

**The implications of ‘Zimbabwe is Open for Business’ to Re-engagement Efforts with the  
International Community**

**BY**

**B1850008**

**A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Science  
Degree in International Relations.**



**Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities**

**Bindura, Zimbabwe**

**October 2019.**

## ABSTRACT

*The purpose of the research was to explore the implications of 'Zimbabwe is open for business' to re-engagement efforts with the international community following the ousting of the late former president of Zimbabwe Robert G. Mugabe in a military assisted operation code named 'restore legacy', in November 2017. The study employed qualitative research methodology and a case study research design of Zimbabwe was used. Key informants for the study were drawn from the President's office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ministry of Finance and Economic development from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs while documentary search was used to review scholarly literature on the subject. 'Zimbabwe is open for business' mantra came into the fore during president Emmerson Mnangagwa's famous inaugural speech as an attempt to signify a departure from the 'old dispensation's way of doing things and to rebrand and re-sell Zimbabwe as an attractive foreign direct investment destination. The success stories of the new political dispensation were quite notable immediately after the military putsch. Notwithstanding the military involvement, a number of formerly 'hostile' western governments, e.g. Britain, seemed to have embraced the new dispensation, for instance, with talks of rejoining the commonwealth well on course. However the positive strides were soon hampered by issues of legitimacy which ensued after president Mnangagwa's disputed victory in the 2018 general elections. This research revealed that events of the first of August 2018, and January 2019, cases of rampant corruption, rule of law (or lack thereof) resulted in the waning of the re-engagement efforts under the mantra 'Zimbabwe is open for business', and as such failed to achieve meaningful foreign direct investments. In order to rebuild the confidence and international rapport towards Zimbabwe, the study notes the critical role which can be played by implementing political and economic reforms and combating corruption. Other recommendations are to engage in holistic inclusive dialogue mediated by a neutral arbiter.*

## **DECLARATION FORM**

I, Patricia Kuzomba declare that the research project herein is my own and has not been copied or lifted from any source without the acknowledgement of the sources

**Signed**

.....

**Date**

.....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research to my parents Mr and Mrs Kuzomba for their unwavering support and love. Without their encouragement this research would not have been completed.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor DR. KUREBWA; an incredible mentor, guide, shrink, and I daresay...friend, over the last two years. In this distinguished Doctor, I must say that I have enjoyed the best of attention and support I never thought existed. His immense sacrifice of personal time and energy is greatly appreciated and deserve profound thank you. I am grateful to my father and mother: Mr. & Mrs. Kuzomba, whose consistent critique and input saw this work to where it is today. Their insightful comments on anything I wrote, their willingness to fight on my behalf and consistent readiness to further my academic cause has ensured a debt I cannot begin to repay. To all my research participants, I thank you very much for you have enabled me to complete my research – without whose cooperation, this work could not have been fruitful. To my husband Marufu and my sisters, Adrica and Joy and not forgetting my brother Samuel Kuzomba thank you very much for not giving up on me during my weakest moments and for your constant support, and laughs that lightened up my hardest moments. My deepest gratitude goes to My Creator and God for the spiritual inspiration that fortified me to script this document to the last dot and for being my greatest pillar of strength throughout my research work. I will remain prayerful and honourable to your existence.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONMYS**

CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Arica
CPA	Cotonou Partnership Agreement
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICA	Financial Intelligence Act
IMF	International Monetary Institutions
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Commission for Africa
USA	United States of America
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>DECLARATION FORM</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
1.1 Background of the Study .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
1.2 Purpose of the Study .....	3
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.4 Research Objectives .....	4
1.5 Research Questions .....	4
1.6 Assumptions.....	4
1.7 Significance of the Study .....	5
1.8 Delimitations of the Study .....	5
1.9 Limitations of the Study.....	6
1.10 Definition of Key terms .....	6
1.11 Chapter Outline.....	7
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>2.1 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>8</b>
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	8
2.3 Multilevel & multidimensional approach of foreign policy analysis .....	10
2.4 The concept of national interest vis-à-vis foreign policy.....	11
2.5 The concept of sanctions.....	12
2.6 Implications of sanctions in the domestic and foreign politics of Zimbabwe .....	19
2.7 Thawing of relations between EU and the Administration of Mnangagwa.....	21
2.8 Economic challenges .....	21
2.9 Corruption Activities .....	21
2.10 Change of Leadership .....	23

2.11 Politicization of Development .....	23
2.12 Continuation of Debt.....	23
2.13 Turnaround Plans .....	24
2.14 Summary .....	25
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>3.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>26</b>
3.2 Research design .....	26
3.3 Research Methodology .....	26
3.4 Study Population and Sample .....	26
3.5 Purposive Sampling .....	27
3.6 Data Collection Methods .....	28
3.6.1 Research Participants.....	28
3.6.2 Documentary Evidence.....	28
3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis .....	29
3.8 Ethical Considerations .....	29
3.9 Summary .....	30
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS ..</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>4.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>31</b>
4.2 Summary .....	39
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS &amp; AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>5.1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>40</b>
5.2 Summary .....	40
5.3 Conclusions.....	41
5.4 Recommendations.....	43
5.5 Areas for Further Research .....	44
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>ANNEXURES.....</b>	<b>48</b>



# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the study

The relations of Zimbabwe and the international community started deteriorating post 2000 due to varied reasons based on the economic and political factors. Racial tensions which had been suppressed for many years in Zimbabwe owing to the white community's disinterest in interfering in ZANU PF politics quickly manifested in 2000 when the white community in a bid to safeguard their properties supported the MDC party which had been formed the previous year in 1999 Mbanje and Mahuku (2012). The loss of the constitutional referendum in February 2000 however was 'the straw that started to break the ZANU-PF camel's back' and was the direct catalyst for the Third *Chimurenga* (Moore 2001:255 cited in Helliker, 2006:194).

According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012) since 2002 the EU-Zimbabwe relations have deteriorated. Major disagreements over essential elements of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA), the land reform programme and difficulties surrounding the deployment of the 2002 EU election observer mission, led to current restrictions of the cooperation. From a radical or pan-Africanist point of view, it can be argued that it was politically and economically intolerable for Zimbabwean white farmers to continue to benefit from the returns of colonialism while Black people continued to live on unproductive land. Coltart (2008) notes that the ZANU PF elites had to maintain their support by confiscating and redistributing privately owned assets.

According to the New York Times (2002) in February 2002, the European Council adopted a decision partially suspending cooperation assistance under the European Development Fund (EDF). The EU adopted a common position on restrictive measures such as the prohibition of arms supply to Zimbabwe as well as imposing targeted sanctions, a travel ban and the freezing of assets against a number of ZANU PF officials and their business partners New York Times (2002). According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), the restrictive measures were not lifted despite the formation of an inclusive government in 2009.

According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), the EU imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe from 2002 onwards as an effort to prop up their political interests. This concurs with a political philosopher, Hans Morgenthau, a realist scholar who propounded that national interest comes first before collective interest. The aura in which decisions are made is driven by the political self-serving interests of those who apply the sanctions. As a result of sanctions which were imposed on Zimbabwe by EU and ZIDERA, Zimbabwean companies are finding it extremely difficult to access lines of credit because of the perceived country risk. As a result, Zimbabwean companies have had to pay cash for imports or secure offshore funds at prohibitive interest rates Mbakwe, (2007). This has had ripple effects on the country's employment levels. These negative perceptions have also made it difficult for private and public enterprises to secure funding as donor funding agencies are no longer willing to support projects in Zimbabwe. The negative perception associated with sanctions has also adversely impacted on foreign direct investment (FDI). In addition, British and other Western companies have been strongly discouraged by their home countries from investing in Zimbabwe. This has adversely affected investment levels into the country, thus accentuating the foreign exchange shortages leading to further shortages of imported raw materials.

The withdrawal of the multilateral financial institutions from providing balance of payments support to Zimbabwe led to other bilateral creditors and donors also scaling down or suspending disbursements on existing loans for both government and parastatal loans. The current socio-economic environment coupled with sanctions led several NGOs and European donor agencies to relocate their offices from Zimbabwe to neighbouring countries. The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) pulled out of Zimbabwe in 2001 and 2003, respectively, terminating all projects in progress and retrenching their employees Mahoso (2007). Another major effect of the 'targeted sanctions' is the shortage of foreign currency. This resulted in the country accumulating external payment arrears. This was a major problem during the time of Mugabe and is still affecting the Administration of Mnangagwa. During the Administration of Mugabe, the then Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Gideon Gono observed that,

*A combination of current account deficits and reduced capital inflows, resulted in excessive pressure on foreign exchange reserves which as a result, declined from US \$830m in 1996 to less than one month import cover in 2006 Gono (2006).*

More importantly, all sectors of the economy are negatively affected as a result of imposed sanctions and mismanagement of resources by the Administration of Mugabe. The situation during the Administration of Mugabe was further exacerbated by rampant corruption which became a norm during his tenure in office Ndimane and Moyo (2018). This was in form of patronage politics. Economy failed to perform well, expelling of party members became a norm during the Administration of Mugabe. This is the major factor which triggered what is referred to as “military coup” by Ndimane and Moyo (2018). The ascendancy of Mnangagwa was characterized by high expectations from the international community and the local community as well. However, it was only the change of the Administration and no meaningful changes has as for now being recorded Ndimane and Moyo (2018).

## **1.2 Purpose of the study**

The purpose of the study is to examine the implications of Zimbabwe is open for business to reengagement effort with the international community.

## **1.3 Statement of the problem**

The country has failed to attract meaningful investors into the country, the hopes of many people is being lost as corruption, unemployment, poor standard of civil servants, poor service delivery system, and poor health services, high brain drain, skyrocketing of prices are still continuing unchecked. Again, many mega deals has been made without fruitful results been noticed in the country. Darwendale platinum project that was said to kick start early January has remained unnoticed. These challenges are affecting the ordinary citizens who are trying to make a living. Many graduates are finding it difficult of get employed. Since the ascendancy of Mnangagwa, school fees and bus fares has continued unchecked. These problems are having negative implications in the political circles of the country. As a result of the problems alluded above, Zimbabwe has experienced a national shut down early this year (2019), poor service delivery has contributed to the outbreak of diseases like cholera which has been recorded in some parts of the country like Mt Darwin, Harare and even in Bulawayo, power rationing is having negative effects

to the business community as they can no longer do their business planning relying on electricity. The research has been prompted to look at the approach used by the Mnangagwa Administration to address the economic challenges which has gained momentum since Mugabe era.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

1. To examine the concepts of Zimbabwe is open for business
2. To understand the social, economic and political challenges that are being faced by the current dispensation.
3. To examine the reasons why the country is failing to attract meaningful foreign direct investment.
4. To analyze the measures that can be taken by the new dispensation to attract foreign direct investment.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What does the mantra Zimbabwe is open for business entail?
2. What are the challenges being faced by the current dispensation?
3. What are the reasons behind lack of the expoused foreign direct investment?
4. What are the measures that can be done by the new dispensation to attract foreign direct investment?

#### **1.6 Assumptions of the study**

It is assumed that; the challenges faced by Zimbabwe during the Mugabe Administration were caused by its withdrawal from the international system.

Again, it is assumed that; the reintegration of Zimbabwe into the international community is the only way forward for Zimbabwe to address the economic turmoil currently prevailing in the country. The researcher assumed that; the new political regime will attract many investors in the country through the mantra, “Zimbabwe is open for business.”

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

### **Ministry of Finance and Economic development**

The project is of importance especially to the Ministry of Finance and Economic development as it is going to unravel some of the underlying reasons behind the economic challenges buffeting the country and explore the political connections and possible remedies thereof. From the recommendations, the Government of Zimbabwe, through the relevant ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign affairs and international trade, will benefit immensely on the ways which it can be used to engage with the international community so as to refocus, rebuild and restructure the country from its lost glory.

### **Local and Foreign Investors**

Both local and foreign investors will benefit a lot from the research as it is going to unpack the legislative framework and policies that speak to the ‘ease of doing business’, the opportunities and challenges arising in the Second Republic.

### **Academics**

The study is of importance in the academic fraternity because very few academics have written extensively on the second Republic. This is a new area which will help other researchers to use it as point of reference in their academic works. Since the area is not yet well researched on, other researchers will get insights on the implications of the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra to Zimbabwe and other countries in general. The study will also endeavor into the reasons why Mnangagwa’ Administration is calling for engagement and reengagement of Zimbabwe into the international community. This will help the academics to compare the two Administrations; that is, the Mugabe and the Mnangagwa Administrations.

## **1.8 Delimitations of the study**

The focus of the study is to explore the new dispensation’s foreign policy in light of its bid to attract foreign direct investment and re-engagement with the international community following years of isolation, which was now synonymous with the old dispensation. The new political dispensation was ushered in during the military assisted putsch that occurred in November 2017. This marks the beginning of this study focus period up to present day. This study was premised on

Zimbabwe's foreign policy under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign affairs and International Trade, its domestic policy under Home affairs as well as its economic and political performance. A juxtaposition of the old dispensation's modus operandi vis-à-vis the current dispensation was instrumental in critically evaluating and qualifying the progress (or lack thereof) made under the auspices of "*Zimbabwe is Open for Business*", a brainchild of the new dispensation.

### **1.9 Limitations of the study**

The political sensitivity and volatility of the subject matter meant that some of the pertinent information would be sensitive and in most cases inaccessible. Accessing information from responsible officials including in the Office of the President would be a mammoth task. In the fortunate cases of obtaining feedback from concerned officials, some respondents might deliberately give false information for fear of reprisal. Another limitation is on the failure to access some of the potential investors to get an in-depth appreciation of the terms and conditions which they expect before they are fully committed to invest in the country. However, in overcoming these challenges, the Researcher is going to rely on media including Newspapers and Internet for information. The Researcher is going to rely on the Key informants and interviews in gathering information which is critical in the research.

### **1.10 Definition of key words**

**Diplomacy-** simply defined, is an instrument of foreign policy used to achieve goals considered to be of vital interest of the state; done through peaceful means and; accomplished by way of established diplomatic protocol and procedures represented by accredited agents Holsti (2004)

**Diplomatic Relations-** Diplomatic relations refers to the customary diplomatic intercourse between nations. It involves permanent contact and communication between sovereign countries US Legal (2016).

**International Politics-** has been defined in terms of influencing 'major groups in the world so as to advance the purposes of some against the opposition of others' (Wright, 1955: 130).

**Power-** Payne (2013) defines power as “the ability to get others—individuals, groups, or nations—to behave in ways that they ordinarily would not”.

**Political Influence-** is the form of political power exercised by those who do not possess the formal-legal authority to make and enforce particular governmental decisions on public policy, but have and utilize the ability to condition, modify, and control the official decision-making behavior of those in government office who do possess the authority to make and implement the decisions.

**Foreign Direct Investment** According to the IMF and OECD (2001), *direct investment* reflects the aim of obtaining a lasting interest by a resident entity of one economy (direct investor) in an enterprise that is resident in another economy (the direct investment enterprise).

## **1.11 Chapter Outline**

The study is organized into five chapters.

**Chapter One** looked at the introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, and significance of the study, definition of terms, limitations and delimitations of the study.

**Chapter Two** contains literature review and theoretical framework related to the problem being investigated, it gives reference to previous findings on the topic.

**Chapter Three** looked at research design and methodology. Data collection methods which were used to gather data for the study will be presented in chapter three.

**Chapter Four** Contains data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings from interviews. The chapter is comprised of the results or findings on data collected and analysed. The data is condensed from the information obtained through interviews so as to authenticate the study with first-hand information.

**Chapter Five** looked at summary, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research. The chapter concludes the research and the study of the topic, it highlights the main findings and offers recommendations for future and further research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a synopsis of various scholarly contributions and related literature on the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra. The Chapter is going to make reference to scholars who have researched on Zimbabwean economic and political situations. Various policies which have been introduced by the Administration of Mugabe and Mnangagwa are going to be discussed in a bid to understand the engagement efforts. The research is going to be informed with the theory of realism (state-centrism) and the multilevel and multidimensional approach to Foreign policy. Of critical importance, realism can be traced from the writings of scholars such as the Greek historian Thucydides and his account of the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta (431-404 BC), and also the sixteenth-century political thought of the Italian theorist Niccolo Machiavelli as well as the 17<sup>th</sup> century English historian, Thomas Hobbes. Hans Morgenthau, a renowned political science scholar is also well known as the father of contemporary realism.

#### **2.2 Theoretical framework**

The research is guided by the theory of realism. This theory Thucydides (1985) postulates that, powerful states will always victimize weak states despite the existence of international legal decrees and edicts that prohibit such uncertified military interference and the weak states render themselves unto the hands of these authoritative and commanding states. Machiavelli (1985) further advances that self-interest should be the prince's main goal, and that nothing, particularly morality, should stand in his way. To this end Hobbes (1588–1679) concurs thus, “man's condition...is a condition of war of every one against everyone.” Realists' concern with the state is born out of the need for their national interests' insatiable appetite for territorial aggrandizement which can be summed up in simpler terms as power and security. Morgenthau (1957:967) contends that in a world where a number of autonomous states contest with and antagonize each other for dominance and supremacy, the foreign policies of all nations must necessarily refer to their survival (state security) as their minimum requirements. As a result, all nations are obliged to

safeguard their physical, political, and cultural uniqueness and identity against the diabolical machinations of encroachments bent on power usurpation and interference by other nations. Realists therefore bank on a plethora of canons which will be related and applied to the administration of Mnangagwa and Mugabe.

Realists affirm that, conflict can be two pronged since it is both an unavoidable and a perpetual characteristic of transnational relations for example the relations between Zimbabwe during the two Administrations of Zimbabwe (President R.G. Mugabe and President E.D. Mnangagwa) and the International community post-independence up to date. Realists, in agreement to the above inevitability of conflicts have heartily appealed to states to set up formidable security organisations that can foster the establishment and maintenance of stability.

Building on the above literature, realism vividly articulates the relations of Zimbabwean two Administrations and the international community as being motivated by the aspect of self-benefits and national interests of nation states. This is true in the framework, perspective and milieu of the lawless and riotous world where there is the absence of governing authority in the international community. The theory of Realism further asserts that the states are the central and chief players in the international community. All this is evident in the scenario of Zimbabwe (President E.D. Mnangagwa and President R.G. Mugabe) and the international community. The diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the international community are done largely by states as they seek to pursue the self-interests. Realism theory contends that, states are always in constant hunt for power and authority as they relate with each other Waltz (1979). This is clearly explicit if one scrutinizes how the international community is relating with Zimbabwe in the new administration. The conflict between Zimbabwe and the international community highlights the melee and battle for dominance and supremacy between states.

Keohane (1984) highlights that, Realism is also an applicable theory in this paper because it insinuates that there are no shared and mutual interests between states. Egoistical behavior is at the core of states and this is the reason why the European countries do not want to remove sanctions they imposed on Zimbabwe early 2000 due to frustrations because of the issue of land which was taken from the White community and redistributed to the black majority in the early 2000.

### **2.3 Multilevel and multidimensional approach of foreign policy analysis**

The study will be based on the multilevel and multidimensional approach of foreign policy analysis, which allows the use of specific major theories in analysing any relevant aspects of foreign policy. Specifically, the study will be chiefly informed by national interest approach. At a secondary level, it will also be informed by the interconnectedness of the concept of national interest to the realism theory while also borrowing from the behavioural approach widely used in foreign policy analysis, particularly as it relates to the choices of foreign policy strategies selected by leaders in the sustenance of the state of Zimbabwe in this study. According to Berkovich (2013), when adopting a multidimensional approach to measuring social complexity, it is essential to determine which indicators are fit to be used as dimensions of social complexity.

Since its entry into the main discourse of international relations, the concept of national interest has become perhaps the major pursuit and shaper of foreign policy for all governments. The term ‘national interest’ has been used by statesman and scholars since the founding of nation states to describe the aspirations and goals of sovereign entities in the international system. Nuechtelein (1976:246) adds that:

“It is assumed that the leaders of all nation-states act rationally in the pursuit of state objectives, i.e. that states adopt policies that leaders believe will advance the well-being of their societies, whatever the constitutional system. One is not asked to assess whether the action of states is cost effective, wise or moral under the circumstances in which they were made; it is assumed only that decisions are made with some degree of reasoning.”

Generally, national interest is largely made up of elements related to defence of the homeland, national economic well-being, favourable world order and promotion of national ideological values. Nuechterlin and Sklenka (2007). These elements are deemed fundamental as they have a direct bearing on the survival of the state. The concept of national interest, although it existed in the domain of international politics since its suspected first use by Niccolo Machiavelli during Renaissance, only sprang into popularity after Morgenthau published his book *Politics Among Nations* after World War II. In this book, Morgenthau claimed that national interests were at the heart of all politics and was generally defined as power Pham (2008). This book, which marked

the emergence of realism, emphasised that foreign policy must be defined in terms of national interests and defended by power.

#### **2.4 The concept of National interest vis-à-vis Foreign Policy**

Looking from the works of (Modelski; Kegley and Wittkopf, 2001), Zimbabwe domestic and foreign policy can be clearly understood. Kegley and Wittkopf (2001) posit that, state's foreign policy is determined by interrelated factors such as international, inter-domestic and domestic. As such, Rosenau (1976) views foreign policy from three dimensions that is, orientations, foreign policy as commitments and foreign policy as activities (behaviors). Through orientation, one can examine the core issues guiding Zimbabwe's foreign policy under Mnangagwa which include its political traditions, experiences and aspirations. Secondly, foreign policy as commitments, explores how the administration has adopted strategies and made decisions towards achieving the goal of total re-engagement by translating Zimbabwe's principles into norms. Thirdly, foreign policy as practice refers to the concrete behavior of States *vis-a-vis* the situation and events in the international system in accordance with the orientation, plans and commitments. Zimbabwe's foreign policy can be understood from George Modelski conception of foreign policy as the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their activities to international environment. Modelski also notes that, foreign policy should aim at minimizing all costs of adverse effects and maximize opportunities and regulate the behavior of states by ensuring continuity of their favorable actions.

#### **2.5 The concept of Sanctions**

According to Chidiebere (2017), since the end of the Cold War, the use of sanctions as a soft approach in international diplomacy has gained pre-eminence among states that want to influence the perception and behaviour of other states. In 2001, the United States (U.S.) through the adoption of the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) imposed targeted sanctions against selected Zimbabwean officials Chitiyo (1999). Similarly, in 2002, the European Union (EU) imposed sanctions that it officially referred to as restrictive measures against Robert Mugabe and some of his allies Mbanje and Mahuku (2012). These sanctions were meant to influence a change in the behaviour of the Mugabe regime, particularly in the area of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

Chidiebere (2017) brings into lime light that, Zimbabwe has a long history when it comes to sanctions, both comprehensive and unilateral. The country is a significant case in sanctions episodes starting from 1966, when the United Nations (UN) imposed its first comprehensive sanctions against Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe Chitiyo and Moorcraft (2010). From that period until the present, Zimbabwe at one time or another has been under sanctions either by the United Nations the United States, the European Union or all the aforementioned. In total, Zimbabwe has been sanctioned in seven sanction-episodes: 1966, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2008 and 2009, making it one of the most sanctioned countries in the world. Most importantly, Zimbabwe has become a regular candidate of the “sanctions industry” and this has been caused by a cluster challenges ranging from political and economic factors. The present sanctions episode against Zimbabwe started in December 2001, when the United States passed the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) (Grebe, 2010:9; Chingono, 2010: 66).

## **2.6 Implications of sanctions in the domestic and Foreign Politics of Zimbabwe (2000-2019).**

### **2.6.1 Food Sector**

According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), in contrast with most countries of sub-Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe had an efficient agricultural system. It was one of the few countries on the continent which was self-sufficient in food production. The country was capable of maintaining food supplies to its population without having to make recourse to substantial imports even in most drought years. Over time, Zimbabwe became one of the few countries in Africa to be a net exporter of cereal foodstuffs during the 1980s and 1990s. The growing importance of Zimbabwe as a regional food supplier was apparent from the fact that considerable quantities of maize were transferred to neighbouring countries as a part of “triangular transactions”. In July 1985 the European Community purchased from Zimbabwe 25,000t of maize at a value of US \$4,5 million in order to provide food aid to Mozambique (10,000t) and Zambia (15 000t) (European Communities, Report Zimbabwe 1990). In December 1985, the United Kingdom purchased 14,500t of maize which was then distributed in the drought-affected provinces of Mozambique. At the beginning of 1986, Australia and Zimbabwe concluded a contract whereby Australia would purchase 30,000t of maize to be used as food aid to various African countries (European Communities, Report Zimbabwe 1990). In March 1986, South Africa imported 30,000t of maize from its neighbour Zimbabwe at a price some 33%

higher than the level on the world market at that time. In 1988, Zimbabwe sold 95,000t of maize to the World Food Programme (WFP) and to other donors.

Building on the above, in the 1980s and 1990s, Zimbabwe became the “bread basket” of the Southern African region. It was given the food security portfolio in the SADCC region owing to its ability to export surplus grain to its neighbours. Following land resettlement programmes in the 1980s and also the distribution of farming equipment to rural and newly settled farmers, there was a marked increase in maize production in 1981 and in 1986. The EU assisted most of these resettled and communal farmers with fertilizer, seed, draught power, farming implements and irrigation equipment (in areas with dams or perennial rivers and streams). In 1991, maize production decreased to 1, 4 million tonnes as a result of the 1991-1992 drought. In 1996, as a result of improved weather conditions and EU support, maize production rose significantly to 2, 6 million tones, almost to the level of 1981 and 1986 Mbanje and Mahuku (2012).

The duo scholars further bring into lime light that, from 2000 up to 2009, Zimbabwe’s food production declined heavily owing to lack of funding to the newly resettled black farmers by the EU as well as incessant droughts experienced in the whole Southern African region. During the period 2003-2010, Zambia and Malawi actually exported most of their surplus maize to Zimbabwe. Many factors contributed to this new turn of events.

According to Moyo (2015), some white commercial farmers who had been displaced after the land reform programme found sanctuary in Zambia and Malawi. With heavy funding from the World Bank and the EU these displaced white farmers quickly turned vast tracts of underutilized land into productive commercial farms. The peasant farmers in Zambia and Malawi also benefitted extensively from government funding in the agricultural sector through heavy funding coming from the EU and WB. Zimbabwe’s three hundred thousand newly resettled families and the peasants in the rural areas failed to access seed, fertilizer and pesticides due to lack of proper funding from the EU and other Western donors as had happened in the periods from 1980 up to 1999.

(Mbanje and Mahuku, 2012; Moyo, 2016; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2015) agree on the fact that, the taking of white owned farms by landless Zimbabweans in 2000 reduced agricultural output by almost 60%. Moyo (2016), shed light on the fact that, from 2, 7 million tonnes in 1981 to only 600 000 tonnes in 2006. The Zimbabwean government’s land reform policy resulted in disruptions on commercial farms which temporarily led to the collapse of Zimbabwe’s agricultural output. According to Moyo

(2015), the farm invasions had a negative impact on the Southern African country's food security. According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), The Regime of Mugabe was opposed to liberal change since they believe in a more radical approach which transforms the status quo through rapid change. Frantz Fanon, a disciple of the radical change approach actually believes that true decolonization means that those who are first should be the last and those who are last should be the first. What used to be the 'bread basket' of the Southern African region had been turned into a 'basket case'. EU donors responded to these farm invasions by withdrawing their agricultural programmes or by simply freezing their development assistance programmes. With the dramatic withdrawal of Western funding for agricultural activities in post land reform Zimbabwe, agricultural production went down. However, research carried out so far by reputable institutions such as the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS) and also by a United Kingdom based Institute of Development Studies led by Professor Ian Scoones have declared the land reform programme a major success despite setbacks here and there. George Charamba, Deputy Secretary from the President' Office attributes the decline in food production from 2001 onwards to the massive sabotage in the agricultural sector by embittered white farmers as they either left their farms or the country altogether. He observed that:

“This massive sabotage included the breaching of big dams in a country susceptible to droughts, digging up and damaging of underground irrigation schemes and massive smuggling of sophisticated agricultural equipment into neighboring countries Charamba, (2007).”

Mararike (2007) is of the opinion that, the decline in Zimbabwe's agriculture was because of an unprecedented cycle of repeated droughts and climatic disorders which appeared to have hit the whole Southern African region. The EU 2006 Annual Report concurs with Mararike when it points out that the 2006/2007 agricultural season had been affected by scattered rains and dry spells in some parts of the country. However despite Charamba's sabotage theory and Mararike and the EU's observations on drought, the major blow to Zimbabwe's food production lay in its inability to access funds from the EU, IMF, the ADB and WB. The success of any land reform programme depends on the support new farmers are given in the form of adequate agricultural inputs. Sanctions also greatly contributed to the unavailability of these inputs. Despite the 2006/2007 drought South Africa, Zambia and Malawi actually had surplus grain for export. EU funding for Zimbabwe's

sabotaged and dilapidated irrigation schemes could have greatly improved the country's 2006/2007 yield.

The fast-track land reform programme, started by the Zimbabwean government in July 2000, geared at evening out unfair advantages which the colonial era conferred on the minority white group led to the freezing of official development assistance in the agricultural sector. Since then, the Zimbabwean government has been working to rebuild and to re-equip commercial agriculture from 'ground zero'. The massive reinvestment in agriculture by way of dam construction, draught power and agricultural inputs is still far from yielding tangible results. The 2009-2010 farming season saw a marked improvement in agricultural production though the country still had to import grain from South Africa, Malawi and Zambia. The Finance Minister's 2011 financial budget fell far too short to make a big difference in the agricultural sector. However, after almost nine years of stagnation, Zimbabwe's agricultural sector is slowly recovering due to financial assistance trickling in from friendly Eastern and Southern countries.

### **2.6.2 Health Sector**

According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), on achieving independence in 1980 the new Zimbabwe government realized that health care was not adequately and equitably distributed to all sections of society. The structure of health care was biased in favour of certain groups such as Europeans who were in control of the health services. Samuel Agere observes that, based on this understanding of the nature of the problem with health services, the Ministry of Health adopted a policy of 'Equity in Health' which indicated a radical departure from the previous system. The Ministry decided to shift resources from urban to rural and from curative services to preventive services.

The government's national health programme was in line with the World Health Organisation's (WHO) "Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000." In the interests of an improved public health service, the government implemented a series of special programmes which followed the policies announced in its "Primary Health Care" strategy. These included an extension of the vaccination campaign against the six main killer diseases affecting infants; the diarrheal disease control programme; children's supplementary feeding programme; national village health worker programme and provision of free health care to the low income groups' programme (European Communities, Report Zimbabwe 1990). Accordingly, the EU was the most important donor to the health sector in Zimbabwe, contributing millions of Euros to fund the above health related

programmes. Since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the EU provided the bulk of the country's essential drugs including anti-retroviral and other medical requirements.

Following the deterioration of relations between the EU and the government in 2002, the health sector suffered a lot of setbacks. Brain drain of qualified health personnel impacted negatively on the health sector. Through bilateral agreements, doctors, pharmacists, dentists and medical equipment engineers were recruited from Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to fill the gap created by those who had left the country. However less experienced health workers occupied the majority of decision-making positions in the health sector since 2003, Mbanje and Mahuku (2012).

Building on the above literature, from 2002 onwards, following the partial withdrawal of EU official aid to the health sector, there was a recorded depletion of essential drugs in 73% of Zimbabwe's health facilities (Richardson, 2007). The WHO concluded that one million people in the country during 2003 and 2004 lacked basic health care. From 2003 to 2008, inadequate resources in the form of drug supplies and human resources hampered the health delivery to the population. The health sector suffered from little access of foreign currency for procurement of drugs and other supplies. Furthermore, strikes by doctors and nurses during 2003-2008 pleading for better salaries affected the health delivery system Mbanje and Mahuku (2012).

From the findings of EC-Zimbabwe, Joint Annual Report (2008), the deteriorating socio-economic situation eroded the conditions of the health professionals, whose salaries failed to keep up with inflation during 2007-2008 periods. The bulk of the workforce in the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare earned net salaries well below those of their SADC counterparts. Three quarters of the equipment in hospitals around the country was not functional and this had serious repercussions on the ordinary people. As such, Zimbabwe's health system deteriorated markedly since 2000 and consequently the health status of the population has also gone down. This decline accelerated from 2000-2008 with both availability of services and access to them being affected. On the backdrop of an already overburdened health delivery system, many Zimbabweans found it difficult to access affordable health facilities and essential drugs. From 2009 onwards Zimbabwe's health sector showed an improvement as aid from some African, Asian, Latin American and Western countries started trickling in. However the only way Zimbabwe's health sector could be fully revived to its

1980 and 1990 status is through engaging other donors or strengthening relations with the EU (which since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 has been the largest donor in this sector).

### **2.6.3 Education Sector**

After independence in 1980, the new nation made changes in the education system to reflect political changes and the new circumstances. In the late 1980s Rungano Zvobgo pointed out that, Education should become a vehicle for social change. Racial education was to be replaced by unitary multiracial education. However, post 2000 after the land redistribution, Zimbabwe suffered heavily as the decrease in aid from 2000 onwards had a lot to do with the deterioration of relations between the EU and Zimbabwe. This also resulted in low morale among teachers due to low salaries and poor conditions of service. As a result, teachers flocked mostly to neighboring countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. The European Commission reported that in 2006 about 4500 Zimbabwean teachers quit their jobs (European Commission; Joint Annual Report, 2006). This greatly affected the quality of education in Zimbabwe. The overall education system in Zimbabwe continues to decline. Infrastructure is deteriorating. Zimbabwe needs to re-engage the EU or seek financial assistance from other donors if its education sector is to be saved from total collapse or remain viable.

### **2.6.4 The Look East Policy**

According to Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), the withdrawal of EU aid to fund major government programmes, plans, policies and projects forced the Zimbabwean leadership to adopt the 'Look East policy'. This is important because it explains the diplomatic protocol roles of the Head and state and Government and the minister of foreign Affairs. The policy came under the tenure of Stan Mudenge (1995-2005) and Simbabrashe Mumbengembwi (2005-2017) as Foreign Affairs Ministers. To explain this, Arguments of the Look East policy are based on the liberal theory because the theory emphasizes on cooperation among countries, especially on social and economic relations. The Zimbabwean Look East Policy which has seen Zimbabwe enjoying cordial relations with South Asian countries and Far Eastern countries like China, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, India and Pakistan gave birth to a number of agreements with the various countries. As elaborated in the functions of the Foreign affairs, the minister of Foreign Affairs is responsible for the coordination of the search for new trade, investment and tourism opportunities and promote cooperation in science and technology with other countries and multilateral institutions.

This is what happened when the look East policy was formulated. (Kegley ,2011, p 45) argues the Idealist worldview can be summed up in the following core principles: Human nature is essentially “good” or altruistic, and people are therefore capable of mutual aid and collaboration. Accordingly, Harare came up with a "Look East" Policy, centered on renewed, broader engagement with China and other Asian countries, which President Mugabe said could be an alternative economic cooperation partner to the West which Zimbabwe, had lost Maroodza (2011). Mugabe, the then President of Zimbabwe was quoted,

“In most recent times, as the West started being hostile to us, we deliberately declared a Look East policy,’ he said. “We have turned east where the sun rises, and given our backs to the west, where it set.”

David Baldwin maintains that;

“Sanctions depend a great deal on a combination of circumstances, including the target’s vulnerability and dependence upon the source of sanctions whether the sanctions are applied individually or by a group of states, the availability of alternative sources of supply and markets and other factors.”

Zimbabwe shifted its focus from the EU and its Western allies and formed economic partnerships with the Eastern countries. The Eastern countries, unlike the EU have not been imposing economic and governance models on Africa. These attributes have made the Eastern countries a particularly attractive alternative to the EU.

Mersheimer (1994) argues that realists put forward the notion that survival is the main goal of every nation in the international arena. For this reason, states are rational actors that will, by all means, use any means accessible and necessary for survival in the international system. Taking a cue from the Zimbabwe’s Look East Policy, it is clear to assert that the adoption of the policy was a rational act because the country was trying to make its most to sustain her survival in the anarchical world system. According to Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012, formulation and implementation of a foreign policy is primarily based on a country’s desire or obligation to foster and protect its national interests, security, sovereignty, ideological goals and economic prosperity Zimbabwe might have chosen to cooperate with Eastern countries, China unparticular, due to the fact that the Chinese do not interfere in the internal politics of a host nation.

In the international system there is no permanent friend or enemy, but permanent interest. Zimbabwe looked East because of its national interest which are based on the territorial integrity and sovereignty. As such, Wohlforth (1998), points out that realism is a school of thought based on three core assumptions about how the world works that is groupism, egoism and power centrism. Zimbabwe after being slapped with sanctions it had no option, but to find another economic power to lean hence finding Asian countries like China. To Zimbabwe, European Union and U.S want to spread their democratization agenda of the whole world and this to Zimbabwe is a neo colonialism tool. Again, Zimbabwe was slapped with sanction due to its gross human violation, rigging of elections and so on. Mugabe believed that, Opposition political parties were Western projects which were meant to remove the revolutionary parties in Africa Mahuku and Mbanje (2012).

In 2003, Zimbabwe left the commonwealth after a meeting of the organization' heads did extended the nation's suspension period from its ranks. Mugabe' decision came after leaders at the Commonwealth summit in Nigeria agreed to suspend the country indefinitely until it complied with the demands to restore democracy and the rule of law in the country Guardia (2003). Mugabe was quoted, "Accordingly, Zimbabwe has withdrawn its membership from the Commonwealth with immediate effect" Referring to the further extension of the suspension, Mugabe noted that, "this is unacceptable. This is it. It (Zimbabwe) quits and quits it will be". From the realist point of view, states are the main actors in the international system. Thus, the decision of Mugabe to quit from being a member of the board was based on the realist perspective. Idealists argue that cooperation of members is important and this is achieved through groupings and forming, joining of organizations like Commonwealth Mersheimer (1994).

### **2.7 Thawing of relations between EU and the Administration of Mnangagwa**

According to Kurebwa (2019), the reengagement of Zimbabwe has been noted in the European Union' (EU) willingness to reengage and assist Zimbabwe under the leadership of President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Zimbabwe has been under EU sanctions for close to two decades as punishment for the country's decision to redistribute land to the landless majority which started in 2000, Mbanje and Mahuku (2012). Kurebwa (2019) is of the view that, the new political dispensation led by President Emmerson Mnangagwa has since coming into office last November, embarked on a re-engagement programme that has seen Zimbabwe's relations with the EU and the international community at large improving. This is in concurrence with Tsimba (2019) who brings

into lime light the argument that, the new dispensation has managed to put the country back on track through re-engagement with the international community after a long stand-off period during former President Robert Mugabe's era. The efforts to re-engage the international community has made the European Union (EU) grow confidence in committing itself to work with Zimbabwe for mutual benefit.

The thawing of relations between EU and Zimbabwe post Mugabe era depicts the success stories of the Administration of Mnangagwa. In the past decades EU was not interested in supporting Zimbabwe in what so ever it was in dire need of. Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary General, also highlighted that sanctions remain a blunt instrument which affected the assistance of the Government of Zimbabwe. However, recently the EU team leader on Agriculture, Private Sector and Trade, Opperer (2019), indicated that Zimbabwe was going to benefit immensely from the re-engagement process. The EU leader was quoted in April 2018 at the 59<sup>th</sup> annual edition of the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair (ZITF) saying that;

“The EU is ready to support Zimbabwe in various spheres including the strengthening of economic and political institutions; improving governance and property rights; improving public finance management and macroeconomic policies; developing value chains and supporting the private sector; and strengthening public services for private sector development such as access to finance, advocacy, quality infrastructure and trade facilitation,” said Opperer, (2019). The Herald.”

According to Tsimba (2019), the EU team stated that the re-engagement drive would ensure that Zimbabwe would benefit alongside with other African countries from an ambitious external investment plan of the EU. The investment plan is based on the realisation that the traditional development assistance alone cannot address the challenges and opportunities for sustaining economic growth. Opperer (2019), further noted that the engine for economic growth was investments in the private sector and thus the EU was adopting a paradigm shift with a view to promote economic growth among African countries through its external investment plan. President Mnangagwa indicated that Zimbabwe was open for business and efforts are therefore underway to attract foreign direct investment from across the globe in sectors such as mining, tourism,

agriculture and manufacturing. This has seen Zimbabwe approving investment proposals worth more than \$7 billion between December 2017 and April 2018, Tsimba (2019).

According to Rau (2018), despite the daunting challenges to conducting business in Zimbabwe, there are some positive indicators and success cases. There are numerous institutions, organizations and businesses that are functioning well through smart strategies, competent management, good leadership and partnerships. The government has also demonstrated through its dialogue with the local and international business sector and other stakeholders, and through its investment and re-engagement drive, that it is taking the situation seriously and is prioritizing economic recovery Tsimba (2019).

## **2.8 Economic Challenges**

According to Moyo (2018) since the coming up of the new administration the economy is dead, the people are jobless and our graduates are vendors across the streets of Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans are desperately looking for a leader who can fix and resuscitate the economy. The views of Moyo (2018) can be linked with those of Clinton. Bill Clinton in his 1992 Presidential campaign in the United States of America ran with the motto The Economy, Stupid meaning fixing the economy is all what the people want. People are tired of charades and cheap politics (rhetoric) what they are desperate for are solutions and strategies of fixing the economy. What made Robert Mugabe unpopular is the ailing economy which led to abject poverty, equity, inequality and suffering of millions of our people. Companies closed down making Zimbabwe one of the countries with the highest unemployment rate in sub Saharan Africa. Zimbabwe's economy is on the brink of collapse and what is needed right now are new strategies and policies of resuscitating the economy so that people out there can be able to put food on their tables Moyo (2018).

## **2.9 Corruption activities**

According to Chitiyo (2018), part of any strategy for economic revival must be political will to support and enable anti-corruption measures. The ongoing 'Salary gate' series of public-sector pay scandals, linked to ZANU-PF factionalism, are disincentives to trade, aid and investment has negative implications of the reengagement process as no one is interested in investing in the country due to countless corruption scandals which the talk of the day in the politics of Zimbabwe

since the ascendancy of Mnangagwa into office. The government has stated that the fight against corruption is a national priority, and the Office of the President and cabinet have initiated investigations into some of the scandals Tatenda (2019). But it is just as important to revive and empower an independent Anti- Corruption Commission with the backing of the Office of the President to fulfil its mandate. In this perspective, attacking corruption and building accountability are crucial for generating local and international confidence.

## **2.10 Change of leadership**

According to Munatsi (2019), Zimbabwe though is in the new dispensation but its leadership needs to be changed because the international community has not yet gained confidence with the Government of Mnangagwa since Mnangagwa and his team were the right hand men of the former President of Zimbabwe, Mugabe. According to Mutongwiza (2019), the Mnangagwa administration has been accused of shielding the real corrupt culprits while using less powerful people as scapegoats. Most importantly, there is dire need for transformative leadership, progressive policies and good governance. Zimbabwe has had a very bad history of human rights abuses during the tenure of Mugabe and with the ascendancy of Mnangagwa into office the international community expected a great change in the human rights record in the country. This has however, proved otherwise in the new dispensation as noted in the 1 August of 2018 and in 2019 January 2019 which was characterized with the death of innocent lives Munatsi (2019).

According to Devanny (2018), unlike the thinking before, economic growth and human rights are not mutually exclusive. If economic growth is to contribute to universal social justice, any growth strategy must be a component of a comprehensive set of policies and institutions deliberately designed to translate resources into fundamental rights. Such a framework will ensure that economic growth is translated into the wider enjoyment of fundamental liberties and social justice for all. Devanny (2018) further stresses that, economic development is very difficult to achieve in an environment where there is conflict of any form since it is linked with investors who are so particular about human rights and protection of their business. In countries like Zimbabwe which are subject to gross human rights violation, investors do not and are not willing to invest due to high level of risks which are characteristics of the country. Of critical importance, human rights violations always result conflict and looking from this perspective, the new dispensation has no sincere about changing the fortunes of the country, they do not have earnest about

political. According to Chitiyo (2018), the new dispensation requires such a blue print as it gives direction to the new socio-economic trajectory which for the past decades has been lacking in the country.

### **2.11 Politicization of development**

Zimbabwe has been for decades politicizing development happening in the country and this has resulted in no meaningful development taking place in the country Ndlovu (2015). According to Munatsi (2019), the new dispensation instead of changing the leadership of corrupt and party politics has just remained the same. Importantly, the new dispensation for it to have a meaningful development it has to forego empty ideological rhetoric and ‘post truth’ politicking and instead embrace deliberate and routine use of evidence, particularly research and systematically obtained citizen knowledge to inform political reforms and other governmental policy decisions. Building on these sentiments, this is the opportune time to use evidence to inform not only government decision-making but also the political party manifestos as these generally form the basis of the final economic blue prints ultimately adopted by the government of the day. In the views of Motha (2019), the new dispensation has a challenge of not using different systems and processes to sustainably utilise evidence in designing smart, citizen friendly policies and even international friendly policies that have a positive impact on peoples’ lives. Zimbabwe has always had a history of developing ‘very good policies’ that always fail to make a meaningful impact.

### **2.12 Continuation of debts**

According to Gagare (2018), the Mnangagwa government’s first major post-Mugabe pact was to sign a \$230 million loan agreement with China: \$77 to build a new Parliament, and \$153 million to expand and refurbish Harare international airport, The Zimbabwe Mail (2017). According to Chingono (2019), it is not only that these loans will add to Zimbabwe’s mountain of debt while it still owes billions of dollars in arrears. Nor is it the fact the Zimbabwe has only two or three serviceable aircraft and a national airline that is over \$300 million in debt. It is the fact that the ‘new dispensation’ still justifies such wasteful prestige projects. According to the Zimbabwean Crisis (2013), like the National Defence Academy built by the Chinese as a cost of \$98 million under the Mugabe regime, the building of a new Parliament and upgrading a perfectly serviceable airport at huge cost will take precedence over its international and domestic debt obligations, and any number of critical development priorities. Just one example was the disclosure by the minister

of local government, July Moyo that more than 5,000 km of Harare's water pipes was obsolete, causing the city to lose about 60% of its treated water through leakages. Apart from the urgent need to rehabilitate Zimbabwe's crumbling infrastructure, the country desperately requires investment to improve its capacity to deliver essential services to the people: from primary health care and schooling children, to expanding the electricity grid Chingono (2019).

### **2.13 Turnaround plans**

According to Dore (2019), Zimbabweans have become so accustomed to hearing about turnaround plans and grandiose schemes that never bear fruit, notably ZimAsset, that they are sceptical of any promise of meaningful change. The new dispensation is more like the previous regime as a case of reference, in 2003, then Reserve Bank Governor, Gideon Gono, announced his turnaround 'print-and-spend' plan that launched Zimbabwe into stratospheric inflation and economic meltdown. "Traditional economics do not fully apply in this country," he said, "*I am going to print and print and sign the money...because we need money.*" Ncube who is the current Finance Minister has similar views with those of the then Finance Minister Chinamasa. Chinamasa used to criticise classical economics which holds, According to the then Finance Minister, Chinamasa; "If you don't have revenue, don't spend. I don't share that view. For me, I view that we can borrow depending on why and where you apply the money."

Building on the above sentiments this includes more international borrowing for prestige projects and the unrestrained issuing of Treasury Bills to fund key party constituency projects without worrying or being aware, like Gono, of the macro-economic instability implications for which the IMF has given ample warning. This has been the case with the new Finance Minister who since his ascendency into the office as the Finance Minister has been introducing policies which are now haunting the economic recovery of the country.

### **2.14 Summary**

In conclusion, the Chapter looked at the Administration of Mnangagwa tracing from the removal of the then President of Zimbabwe, Mugabe after a so-called coup. The Chapter also looked at the Mugabe' administration challenges faced as a result of reengaging into the international community. The Chapter looked at various policies and events happening in the international

community which led Zimbabwe to be isolated in the international community. The next Chapter is going to discuss on the methodology which is going to be used in the research. This will help in coming up with the findings of the research.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focuses on the research methodology that will be used by the researcher, highlighting the research design, sample population, sampling techniques, research instruments, data collection procedure and analysis. The Chapter discusses the overall study design and the study' multiple data collection and data analysis activities that will be used to collect sufficient data to answer the study' research questions. The Chapter also highlights methodological issues encountered by the researcher. Best and Khan (1993) define methodology as the design, which encompasses both worldview and methods. Whilst Haralambos (2000) articulates that, methodology is concerned with both detailed research methods through which data are collected and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. It brings general and specific methods of data collection and challenges faced in the field explaining some limitations faced.

#### **3.2 Research design**

According to Schvaneveldt and Adam (1991), research designs are plans that guide decisions as to when and how often to collect the data to gather, from whom and how to analyze the data. This research employed a case study research design. According to Yin (2014), case study refer when, how or why questions are being posed, when the research has little control over events, and when the focus is on contemporary phenomena within some real life context. The distinctive need for case study arises out of the desire to understand the dynamics behind the new political dispensation.

#### **3.3 Research Methodology**

Chiromo (2006) defines qualitative research as a term which encompasses several approaches to research that are quite different from one another, yet all qualitative approaches have two things in common. Firstly, they focus on phenomenon that occurs in natural setting, that is, in the real world. Secondly, Qualitative involves studying the phenomena in all their complexity. Open ended and semi-structured interviews with respondents allow the researcher to collect information on

various issues concerning the stance of Mugabe in Foreign Policy and Mnangagwa as well. Qualitative research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior of people on the implications of '*Zimbabwe is open for business*' mantra

### **3.4 Study Population and Sample**

Babbie (2007) defined a population as an aggregation of elements from which a sample is actually selected. The target population for the study will be members from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, members from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. A sample according to Jackson (2011) is defined as a small proportion of a population selected for observation and analysis. The research used a sample size of 22 due to the nature of the topic.

### **3.5 Purposive sampling**

The research employed purposive sampling because it enabled the research to get research participant who are knowledgeable about the area under study. The research participant were from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, members from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, for the reason that they are knowledgeable about the implications of the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra. Again, members from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and Ministry of Finance and Economic Development are well informed about number of companies who as from the ascendency of Mnangangwa as President has made promises to invest in the country or has already started open up their companies in Zimbabwe. They have a better understanding on the roots and possible solutions of the crisis in Zimbabwe. The use of purposive sampling is also supported by Graziano and Raulin, (2000) who agree that, purposive sampling means "selecting participants for their ability to provide rich information". It allowed the researcher to carefully select cases that can typify or shed light on the subject of study. The purposive sampling technique is selected because it seeks to identify people who, because of their experience or contacts, have special insights into the research questions.

### **3.6 Data collection methods**

According to Cohen et al (2007), data collection are ways in which data is collected. The research relied on two main sources of data collection which are interviews, and documents.

#### **3.6.1 Research Participants / Key Informants**

These are participants whom the researcher rely on during field work (Bloor et al, 2007). In-depth interviews were used in the research to gather information pertaining the topic under study. Interviews provide a way of collecting information on and finding out about things that the researcher cannot directly observe Patton (2002). Usually interview should last for thirty to forty-five minutes on each key informant. Research created a planned scheduled for twenty-five interview. The research chose to employ semi structured interviews which are almost similar to self-completion questionnaire. This differs from a questionnaire in that it allowed flexibility to how key informants responded while the questions are read out the same way to all the participants. Researcher choose this kind of data collection instrument because it aims at exploring as much as possible information out of the key informants, seeking to answer the why part of the nature of the new political dispensation.

#### **3.6.2 Documentary Evidence**

Documentary search was used in a bid to gather information or data on new political dispensation. Books, newspapers, articles, journals, official governmental documents and internet were all used in the research. Yin states that, documentary information “is likely to be relevant to every case study topic” Yin (1994) whilst Merriam claims that, documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problem, Merriam (1988). This helped in data analyses in the next chapter, which is chapter four. Building on the above sentiments, McGraig (2010) opines that, a secondary source is a report on the findings of the primary source, and though it is not as authoritative as the primary source, it often provides a broad background and readily improves research findings depth through the information or data collected.

### **3.7 Data Presentation and Analysis**

Data presentation explains how data is going to be arranged in the research. Data was analysed using different methods like themes. In this research, the research analyzed data in themes. Thematic analysis of data is a form of analysis that counts and reports the frequency of concepts or words or behaviors held within data. According Jefferson (2002) thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within the data. The thematic data analysis minimally organizes and describes the data in the research, it accounts for the themes emerging or being discovered in a passive account of the process of analysis. The researcher used thematic data analysis because it allows the researcher to discover the major themes in the study. Thematic analysis was used because they have the advantage that a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research questions and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data. The data analysis attracted the researcher to capture the implications of the New Political dispensation vis-à-vis the economic, and Foreign Policy of Zimbabwe. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) argue that thematic data analysis offers an accessible and thematically flexible approach to analyzing qualitative data. The researcher will be in a position to use the data analysis taking advantage of its flexibility in analyzing qualitative data.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

Ethical considerations were used in the research. This ensures the willingness of the respondents to take part in the researching process. Ethics are the rules of conduct in research Kvale (1996). This research accommodated the responsibilities to protect the interests of the university and respondents. This was an academic research were my university, Bindura University Science Education, holds its own code of research ethics to which I adhered to. Informed consent as an ethical consideration were also respected. This is important before participating in an experiment because all participants must be aware and understand general purpose of the research. More to that, people taking part in the research particularly interviews were assured that their names will always remain anonymous. With regards to the interviews, no one was coerced to participate in the research. As such, the respondents asked to participate on their own freewill, that is, they were told of their rights not to participate or to end their participation if they so wished.

### **3.9 Summary**

This chapter discussed and interrogated the research approach which was employed by the researcher. A qualitative research method was used and discussed at length as having the most appropriate approach for the study. The research instruments including documentary review and interviews was discussed. This chapter also highlighted the research paradigm, design, population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection tools and data analysis techniques.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents, discusses and analyzes the data obtained through various instruments as discussed in the previous chapter. The findings are drawn from the objectives of this dissertation. The main purpose of this chapter is to review the results that were obtained. This research was done using interviews, focus group discussions. The research questions were answered during the process of data gathering and hence a detailed analysis of the findings is discussed in detail in this chapter.

#### 1. Section A: Understanding of the concept of Zimbabwe is open for business

The researcher asked question in relation to operation Restore Legacy. Various respondents had different understanding on the concept of Zimbabwe is open for business. A research participant from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development who was interviewed mentioned that;

*The faction fighting within the ruling party came to a head in November 2017, when the then Vice President Mnangagwa was fired by President Mugabe for ‘disloyalty’ among other charges. The then Army Commander, Chiwenga mixed with idioms from the nationalist narrative accused counter-revolutionaries individuals like Jonathan Moyo, a leader of the G40 faction of infiltrating the party trying to destroy it from within. Recalling Mugabe’s slogan that ‘Zimbabwe will never be a colony again’, Chiwenga made it clear that the military would ‘protect the revolution’ without hesitation and stop forthwith the purging of those party members with a liberation background. It was the plainest confirmation, if one was needed, of the conflation of party and state, and the military’s role as guarantor of the revolutionary party’s right to rule.*

Another research participant from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development said that;

*I remember that the then General Chiwenga had, within the week, mounted Operation Restore Legacy which led to the downfall President Mugabe on 17 November 2017. This was not a national legacy of restoring democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. Nor was it to restore the independence and impartiality of the state institutions. It was engineered to restore the ruling party's legacy forged during the liberation struggle. The fired loyal Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa was sworn in as President. Chiwenga resigned as Commander General of the Armed Forces to take up the position as Mnangagwa's Vice President. Major General Sibusiso Moyo, famed for taking control of state television and announcing that the military takeover was not a coup, now serves as foreign minister. The commander of the air force, Air Marshal Perrance Shiri, also gave up his military position to become Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Development.*

The researcher asked questions regarding the road map to new dispensation. The question was centered on the understanding of the people on how they view the New dispensation. Many participants have different views regarding the roadmap to the New Dispensation. According to one of the interviewees from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce;

*After 37 years being under the leadership Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe had a change of leadership in November 2017 which was facilitated with a bunch of factors. This change came as a result of 'Operation Restore Legacy,' a military led action that resulted the resignation of the then President and some of his close allies. Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, Mugabe's longtime ally was installed as the new President. The operation enticed a lot of attention from regional and international communities as some regarded it as a coup and some questioned the legitimacy of the new President.*

According to another research participant who was interviewed by the researcher in relation to the New political dispensation concept;

*Some regarded it as a 'smart coup' because of its peaceful and non-violent nature. Whether it was a coup or not, this action by the military largely changed the fortunes of*

*the country. Fast-forward seven months after, the 'smart coup' was sanitized by heavily contested elections where Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa from the ruling ZANU PF party emerged as the winner after narrowly beating the youthful Nelson Chamisa from the opposition Movement for Democratic Change Alliance.*

In concurrence with the respondents, scholars in Chapter Two have also explaining in detail the link between new political dispensation and military intervention in the political circles of the country. The Researcher also found out that, military intervention in the political circles of Zimbabwean politics led to the new dispensation and this new dispensation has come with a new tone in the international arena and the domestic politics of the country.

## **2. The New Political dispensation provides hope to Zimbabweans**

The Researcher asked the question regarding the new political dispensation. This was different from the previous question which was centered on the roadmap to new dispensation. The research asked the question on the new political Dispensation. A participant member from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce said that; the new dispensation was derived with a cluster of factor my brother,

*The coming into office of Mnangagwa gave renewed hope to many Western countries and the Zimbabweans particularly the unemployed, political opportunists amongst others who had known only one president their entire lives, causing widespread voter apathy amongst them. The common sentiment was their vote wouldn't count or change anything because the same president always won the elections.*

On the same note another research participant who was interviewed had this mentioned that;

*The new dispensation brought opportunities for a new start, a chance to operate differently. At home and abroad, Zimbabwe's well-wishers allowed themselves a cautious hope that change was finally afoot. Although the recent developments and changes were welcome, after the euphoria has worn off, there are mixed feelings about how the new dispensation is trying to reengage the international community.*

In line with the interviewee from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the Researcher noted that Zimbabwe recently experienced a change in government that saw the end of Mugabe's 37 year rule and the coming in of Emmerson Mnangagwa after a military intervention in November 2017. He became Zimbabwe's second ever president. Because of the peaceful nature of the takeover there is a lot of arguments on the new dispensation locally, regionally and internationally as to whether the environment is conducive for investment or not yet conducive.

From the findings gathered by the researcher, it was noted that Zimbabwe is playing critical roles in trying to reengage with the international community. This has been noted in the elections which were recently held in the country where all contesting political parties were given platform to campaign using different forms of communication. Most importantly, political parties voiced in areas where they feel it needed clarification. This was one of the major reasons why Zimbabwe got Isolated in the international community two decades ago. It was mainly based on rule of law, democracy just to mention but a few examples.

### **3. SECTION B: Successes of the New Political Dispensation.**

#### **Property Rights and the Rule of Law**

The success stories of the new dispensation can be noted when issues of property rights are taken into consideration. This implies that the two Regimes should be compared in relation with property rights. According to a member from the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs research participant;

*Property rights remained a controversial issue during the Administration of Mugabe. Zimbabwe has a constitution that forbids the confiscation of land without compensation, the so-called land reform is taking land from people especially the Whites minority who thought they had secure title and giving it to landless blacks and greed war veterans. As a result of land redistribution, property rights were infringed and also the appraisal of discrimination was noticed as the land reform programme was mainly targeting the white community.*

The Research Participant further stressed that;

*With the ascendancy of Mnangagwa into office changes were noted in relation to property rights. A case to point is that of jubilation when Rob Smart and his son, Darryn, and their workers returned to Lesbury Estates in Headlands, ahead of Christmas 2017. They had lost their farm during the Administration of Mugabe who during his tenure in office did not respect property rights. The Administration of Mnangagwa returned the farm of Smart.*

Another Research participant who was interviewed had to confirm that,

*These farmers are Zimbabweans and they belong to Manicaland province. He added that the country now needed direct investments to boost the economy. The interviewee further explained that Smart and others had been victims of racial discrimination, greed and abuse of power, and that their farms were acquired outside the parameters of the rule of law, seemed to signal a sea change in the rule of law and property rights.*

A research participant said,

*On the issue of land had this to say, the new political dispensation was alive to Zimbabwe's failure to observe property rights under former President Robert Mugabe, who had precipitated Zimbabwe's isolation from the world. According to Dore (2019), the publicity surrounding the getting back of Lesbury farm was welcomed with the international community and the grieved white farmers who lost their land in early 2000s with a fervent hope that Mnangagwa would finally address the vexing question of land. As it turns out, though, the return of Smart's farm was less a change of policy and more the propitious outcome of factional ruling party wars.*

From the findings of the Researcher noted that during the speech in Marondera, the then President of Zimbabwe, Mugabe made a vitriolic speech which was threatening to kick out the remaining white farmers, the then the minister of state for Manicaland Province, Mandi Chimene flexed her

political muscle by instigating the takeover of Smart's farm. With the new Administration, property rights are now being respected as evidenced with the returning of Lesbury' farm. As such, the restoration of secure and transferable rights to all agricultural land with a view to promoting well-functioning land and capital markets and the efficient allocation of factors of production to drive sustainable economic growth in the new dispensation.

#### **4. Challenges faced by the New Political Dispensation.**

The issue of land law is a very controversial issue in the new administration. The Researcher found out that, to ensure 'equitable' compensation, the investment guidelines which was crafted by the New Administration proposed for the establishment of a special *ad hoc* tribunal based on international good practices in order to determine the value of compensation payable and the modalities for payment. In concurrence with the findings of the Researcher, a member from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce noted that, the investment guidelines categorically state that farmers will be compensated 'in terms of the laws of the land'. Zimbabwe's minister of foreign affairs and international trade, SB Moyo, reiterated that former farm owners will be compensated in accordance with 'our laws'.

Building on the above sentiments, the guidelines present various initiatives, targets and various ideas, but it lacks the necessary theoretical underpinnings to create a unified, coherent and consistent economic strategy. The Researcher find out that, the statements by government ministers and a recent article by Reserve Bank Governor, John Mangudya, illustrate the inconsistencies. Accordingly, the investment guidelines, for example, stresses on the importance of 'market principles' when government's strategies, policies and plans consist almost entirely of state-driven 'command' programmes based on the government's elimination of agricultural land markets and the capture of capital markets.

From the questionnaire distributed by the Researcher, participants agreed that, Mnangagwa claims that Zimbabwe is opening up its economy for business to attract foreign direct investment. Accordingly, the outstanding feature of the economy is not private investment in sectors with high yielding returns for growth, but an unabashed policy of government investment in the least productive sectors and loss-making companies. As opposed to promoting markets and market

principles, its policy of state-ownership of agricultural land served only to thwart the very markets that could have promoted vibrant private sector driven agricultural growth.

The Research noted that, applying Zimbabwe law is deeply problematic on three perspectives. As a point of reference, Zimbabwe's compensation laws fail to meet the standards of 'international good practices', especially in the way they estimate the value of compensation to be paid. This has already been made clear to Zimbabwe by the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes. Secondly, as a result of Zimbabwe's faulty methods of valuation, its laws fail to meet the criteria of paying fair, full and effective compensation promptly. But the most serious flaw is, third, that Zimbabwe's compensation laws, including its constitutional provisions on compensation, are void. They have no legal effect. From the documentary review the Researcher went through, particularly the constitution of Zimbabwe on land issue, Section 29C4 (a) of the land Acquisition Acts states that compensation can be: 'In cash or in bonds or other securities issued by the Government'. Just like Government is currently relying on Treasury Bills (TBs) to finance its operations, it can pay its compensation debt through a long-compensation bond, 20 years for example. A mixture of short-dated TBs and long-dated paper, bonds, is desirable to encourage uptake. The challenge that is there is that the committee is yet to quantify the compensation.

From the findings gathered, investors have remained a big area of concern affecting the new dispensation. Since the ascendancy of Mnangagwa as President of Zimbabwe, no investors either Local or Foreign have as for now showed up. In fact, it's just promises and signing of Memorandum of Understanding. Investors have remained at hibernating stage which shows that the country is remaining stuck as nobody is will to invest. The President since he came into power has been travelling in many European countries to lure investors, but nothing is changing.

Another challenge which the Researcher noted after interviews is the issue of multi-currency in Zimbabwe. A research participant from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development interviewed had this to say;

*The banning of multi-currency system in Zimbabwe has received a cluster of challenges in the Zimbabwean context. The current pricing structure indicates that the majority of*

*transactions in the economy are now largely being conducted in electronic money and bond notes at an implied parallel market exchange rate of around 100 bond been equivalent to \$10 USD. In this respect, unofficial use of the USD as a unit of account in the economy has contributed much in the economy of the country.*

In supporting the sentiments the Researcher observed that in June 2019, the rate was at 110 percent being equated to \$10 USD. In this perspective, the banning of dollarization in a country can significantly lead to currency risk exposure, as a result of this, the country is facing financial crisis as there is no cash available for bank lending or borrowing and the demand for capital injection decreases drastically soon after the banning of multicurrency. Technically, the Zimbabwe economy is subdivided into five, albeit unequal and overlapping common currency (dollarized) zones. Such sub-divisions and overlaps lead to transactional inconvenience and related transaction costs.

On the issue of sanctions has remained a very worrisome issue in the New Administration. The New dispensation has continued to be under sanctions just like its predecessor Regime. This has negatively impacted the mantra that Zimbabwe is open for business in a number of ways. The Researcher noted that by having Zimbabwe continuing under sanctions it means no meaningful benefits are going to come from the international community. As a point of reference, Zimbabwe before being sanctioned by the E.U and ZIDERA early 2000 used to benefit in most of its critical sectors like Health, Agriculture, Mining, and Education inter alia. This is in concurrence with the findings of scholars like Mbanje and Mahuku (2012); Moyo (2015), Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2015), Moyo (2016) who had been reviewed in Chapter 2. These scholars agree that, following the deterioration of relations between the EU and the government in 2002, the health sector suffered a lot of setbacks. Brain drain of qualified health personnel impacted negatively on the health sector. Through bilateral agreements, doctors, pharmacists, dentists and medical equipment engineers were recruited from Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to fill the gap created by those who had left the country.

A member from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce who was interviewed by the Researcher had this to say,

*From 2009 onwards Zimbabwe's health sector showed an improvement as aid from some African, Asian, Latin American and Western countries started trickling in. However, the only way Zimbabwe's health sector could be fully revived to its 1980 and 1990 status is through engaging other donors or strengthening relations with the EU (which since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 has been the largest donor in this sector).*

#### **4.2 Summary**

The Chapter looked at operation restore legacy, the new dispensation and successes and challenges faced by the new dispensation. The findings were drawn from the questionnaires and interviews that were asked by the Researcher. The challenges being faced by the new dispensation are strongly linked with the previous regime. From the findings, sanctions has remained a stumbling block for the economic growth of the country. The Zimbabwe is open for business mantra has not yet received a meaningful success story as the country since the new dispensation has not yet received potential investors. The proceeding Chapter is going to conclude and recommend, basing on the findings of the research.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the summary, conclusion and recommendations. Recommendations are based on the conclusion of the study. This chapter gives the summary of the whole project. The summary highlights major findings of the study in relation to research objectives and research questions. However, this chapter finally gives some recommendations on the New dispensation regarding its Zimbabwe is open for business mantra.

#### **5.2 Summary**

This study comprised of five chapters arranged chronologically as follows.

Chapter one looked at the background to the study and contained a detailed and clear statement of the problem to be solved. The aim or motivation of the study was clearly spelt out. The purpose of the study and what it seeks to accomplish was clarified. The chapter highlighted the moral principles guiding the conduct of the study and constraints that were inherent in the study were also stressed. The study delimitations made clear the boundaries of this research. The researcher rounded up the chapter by identifying those words that required defining in order to avoid any misrepresentations.

Chapter two mainly constituted of literature related to this research. It touched broadly on the Review of Related literature on the implications of Zimbabwe is open for business mantra. It also highlighted on how the Zimbabwe is open for business came in existence. The success and challenges of the new political dispensation have also been cited in the Chapter. This helped to limit my research problem or research questions and to clarify and define concepts of the study. It helped me to avoid unintentional replication of previous studies.

Chapter three involved a clear and concise description of how the study was carried out. It is a description of all the activities and procedures undertaken during the course of the research. It includes the methodology, research design, instruments, data collection procedures, data presentation and analysis plans and the chapter summary.

Chapter four focused on data presentation techniques, discussion and interpretation of research findings. The discussion and interpretation of findings were equally focused to ensure that all the results of the problems and questions were discussed. Chapter five included the summary of the research report, the research conclusion and the recommendations. It also informs of the research problem tackled, the research methodology used and its limitations, major findings of the study and their implication for practice.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The first objective sort to examine the concepts of ‘Zimbabwe is open for business’. ‘Zimbabwe is open for business’ mantra came into the fore during president Emmerson Mnangagwa’s famous inaugural speech as an attempt to signify a departure from the ‘old dispensation’s way of doing things and to rebrand and re-sell Zimbabwe as an attractive foreign direct investment destination. The success stories of the new political dispensation were quite notable immediately after the military putsch. Notwithstanding the military involvement, a number of formerly ‘hostile’ western governments, e.g. Britain, seemed to have embraced the new dispensation, for instance, with talks of rejoining the commonwealth well on course. However the positive strides were soon hampered by issues of legitimacy which ensued after president Mnangagwa’s disputed victory in the 2018 general elections.

Scholars like Kurebwa (2019), Mbanje and Mahuku (2012) have written extensively on the success stories of the new political dispensation. From the works of Kurebwa (2019), the success stories are based on the thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and the European Union. Tsimba (2019), also shares the same views with Kurebwa (2019), he pointed out that, there are numerous institutions, organizations and businesses that are functioning well through smart strategies, competent management, good leadership and partnerships in the new political dispensation.

From the findings gathered by the researcher, Zimbabwe is open for business mantra is closely linked with the reengagement into the international community. Zimbabwe was isolated from the international community following the imposition of sanction by the EU and ZIDERA. From the literature reviewed from scholars like Mbanje and Mahuku (2012), agree that sanctions isolated Zimbabwe into the international community. Zimbabwe is open for business is now trying to linking Zimbabwe into the international community. The mantra came following the removal of the long serving President of Zimbabwe, R.G. Mugabe. As noted by the Researcher, military intervention in the political circles of Zimbabwean politics led to the new political dispensation and this new dispensation has come with a new tone in the international arena and the domestic politics of the country.

Objective number two was concerned with understanding the social, economic and political challenges that are being faced by the new political dispensation. The findings reveal that the new political dispensation is facing a number of challenges since it came into power. Scholars like Chitiyo and Moyo (2018); Tatenda and Munatsi (2019) inter alia agree that the new political dispensation is facing challenges. From the works of these scholars, the challenges are economically, political and socially related. The scholars cite issues of corruption, lacking of economic growth in the country due to leadership crisis prevailing in the country. The country is continuing in debts which shows that it has dismally failed to address the economic and political challenges in the country. Infrastructure is so dilapidated and nothing is being done to address such critical issues in the country.

The third objective was to examine the reasons why the country is failing to attract meaningful foreign direct investment. The researcher noted that Zimbabwe is failing to attract meaningful foreign direct investment due to a number of factors. From the literature which was reviewed from scholars like Devanny (2018) and Munatsi (2019) agree that economic development is very difficult to achieve in an environment where there is conflict of any form since it is linked with investors who are so particular about human rights and protection of their business. This is what was observed by the Researcher, is similar to the findings of Devanny (2018). The researcher found out that, the new political dispensation has continued to be under sanctions just like its predecessor Regime. This has negatively impacted the mantra that Zimbabwe is open for business in a number of ways. The Researcher noted that by having Zimbabwe continuing under sanctions

it means no meaningful benefits are going to come from the international community. As a point of reference, Zimbabwe before being sanctioned by the E.U and ZIDERA early 2000 used to benefit in most of its critical sectors like Health, Agriculture, Mining, and Education inter alia.

The fourth objective was concerned on analyzing the measures that can be taken by the new dispensation to attract foreign direct investment. The new political dispensation has come up with Zimbabwe is Open for business mantra as a measure to attract foreign direction investment. The Researcher also noted that, the new political dispensation is now respecting property rights and rule of law. Scholars like Gatsheni Ndlovu (2015) and even Mbanje and Mahuku (2012) agree that before the new political dispensation measures to attract foreign direct investment were not very effective if they were there.

#### **5.4 Recommendations.**

##### **(i) Ministry of Finance and Economic development**

The ministry of Finance and Economic Development should come up with monetary policies which are consistence. This will make investors have confidence in investing in the country. The issue of currency should be very clear to the international community.

##### **(ii) Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade should engage the international community particularly the Western Community since they are critical players in the development of the country. The foreign policy of the country should also be crafted in such a way that national interests of the country are prioritized first not individual interests.

##### **(iii) Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs**

In order to rebuild the confidence and international rapport towards Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs should implement political and economic reforms and combating corruption. Other recommendations are to engage in holistic inclusive dialogue mediated by a neutral arbiter.

### **5.5 Areas of further Research**

The impact and consequences of sanctions on Reengagement Efforts, consequences of sanctions on the rights and well-being of the civilian population in Zimbabwe.

## REFERENCES

- Berkovich, I.A. (2013). Multidimensional Approach in International Comparative Policy Analysis Based on Demographic Projections. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 32(6), pp.943 – 968.
- Chan, P. (2006). Zimbabwe's foreign policy: A conversation, *The Round Table: The commonwealth journal of International Affairs*, 95 (384), 175-190.
- Chingono, H. (2010). Zimbabwe's Look East Policy. *Contemporary Dynamics in China's Southern Africa Relations*. Shangai Fudan.
- Chidiebere, C. O. (2017). Targeted or Restrictive Impact of U.S. and EU Sanctions on Education and Healthcare of Zimbabweans. *An International multi-disciplinary journal*, 1 11 (3)
- Chidede, T. (2018). Zimbabwe government issues investment guideline, Retrieved from <https://www.tralac.org/discussions/article/12625-zimbabwean-government-issues-investment-guidelines.html>, Accessed on (28 April 2018).
- Chiromo, A.S. (2006). *Research Methods and Statistics in Education: A Student's Guide*: BETA Print.
- Chitiyo, T.K. (1999). Zimbabwe's Military History. *African conflict* (1) pp. 1-72.
- Devanny, J. (2018). *New dispensation, new possibilities? The Herald*, p.3.
- Graziano, M. A. and Raulin, M. L. (2000). *Research methods: A process of inquiry*. Allyn and Bacon USA.
- Koehane, R. O. (1984). *After Hegemony cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press Princeton.
- Helliker, K. (2006). *A sociological analysis of intermediary non -Governmental organizations and land reform in contemporary Zimbabwe*. (Unpublished thesis. Rhodes University, South Africa).
- Jackson, S. (2011). *Research Methods and Statistics*. Academic Press, Sydney
- Kegley, C.W and Wittkopf, E.R. (2001). *World Politics, trend and transformation*, Bedford/St Martin, New York, 53-84.

Kurebwa, J. (2019). Zimbabwe-EU Relations after the New Political Dispensation: Prospects for Re-engagement, *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, Vol. 7(1), pp. 8-15.

Mbanje, B. and Mahuku, D. (2014). *Patriotism in The 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A paradym shift*, Bouston.

Muchabaiwa B.L., (2010). Zimbabwe Political Overview: *The Security Sector in Southern Africa*, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria.

McBurney: Donald H. (1994), *The Problem Method of Teaching Research Methods*, <https://doi.org/10.1207/s15328023top220111>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. (2017). Minister of foreign Affairs and International Trade, Hon.Dr. S.B Moyo. Major General (RTD) on the occasion of his briefing to heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Zimbabwe: New Munumutapa, Retrieved from [http://www.zimfa.gov.zw/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=111&Itemid=86](http://www.zimfa.gov.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=111&Itemid=86), Accessed on (28 May 2018).

Mnangagwa, E. D. (2017). ‘Zimbabwe is open for Business’, Retrieved from <https://www.chronicle.co.zw/president-mnangagwas-inauguration-speech-in-full/>, Accessed on (11 May 2018).

Mnangagwa, E. D. (2017). President Mnangagwa’s inauguration speech, Retrieved from <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/president-mnangagwas-inauguration-speech-in-full/>, Accessed on (11 May 2018).

Munyoro, F. (2017). Zim to seek re-engagement with other countries on equal footing, Retrieved from <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/zim-to-seek-re-engagement-with-other-countries-on-equal-footing/>, Accessed on ( 04 May 2018).

Newman, W. L. (2009). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and quantitative Approaches (7th Ed.)*. Allyn & Bacon, Boston

Payne, R. (2013). *Global Issues*. New York: Pearson.

Pham, L. (2018). A review of key paradigms: positivism, interpretivism and critical inquiry. *QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO RESEARCH*, 3-8

Stake, R.E. (2005). Qualitative case studies: The handbook of qualitative research (pp.443-466). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Waltz, K. N. (1979). Theory of International Politics. McGraw-Hill, New York

Wheeler, N.J. (2000) Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Yin, R, K. (2014). Case study research: Design and methods (5<sup>th</sup> ed.) Oakland: Sage

## **ANNEXURES**

## Appendix A

My name is **PATRICIA KUZOMBA**, I am at my final year at Bindura University of Science Education currently studying my Masters in International Relations. I'm carrying out a research entitled: **The implications of 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business' to Reengagement Effort with the International Community**. The program requires a research project as a fulfillment of the program. This research is going to be based on your responses for its validity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential as they will be used for academic purposes only.

**BUSE**



### **INTERVIEW GUIDE ON THE TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF 'ZIMBABWE IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS' TO REENGAGEMENT EFFORT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.**

#### **Interview Guide For: Members from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade**

1. What is your understand on the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra?

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Can you briefly explain how the New Political Dispensation can into existence?

.....

.....

.....

3. Since the New Political Dispensation came into being, do we have any success stories?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. What challenges are being faced by the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. What recommendations can you give about the New Political dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

**Appendix B**

My name is **PATRICIA KUZOMBA**, I am at my final year at Bindura University of Science Education currently studying my Masters in International Relations. I'm carrying out a research entitled: **The implications of 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business' to Reengagement Effort with the International Community**. The program requires a research project as a fulfillment of the program. This research is going to be based on your responses for its validity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential as they will be used for academic purposes only.

**BUSE**



**INTERVIEW GUIDE ON THE TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF 'ZIMBABWE IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS' TO REENGAGEMENT EFFORT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.**

**Interview Guide For: Members from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce**

1. What is your understand on the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2. Can you briefly explain how the New Political Dispensation can into existence?

.....  
.....  
.....

3. Since the New Political Dispensation came into being, do we have any success stories?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. What challenges are being faced by the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. What recommendations can you give about the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

**Appendix C**

My name is **PATRICIA KUZOMBA**, I am at my final year at Bindura University of Science Education currently studying my Masters in International Relations. I'm carrying out a research entitled: **The implications of 'Zimbabwe is Open for Business' to Reengagement Effort with the International Community**. The program requires a research project as a fulfillment of the program. This research is going to be based on your responses for its validity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential as they will be used for academic purposes only.

**BUSE**



**INTERVIEW GUIDE ON THE TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF 'ZIMBABWE IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS' TO REENGAGEMENT EFFORT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.**

**Interview Guide For: Members from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development**

1. What is your understand on the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
2. Can you briefly explain how the New Political Dispensation can into existence?  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
3. Since the New political dispensation came into being, do we have any success stories?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. What challenges are being faced by the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. What recommendations can you give about the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

**Appendix D**

My name is **PATRICIA KUZOMBA**, I am at my final year at Bindura University of Science Education currently studying my Masters in International Relations. I'm carrying out a research entitled: **The implications of Zimbabwe is Open for Business to Reengagement Effort with the International Community**. The program requires a research project as a fulfillment of the program. This research is going to be based on your responses for its validity. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential as they will be used for academic purposes only.

**BUSE**



**INTERVIEW GUIDE ON THE TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF ZIMBABWE IS OPEN FOR BUSINESS TO REENGAGEMENT EFFORT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.**

**Interview Guide For: Members from the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs**

1. What is your understand on the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
2. Can you briefly explain how the New Political Dispensation can into existence?  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
3. Since the New Political Dispensation came into being, do we have any success stories?

.....  
.....  
.....

4. What challenges are being faced by the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....

5. What recommendations can you give about the New Political Dispensation?

.....  
.....  
.....