facts, actions and behaviours are recorded. The researcher incorporated the observation method in the research to cater for the short comings of interviews and questionnaires. Ary et al (1979), claim that there are two types of observation which are the complete participant observer. This requires the observer to be part of the group while the people being observed are not aware of the identity of the observer. The second is the complete observer which requires the observer just to observe the activities but do not participate in the activities of the groups.

For this research, the researcher observed the periodicals like the official financial gazette of the government of Zimbabwe, stock exchange, Ministerial Statistics, news and many others.

Moreover, observation facilitates easy identification of problematic areas hence corrective measures can be taken. The fact that the researcher observed directly, provides unexaggerated facts as the first hand information was obtained. This is very important and necessary to use as there were no unnecessary expenses incurred and the researcher could directly get the data that is not biased.

Data collection procedure: Questionnaires were hand delivered by the researcher to the targeted respondents, interviews were conducted with key individuals by the researcher and the observations will also be done through the television presentations, speeches and news from the relevant areas of concern. The reason for hand delivery of questionnaires is to ensure that they all reach the intended respondents and to ensure them that their responses will be treated as confidential.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

Both descriptive and statistical data analysis were used to analyse the collected data. This involved the use of graphs, tables and pie charts as well as a narrative description of data (Best and Kahn, 1993). Statistical data collected was organized and presented in a logical and meaningful way by the use of percentages, graphs, tables, pie charts and bar graphs. The chosen presentation is to aid clear presentation to the reader on the relationship in the data. Actual results from the data collection exercise will be compared with relevant theories to establish whether it agrees with the reviewed literature.

Summary

The chapter gave a clear understanding on how the research will be done and activities that the researcher will perform during the research process. It outlines the research design, target population, sampling techniques and the data collection procedures. The interpretation and discussion of the results will follow in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter provides a comprehensive presentation, analysis and interpretation of the findings of the researcher from the questionnaires administered, interviews conducted and secondary sources consulted. It strives to exhaust what was collected from the respondents so that the conclusions on the research topic can be deduced. The chapter shall also focus on the discussion of the research findings, with the aim of integrating the objectives of the study to the research findings. The data was presented and analyzed using pie charts, tables and graphs.

4.1 Research Findings - Characteristics of Respondents

The researcher clearly mentioned in chapter three that purposive sampling was used which is a type of non - probability sampling technique because only crucial and relevant officials were selected from some government ministries and departments, relevant civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations including relevant universities and relevant UN specialized agencies and commissions. The sample represented all the crucial areas of the government and other state and non-state actors involved so that at the end the findings will be compared and generalized as from the whole population. The researcher in this chapter has to compare all the findings so as to outline if it is wise for the Zimbabwean government to intensify the efforts towards re-engagement of the West or not.

A total of five were distributed to five embassies (USA, Britain, Australia, Russia and China), four more questionnaires to International Relations university students (MSU and UZ) then the other four to the four ministries which are Tourism, Finance & Economic Development, Agriculture and mining. There were also interviews which were conducted with three

political/economic analysts, two university lecturers, two civil society organisations and two government officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Registrar General's Department. Out of the total number of questionnaires and interviews carried out the response rate was 97.2%. This means that the response was positive and overwhelming.

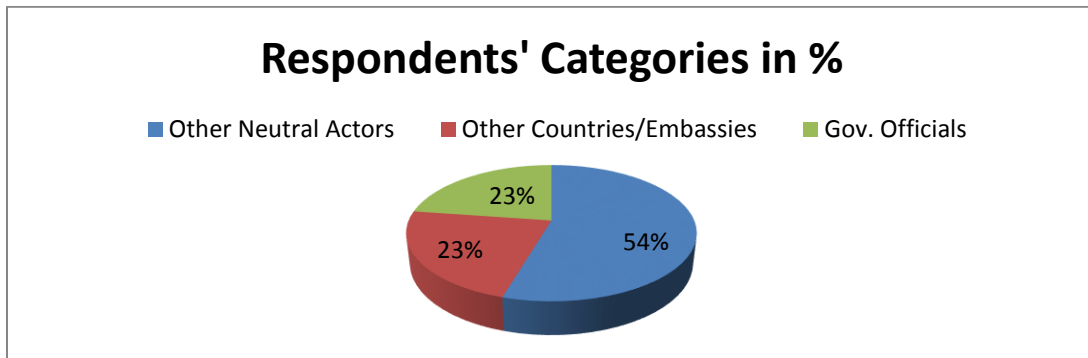
Distribution of respondents

Most favourable response came from the school university students and lecturers. Political/Economic analysts and embassy officials also followed with 100% response rate respectively from the interviews conducted and the questionnaires administered. This is because the respondents generated a lot of interest in the area under study because the re-engagement of Zimbabwe with the West is actually the talk of the day but it was difficult for the researcher to get in touch with them as they are always busy. Civil society responses also had 100% response rate on interviews conducted with them, then lastly, Government officials with 83.3% response rate because some of them were difficult touch with them because of their busy schedules plus the fact that some of them were a bit hesitant to comment on the topic as they termed it “sensitive” nowadays as shall be pointed out in the discussions that follow. It was indeed an encouragement to get such a large turnout from every targeted unit of the sample to respond to both questionnaires and interviews from the researcher. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Category of Respondents	Number of Questionnaires & Interviews issued	Interview Responses obtained	Questionnaire Responses obtained	Response Rate
Government officials	6 (Each per Ministry/Department)	2	3	83.3%
University Students	4 (UZ & MSU IR Department)	-	4	100%
University Lecturers	2 (UZ & MSU IR Department)	2	-	100%
Political & Economic Analysts	3	3	-	100%
Embassies (Western and Eastern)	5	-	5	100%
Civil society	3	3	-	100%
TOTAL	23	10	12	97.2%

Figure 4.1 Distribution of Respondents by categories



The above pie chart show that 23% were Zimbabwean Government officials while the other 23% were officials representing other countries/embassies then 54% were other neutral actors from within Zimbabwe but their comments were not inclined in support of any countries but they just gave their comments as independent analysts or observers from on the topic under study. The

percentage clearly suggests that the researcher was very careful in balancing the two sides (Zimbabwe and other countries) in an effort to come up with the responses that are not biased towards Zimbabwe or other countries.

4.2 Zimbabwe Should Re-engage the West

Interviews conducted and questionnaires administered among the government officials are a bit contrary to the truth that is on the ground. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is the main government board in implementing Zimbabwe's foreign policy denied the fact that Zimbabwe is making efforts to re-engage the West under the pretext that Zimbabwe never disengaged but it is the West that disengaged themselves hence they are the ones that are now making efforts to re-engage Zimbabwe in a number of ways. Several Government officials claimed that the West disengaged in an effort to influence regime change. However, the researcher discovered that from the look of the things, both Zimbabwe and the West are all making efforts towards re-engagement because they are all to benefit from the good relations that existed before. The West on one hand is in an effort to take advantage of every business and every investment opportunity that may arise from Zimbabwe while Zimbabwe from the other hand is striving for help in various ways like the opening of old markets in the Americas and EU plus financial assistance from the Britton Woods institutions among others.

Registrar General T. Mudede mentioned that the West thought that Zimbabwe was going to be too desperate and be grounded to halt socially, politically and economically due to the perceived and intended fruits of disengagement then come back to the West in a sorry state but that was not the case. He went on to say that, "despite all that which the enemy (West) had planned against Zimbabwe, there is our 'all weather friend' – China who stood with us in times of hardships up

until this day where the Government is celebrating a lot of achievements recorded during hardships.”

In addition, the interview with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs highlighted that it is a fact that the West disengaged from their former relations with Zimbabwe, but the officials maintained the point that the Zimbabwean Government is welcome to re-engage with those former friends who are ready. On the number of target countries that they expect to re-engage, they said that Zimbabwe continues to uphold their 1980 statutes where the independent Government adopted a policy of non-alignment in international affairs and its foreign policy trajectory was governed by sanctity of right to life, self-determination, defense of national sovereignty, anti-imperialism, equality of sovereign states and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

4.3 The Zimbabwean Struggling Economy

The officials from the USA embassy pointed out that the turmoil in Zimbabwe led to a severe economic contraction, a sharp drop in living standards for the rural and urban poor, and a massive exodus of Zimbabweans in search of work. According to the Solidarity Peace Trust, founded by clergy from Zimbabwe and South Africa, well over 3 million Zimbabweans were living outside the country by 2004. The Trust calculated that this amounted to 25%-30% of the total population or 60%-70% of productive adults (Zimbabwe: Background, Congressional Research Service, 2010). Given the continued economic decline in recent years, many more are believed to have fled Zimbabwe since then. Those who leave the country because of economic hardship often face difficult conditions in their host country. Many of those who remain behind now reportedly rely on remittances from family abroad. Therefore, it is high time that Zimbabwe re-engages the West for economic partnerships, hence building Zimbabwe.

4.4 The IMF and the World Bank Responses

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development in their questionnaire response admitted to the fact that Zimbabwe was dubbed “the world’s fastest shrinking economy” prior to 2009, and Zimbabwe’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) had declined over 50% since 1998 (Robinson, 2005). It is important to note that this is the period when Zimbabwe’s relations with the West began to be sour. World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) lending had been suspended since 2000 due to non-payment of arrears, and foreign currency for essential imports, particularly fuel, was in short supply. Zimbabweans faced steep rises in the prices of food and non-food items in recent years. The coalition government’s adoption in 2009 of multiple currencies, including the U.S. dollar, stabilized prices, but the cost of living remains high. All this proves beyond any reasonable doubt that re-engagement with the West will actually improve the struggling Zimbabwe’s economy.

The officials from the USA and the British Embassies raised a lot of issues that are critical between Zimbabwe and their countries. They added on to say that ignoring the advice of the IMF, the government refused to devalue the official exchange rate. Instead, in June 2006, Gono devalued the country’s currency, the Zimbabwe dollar, removing three zeros in an effort to mitigate inflation (Liquid Africa, 2004). All this is great evidence that the economy of Zimbabwe needs resuscitation and the only way is through the re-engagement of the West because before their disengagement everything went very well in the country.

Zimbabwe is currently restricted from borrowing from the IMF, to which the country still owes over \$100 million. The government paid \$120 million in 2005 and \$9 million in 2006 to settle other outstanding arrears with the Fund and to avoid compulsory withdrawal from the IMF. The source of the funds used to pay the IMF debt has been a source of considerable speculation in the

media (Washington Post, 2006). Mugabe has dubbed the IMF a “political instrument” and “monster” for regime change. Zimbabwe also owes an estimated \$600 million to the World Bank and \$460 million to the African Development Bank; in total the country’s debt is estimated at \$6 billion, including payment arrears of \$3.8 billion (Business Day, February 21, 2006).

In response to the September 2008 power sharing agreement, the IMF’s Managing Director encouraged the Zimbabwe government discuss policy reforms with the Fund and to “take steps to show clear commitment to a new policy direction.” Following a consultation visit to the country in March 2009, the IMF noted positive steps toward fiscal discipline and offered to provide further policy advice, but warned that IMF funding would not be renewed until Zimbabwe begins to repay its debts and establishes “a track record of sound policy implementation and donor support.” The IMF again noted progress after a March 2010 visit, but has suggested that the country’s economy will not recover without debt relief. All these were efforts towards re-engagement with the Britton Woods institutions but with certain conditionalities to be met (Strauss-Kahn, 2008).

4.5 Impact of China on Zimbabwe’s economy

It is said that China’s initial investment in Mugabe has continued. According to an interview with Tobaiwa Mudede; China supported Zimbabwe since the time of liberation struggle from the 1960s. China's Vice-Minister for Economic Relations visited Zimbabwe for thirteen days in September 1980 only to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries. China has invested more in Zimbabwe than any other nation with 35 companies spending over \$600 million. However, an interview with a lecturer in the Institute of Peace Studies at Africa University pointed out that the close economic relationship between Zimbabwe and China is

partly driven by sanctions imposed by Western nations in response to the Zimbabwean government's continued human rights abuses.

Moreover, Engdahl, F. W (2008), also show that the Chinese government donated farm machinery worth \$25 million to Zimbabwe on 21 April 2007, including 424 tractors and 50 trucks, as part of a \$58 million loan to the Zimbabwean government. In return for the equipment and the loan the Zimbabwean government pledged to ship 30 million kilograms of tobacco to the People's Republic of China immediately and as much as 80 million kilograms over the next five years. John Nkomo, Speaker of the House of Assembly of Zimbabwe by then, praised China's investment on 24 April 2007 during a state dinner in Harare held during the four-day visit of Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, to Zimbabwe. Misheck Sibanda, the Chief Secretary to the President and Cabinet, Edna Madzongwe, President of the Senate, cabinet ministers, and legislators from both ZANU-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change attended the dinner.

The above mentioned statistics sound like a win-win friendship between China and Zimbabwe through the so-called Look East Policy but political analysts like Eldred Masunungure object the idea. He might be very correct because the China that shows its face in Zimbabwe is certainly different and a far cry from the China that is associated with successful and high quality huge infrastructural developments the world over. That Zimbabwe is an exception suggests that the problem lies with this country rather than with the Asian Tiger. This calls for a re-evaluation of the way this country structures its deals with China or any other country for that matter.

Eldred Masunungure who is a Political Science Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe in an interview said that Zimbabwe needs to review its relationship with China. He went on to say that

“bilateral relationships are not permanent and must be subject to constant review. The problem with Sino-Zimbabwe relations is that they have been more political than economic. This is where we get duped because we have failed to re-cast our dealings with the Chinese in purely economic terms.” Masunungure may well be right in view of the actions of the Chinese leaders in overlooking Zimbabwe on their visits to Africa which suggests that while diplomatic relations may be sound, Zimbabwe is not considered a serious economic partner. Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang ignored Zimbabwe during his African tour in May preferring to visit Ethiopia, Nigeria, Zambia, Angola and Kenya. However, at last after a long struggle that is when the Chinese President visited in 2015 but it was just passing by because he was heading South Africa.

Phiri, G (2014) concurs with Masunungure on the need for Zimbabwe to re-think its relations with China, he added that the country’s desperation for international partners due to its pariah status is one of the main reasons it continues to be exploited. “Yes, they (Chinese) can deliver high quality infrastructural projects,” said Phiri, adding, “You only have to look at the kind of products they deliver to Europe and America to know that the Chinese are right up there with the best in terms of workmanship and service delivery but the problem in Zimbabwe is that the Chinese are taking advantage of the ZANU - PF government’s desperation for international investment due to its estrangement from erstwhile Western allies.

4.5.1 Agricultural Sector

Some statistics from the Ministry of Agriculture clearly show that it’s high time that Zimbabwe should re-engage the West, especially the Zimbabwe Data Portal, World Bank of Nov. 2014; ADI 2013; FAO - Production Statistics Aug. 2014; Food Balance Sheets 2014 as shown below:

Table 4.2 Zimbabwe Agriculture Sheet - Import/Export Trend

CATEGORY	Ave. 00-08	Ave. 04-08	2008	2009	2010
Agricultural exports, mln. US\$	715.32	626.70	532.28	860.18	770.73
Agricultural imports, mln. US\$	462.10	691.89	658.31	924.69	1,838.51
Net agricultural trade, mln. US\$	253.23	-65.19	-126.03	-64.51	-1,067.78
Net agricultural trade, % of GDP	3.69	-1.43	-2.85	1.05	-14.36

The information above shows that from 2008 onwards Zimbabwe is importing more than what she is exporting in agriculture. It is a clear sign that things are not well economically in the country as compared to the time when she (Zimbabwe) was a darling of the West just before much emphasis on the Look East policy. Therefore, it is a fact that if Zimbabwe re-engages the West she will be able to improve economically just like before.

Table 4.3 Main crops (2011) - Domestic Supply

	Production, 1000 tonnes	Domestic supply, 1000 tonnes	Export, 1000 tonnes	Import, 1000 tonnes	Net Trade, 1000 tonnes
Sugar Cane	3,058	3,058	0		
Maize	1,452	1,682	1	531	-530
Sorghum	95	129	0	24	-24
Barley	65	63	1	8	-7
Potatoes	54	60	0	6	-6
Tomatoes	23	25	0	2	-2
Wheat	23	406	1	548	-547
Onions	4	8	0	5	-5
Rice	0	91	0	125	-125

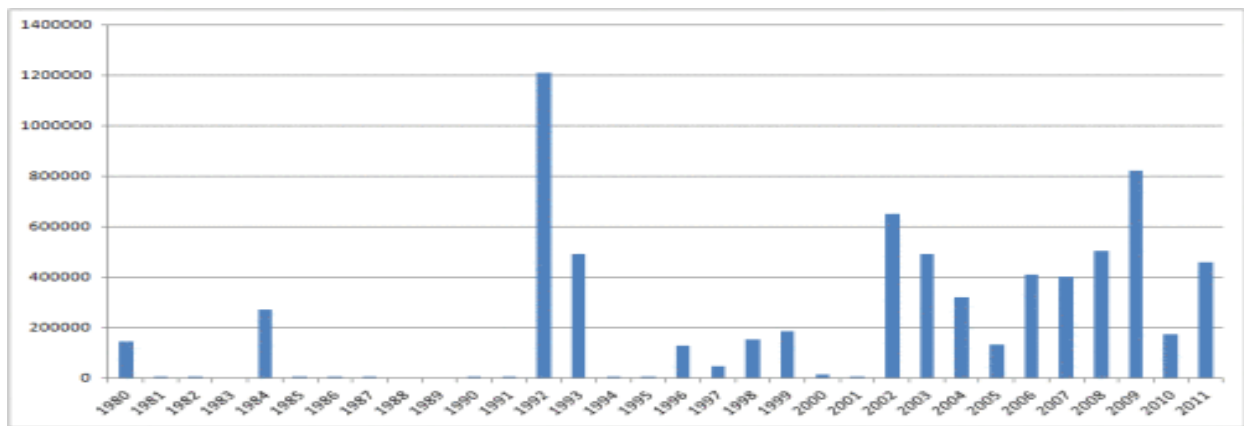
This table above that is examining the export/import trend of major crops in agriculture for the year 2011 is emphasizing on the information in Table 4.2.

The graph in Figure 4.4 below shows that the major drought of 1992 resulted in the highest ever import requirements, exceeding even the most dramatic predictions for these years. There were

other occasions too in the period from Independence to the 2000 land reform; that is in 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, and earlier in 1980 and 1984. Each of these was associated with production collapses, due to multiple causes usually precipitated by drought. Since independence there were some instances where there was need to import maize into the country for supplementary reasons or drought but the worry is that since the Land reform programme the rate of importing the product year after is now too much.¹⁸ However, the Government of Zimbabwe shifts the blame from all these other reasons but only to climate change but one can argue that it is not Zimbabwe only that is experiencing climate change problems in Southern Africa. This then means that re-engagement with the West is very necessary so as to resuscitate the economy through boosting the Agricultural sector.

Figure 4.2 Maize Imports, 1980-2011 (tonnes)

Extracted from Zimbabwe Independent Newspaper; “Zimbabwe’s agricultural sector goes from ‘bread basket to basket case? Or is it (again) a bit more complicated?’, September 23, 2013



4.5.2 Mining Industry

Ploch, L (2008) states that while the country’s agriculture industry collapses, its mining industry has continued to bring much-needed income into Zimbabwe. Mining has accounted for almost half of Zimbabwe’s total foreign currency revenues in recent years. Zimbabwe has the world’s

second-largest reserves of platinum, behind South Africa.¹⁵⁵ In early 2006, the government announced plans to take a 51% share of all foreign-owned mines for local black investors; 25% of that share would be acquired at no cost to the government, and mines that refused to part with their shares would be expropriated. After industry officials cautioned that the plan would deter foreign investment, the proposal was modified, allowing firms that invested in community projects to keep their majority share. They voted to approve similar plans to take a majority share in all foreign-owned businesses in September 2007; the legislation became law in March 2008. According to the Financial Times, March 11, 2008, the government has insisted that it will not expropriate foreign-owned companies and that the law will not be applied to every company, but rather “on the basis of capital (investment) and employment levels.” Regulations related to the law have been subject to considerable debate within the transitional government, and critics argue the law further deters much-needed foreign investment.

The coalition government has begun to take measures to encourage investment in the mining sector. Under the previous administration, gold miners were required to sell their product to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. As the bank’s foreign currency reserves dwindled, it reportedly ceased to pay miners for the gold, and many of the country’s gold mines closed. With current gold prices strong, the new government is now allowing the mines to market their own gold and accept payment in foreign currency. It has also cut the tax on gold export revenues. Zimbabwe’s gold

Illegal Mining

The Zimbabwe government has taken steps to crackdown on illegal mining, although some suggest that members of ZANU-PF may be complicit. Police arrested an estimated 20,000 illegal miners in late 2006, including several hundred reportedly legal small-scale miners, confiscating

gold, diamonds, emeralds, and gold ore. Security forces have been accused of serious human rights abuses. As a result of the collapse of the formal economy, many of the country's unemployed have resorted to illegal mining, selling their goods on the black market. According to reports, most of the miners were released after paying fines (Ploch, 2010). All this has contributed to sour relations between Zimbabwe and the West.

'Blood Diamonds'

(Ploch, 2010 says that the World Diamond Council (WDC), a diamond industry organization that aims to prevent the trade of conflict diamonds, raised concerns in December 2008 that rough diamonds from Zimbabwe were being exported illegally, rather than through the Kimberly Process (KP), an international government certification scheme designed to prevent the "blood diamond" trade. According to civil society reports, Zimbabwean soldiers in the Marange diamond fields have forced villagers to labor in the mines and then smuggled the stones from the country. Rough stones from Zimbabwe have reportedly been confiscated in India and Dubai. The European Union pressed for an investigation into Zimbabwe's compliance with its Kimberly obligations in early 2009, and a high level KP delegation visited Zimbabwe in March to express the group's concern with reports of violence and smuggling from the Marange area. The KP Secretariat refrained from suspending Zimbabwe from the certification scheme. However, during a KP Plenary meeting in November 2009, the body called for stringent export controls on diamonds from Marange. The Zimbabwe government reported later in the same month that security forces had begun withdrawing from the area, and a judge ordered that the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe hold all diamonds from the area until legal claims regarding the Marange mines are resolved. The U.S. government and others have called for Zimbabwe to be suspended from the Process if the controls recommended at the KP Plenary are not implemented. In the meantime,

international diamond dealers in Antwerp announced that they would not deal in Marange diamonds until the controls are fully in place.

The Kimberly Process had previously investigated allegations that “blood diamonds” from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were being smuggled along with rough stones from Zimbabwe into South Africa for export. The Mugabe government dismissed those claims as a Western attempt to promote regime change. Zimbabwe has been previously linked to conflict diamonds; senior officials were named in a 2003 U.N. report for profiting from illicit trade during Zimbabwe’s military operations in the DRC.

Therefore, all this shows that Zimbabwean mining industry is facing a lot of challenges in exporting the minerals from Zimbabwe mainly because of the country’s poor relations with the West, hence the need for re-engagement. This move will open a lot of markets for the Zimbabwean mining sector because all the issues will be resolved between all the powers that sanctioned Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe will be able to restore her glory of the old days especially of the 1980s and early 1990s.

4.6 Sanctions and Poor Bilateral Relations with the West

All the data collected from both questionnaires and interviews dwelt much on the sanctions as the hindrance to Zimbabwe’s success. Most Government officials like the Registrar General Cde. T. Mudede was of the view that Zimbabwe and a few individuals including him, the President Cde. R.G Mugabe and his wife Dr. G Mugabe are the victims of these sanctions but the country according to its own capacity has recorded remarkable developments.²⁴ The researcher discovered that there are a good number of Western powers that sanctioned Zimbabwe and this worsened the country’s bilateral relations. For the purpose of this research, the researcher shall only focus on the sanctions from the United States of America, United Kingdom, Canada,

Australia and the European Union as a whole. These sanctions shall be examined in light of the current situation in Zimbabwe so as to come up with the advantages and disadvantages of the re-engagement of the West.

4.6.1 United Kingdom – Zimbabwe Relations

Zimbabwe has an embassy in London and United Kingdom has an embassy in Harare. Historically, relations between Zimbabwe and the UK were close. However, in the last fifteen years, relations between Zimbabwe and the UK have been typically cold, with Robert Mugabe frequently accusing the former colonial power of sabotage; ruining the country and attempting to invade the country. In turn, British Prime Minister Gordon Brown refused to attend an African/European summit while Mugabe was invited, citing Zimbabwe's poor human rights record. The UK also did not attend an address by President Mugabe at the 2008 UN Food Summit, stating that his presence there was "obscene".

The publication (DIPLOMATIC relations between the governments of Britain and Zimbabwe have been fractious for over a decade now) in the Journal of Southern African Studies by Blessing-Miles Tendi who is a lecturer in African History and Politics at the University of Oxford (UK) and author of Making History in Mugabe's Zimbabwe: Politics, Intellectuals and the Media said that the difficult relations between the two countries (Zimbabwe and Britain) overlapped with political and economic upheaval in Zimbabwe, became sour as President Robert Mugabe's **ZANU PF party seized white-owned commercial farmland**. The British government, led by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair, publicly criticised Mugabe and ZANU PF's crackdown on the MDC and take-over of **white-owned commercial farms**. The British government often demonized Mugabe in its rhetorical condemnations.

Tendi goes on to say that when Mugabe was invited to the 2008 World Food Summit, the British government criticised his invitation by stating that “this is like Pol Pot going to a human rights conference”, while headlines such as Evil Mugabe stole our farm or Hitler Mugabe launches revenge terror attacks became a staple diet in British newspapers from 2000 onwards. These examples of demonization helped forge a perception in Britain that Mugabe was somehow “evil” and that it was the “good” British government’s duty to take a strong moral stand on Mugabe’s leadership. When Mugabe was stripped of his knighthood by the British government in 2008, he quipped: “We continue to respect the Queen”. Tendi said.²⁸ Therefore, the task now is for Britain and Zimbabwe to de-demonize each other in a slow path towards re-engagement.

This re-engagement process is in a way taking place bit by bit as evidenced by some instances like when the Senior UK Government official met Zimbabwean Minister Oppah Muchinguri-Kashiri in September 2015 according to the British Embassy Harare. United Kingdom’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) Head of Central & Southern Africa Department Ms. Danae Dholakia is visited Zimbabwe. Ms. Danae Dholakia, accompanied by the UK Ambassador to Zimbabwe Ms. Catriona Laing CB visited the Minister of Water, Environment and Climate Honorable Oppah Muchinguri-Kashiri in Harare today.

They discussed combating the Illegal Wildlife Trade; the UK’s ongoing support to the water sector in Zimbabwe, which has resulted in over 2 million people in rural areas gaining access to clean water; and mitigating the impacts of global climate change on Zimbabwe in the context of the forthcoming 21st Conference of the Parties in Paris in December. They also discussed the positive role UK expertise in designing Public/Private Partnerships may play in assisting

Zimbabwe leverage investment in vital infrastructure, and the UK's Chevening Scholarship programme.

Ms. Dholakia said that "I had a productive meeting with Minister Muchinguri where we discussed the UK and Zimbabwe's mutual commitment to tackling the illegal wildlife trade. The UK Government has mobilized the \$19.5 Million Illegal Wildlife Trade Challenge Fund, designed to help combat the global scourge of Illegal Wildlife Trading. We look forward to continuing our support for the people of Zimbabwe through our aid programmes, technical assistance and broader cooperation."

Ambassador Laing said that "Today's meeting is a very practical demonstration of the UK's willingness to work together with Zimbabwe to tackle the global problem of the Illegal Wildlife Trade, and on broader conservation issues in order to promote sustainable development for the Zimbabwean people. Addressing these issues together will help to strengthen the ties between our countries."

Therefore, if such fruitful co-operations and discussions are conducted in all the other sectors and ministries of Zimbabwe socially, economically and politically there is going to be a good and desired Zimbabwe in the near future. Zimbabwe must be the one on the lead towards this re-engagement process.

In addition, there were some reports of 7 September 2015 from the British Embassy in Harare which stated that "The UK provides US\$37 million to improve education in Zimbabwe." The embassy said the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) has

approved new funding to support the education sector in Zimbabwe and up to four million pupils will benefit from the Education Development Fund.

These funds were intended to allow the progress made under the Education Development Fund (EDF) to continue. This includes the School Improvement Grants programme, which will focus on providing quality schooling for children in disadvantaged schools in rural areas. This fund will be delivered through the UK's trusted partner UNICEF and activities will be closely aligned to the priorities of Zimbabwe's Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education.

Annabel G (2011), Head of DFID Zimbabwe said: This additional funding for education sector in Zimbabwe demonstrates the UK's continued commitment to ensuring access to quality schooling for all children. All these efforts must be taken seriously as they are very good steps towards re-engagement.

4.6.2 Canada – Zimbabwe Relations

Zimbabwe has got an embassy in Ottawa and Canada has an embassy in Harare since independence in 1980 but because of Zimbabwe's poor record on human rights and democracy, Canada has imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. These aid suspension and visa-ban to some members of the Harare government. Bilateral trade totaled C\$16 million in 2011, down from C\$430 million in 1999. Canadian investment in Zimbabwe is primarily in the mining sector. Following elections on July 31, 2013, Robert Mugabe was declared the President of Zimbabwe and his Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party secured a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly. Canada congratulated the people of Zimbabwe for participating peacefully in elections, but expressed serious concerns about the reported irregularities and lack of transparency in the democratic process, which call into question

whether the results can credibly represent the will of the people. In Zimbabwe, Canada continues to support the emergence of a government respectful of human rights, democracy, freedom, and the rule of law. Canada also works to maintain political and diplomatic pressure to promote positive reforms in Zimbabwe that will improve the lives of the Zimbabwean people (Canada-Zimbabwe Relations: Fact Sheet, 2015).

Prior to the elections, Canada supported progress under Zimbabwe's Global Political Agreement (GPA), signed in September 2008. Some progress was achieved under the GPA in the lead-up to elections, including the restoration of public services, a decrease in politically motivated violence, and the enactment of a new constitution.

In 2008, under the Special Economic Measures Act (Zimbabwe) Regulations, Canada imposed targeted economic measures which froze the assets designated persons. The Regulations also banned the export or transport of arms and related material to Zimbabwe, and prohibited the provision of technical or financial assistance relating to arms. However, these measures do not impeded trade and investment with the vast majority of Zimbabweans. Canada will review these targeted measures once there are genuine and lasting policy shifts towards democratic and accountable governance, as well as respect for human rights and the rule of law (Canada-Zimbabwe Relations: Fact Sheet, 2015)

The table below shows that bilateral product trade between Canada and Zimbabwe after the economic sanctions was no longer lucrative. It is clear that it is Canada that is now benefitting more than Zimbabwe from the trade because the statistical records are showing that Canada exported more to Zimbabwe than what she imported from Zimbabwe. The margins on the figures

are too much which means re-engagement with this powerful Western country will be a great deal for Zimbabwe economically because the sanctions will be scrapped off.³⁶

Table 4.2 Bilateral Product trade

This is an extract from Statistics: Canada, IMF March 2016

Canada - Zimbabwe

YEAR	EXPORTS	IMPORTS
2011	\$9,162,219	\$6,898,250
2012	\$7,537,284	\$2,144,437
2013	\$4,236,996	\$7,547,820
2014	\$4,330,115	\$1,896,298
2015	\$5,539,840	\$2,243,478

Canadian Sanctions Related to Zimbabwe

These sanctions related to Zimbabwe include arms embargo, Financial Prohibitions and Technical Assistance Prohibition Regulations which entered into force on 04 September 2008. They were enacted under the Special Economic Measures Act in response to human rights violations, political violence and a worsening humanitarian situation.³⁷ Subject to certain exceptions, the measures implemented by the Special Economic Measures (Zimbabwe) Regulations include;

- a ban on the export of arms and related material to Zimbabwe or to any person in Zimbabwe;
- a prohibition on the transport of arms and related material to Zimbabwe aboard a Canadian vessel or aircraft;

- a prohibition on the provision of technical or financial assistance or services relating to arms and related material, including the provision, transfer or communication of technical data, to Zimbabwe or any person in Zimbabwe;
- requirement on any person in Canada and Canadian outside of Canada to freeze the assets of listed Zimbabwean persons and entities; and
- a prohibition on Zimbabwean aircraft from flying over or landing in Canada

However, Zimbabwe minister urged Canada to lift sanctions as noted by Kim Mackrael (2013) in the Ottawa publication known as ‘The Globe and Mail’ on Tuesday, Jan. 08, 2013, “Canada must **re-engage** with ‘the difficult places’ in the world”, a senior minister from Zimbabwe’s coalition government said. The then Finance Minister Tendai Biti made the comments after a presentation at Carleton University in Ottawa Tuesday night, “Canada is such an important country, and has been an important country over the years, that it must be **engaged** in Africa and in the difficult places over the world.” Mr. Biti said he would use the meeting with Mr. Baird as an opportunity to press the Canadian government to broaden its relationship with Zimbabwe. In short, Biti was yearning for **re-engagement** of Canada by Zimbabwe and this is a call for the re-alignment of the country’s foreign policy

4.6.3 United States of America - Zimbabwe Relations

United States President Jimmy Carter met with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in August 1980. Author Geoff Hill criticized Carter for keeping "**quiet as Mugabe nationalized the press, committed genocide against minority tribes and subverted Zimbabwe's constitution to make him the sole source of authority.**" (Notable U.S. Ambassadors since 1775: A Biographical Dictionary). These are some of the major factors behind the sour US-

Zimbabwe relations and they need to be resolved so as to ensure cooperation between the two states.

In addition, the Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Simbarashe Mumbengegwi summoned U.S. Ambassador to Zimbabwe Christopher Dell on 9 November 2005 and expressed his "extreme displeasure" with comments Dell made a few days earlier in Mutare. Dell had said government corruption had led to food shortages. Mugabe said Dell could "go to hell." Dell left Zimbabwe for Washington, D.C., United States on 9 November for consultations after meeting with Minister Mumbengegwi.

U.S. Policy

The United States was critical of the ZANU-PF government for its poor human rights record and lack of respect for the rule of law, but has expressed cautious support for the coalition government. Key elements of U.S. policy toward Zimbabwe have included targeted sanctions against high-ranking ZANU-PF members and their affiliates, support for South Africa to spearhead an African effort to restore democracy, and assistance intended to help the country's poor and strengthen civil society. According to the Washington Times, January 19, 2005, former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice told Congress during her 2005 confirmation hearing that Zimbabwe was one of six "outposts of tyranny" worldwide and that the United States stood with the oppressed people there. These remarks provoked an angry personal response from Mugabe as noted by the AFP on February 11, 2005. Prior to the formation of the unity government, US Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton told the Senate in January 2009 that "the suffering inflicted on the Zimbabwean people by the illegitimate government of Robert Mugabe is appalling." Under her leadership, the State Department has welcomed the new government but warned, "We will not consider providing additional development assistance or even easing

sanctions until we see effective governance.” (Daily Press Briefing by State Department Spokesman Robert Wood, February 11, 2009). Therefore, all this just point to the urgent need for foreign policy re-alignment and re-engage the West for the country to run smoothly.

USA Sanctions Related to Zimbabwe

The USA Embassy noted that the Mugabe administration has routinely blamed its economic crisis on sanctions from the West. The United States does not currently have trade sanctions against Zimbabwe, with the exception of a ban on transfers of defense items and services to the country. The U.S. government has, however, frozen all non-humanitarian government-to-government aid. Zimbabwe is not eligible for trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) because of its poor record of economic management and human rights abuses.

The embassy further mentioned that the White House has annually renewed U.S. sanctions against ZANU-PF leaders. The sanctions are intended to punish those responsible for Zimbabwe’s difficulties without harming the Zimbabwe population at large. The initial sanctions, imposed in 2003, ban travel to the United States by “senior members of the government of Robert Mugabe and others who formulate, implement, or benefit from policies that undermine or injure Zimbabwe’s democratic institutions or impede the transition to a multi-party democracy.” Persons who benefit financially from business dealings with such individuals are also banned, as are the spouses of people in either group.

In 2003, President Bush issued an executive order freezing assets held in the United States by seventy-five high-ranking Zimbabwe officials including President Mugabe and President Mugabe’s wife, Grace. Nine companies and commercial farms were added in 2004, and the list has been further expanded since then. President Bush added additional names to the list in

December 2007 and November 2008. President Obama renewed the sanctions in March 2010. In January 2010 coalition government officials, including Prime Minister Tsvangirai, requested that sanctions against certain banks and parastatals on the list be reviewed and possibly removed and this was a very good step towards re-engagement by the Prime Minister which was intended to bring positive results for the benefit of all Zimbabweans.

Congress made clear its opposition to Robert Mugabe's policies in the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001 (P.L. 107-99), which criticized "economic mismanagement" and "undemocratic practices" in Zimbabwe. This legislation called for consultations with allies on economic sanctions and a travel ban. In the 109th Congress, the U.S. House of Representatives passed H.Res.409 in December 2005, condemning Operation Murambatsvina, which the resolution termed a "humanitarian disaster that has compounded the country's humanitarian food and economic crises." The resolution also called on the U.N. and African regional bodies to investigate the impact of the demolitions and requested that the Administration use its influence to advocate further action by the IMF against the Zimbabwean government.

The 110th Congress was active on Zimbabwe. On April 17, 2007, the House of Representatives passed H.Con.Res.100, sponsored by Representative Tom Lantos, condemning the Zimbabwean government's recent actions against opposition and civil society activists.

Several Members of Congress issued statements highly critical of the Mugabe Administration surrounding the 2008 elections and the ongoing political violence. Some wrote letters to Bush Administration officials or African leaders. On April 25, 2007 the Senate passed S.Res.533, introduced by Senator John Kerry, calling for the immediate release of the presidential results, an end to the political violence and intimidation, and a peaceful transition to democratic rule.

The House passed H.Res.1230, sponsored by Representative Donald Payne and all the House Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, among others, condemning the violence and calling for a peaceful resolution to the political crisis.

H.Res. 1270, sponsored by Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, was also passed, calling for an international arms embargo, urging the United Nations to deploy a special envoy to Zimbabwe and encouraging the parties to discuss the creation of a government of national unity.

Prior to the June runoff, Representative Adam Schiff introduced legislation calling on the Zimbabwe government to postpone the election.

In March 2009, Representative Ros- Lehtinen introduced H.Res.238, declaring economic and humanitarian crisis in Zimbabwe to be a threat to international security. Seven months after the new government's formation, the Senate Foreign Relations Africa Subcommittee held a hearing, Exploring U.S. Policy Options toward Zimbabwe's Transition. Following that hearing, Subcommittee Chairman Russ Feingold called the transition a "great opportunity ... to help advance real reform and recovery," noting that while the transition remains incomplete and abuses in Zimbabwe continue, "we need to seize this opportunity and look for ways that we can proactively **engage** and help strengthen the hands of reformers in Zimbabwe's transitional government."

On May 4, 2010, Senator Feingold, Senator Johnny Isakson, and Senator John Kerry introduced S. 3297, the Zimbabwe Transition to Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2010. According to Senator Feingold, S. 3297 "aims to update U.S. policy and to provide the necessary direction and flexibility for the United States to proactively push for democracy and economic recovery in Zimbabwe." The U.S. State Department lifted its warning for Americans traveling to Zimbabwe in 2009, although it suggests that the situation in the country is "unpredictable and

could deteriorate quickly without warning” and has warned that, although there have been no recent events; Americans have in the past been detained for expressing their views about the political regime there. Then-U.S. Ambassador Christopher Dell said, in 2006, a delegation of the U.S. Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), led by AFL-CIO Vice President William Lucy, was expelled from the country.

With all the above evidence on the sour and poor relations between USA and Zimbabwe, it is safe for one to argue than there is a great need for the re-engagement of the two states so as to ensure a bright future for Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe cannot maneuver anywhere in the jungle of this international arena with all those restrictions set out by America. For progress and development there must be the lifting of sanctions but still they cannot be lifted if Zimbabwe is not willing to cooperate through addressing the mentioned unfair practices in the USA documents. This concurs with what the Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe always say on USA sanctions to Zimbabwe. They agree that they have hindered progress in the country and they must be lifted but the bottom line is that Zimbabwe should reform and meet the good governance standards as called for by the international organisations.

4.6.4 Australia–Zimbabwe Relations

Australia currently maintains an embassy in Harare, and Zimbabwe maintains an embassy in Canberra, both countries have full embassy level diplomatic relations. At the independence celebrations in Harare in 1980, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's contribution to Zimbabwean independence was firmly acknowledged. However, so far the relations are sour and this has driven the author to examine the rationale behind the process towards the re-engagement of the West – Australia included so that those old days can be restored.

The Australian embassy in Zimbabwe maintain the view that the relations between the two countries began to sour when the government in Zimbabwe began its **controversial land reform programme, occupying farms owned by members of Zimbabwe's white minority, sometimes by force**. The USA Today of 2007-05-13 wrote that in an unusually blunt declaration. Australian Prime Minister John Howard described Robert Mugabe as a "grubby dictator". Howard also called for other African countries to put pressure on Zimbabwe to crack down on the increasingly autocratic Zimbabwean government. Sporting links between the two countries were also disrupted, with the Howard government banning the Australian cricket team from taking part in a scheduled tour of the country, citing the propaganda boost that it would provide for the Mugabe régime. This means if there is going to be meaningful re-engagement of Austria by Zimbabwe; there is need for the Zimbabwean Government to revisit its Land reform programme in line with the set international standards and expectations

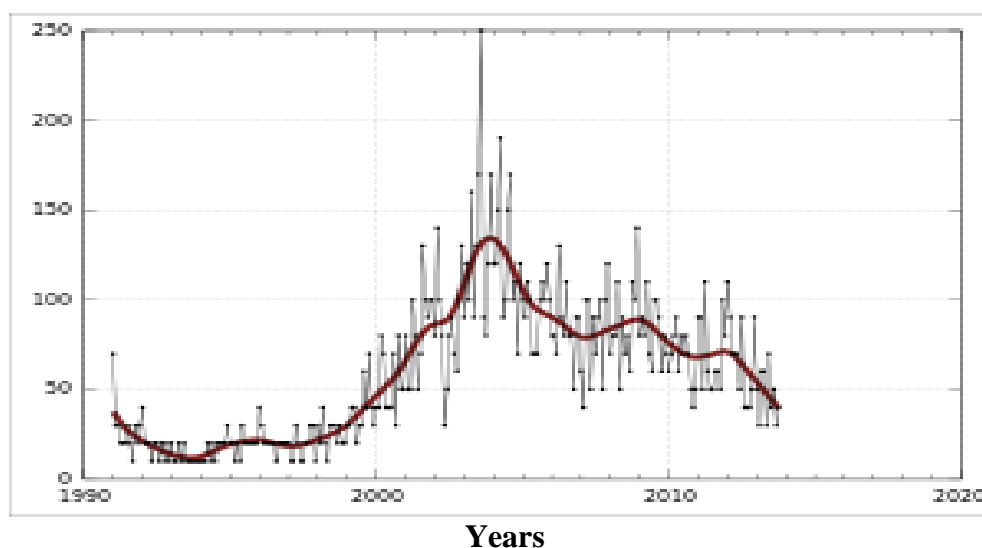
ABC News (Sunday Profile) of 2005-07-31 states that Howard's successor as Prime Minister of Australia, Kevin Rudd, was also critical of the Zimbabwean Government. Before the 2007 election, he criticised the People's Republic of China for providing "soft loans" to the Zimbabwean Government, and later offered aid to Zimbabwe only if the 2008 elections in that country were "fair". Thomson, P in December 2013 wrote in The Canberra Times that the Zimbabwean Ambassador to Australia, Jacqueline Zwambila, resigned and sought asylum in Australia due to fears of arrest should she return to Zimbabwe due to her links with official opposition there.

According to Yaxley, L on 17 July 2007, "in 2002, the Howard government in Australia imposed targeted sanctions against members of the Zimbabwean government in protest against the

deteriorating political situation in Zimbabwe. The sanctions were extended and strengthened in 2007. These sanctions have included restrictions on travel to and through Australia for certain members of the Zimbabwean government, suspension of all non-humanitarian aid and prohibitions on defence links as mentioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia).” Sydney Morning reported in the Herald of 23 July 2008 that the Rudd government in 2008 considered further sanctions against Zimbabwe, with foreign minister Stephen Smith declaring that "I've made it clear that we are open to consider more sanctions ... We are currently giving active consideration to that issue."

Zimbabweans living in Australia

Figure 4.5: The number of Zimbabwean settlers arriving in Australia (monthly) since 1991.



The above graph clearly shows that the migration of people from Zimbabwe to Australia rose to abnormal levels from the year 2000 onwards which is the period of fast-track land reform programme in Zimbabwe. This has robbed the country through brain-drain and re-engagement is the only solution to this problem. At the 2006 Australian census, 20,158 people listed themselves as having been born in Zimbabwe. Of these, ten thousand (or roughly 50%) had

arrived since 2001 as recorded by the *Australian Bureau of Statistics*. In an interview with the Australian embassy officials it came out that the turmoil in Zimbabwe has led to a number of Zimbabweans leaving the country to seek refuge in Australia, including:

- (a) Henry Olonga, the first black player in the Zimbabwean cricket team, fled to Australia after being charged with treason in Zimbabwe, stemming from an incident where he wore a black armband in an international cricket match to protest the "death of democracy in Zimbabwe". Olonga later met and married an Australian woman that he met in Adelaide while attending the Australian Institute of Sport's cricket programme (*New Zimbabwe*. 2008-05-24).
- (b) Rumbidzai Tsvangirai, daughter of Zimbabwean opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai, studies economics at Perth's Murdoch University (*The Sydney Morning Herald*. 2008-07-22.)
- (c) Zimbabwean cricketer Eddo Brandes settled in Australia after his retirement from international cricket, where he now coaches a team in the Brisbane grade cricket competition.

4.6.5 European Union – Zimbabwe Relations

Smith, D, Africa correspondent under Global development on the 18th of February 2015 reported that, “EU ends 12-year sanctions in response to Zimbabwe’s new constitution, but travel bans for African Union chair Mugabe and his wife remain in force.” This is a great leap forward on the re-engagement as it points to a bright future for Zimbabwe. Moreover, **the EU resumed aid to Zimbabwe as relations with Robert Mugabe thaw. Smith in his report said that** Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe and his wife are banned from travelling to the EU, but exceptions may be made for him to attend events in his capacity as AU chair.

The pledge by the EU has to be taken seriously as negotiations shall also continue up until all the other remaining sanctions are scrapped off. This announcement was ostensibly a reward for Zimbabwe's adoption of a progressive new constitution and an attempt to encourage further change. But it also marked the latest step towards normalizing relations and working with Mugabe rather than against him. "After 12 years of sanctions, we have realized it is not going to work," one western source said. "We do not have enough leverage to induce reform. Let's try another way by **engaging** with the government in a more positive way rather than standing on the sidelines." Philippe van Damme said. He added on to say that the money will go towards boosting production in agriculture and improving health services as well as assisting with governance and institution-building over the next six years. While the projects will be jointly discussed by the EU and government, they will still be implemented by agencies such as the UN Development Programme and World Bank but if Zimbabwe meets conditions relating to good governance and the rule of law, it could eventually receive direct budget support.

Philippe van Damme, the EU ambassador to Zimbabwe, said during a signing ceremony that the agreement opened a **new chapter** in Europe's relationship with the country.

Patrick Chinamasa the Minister of Finance and Economic Development used the opportunity to appeal for direct foreign investment from EU countries. He said "Zimbabwe is open for business. I would therefore want to extend my invitation to European investors to come and invest in Zimbabwe." This is clear that Zimbabwe just like any other state in this world of globalization cannot do without the West as well as the West cannot do without Zimbabwe; both sides need each other.

Analysts said this EU donation marked a significant repositioning. Piers Pigou, southern Africa project director for the International Crisis Group, commented: "... the money is coming at an important time, a moment of extreme political and economic instability in Zimbabwe. The EU has decided it couldn't allow the situation to deteriorate any further." (The Week: Business, 2015)

The table below is just a brief key statistical record on European Union Trade with Zimbabwe from European Commission Directorate-General for Trade by 20 October 2015 which is showing poor gains on Zimbabwe due to EU sanctions. However, right now the anticipation is that due to the above mentioned developments on EU-Zimbabwe relations there is going to be an immaculate re-engagement between the two states which will definitely improve the trade between the two.

Table 4.3: European Union, Trade with Zimbabwe: Key Figures

Indicator	Unit	Period	Imports	Exports	Total trade	Balance
Last year	Mio euro	2014	512	221	732	-291
Rank as EU partner		2014	92	141	119	--
Share in EU trade	%	2014	0.0	0.0	0.0	--
Annual growth rate	%	2013 – 2014	32.0	-8.3	--	--
Annual average growth rate %	%	2010 -2014	14.3	3.9	--	--

On September 03, 2015, Zulu B from Washington DC wrote an article titled "Tense Relations Continue as British Ambassador Meets Zimbabwe VP Mphoko" He said that the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing, on Wednesday held a private meeting with Vice President Phelekezela Mphoko. Catriona told that the two countries should work on improving

their relations. A statement from the British embassy said the **UK is already undertaking important confidence building measures and if reciprocated on the Zimbabwe side.**

In short, Zimbabwe is eager for re-engagement with the West and what is only needed is for the country to meet the international standards on Human Rights. Good relations would even improve the trade as noted in the Zimbabwe Situation Report in an article titled “Zimbabwe records trade surplus with EU” on 25 July 2014. It is mentioned that Zimbabwe recorded a trade surplus of 156.3 million U.S. dollars with the European Union in the first nine months of 2013, up from 85 million U.S. dollars recorded in the same period the previous year as trade between the two continues to firm. Authorities from the two countries have also expressed hope that trade will expand following Zimbabwe’s ratification of the interim Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the EU in 2012. Under the EPA, Zimbabwe’s exports will enjoy the privileged duty-free and quota-free access into the EU market, among other preferential treatments.

Meanwhile, the other advantages of the re-engagement is that the EU said it would jointly launch with Zimbabwe a 3 million Euro trade information center that will enable Zimbabwean businesses to easily access information about trade with the EU. The EU also set up with local partner Zim-Trade, the Zimbabwe-EU Business Information Center which enhances access to important information by Zimbabwean companies thereby strengthening trade relations between the two. Moreover, according to EU ambassador to Zimbabwe Aldo Dell’Ariccia “EU will facilitate SMEs access to opportunities such as ‘Duty Free Quota Free’ access for Zimbabwean exports into the EU market,”⁶² All these efforts are very good because they have made the EU to be Zimbabwe’s third largest trading partner after South Africa and China. This re-engagement has got a lot of advantages and opportunities for Zimbabwe; the efforts must be intensified.

4.7 Effects of Internal ZANU-PF Struggles on re-engagement

The Bureau of African Affairs Fact Sheet of March 15, 2016 on “U.S. Relations with Zimbabwe” said that in view of President Mugabe’s advanced age, presidential succession has been a matter of intense interest to observers for several years. Some analysts have expressed concern that Zimbabwe could experience a violent succession struggle or a possible military coup in the event of his death. Under the constitution, the president may designate one of the country’s two vice presidents to serve as acting president until the next election, should he leave office, but Mugabe has never done so. One of the vice presidential posts was vacant prior to ZANU-PF’s 2004 party conference, setting off a power struggle that transformed the political scene by revealing internal party divisions. Despite having turned 89 in 2013, President Mugabe is reportedly in good health and in no rush to relinquish his post. The report further mentions that many observers suggest that he has used the country’s anti- corruption authority to check the political ambitions of his party members.

Vice President Joyce Mujuru was booted out in 2015 and many other senior party officials were suspended and even expelled from the party. The affected officials are Kaukonde Ray, Mutasa Didymus, Nhema Francis, Shamu Webster, Jabulani Sibanda just to mention but a few. There was a lot of party restructuring in 2014 up to 2016 from the Districts, Provinces up to the National level.

A peace studies lecturer at Africa University when asked to comment on this in an interview said that these fights have got a negative impact on the re-engagement process. He said the fights actually impinge on the efforts because the other countries will no longer have confidence in the government of Zimbabwe, it will be very difficult to make some investment deals with the officials that are not certain about their tomorrow in politics because of fear of fights in their

party. The fights really cause fragility and uncertainty within the state because ZANU PF party cannot be separated from the government. This then goes against the response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the same question who said that the party politics can not affect the government in any way because it is a government with policies and principles to follow. However, that is why Masunungure Eldred of the University of Zimbabwe says in his own view that Zimbabwe is a party state and there is huge evidence the party is inseparable from the state. This sounds very true because even if we trace the structure of the formulation of foreign policy in Zimbabwe where the Head of State who is grossly influenced by the politburo decisions which is a party structure.

4.8 Summary

Chapter four was mainly concerned with data presentation, interpretation and analysis through the discussion of the findings. The chapter has answered the main research question which sought to establish the fundamental reasons why Zimbabwe should re-engage the West. The responses on one hand are from the Government of Zimbabwe officials then on the other hand there are responses from Western countries' embassies. There were also neutral responses from political/economic analysts, civil society organisations and university lecturers plus students in the Department/Institute of Politics and Public Management/ Peace Studies/ International Relations. This was mainly to make sure that all the different views from all sides have been merged so as to come up with policy prescriptions on the re-engagement process in Zimbabwe.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions and makes recommendations for the way forward and directions for further research. The chapter highlights the research summary and conclusions that address the research objectives and finally presents recommendations.

5.1 Summary

The research study was mainly concerned with examining the fundamental reasons behind the forming of new arrangements or new orientation to reorganize Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy which is a set of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations circles especially in light of the country's relations with the West. The data on this renewed engagement was collected with the use of both primary and secondary sources.

The researcher aimed to examine the current situation in Zimbabwe which is characterised by a lot of social, political and economic hardships like high unemployment rate, closure of the manufacturing industries, poor performance in the Agricultural production among others. He placed an assumption on the foreign policy as the key to answer the Zimbabwean situation. Combinations of qualitative and quantitative research designs were used and the data collected

The empirical evidence has unearthed the fact that re-engagement of the West is vital but both Zimbabwe and the West have to meet half way in terms of compromising some set principles. This now calls for Zimbabwe to revise its fast-track Land Reform Programme of 2000, the current indigenization policy of 51/49% share on foreign investments in natural resources of which the President R.G Mugabe is trying to look into but with much caution.

This research has unveiled all the sour relations between Zimbabwe and a good number of Western countries like USA, Canada, UK-Britain, Australia and even the EU as a regional block. All this helped in examining on how the former good 1980s-1990s relations can be restored for the bright future of Zimbabwe. This re-engagement process is never going to be easy for the diplomats as they are going to be cooling down hot fires from both sides (Zimbabwe and the West) because there is this realist perspective which is shared by theorists such as Thomas Hobbes who view human nature as egocentric and conflictual unless if there are conditions under which humans may coexist. The realists believe that power is a concept primarily thought therefore both Zimbabwe and Western states will be emphasizing on interest in accumulating power to ensure security for survival in an anarchic world which means conflicts and misunderstandings are going to be there but the negotiations only need strong men and women.

The researcher consulted other scholars or authorities on the foreign policy of Zimbabwe and foreign policy re-alignment the world over so as to have guidelines in analyzing the research findings in this project. All the other factors that cause dis-engagement in international relations and also the implications of disengagement were examine. These include the issues of Human Rights abuse, rigging of votes during elections, manipulation of election results, civil wars, dictatorship, use of state machinery against citizens by the state and all the other moves that are viewed as threat to peace by the international community. This research has established that some of these are the major reasons why Zimbabwe was sanctioned by most of Western countries which led to disengagement.

5.2 Conclusion

Poor relations between Zimbabwe and the West for the past fifteen years have been costly to the country in a tremendous way as evidenced by the research findings. It is true that the Look East

Policy has helped Zimbabwe to survive on the international arena but most of the people consulted really admit that Zimbabwe has greatly suffered for the period under review. A lot happened in Zimbabwe like hyper-inflation, scarcity of basic commodities on the market which led the government to intervene through BACCOSI, scarcity of fuel, migration of people to other countries which was even seen fit and necessary by the Registrar General's department as they initiated the issuing of Emergency Travelling Documents (ETDs) – the list is endless. All these were signs that Zimbabwe was now disengaged from major players in the international community as evidenced by a lot of sanctions from Western powers like USA, Australia, Canada and Britain. All these sanctions were not just imposed but there are reasons though the government of Zimbabwe calls them illegal.

Without doubt, Zimbabwe from 2000 onwards was now a bit isolated with only the Asian giant China which seemed to be an “all-weather friend” and a few other Western and Eastern powers only because they turned a blind eye on the so-called human rights abuses by the West as China believes in her policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other powers. However, these relations have also been criticized because China is taking more than what it deserves especially from the extractive industry as an example as compared to what Zimbabwe is getting from this China.

This automatically brings us to the conclusion that Zimbabwe must work tirelessly towards re-engaging the West because in international relations a state cannot only survive from one direction like the East only but the West is also helpful. Zimbabwe needs other powers for survival just like any other third world state in this globalized world. Zimbabwe only needs to be careful in promoting her national interest in this re-engagement process.

5.3 Recommendations

It appears that the Land Reform Programme 2000, inhuman policies like Murambatsvina of 2005 and AIPPA, abuse of Human Rights, Indigenization Policy and others are some of the factors surrounding the disengagement of Zimbabwe from good relations with Western powers and institutions like the World Bank and IMF. The researcher, therefore, suggests that the following recommendations may help in making sure that proper relations are restored:

1. **Urgent reforms must take place in Zimbabwe** - the West has a rare opportunity to shape the development agenda in Zimbabwe by pressing for enhanced transparency, accountability, and respect for human rights through the re-engagement process therefore this is high time that they are implemented. Experience elsewhere has shown that if these reforms do not take place early in a transition, they are much more difficult to achieve later on.
2. **Fiscal transparency and accountability, and respect for human rights** - these are essential for development assistance to be meaningful in Zimbabwe, particularly as the country's finances and governance have been opaque for so long.
3. **The government will be eligible for lending, on a limited basis** – this is only when it achieves significant progress giving priority to urgent social needs, implementing the necessary reforms to enable full civil society participation, and enhancing social accountability
4. Terminating all off-budget military funding and securing proper parliamentary oversight over the military's budget. This will not disappoint the potential donors for socio-economic projects in Zimbabwe.
5. Prioritizing urgent economic and social needs.

6. **Civic participation in identifying and shaping development priorities**

There is great need for the government of Zimbabwe to place much importance on civic participation for there to be financial support from the Bretton Woods institutions. This entails involvement by civil society and social accountability for sustainable development.

7. **Anti-corruption reform** - the current state of the laws in these areas is a challenge to Zimbabwe's development goals. There is need for an improvement in the fight against corruption in the country.

8. **Land Reforms** - Land confiscations of 2000-2002 by the government of Zimbabwe need to be revisited so as to ensure meaningful re-engagement. Commercial farm land must be occupied by productive farmers (black or white) to ensure effective production not anyone just to occupy anywhere. Some productive farmers in crop husbandry were resettled in cattle ranching areas which is a great blow to agricultural production. The government should ensure that the land title deeds and security tenure must be linked to investment so as to attract more investors. There must also be proper funding land audits as provided in the constitution.

9. **ZANU PF Internal fights to be put to an end** – these fights are a great threat to potential investors because they cause uncertainty and instability within the country. These must be resolved as early as possible so as to show that Zimbabwe is now ready for re-engagement. The fights clearly show that re-engagement is needed within ZANU – PF before even talking of the country at large.

10. **Indigenization Policy** – the government of Zimbabwe must be very clear on this policy because it is somehow a threat to foreign investment. All the companies whether from the

West or the East must be treated fairly. For example if it is 51/49 % share to all the companies let it be not to have another company enjoying 80% while the government of Zimbabwe is taking only 20%. There must be clarity and consistency on this policy. The policy should emphasize on clarity, consistency, transparency in its provisions in order to give confidence to foreign investors.

11. **Zimbabwe must be genuine in its re-engagement and avoid posturing** – There is official posturing in that “Zimbabwe is not re-engaging the West; it is the West who are re-engaging...” This is clear intellectual dishonesty.
12. **Zimbabwe to change its diplomatic style** to facilitate re-engagement for example confrontational rhetoric the West, use of the “race card” in its foreign policy pronouncement to justify its stance and to fight detractors at home and abroad. The government has to move away from “blame game” for successful re-engagement with the West.
13. **Zimbabwe needs a well-defined structure and strategy for re-engagement with the West** - This will be responsible for clarifying the government’s position domestically and internationally for all the government ministries to speak with one voice to avoid confusion. For example, a situation where Cabinet Ministers publicly disagree with each other on the re-engagement process of attracting investors. These two, Chinamasa and Zhuwawo hand some clashes which does not demonstrate that the government is sincere or genuine in its re-engagement, therefore, the structure and strategy for re-engagement becomes key.
14. **Zimbabwe to reorient its foreign policy in word and deed** to reflect spirit of re-engagement.

Interview Guide Number

**APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EMBASSIES, GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES,
LECTURERS, STUDENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

INTRODUCTION

My name is Tinashe Kelvin Tigere R10996T, a student at Midlands State University, carrying out a research in partial fulfillment of post-graduate studies (Master of Science in International Affairs). The research topic reads: **The rationale behind Zimbabwe’s foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West (2009 - 2016).**

Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and only used for academic purposes. Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Name of participant

1. In your own opinion, why is the Zimbabwean government re-engaging the West or the West re-engaging Zimbabwe?

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2. How ready is Zimbabwe in re-engaging the West and what is the rationale behind all this?

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3. Can you describe the international power dynamics surrounding Zimbabwe’s socio-economic crisis?

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4. Can Zimbabwe do without the West? Explain your answer?

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5. Is Zimbabwe successful in implementing her foreign policy in the 21st century? What efforts are being made by the Zimbabwean government in this re-engagement process?

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6. What are the implications of the Look East Policy on Zimbabwe's socio-economic environment and what is your perception on the quality of life of the Zimbabweans so far?

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7. What are the programmes that the state has lined up to raise the pre-engagement hype and what's the appetite of the people of the Zimbabwe ahead of this move?

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8. Recently there were suspensions and counter suspensions along factional lines within the ZANU PF Party. Has this not impinged on Zimbabwe's efforts towards the re-engagement?

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9. Your message to those in the academia.

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Thank you so much!!!

Questionnaire Number

**APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE EMBASSIES, GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES,
LECTURERS, STUDENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

INTRODUCTION

My name is Tinashe Kelvin Tigere R10996T, a student at Midlands State University, carrying out a research in partial fulfillment of post-graduate studies (Master of Science in International Affairs). The research topic reads: **The rationale behind Zimbabwe’s foreign policy re-alignment in the context of re-engaging the West (2009 - 2016).**

Your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality and only used for academic purposes. Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Section A: Designation of Interviewees/ Respondents

Please kindly tick against your designation

1.	Zimbabwean Government Ministry official	
2.	Political/ Economic Analyst	
3.	Embassy Official/Diplomat	
4.	Lecturer/Researcher	
5.	Other(specify)	

Name of participant

10. In your own opinion, why is the Zimbabwean government re-engaging the West or the West re-engaging Zimbabwe?

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11. How ready is Zimbabwe in re-engaging the West and what is the rationale behind all this?

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15. What are the implications of the Look East Policy on Zimbabwe's socio-economic environment and what is your perception on the quality of life of the Zimbabweans so far?

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18. Your message to those in the academia.

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Thank you so much!!!