

**BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE**



**ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIO-
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 2001.**

By

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO BINDURA UNIVERSITY'S FACULTY OF
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GOVERNANCE, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

October 2019

DECLARATION

I, Rangarirai Kutyaauripo W hereby declare that this dissertation in partial fulfilment for the Masters in International Relations degree is my own original work and that to the best of my knowledge this work has not been previously submitted for assessment or completion of any graduate qualification to another university or for another qualification.

Signature.....

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Date: October 2019

RELEASE FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to Bindura University of Science Education for acceptance a project entitled, “*Zimbabwe’s foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development since the year 2001. A study of the ministry of Agriculture*”, submitted by Rangarirai W Kutyauro, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Science Degree in International Relations.

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Date

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, sisters and friends.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the reliability and kindness of various individuals who made their mark on me from the start of this expedition. Thus, my sincere gratitude goes to my Supervisor Dr. David Makwerere who delivered patience, wisdom, support and priceless mentorship. I wish to acknowledge my dearest friends and workmates. I also give praise to God for the strength in helping me through my studies.

ABSTRACT

The study investigated Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture since 2001. In exploring this research, the researcher used the theory of power and interdependence. The researcher, made use of a qualitative explorative case study research design and selected a sample using non-probability sampling and purposive sampling techniques and a sample of 60(sixty respondents was used. Data was collected from participants of the ministry of Agriculture mainly then key informants from the ministry of finance and economic development as well as the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade using interviews. The collected data was then analysed using thematic approach. The collected data reflected that Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001 has been dominantly shaped by domestic issues such as FTLRP, human rights abuses, Indigenisation and empowerment act, operation murambatsvina that relate to the political climate that has prevailed over the country since 2001 and issues related to mismanagement by the government. To this end, the researcher also found out that the foreign policy of Zimbabwe has brought some modicum socio-economic development and that largely, no tangible socio-economic development has been brought about by the foreign policy trajectory taken by the government. On intervention strategies, the researcher found out that a lot can be done to improve Zimbabwe's international relations and in also improving the impact of foreign policy on development in Zimbabwe. The researcher then made recommendations in line with the study findings, that the government of Zimbabwe needs to reflect on its foreign policy and fix all issues that are affecting its foreign policy from having robust impact. The government must also ensure protection and promotion of human rights, good governance of natural resources as well as revision of domestic policies which deter investors to invest in the country

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ACRONYMS

CHOGM	-	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
COMESA	-	Common Marketing between Eastern and Southern African Countries
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	-	Economic Cooperation between West African States
EU	-	European Union
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	-	Forum of China and African Cooperation
FTLRP	-	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	-	Human Development Index
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
MoFAIT	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
NAM	-	Non-Aligned Movement
NCA	-	National Constitutional Assembly
RENAMO	-	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SADC	-	Southern African Development Committee
SAPs	-	Structural Adjustment Programmes

UK	-	United Kingdom
UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	-	United Nations Security Council
USA	-	United States of America
ZANLA	-	Zimbabwe African People's Liberation Army
ZANU PF	-	Zimbabwe National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	-	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZFPSP	-	Zimbabwe Foreign Policy Strategic Plan
ZIDERA	-	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

Zimbabwe has been over the years witnessing numerous challenges in as far as socio-economic development is concerned and this is evident from the current economic quagmires bedevilling the country..

Zimbabwe's foreign policy objectives are grounded in safeguarding the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity; the protection of its prestige and image; the pursuit of policies that improve the standard of living of all Zimbabweans wherever they are; and the creation and maintenance of an international environment conducive for the attainment of these goals (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, MoFAIT 2014). In the creation and pursuit of these objectives, Zimbabwe is guided by its belief in self-determination and support for liberation movements; adherence to the principle of national sovereignty; respect for territorial integrity of all countries; promotion of the principle of equality among nations; belief in non-discrimination, whether based on colour, creed, religion or other forms; and the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states (MoFAIT, 2014).

In simple terms, Zimbabwe's foreign policy, as with that of any other country, is an extension of its domestic policy since it is the supreme national interest that drives the conception of a country's foreign policy (Alao, 2012). The fundamental principles of national security, national economic well-being and the image of the country that transcends the image of the government

of the day therefore form the foundation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy. Just like foreign policies of any other country, all foreign policies have a mandate to improve the living conditions of people and thus improving the socio-economic position of the country (Hook and Lebo, 2010).

According to Bratton and Masunungure (2013), the implementation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy is guided by a number of considerations, namely, forging regional, political, economic and cultural co-operation with Zimbabwe's neighbours as well as with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) regions; promoting African unity and solidarity through the African Union (AU); development through regional and sub-regional initiatives (Bratton and Masunungure, 2013); promoting solidarity and cohesion among developing countries through such organizations as the Non-Aligned Movement; promoting South-South cooperation through the Group of Fifteen (G15), the Group of Seventy Seven (G77) and other organisations; and promoting international peace, security and co-operation through the United Nations.

The pursuit of Zimbabwe's foreign policy is clearly demonstrated by Zimbabwe's commitment to the furtherance of international peace, security and the search for sustainable economic development in various spheres (Mugabe, 2001). The pursuit of these objectives can help to explain for instance, Zimbabwe's military role in support of Mozambique's campaign against Mozambique National Resistance (*Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* or RENAMO) rebels during the 1980s, its military engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 1990s as well as Zimbabwe's distinction in UN-peacekeeping operations in Angola, Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Kosovo and East Timor (Mandaza, 2009). After 2001, Zimbabwe adopted the Look East Policy wherein the country, after deteriorating relations with the West over the Land Reform Programme and sanctions that were imposed on top government

officials, turned its face towards China. This has remained one of the major focus of Zimbabwe's foreign policy to date and under President Emmerson Mnangagwa government, the government has even improved its relations with several other East European and Asian countries (Ndimande and Moyo, 2018).

According to Chimanikire (2003), ZANU-PF's ascendance to become the ruling party since 1980 to date casts a narrative of two liberation movements that came together in 1987, having fought the liberation struggle separately. The two liberation movements were the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which had its military outfit, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) as well as Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU) which likewise had its liberation army the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) (Mandaza, 2009). This liberation account has been largely formidable and is a constant reminder of a history that has dominated the discourse as well as the shaping and understanding of Zimbabwe's foreign policy.

In a related context, Chigora (2006) states that, in understanding any country's foreign policy, it is important to outline the essential actors, their objectives as well as the overall geographical, historical and strategic factors that are at play. A closer examination of Zimbabwe's foreign policy exhibits a constant policy pronouncement that has rarely shifted in terms of its articulation and pronouncement. Chimanikire (2003) postulates that soon after independence in 1980, Harare quickly became Southern Africa's diplomatic hub and a key player in the Frontline States' efforts to dismantle apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa. Zimbabwe adopted a policy of non-alignment in international affairs and its foreign policy trajectory was governed by sanctity of the right to life, self-determination, defense of national sovereign states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Zimbabwe and its foreign policy versus world perspectives

Zimbabwe's foreign policy trajectory since her attainment of Independence has had a mixed record. From being the "darling" of the West in the 1980s amidst the consolidation of independence, stability and socio-economic development, the country was in the late 1990s and early 2000's, labelled as a "pariah state" and "an outpost of tyranny" in the midst of increasing political and economic turmoil, economic decline and rising Zim – West tensions Chimanikire (2016). The implementation of indigenous redistributive policies such as the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000 and the Indigenous Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA), Chapter 14:33, Act 14/2007 attracted an avalanche of criticism from those who deem Mugabe's policies (domestic and foreign) as destructive and acclaims of glory from those who are or were muddled under a crippling sanctions regime, a seemingly, debilitating dependency syndrome and a crumbling unipolar order Chigora (2009). Furthermore, the failure of liberal IMF and World Bank economic policies, particularly, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) and deteriorating relations between Zimbabwe the United Kingdom (UK), European Union (EU), United States of America (USA), Australia and other like minded nations as well as the suspension and subsequent withdrawal of the country from the Commonwealth in 2003, culminated in the adoption of the Look East Policy, focusing primarily on China as an alternative development partner in the backdrop of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and demise of western hegemony in international economic relations.

Like any other country, Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been largely influenced by the external and internal environment (Chimanaikire, 2016). It is therefore imperative, to discuss the course of Zimbabwe's post millennium foreign policy framework by analysing the impact of the country's colonial legacy on its relations with the West, particularly, the defacto apartheid system and the method of independence, inter alia, the protracted liberation struggle. In the same vein, this research will analyse the implications of Zimbabwe's domestic policies, particularly, the implementation of the Indigenisation Economic Empowerment Policies on its East – West relations. The study will focus on the implementation of the FTLRP and the IEEA. It will analyse the effectiveness of the adoption of the LEP by Zimbabwe amidst shifting polarities in the international system. In addition, the research will assess the facilitating and inhabiting factors towards the normalisation of Zimbabwe – West relations and recommend a viable

guiding framework in the formulation and implementation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy in a multi-polar world. This research will therefore trace Zimbabwe's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial relations and how these have influenced Zimbabwe's foreign policy making and implementation in as far as economic development is concerned.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Exemplifying the negative consequences of a variety of inappropriate foreign, fiscal and economic policies since 2001, Zimbabwe has failed to realize its potential to become a strong, independent state, going from the admiration and envy of its neighbours to near-complete collapse and abject poverty. Economic turmoil, caused by failed land reforms and inflation as well as Look East policy, indigenisation and Empowerment Act, combined with increased malnutrition, and evaporating access to education, health care, and employment have only exacerbated unrest, particularly for constituencies who receive few benefits from President Robert Mugabe's regime and later on the so called new dispensation by the Mnangagwa regime. This research assesses Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001 taking into cognisance the repeal effects of damaging policies and acts such as FLRP, operation Murambatsvina, IEA and many other domestic initiatives which had direct impact globally on how Zimbabwe relate with the world and the devastating effects thereafter to the economy.

Zimbabwe's foreign policy under Emmerson Mnangagwa has shifted from focusing on the political towards the economic (Ndimande and Moyo, 2018). The (Zimbabwe is open for business) mantra and the country's foreign policy has been designed in such a way that aids Zimbabwe's economic recovery, facilitates economic growth, creates employment and encourages a climate conducive to attracting investors into the country, but these aims are yet to be seen as the country's socio-economic condition is worsening. Foreign policy is supposed to

improve the general socio-economic climate of a country and since 2001, Zimbabwe has followed a strong social policy (Ndimande and Moyo, 2018), but the country has suffered since then. This calls for the need to inquire the nexus between Zimbabwe's foreign policy and socio-economic development. It is clear from research that there is a dearth of studies in this regard and this issue has been neglected over time, yet it warrants a thorough understanding so that feasible interventions are formulated. In Zimbabwe, it seems as if the domestic policy is given more preference over foreign policy and the government seems to downplay the importance of foreign policy in development. Changes that have been observed in Zimbabwe since the ouster of Robert Mugabe in 2017 have been more skewed towards the domestic front.

To make matters worse, current international dynamics have been greatly influenced by the emergence of middle powers, or emerging powers, whose main goal both domestically and internationally has been to promote their development and to increase their projection. However, little has been written on how these countries' foreign policy can help their development goals, as most works on this relation, for instance Hyman (2010) and Maxwell (2007), focus on the instruments that developed countries have created to help promote the periphery's development. Nonetheless, this pattern of analysis undermines developing countries' capabilities of self-help, thus maintaining asymmetries.

1.2 Study aim

This study investigated Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development since the year 2001 with specific reference to the Ministry of Agriculture.

1.3 Study objectives

This study was based on the following objectives

1.4.1 To explore Zimbabwe's foreign policy since the year 2001 in relation to socio-economic development.

1.4.2 To examine the influence of Zimbabwe's foreign policy on socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture since 2001.

1.4.3 To establish interventions that can be useful in improving the impact of Zimbabwe's international relations on socio-economic development

1.4 Study questions

1.5.1 What has been the nature of Zimbabwe's foreign policy towards socio-economic development since the year 2001?

1.5.2 How has Zimbabwe's foreign policy impacted on socio-economic development especially in the ministry of Agriculture since 2001?

1.5.3 What can be done to improve the impact of Zimbabwe's international relations on socio-economic development?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

The researcher assumed the following to be true before the study;

- Zimbabwe's foreign policy has not been robust enough to improve socio-economic development since 2001
- The Look East Policy as part of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and it has had both positive and negative impacts on socio-economic development

- Zimbabwe's FLRP, operation murambatsvina and IEA has deterred would be investors to come and invest in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Justification of the study

This study will add knowledge to the field of international relations and it will positively inform the country in reorienting its foreign policy or in improving its international relations so that they can bring about socio-economic development to the country. It is international relations that entice investors and improve the flow of FDI into the country. Moreover, it is a country's foreign policy that determines its position in world politics and economics. This study will also assist the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to craft, review or amend current policies towards reengagement with the rest of the world and this is only achievable if there is adequate information. Additionally, lobbyists and advocacy groups and individuals will make use of this study in informed advocacy and lobbying towards making Zimbabwe's foreign policy developmental in nature. Most importantly, this study will assist the researcher in partially fulfilling the requirements of his studies towards the Master of Science in International relations and it will help Bindura University, particularly the Bindura University library to be a hub of knowledge as this study will be added to its catalogue. Last but certainly not least, this study will pave the way for future research on the subject matter or on any related issues as it will provide future researchers and academics with a linchpin on which to conduct their studies.

1.7 Limitations of the study

The researcher faced time constraints and budgetary constraints. The researcher was a student, an employee and a father at the same time and he was supposed to also read for exams, write

assignments and perform various other work-related activities whilst conducting this research. The researcher however made an effort to avail enough time for this research. Moreover, with the current economic challenges in the country, the researcher also faced budgetary constraints as the researcher needed funds to conduct this study. The researcher made a budget and tried to stick to that budget until the study was through.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

This study was limited only to the exploration of Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001 and not to any other period and also not to any other issues aside from the foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development. The study was also limited to the Ministry of Agriculture only since it has been mostly affected by international relations. Other ministries like Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ministry and the Ministry of Defence has been also directly affected by the foreign policy but this study did not include these ministries for ethical reasons. Theoretically this study will be focusing on Keohane and Nye's theory of interdependent power only.

1.9 Study outline

This chapter introduced the study by looking at, inter alia, the background of the study, statement of the problem, aim, study objectives and questions, assumptions of the study, the justification of the study together with the limitations and delimitations of the study.

Chapter 2 looked at the literature review of the subject matter in line with the study questions. As such, the researcher in Chapter 2 presented or explicated the theoretical base of the study, gave a conceptualisation of foreign policy and socioeconomic development, reviewed Zimbabwe's foreign policy, looked at the impact of foreign policies on socio-economic development and

reviewed erstwhile studies and activities by other governments on how they are improving international relations in line with their socio-economic development.

Chapter 3 focused on the research methodology that was used by the researcher in this study. The researcher made use of a qualitative methodology and he used a case study design. Moreover, the researcher selected study respondents using non-probability sampling techniques. The researcher, as was explicated in this chapter, analysed data using qualitative data analysis techniques.

Chapter 4 discussed and presented the findings of the study. The researcher analysed the findings using qualitative techniques and the researcher used narratives in presenting the findings. Chapter 5 provides a summary of the findings together with the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature from previous studies on the subject matter of the study. In this chapter, the researcher looked at the theories that guided the study and reviewed literature in line with the research objectives. This assisted the researcher in setting the tone for the remainder of the research, particularly, data analysis and discussion in Chapter four.

2.1 Theoretical framework

2.1.1 Principal themes of interdependence and power Keohane and Nye (1987)

In power and interdependence keohane and Nye (1987) identified political realism in the sense that state behavior is dominated by the constant danger of military conflict. They further argued on the importance of multidimensional economic, social and ecological interdependence in the world. Keohane and Nye (1987:5) argued that the use of force by major states have become costly as a result of factors that is, risks of nuclear escalation, resistance by people in weak or poor states, uncertain or possibly negative effects on the achievement of economic goals and domestic opinion opposed to the use of force. They further distinguished three major themes which explains politics of interdependence, these include:

A power oriented analysis of the politics of interdependence drawing from the bargaining theory.

An analysis of complex interdependence and of the impact of the processes that it encompassed.

An attempt to explain changes in International regimes which are defined as “sets of governing arrangements that affect relationships of interdependence.

In their analysis Keohane and Nye postulated that it is power that influence interdependence, in other words asymmetries in the International system are created out of power. In the context of Zimbabwe’s foreign policy, power especially by International regimes in the name of USA,

Europe and to a certain extent Asian Tigers determines or gives an acid test to Zimbabwe's foreign policy.

2.2 Conceptualising foreign policy

It is important to understand how foreign policy is conceptualized. Stern (2010) conceives foreign policy as a sequence of positions or courses of action in pursuit of objectives and he relates it to actions, reactions, and interactions to situations, events, issues, demands, and pressures from the international arena (Stern, 2010). Kegley and Wittkopf (2011) posit that, a State's foreign policy is determined by interrelated factors such as international, inter-domestic and domestic factors. Rosenau (2016) views foreign policy from three dimensions that is, orientations, commitments and activities (behaviors). Through orientation, one delves into the core issues guiding Zimbabwe's foreign policy and this includes its political traditions, experiences and aspirations. Secondly, foreign policy as commitments, explores how the administration adopted strategies and made decisions towards achieving the goal of total re-engagement by translating a country's principles into norms. Thirdly, foreign policy as practice refers to the concrete behaviour 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 (2007) conception of foreign policy as the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other States and for adjusting their activities to the international environment (Patel, 2006). In addition, the definition considers the role played by the policy makers who are entitled to act on behalf of their community, it must also shed light on the ways in which the state attempts to change and whether it succeeds in changing the behaviour and attitude of other states. In Zimbabwe, Chan and Patel (2006) state that since 1980, there has been an organic link between

the method of independence, that is, the armed struggle (the Second Chimurenga) for independence, and its values and beliefs, and domestic policy and foreign policy. This organic link underpins Zimbabwe's highly active and visible foreign policy, especially since the chief maker and articulator of Zimbabwe's foreign policy, and other major policy makers were leaders in the armed struggle, (Patel, 2006).

According to Chimanikire (2003), ZANU-PF's ascendance to become the ruling party since 1980 to date casts a narrative of two liberation movements that came together in 1987, having fought the liberation struggle separately. The two liberation movements were the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) which had its military outfit, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) as well as Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU) which likewise had its liberation army the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) (Mandaza, 2009). This liberation account has been largely formidable and is a constant reminder of a history that has dominated the discourse as well as the shaping and understanding of Zimbabwe's foreign policy.

In a related context, Chigora (2006) states that, in understanding any country's foreign policy, it is important to outline the essential actors, their objectives as well as the overall geographical, historical and strategic factors that are at play. A closer examination of Zimbabwe's foreign policy exhibits a constant policy pronouncement that has rarely shifted in terms of its articulation and pronouncement. Chimanikire (2003) postulates that soon after independence in 1980, Harare quickly became Southern Africa's diplomatic hub and a key player in the Frontline States' efforts to dismantle apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa. Zimbabwe adopted a policy of non-alignment in international affairs and its foreign policy trajectory was governed by sanctity

of the right to life, self-determination, defense of national sovereign states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Zimbabwe's high profile foreign policy and effective domestic management record in the 1980s enabled President Mugabe to win numerous international accolades such as the 1988 World Freedom against Hunger Award (Mashingaidze, 2006). In addition, President Mugabe was ordained Knighthood status in 1994 by the British Government becoming Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath and attaining the title Sir Robert Mugabe. In the 1980s, many correctly labelled it the 'African Jewel' as its economy was diverse and vibrant, it had a young-well educated population, and the currency was even stronger than the United States dollar (Moreira, 2007). Due to international goodwill, many in the Western financial, donor and multilateral communities were enthusiastic to underwrite its economic development programmes. Aid flowed from many quarters of the Western world, including the Bretton Woods Institutions who were to underwrite its Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1990s, (Mashingaidze, 2006).

According to Mashingaidze (2006), in 1986 the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) Summit meeting was held in Harare and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe became the chair of the organisation. In addition, as chair of the Front Line states, Zimbabwe strongly argued against apartheid and frequently called for the imposition of economic sanctions against Pretoria. The state was very active in the launch of the African Fund whose aim was to assist the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa, and Southern Africa states threatened by Pretoria's policy of destabilisation, (Patel, 2006). In the same period, Zimbabwe's relations with her erstwhile coloniser were remarkably cordial, which explains why in 1991, Harare was host to the

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) which crafted and adopted the famous Harare Declaration on good governance, (Chigora, 2009).

2.3 Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development in the Ministry of Agriculture since 2001

The violence and economic disruption that have accompanied land reform have left a scar on the face of Zimbabwe's foreign policy as postulated by Basada and Moyo (2016). In the ongoing anarchic and frequently violent redistribution of land, the winners, often so-called war veterans, have had little or no farming experience, while up to two million farmhands and their dependents, constituting 15 percent of the population, have faced internal displacement and unemployment, worsening still further the country's political and economic turmoil. Moreover, the displacement has come amidst an increasingly critical situation in the agricultural sector. There is little fuel to transport grain to mills, and, intimidated by the armed land invasions, many commercial growers have not planted for the next season, raising fears of prolonged food shortages for years to come. Mackenzie and Stella(1996) were in chorus with Basada and Moyo (2016) when they noted that, the economic turmoil has succeeded, in turn, in worsening social unrest, as the people have seen Mugabe's land reforms and promises of higher standards of living bear little fruit. Zimbabwe, virtually bankrupt with little tax revenue coming in from former major taxpayers like the commercial farmers and its foreign exchange reserves reduced to nothing, saw long queues for gasoline, cooking oil, and bread.

Moreover, with the continuing deterioration of Zimbabwe's economic conditions (see Table 1), inflation has skyrocketed. According to UNDP (2007), In May 2008, the official annual inflation

rate reached 1 million percent, the highest in the world. Zimbabwe's high inflation rate could be blamed on an extremely large public sector and subsidized loans to priority sectors – agriculture, in particular. Despite relatively strong revenue collection, the fiscal deficit – including quasi-fiscal activities by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe to support parastatals and other strategic sectors that were showing a loss was equivalent to more than 80 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) in 2006.³ With limited scope for external financing, a large part of the public sector's financing needs were met via money creation, which further fuelled the rapid monetary expansion and a sharp rise in inflation. UNDP (2007) further highlighted that, the Zimbabwean dollar continued to lose value, trading for about Z\$6 million to the US dollar in January 2008 and falling to Z\$70 million to the US dollar by March 2008, even though the official rate was Z\$30,000 to the US dollar (Robertson Economic Information Services, 2008).

Furthermore, Basada and Moyo (2016) argued that, the broad structure of the economy, most sectors have been severely affected since the launch of the land reform program. Agriculture's share of GDP declined from 20 percent in 2001 to 15 percent in 2006, while manufacturing's share declined from 19 percent in 2001 to 15 percent in 2006. The services sector's contribution to Zimbabwe's GDP decreased slightly from 58.9 percent in 2001 to 57.2 percent in 2006, although this figure should be seen in the context of a drop in the share of value-added products in the social services sector from 10.8 percent in 2001 to 7 percent in 2006. Mining was, to a certain extent, spared the sharp declines elsewhere in the economy, with its share of GDP increasing from 3.8 percent in 2001 to 6.4 percent in 2006, thanks to continuing Chinese investment in platinum mines. In 2006, an estimated 65.8 percent of the labour force was

engaged in industry and the services sectors combined, while another 32.4 percent worked in agriculture (CSO and Macro International Inc., 2007).

Table 1: Macroeconomic Data, Zimbabwe, 2000 and 2006

Indicator	2000	2006
Gross National Income (GNI) (Currency US \$ Billions)	5.7	4.5
GNI per capita	450	350
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Currency US \$ Billions)	7.4	3.4
GDP growth (Annual%)	-7.9	-5.3
Current Account Balance (GDP%)		-172
Total External Debt (% of GDP)		124.5
Total External Debt (US \$ Billions)	3.8	4.7
Foreign Direct Investment (US \$ millions)	23.2	40.0
Official Development Assistance and Official Aid	175.8	279.8

Source: United Nations Development Programme, 2007

2.3 Main principles of Zimbabwe's foreign policy

In the first official pronouncement of Zimbabwe's foreign policy principles, in May 1980, the then President Canaan Banana, emphasized non-alignment, African issues, peaceful co-existence, reordering of the international economic order, and exchange of ideas, culture and trade, (Patel 1985). Thereafter, in a major speech at the United Nations in August 1980, Mugabe, then prime minister, expounded on the five key principles of Zimbabwe's foreign policy (Patel 1985). These related to;

- National sovereignty and equality among nations
- Attainment of a socialist, egalitarian and democratic society;
- Right of all peoples to self-determination and independence;
- Non-racialism at home and abroad; and
- Positive non-alignment and peaceful co-existence among nations.

It is recognised that there are overlaps between the above five principles, which also incorporate the principles of nationalism, Pan-Africanism, anti-imperialism, solidarity, non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, multilateralism, and the Look East Policy which has been especially vibrant during the past years (Chan and Patel, 2006).

2.4 Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy Strategic Plan 2013 to 2015 (ZFPSP)

Following a victory in the 2013 harmonized elections, the ZANU PF-led government was very quick in pronouncing new policies and strategic plans. One such plan was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Strategic plan 2013-2015. The document spells out the principles, vision,

mission and values underpinning Zimbabwe's foreign policy. The strategic document also sets out foreign policy formulation procedures as well as the overall functions of the ministry. Diplomatic Missions as well as their functions are also spelled out in the document. The Strategic Plan identifies five major challenges to the attainment of the Ministry's objectives and these relate to;

- Negative perception on Zimbabwe;
- Deliberate distortion of Zimbabwe's policies by other countries;
- Inadequate political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical interaction with other countries, regional and international bodies;
- Resource constraints and debt overhang

As can be seen, the first two challenges can be resolved through a robust programme that integrates the media in pursuing and attaining Zimbabwe's strategic national interests and hence fulfilling the country's foreign policy. Chitiyo and Kibble (2014: 33) argue that the Strategic Plan is an important document that recognizes Zimbabwe's external image problem. The authors also applaud the document for its demonstration of the knowledge of the interface between foreign policy and national economic policy. Although aspects of the 2013-2015 Strategic Plan could be improved, it is nevertheless a document that marks a transition. After more than a decade of being a foreign policy 'problem' to the region and of being 'managed' by the region, Zimbabwe was by then reasserting itself. It not only had a greater agency in its foreign policy but was also becoming a major stakeholder in regional and continental policymaking, (Chitiyo and Kibble, 2014: 33).

Whilst this is the case as concurred above, it is a fact that Zimbabwe is resource constrained, particularly in terms of the money to fund all the programmes that the government puts in place.

Whilst policies may be sound and brilliant, experience shows that having a brilliant policy is one thing, but converting the brilliant ideas into fruition through implementation is another thing altogether.

2.5 The Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP)

Zimbabwe's land redistribution programme that was initiated with the coming of the new millennium was a critical domestic policy embarked by the Southern African state which however turned out to affect its foreign policy. Land occupies the attic on the menu of political, economic and social problems bedeviling Zimbabwe. Chari (2013: 291) observes that The land issue in Zimbabwe has been both a consequence and a cause of the struggle for liberation and has always been at the core of the country's political, economic and social struggles (Chari, 2013: 291). The land issue explains why the Lancaster House negotiations for independence nearly collapsed in 1979.

Even though the pledge by the British and the Americans to fund land reform was not inscribed in the constitution, the ZANU-PF was persuaded to accept the compromise after being put under pressure by the Front Line States who had been their benefactors. In addition the Declaration of Rights (Section 16 of the then Zimbabwe Constitution) circumscribed the compulsory acquisition of any property including land for a period of 10 years after the date of independence. Any constitutional amendments during this 10-year period needed a 100 percent majority, something that was impossible given the fact that whites had 20 seats reserved for them under the same constitution for the next seven years, (Chari, 2013: 294).

As a result, white Zimbabwean farmers who were reluctant to relinquish their land sold land that was mostly in poor ecological regions through the willing-seller willing-buyer arrangement,

resulting in land reform moving at a very slow pace during the first few years of independence. Stoneman (1988) notes the situation was compounded by the fact that the Government of Zimbabwe did not have enough funds to procure land for resettlement programmes intended to decongest rural areas. In an incriminatory letter to the Zimbabwean government, the British Government under Prime Minister Tony Blair openly denied responsibility on anything to do with Zimbabwe's land reform programme as well as issues to do with the compensation of the White Commercial Farmers.

According to Utete (2003: 15), this marked the turning point of Zimbabwe's relations with her erstwhile colonial master which later drew in other European powers and United States of America, given Britain's influence in the European Union as well as her traditional bond with the United States. The MDC, whose support among many other social groups such as the workers, students, the civil society, the private sector and the academia also found open support from the White Commercial Farmers. This agitated the ZANU PF-led government who responded by labelling the MDC as a puppet of Britain and an agent of regime change aimed at reversing gains of the liberation struggle. According to Chari (2013: 295) the rejection of the ZANU PF government's draft constitution was followed with the effecting of Amendment Number 16 (Act 5/2000) which empowered the government to compulsorily acquire land without compensation.

Chari (2013: 295) further notes that the period following the amendment witnessed an intensification of occupations of white-owned commercial farms. The farm occupations and the subsequent FTLRP in July 2000 became major talking points in the local and international media, soliciting varied interpretations in relation to their causes, objective and impacts on the economy and social relations(Willems 2004: 167). Britain's perceived arrogance became coincidental with government which was facing threats of chaos and seizure of power from every

quarter, ranging from the war veterans, civil society, students and the newly formed MDC. Chigora and Guzura (2008: 7) argue that the implementation of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe did receive condemnation from the British Government. According to Scoones (2011), Zimbabwe's land reform had a bad press. Images of chaos, destruction and violence dominated the coverage. Indeed, these have been part of the reality but there have also been successes, which has thus far gone largely unrecorded.

2.6 Zimbabwe and Britain or European Union (EU) relations after the land reform

The period from 2000 to 2008 was characterised by a hostile intricate relationship between Zimbabwe and the European Union. Chan and Patel (2006:177) argue that Zimbabwe has reinvigorated its defense of its sovereignty as the continuation of the struggle for independence, recast in terms of the Third Chimurenga. This was fought against the UK in particular, and its Western allies, illustrated by the official currency of phrases such as "*Zimbabwe will never be a colony again*", and "*the land is the economy and the economy is the land*", and by the characterization of the March 2005 parliamentary elections as the '*anti-Blair elections*'.

The crucial 2002 Commonwealth summit in Australia set the motion for Zimbabwe to be suspended from the group citing human rights abuses, political decay and improper governance by Zimbabwe. President Mugabe announced Zimbabwe's total withdrawal from the Commonwealth on 7 December 2003, few hours after the 53 member organisation had decided to extend the country's suspension. On 20 September 2007, Britain's then new Prime Minister Gordon Brown publicly stated his position on Zimbabwe. According to Brown (2007: 33), Britain would ensure that the EU maintained sanctions against the 131 individuals in the ruling elite (of ZANU PF), including the then President Mugabe, who had committed human rights

abuses. Britain through the EU would, according to Brown (2007), extend sanctions to other individuals where necessary.

According to Sasa (2007: 35), the EU-Africa Summit was postponed seven times since 2000 because of the dispute over Zimbabwe's attendance. In 2003, Portugal, under pressure from its ex-colonies, Angola and Mozambique, reportedly tried to have the EU travel ban on President Mugabe and other senior Zimbabwean government officials lifted so that Zimbabwe could attend the first Africa-Europe Summit in Lisbon. Then chairman of the Africa Union, then Ghana's president, John Kufuor offered a statement stating that no other country had an exclusive right to exclude any single African state from the EU-Africa Summit (Brown, 2007: 37). Similarly then SADC chairperson the late Zambian President Levi Mwanawasa stated that if President Mugabe was to be barred from that summit then Africa and in particular Zambia would boycott it (Chan and Patel, 2006). In April 2014 another EU-Africa Summit was penciled and President Mugabe was invited. He however boycotted on allegations that his wife Grace was not welcome at the summit following denials to grant her a visa by the regional bloc.

2.7 Zimbabwe and USA relations

Zimbabwe has had a rather poor relationship with the United States following the land reform programme. On 4 July 2004, President George Bush's then secretary of state, Colin Powell, announced that the USA and European Union had ended all official assistance to the government of Zimbabwe and that they were lobbying other governments to do the same (Charamba, 2007: 26). According to Ankomah (2007: 80), on 21 December 2001, President Bush signed into law the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). Apart from ZIDERA, antagonism and open confrontation between the two countries continued to exist. Addressing the United Nations on the occasion of the 62nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly on

26 September 2007 in New York, President Mugabe openly rebuked President Bush and his counterpart Prime Minister Blair.

In August 2014, the USA called for the USA-Africa Summit. Assistant Press Secretary Jonathan Lalley announced that President Obama would include all African Heads of State or governments, with the exception of those who were not in good standing with the US or under African Union suspension. Zimbabwe was part of the only four countries not invited. The other three countries were Egypt, Sudan and Eritrea.

2.8 The Look East Policy

Zimbabwe's Look East Policy was a deliberate foreign policy stance adopted by President Mugabe following the diplomatic fallout between Zimbabwe and Britain and later the United States of America and the entire European Union. Chan and Patel (2006: 178) note that as early as 1992 Zimbabwe had announced an economic thrust to its foreign policy, which anticipated future trade, investments, joint ventures and tourists coming from the East. Since 1980 Zimbabwe has pursued relations with the then Eastern bloc, China and North Korea both because of their support for the armed struggle and as a method of modulating its historically structured dependence on the West, (Chan and Patel, 2006: 178).

The relationship of Zimbabwe and the East precisely China intensified in the post 2000 era, the very same time of Zimbabwe's antagonistic relations with the West. With the coming of the new millennium, China had adopted a policy to open new markets and trade relations through its initiative of the Forum of China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Some scholars however maintain that the Look East Policy was a desperate measure by Zimbabwe at a time the state was facing isolation from the West and the international community. Chan and Patel (2006: 181) argue that the Chinese have been reluctant to ride to Zimbabwe's economic rescue but instead intends to

use the Southern African country as a spring board into other African states. However it has been noted that a considerable judgement on the efficacy of the Look East Policy will require some time, (Chan and Patel, 2006: 182).

In August 2014, the then President Mugabe together with a delegation of his Cabinet Ministers visited China to solicit funds and drum support for his government's newly crafted economic blue print of the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim Asset). The Herald of 26 August 2014 reported that nine mega deals worth billions of dollars had been signed during the visit. As has been noted, the reportage by The Herald and The Sunday Mail missed the plot as much as articulating Zimbabwe's foreign policy was concerned. Often, what the media has managed to do is to just chronicle events as they unfold without any direct or deliberate link with the country's foreign policy. This is partly because of the nature of the current Zimbabwean journalism training in various institutions, where the focus is more on how to report news instead of what to report and why to report it in the first place. The majority of Zimbabwean journalists are diploma holders whose articulation of complex issues such as matters to do with foreign policy leaves a lot to be desired.

2.9 Foreign policy and socio-economic development in Zimbabwe and globally

The state's role in development promotion strategies is the theme of many political economy works. There is a strong line of thinking that understands that periphery or developing countries present a deep need for a strong state when it comes to overcoming the gap that separates them from the center or developed countries. That need was registered in Western European countries after the British Industrial Revolution. For instance, Germany under Bismarck and France under Napoleon III underwent strong statist modernization processes in the late 19th century, which Jaguaribe (2013) described as programmed development.

Gerschenkron (1961) stated that the more backward a country is, the greater the role the state needs to play in promoting its development. Similarly, Amsden's (2001) and Chang's (2002) historical accounts on international political economy present us with an overview on how the center has traditionally tried to institutionalize its leading position by prescribing liberal policies abroad while deploying interventionist practices. In the IR area, Wallerstein (1988) and Arrighi (1990) confirm the need for a strong state presence in overcoming the gap between center and periphery (and semi-periphery), while presenting a pessimistic view on the real opportunities for joint development of the backward countries.

When analysing foreign policy's role in promoting development, one has to acknowledge the state's relevance in this process. Bearing this in mind, one can divide foreign policy into two large areas through which it influences the country's development, namely economy and politics. These can be further divided into lines of action specifically related to enhancing a country's economic growth and reducing its inequality levels, which is usually not a priority to most policymakers. In this sense, this article presents a model that helps analyse how the foreign policy–development relation operates in different cases.

When dealing with the economic area of foreign policy, one can distinguish three lines of action that can directly influence the country's development strategy. These lines relate to:

- (a)**Trade promotion;
- (b)**Investment policy; and
- (c)**Economic, financial and commercial negotiations.

In the political area, the lines of action are more indirectly related to development promotion, as their practical effects do not reach the economic and social areas so fast, but help create a

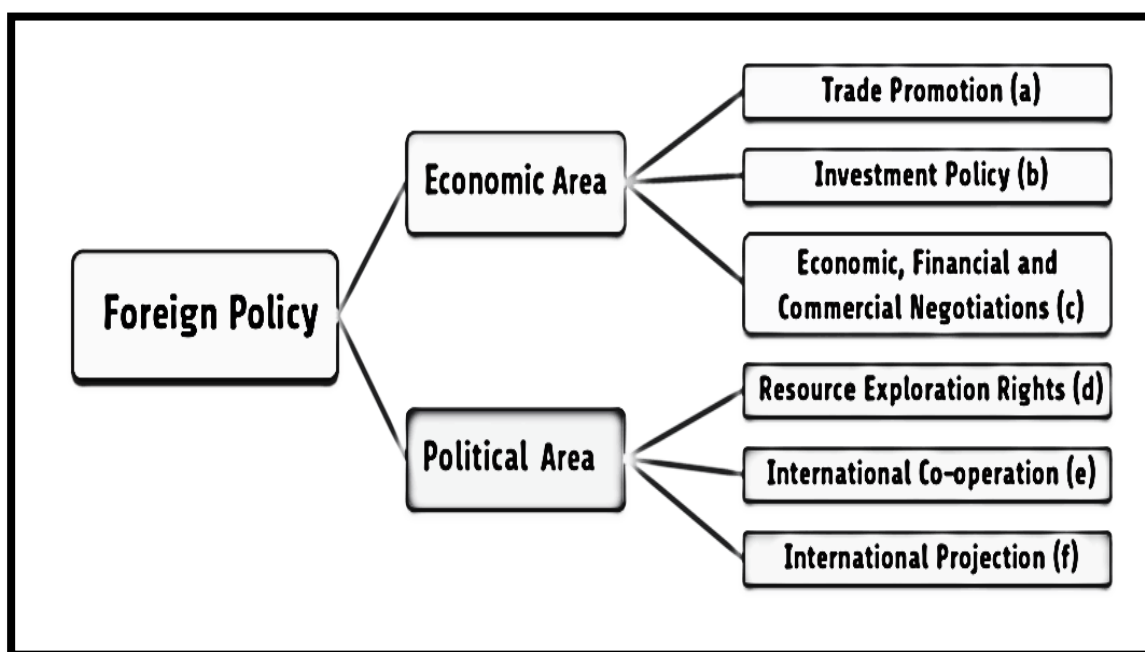
positive environment for the other lines of action to succeed. In this sense, three other lines of action are;

(d)Resource exploration rights;

(e)International co-operation; and

(f) International projection.

Figure 1. Foreign policy lines of action in promoting development



Adapted from Spohr and Silva (2017)

The economic area of foreign policy has a more direct relation to the development project, especially to its economic growth perspective. This area is usually the subject of analyses that relate countries' foreign policy to their development, albeit not usually treating all lines separately and thoroughly. The economic area's first line of action is recurrently used to show the results of foreign policy to the broader public, frequently included as a proxy for success of foreign policy or proximity between two countries in scholarly analyses (Baumann and Moreira

1987; Souza 2002). Increasing a country's trade is a matter whose importance to foreign policymakers grew significantly in the 20th century. According to Feder (1982), exports lead to greater economic growth than just their contribution to GDP. The greater participation of state and government leaders in implementing their country's foreign policy and their special attention to trade has caused many analysts to compare them to salesmen, a mistaken comparison according to Sérgio Danese (1999). Although criticized, this comparison allows us to deduce the great importance assigned by rulers and their foreign services to enhancing trade with the world.

Trade promotion consists not only of raising quantitatively national exports, but also of upgrading them qualitatively. Bearing in mind the aforementioned concept of development, this line of action includes actions to encourage exports with more high-value-added components. In order to do so, foreign policymakers usually try to reach new markets – formerly little interested in national goods – and to promote high-value-added goods in its trade with traditional partners. This line of action depends heavily on a domestic policy of enhancement of domestic goods' competitiveness, which is helped by improvements to workers' skill levels.

A country's investment policy encompasses two positions a state can find itself in. These relate to foreign direct investment (FDI) attraction, usually presented as of utmost importance in the initial stages of production diversification, and expanding national investments abroad. Fonseca (2015) understands FDI as potentially beneficial for both investor and recipient. However, the weaker side, the recipient, needs to worry about guaranteeing that capital transfers are followed by technology transfer, which is vital for development. On the investing side, expanding a country's outreach to other regions opens new opportunities for national business people to invest abroad.

The third line of action tries to set up systemic conditions for a national development strategy, being a historically recent element. Its start can be pointed back to North–South tensions during the Cold War. When Southern countries started to reflect upon the great gap that divided them from the North, a need for global debate on the real opportunities for development allowed by international constraints emerged. Chang’s (2002) analysis of different countries’ development trajectories contributes to ascertaining the need for the periphery and semi-periphery to demand conditions different from the ones already in place. As Chang (2002) puts it, the center-espoused liberalism is part of a status quo strategy, supporting conditions far from the ones they enjoyed while growing and developing socio-economically.

In this line of action, the strategy is to demand suitable conditions for development, for the elimination of developed countries’ disloyal trade practices (such as subsidies, tariff and non-tariff barriers (NTBs), and dumping), for fairer intellectual property regimes (flexible to national technology generation programs), and for the possibility of developing unorthodox programmes. In this sense, Amsden (2001) presents Asian economic growth strategies that were responsible for producing high-value-added goods, gaining international competitiveness, and avoiding Northern pressures for liberalization. Infant-industry protection and fairer international economic and trade regimes are strongly supported.

The other three lines of action have a more indirect effect on the economic growth of a country, but can contribute hugely to both aspects of development. Amsden (2001) pointed out that, the situation of a country’s image in the international system is of utmost importance to maintaining and enhancing its trade flows, to keeping its autonomy in relation to more powerful actors, to gathering support for its positions in multilateral forums, to gaining access to more up-to-date technologies, and to creating the necessary environment for its companies to increase their

activities both nationally and abroad. Therefore, the political area has a positive effect on the overall outcome of the economic area and its lines of action.

What is understood by resource exploration discussions is the need for a country to assure its right to explore its own natural resources. This comprehends both ownership and environmental negotiations. When joining international regimes of land and sea resource ownership and exploration, a country's foreign service tackles the issue of guaranteeing that the necessary resources for its development remain available to itself (Fonseca, 2015). Therefore, discussions on borders' delimitation and on law of the sea assume a strategic sense and can help ascertain the necessary means to promote economic and social development. Similarly, environmental negotiations appear as an important arena for developing countries.

The historical divide between developed and developing countries in environmental forums is the result of the confrontation of conservationist and developmentalist views on the issue. On the one hand, conservationists tend to support the zero-growth position, obstructing the industrialization of periphery countries. On the other hand, developing countries raise the shared, but differentiated responsibilities flag, aiming to guarantee their right to conduct industrial projects and, thus, to develop. In this sense, the strategy is to support the right to explore the country's natural resources.

When assuming a stronger position regarding the international order, a country can start promoting co-operation or sharing initiatives with others on a more equal basis (Amora and Corrêa, interview, 2015). As the main contributor to co-operation programs, the state enhances its international image and improves its strategy's chances of success. Therefore, proposing co-operation assumes a pivotal role in ascertaining the acceptance of economic area actions. The outreach to regions of the globe beyond traditional relations can be seen as a recurring strategy

by semi-periphery countries, which, basing it heavily on co-operation and political co-ordination forums, have presented great gains regarding the increase in trade and the expansion of national investments.

International projection consists in the indirect effect other aspects of foreign policy have on the aforementioned lines, and autonomy plays a major role in it. It encompasses a series of matters on the international agenda that can assume a realist approach depending on the country's strategy. Overall, development and autonomy present a mutually reinforcing relation, as an increase in one can be capitalized on to enhance the other. Autonomy is a goal shared by all states, but it appears less often in central reflections, as their autonomy is sufficiently well established. Latin American scholars, however, dedicate special attention to the subject. Vigevani and Ramazini (2014: 520) define it as the notion that refers to a foreign policy free of constraints imposed by powerful countries. So, the search for autonomy aims to allow states to follow their own development strategies, without center intervention, as it is less interested in their success.

The periphery's strategy of forming demanding coalitions of similar actors from both the periphery and semi-periphery seems a way to increase their projection and to guarantee their autonomy. However, Wallerstein (1976) pinpoints the fragility of these coalitions, as the joint rise of these countries is not possible in the current terms of the world system. He foresees the separation of ascending semi-periphery countries from the rest or the co-optation of periphery actors by central powers undermining the coalitions' strength. Thus, the foreign policymakers of those ascending countries need to address these issues in order to consolidate their claims, increasing their relative power and their political-economic space internationally. The last line of action serves as background to all others, as this broad strategy of enhancing its international

projection ends up influencing the chances other lines of action have to succeed. When dealing specifically with semi-periphery actors, there is the need to acknowledge some obstacles to their joint rise. Wallerstein (1988) and Arrighi (1990) point out that such a rise would require simultaneous changes to economic, financial, and commercial regimes.

Decisions in all six lines of action should be made simultaneously or harmoniously, being constrained by both domestic and international variables. In this sense, FPA and IPE need to come together to allow for a greater understanding of the dynamic and of its possibilities of success, as supported by Caporaso *et al* (1986). As Hudson and Vore (1995) put it, there is a need for decision making to be duly analysed, which can be done through Putnam's (1988) two-level game. Jaguaribe (2013) states that development promotion, through domestic and international means, requires a great deal of domestic support for a certain development project. First of all, this development project is a decisive element in establishing the strategies pursued by a country in every line of action presented above. Secondly, to guarantee popular support for a specific project, a leader or ruler resorts to different strategies. Finally, when dealing with the international system, the co-ordination with other states involves the domestic support of all involved states, which makes the process even harder.

2.10 Strategies in improving the impact of foreign policy

2.10.1 Improving diplomacy

Good diplomats ambassadors, envoys and ministers and through their art of diplomacy can put country's viewpoint effectively before the world and fulfill foreign policy objectives by means of mutual negotiations and thus spare their country from resorting to coercive methods Forenseca (2015). Basada and Moyo (2016) share the same opinion with Forenseca regarding the impact of

diplomats in as far as building of good will is concerned in building and shaping the foreign policy of a country. They further submitted that, diplomacy reduces the area of disagreement and misunderstanding with other states. It is instrumental in reaching out agreements, treaties and pacts with other nations. It plays its role both during war and peace.

2.10.2 Improving publicity and propaganda

These can be used steadily to combat and break down the undesirable attitudes and opinions and to create the desired attitudes and opinions. Jaguaribe (2012) indicated that, propaganda can be used, as it was used by Hitler and later on by super powers during Cold War, for the systematic falsification of true propositions or positions and the establishment of suitable ones. India's factually strong case on Kashmir has been distorted by a systematic and ceaseless propaganda by Pakistan, so much so that quite some people in the world may wonder as to what, after all, the facts of the case are publicity through radio, television magazines and other literature is also used as an instrument of foreign policy. Thus these three factors diplomacy, publicity and propaganda are employed by a nation for building up its public relations, for removing undesirable or discreditable factors like embarrassment, misunderstanding, suspicion or fear between itself and other nations, and for projecting a favorable and acceptable image to other nations. Forensica further concurs with Jaguaribe when he postulated that, these also help in increasing the power and prestige of a nation.

2.10.3 Improving the balance of Power

This method is used for avoiding imbalance of power and strengthening the position of given nations. For example, Britain employed the principle of balance of power for a long time in the

European power politics in order to maintain the status quo and prevent any particular power from being too strong.

2.10.4 Using international law and organizations

These are also used by nations whenever possible for advancing the objectives of their foreign policy. Wallenstein (1988) pointed out that, during the post War period, Britain and France used the League of Nations to maintain status quo which was in their favor. Now we see that a number of third World countries are using the platform of the United Nations for some of the basic goals of their foreign policies-anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, disarmament and so on Wright (2017).

2.10.5 Economic and non-political methods

Various economic methods are also adopted by various nations to achieve their foreign policy objectives and also to harm the interest of opponents. Wright (2017) argued that, economic organizations are formed for this purpose, for instance, the European Union Commission. Sometimes nations also exploit religious, cultural and ethnic affinity to fulfill foreign policy objectives tag the use of Islam by many Muslim countries.

In tandem with Keohane and Nye (1987) Forensica (2015) notes that, today, no state in the world can boast of economic self-sufficiency. Even the United States is greatly dependent upon world trade for economic prosperity. This mutual interdependence of the economies also works as a determinant of foreign policy. Economic interdependence leads to international economic activity which is expressed in terms of tariffs, import quotas, trade agreements and other financial arrangements. Sometimes adjustments in international economic relationship create

tension in the world which further takes the form of political and military action. States are not equally gifted by nature with natural and economic resources nor are they capable of utilizing available resources. Therefore, nations make their foreign policies in a way so that the supply of war materials may not run short and their trade may have a favorable balance. Moreover, international economic activity also needs facilities and protection of foreign investment. All these economic factors have bearing on foreign policy.

2.10.6 Domestic stability

Sometimes domestic instability works as a determinant of foreign policy and for a country to have a robust foreign policy, its domestic state has to be stable. Wright (2010) observed that a ruler prevents sedition by making external war. It is a common saying in India that Pakistan has been continuously following an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India as it has never been able to deal with numerous internal issues challenging its very legitimacy and existence. Some Pakistani also allege the same thing about New Delhi. Many people suspected that the nuclear explosion of 1974 by India was primarily meant to divert the attention of Indians from domestic difficulties and enhance the image of Mrs. Gandhi who was then fishing in troubled water at home.

The opponents of President Nixon criticized that in October 1973 he over emphasized Russian threat in Middle East and resorted to nuclear alert because he wanted to escape from the Watergate which was about to dethrone him. Thus it is the insecurity of the ruling elites often projected or taken as domestic instability that moulds the foreign policy on several occasions.

2.11 Summary

This chapter reviewed literature related to the study. The researcher explicated the theoretical base of the study and reviewed literature in line with the study objectives. The reviewed literature related to a conceptualisation of foreign policy, Zimbabwe's foreign policy since independence, the nexus between foreign policy and development, and the interventions or measures that have been used by other countries to improve the impact of their foreign policy. The following chapter presented the research methodology that was used by the researcher in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the research methodology that was used by the researcher in this study. The researcher made use of a qualitative research design and used interviews to solicit data from participants. As such, the chapter looked at the research approach, research design, target population, sample and sampling procedures, data collection instruments, delimitations of the study, ethical considerations and the data analysis plan that was used to analyse data which was presented and discussed in the subsequent chapter.

3.1 Research approach

The research approach for this study was qualitative research. Creswell (2014:23) defines qualitative research as involving a naturalistic and interpretive approach since it is a form of systematic empirical enquiry into meaning. A qualitative design was used in this research, as it gave the researcher an in-depth understanding of the impacts of Zimbabwe's foreign policy on socio-economic development over the years. Qualitative research's goal is to gain a deeper understanding of a person or group's life experiences. The qualitative approach to research is based on a worldview that is holistic (Neuman, 2013).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2011), qualitative research refers to that generic research approach in social research according to which research takes as its departure point, the insider perspective on social action. Qualitative researchers always attempt to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves, often referred to as 'emic' perspective. Mack,

Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2015), also explained that qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves and is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours, and social contexts of particular populations.

3.2 Research Design: Case study design

A research design refers to the systematic approach that is used to conduct the study and answer the research questions (Maxwell, 2013). In this study, the researcher the case study design to fulfil the qualitative nature of the study. A case study of the ministry of Agriculture was used as the qualitative research design and it is an in-depth analysis of a single or small number of units. A case study unit may include a single person, a group of people, an organization or an institution (Creswell, 2014) and in this case the ministry of Agriculture is the main area of interest. Case study research ranges in its complexity, from a simple, illustrative description of a single event or occurrence to a more complex analysis of a social situation. Case study as a method is very versatile, as it uses many methods of gathering information, from focus groups discussions to interviews. According to Maxwell (2009), one of the criticisms of the case study method is that the case under study may not be representative of a wider social setting. Therefore, the purpose of case study research is to describe that particular case of the Ministry of Agriculture in detail, take learning from that, and develop theory from that approach.

3.3 Population and Sample

According to Sekaran (2000) population is the entire group to whom the research expects to be able to generalize the study results. Thus, a population envisages a set of all individuals of interest in a particular study. The population consists of the officials from the ministry of Agriculture as well as farmers and general citizens. Gwimbi and Dirwai (2003) define Sampling

as a process by which a research selects a representative group of the population to be studied. Thus it is the process of selecting a sufficient number of elements from the population with characteristics representative of the population. A sample is a sub set of a target or accessible population. That is it is the proportion of a whole which will provide the research with an insight of population characteristics. As such The researcher targeted 40 employees from the ministry of Agriculture which consisted of the Permanent secretary directors as well as managers of marketing boards like Dairy and Grain marketing board and Cotton Marketing board. The researcher also targeted 8 key informants and these related to 4 top representatives of the 4 marketing boards and 4 legislators or Members of Parliament (MPs) in Harare Province, 4 directors from the ministry of finance and economic development as well as 4 directors from the ministry of foreign affairs and International trade.

3.3.1 Sample

The researcher used non-probability sampling procedures in selecting the study sample and the key informants. Sampling as argued by Rubin and Babbie (2007) refers to the manner in which the researcher selects the participants or respondents of a study. A sample of 60 (sixty) participants was used in this research. Moreover, Rubin and Babbie (2007) further argue that a sample is a unique and distinctive subsection of the entire target population that is selected by the researcher for making inferences that can be attributed to the entire target population. Thus, a sample is a group of participants selected from a target population (larger) group so as to represent the entire group. The participants who have been chosen in this sample were heterogeneous since they were purposively selected from different ministries so as to inform the study about the impact of the country's foreign policy to the socio-economic development in the agricultural sector since 2001.

3.3.2 Sampling procedures

Non-probability sampling was used by the researcher to select a sample for the study. Babbie and Mouton (2010) define non-probability sampling as a sampling technique where the samples are gathered in a process that does not give all individuals in the target population equal chances of being selected. The researcher used purposive sampling to select study participants. According to Varkevisser, Pathmanathan and Brownlee (2003), purposive sampling refers to the sampling procedure where the researcher chooses the sample based on who they think would be appropriate for the study. In this case, the researcher used his experience and judgment to choose participants to be interviewed. The researcher purposively selected participants from the target population and his goal was data saturation. To get all the much needed data, or to reach saturation, the researcher interviewed 60 participants.

Non-probability sampling was also used to select key informants for the study and the researcher also used purposive sampling to select key informants. In this case, the researcher used his experience and judgment to choose 8 key informants.

3.3.3 Purposive sampling

According to (Cresswell, 2001) purposive sampling is the sampling technique which focus and aim at specific individuals or respondents when carrying out a research usually these participants have a detailed understanding of the research under study. It is usually used for key informants.in this case purposive sampling was used because it helps in the specific selection of participants who have a detailed knowledge of the research understudy. A total of seven (8) key informants were interviewed. These key informants include four (4) representatives from the Agricultural marketing boards and 4 representatives from the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade. These key informants have unique skills or professional background related to the issue of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its effects to the socio-economic development of the country since 2001, are knowledgeable about the project participants, have access to other information of

interest to the research. They also have a way of communicating that represents or captures the essence of what the participants say and do.

3.4 Data collection tools and procedures

The researcher collected data from participants through interviews. These were designed and administered by the researcher to the participants.

3.4.1 Interviews

In-depth interview guides were used to collect data from participants and key informants as Interview guides (See Appendix A) and key informant interview guides (See Appendix B). Boyce and Neale (2006) defined an in-depth interview as a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual dialogues with a small number of respondents to explore their perspective on a particular idea, program, or situation. The researcher used semi-structured open-ended in-depth interviews because they were flexible and provide greater insights into responses during an investigation (Chiromo, 2013). The researcher used this technique since it is possible to adjust in cases where the interviewee would not have understood some of the questions asked and re-phrase again. It then allowed adjusting some of the questions and explaining further as well as assisting the interviewee to understand the questions.

With an interview guide, each participant is asked the exact same questions in the same order. Angus (2013) says an interview guide is quite relevant in collecting data. David and Sutton (2004) add that the strength of the interview guide is that the researcher has control over the questions and the format of the interview. This makes the researcher not lose track of the

conversation despite the need to take notes and listen at the same time. The researcher had to arrange with participants on time and venue of the meeting.

3.5 Data Presentation and Analysis

Data presentation is the process of presenting and highlighting the findings which have been collected from the field Cooper and Schindler (2008). Moreover, data presentation followed this procedure; Converting field notes to write up and incorporating reflections. This meant that the researcher summarized the findings from the participants. Developing codes to represent some common responses, thus responses with the same theme. Drawing conclusions from qualitative data and marrying the findings to the theoretical frameworks.

In this regard the researcher organised the data by question to look across all participants and their answers in order to identify consistencies and differences. Furthermore the research had to identify themes, ideas, concepts and behaviors then organise them into coherent categories that summarise and bring meaning to the text by relating the information to the theory of power interdependence as coined by Keohane and Nye (1987). Graphs, tables and pie charts were used in presenting data. Data analysis is the process of coding and analyzing the findings in relation to research objectives and analysis is usually associated with secondary data through comparisons and highlighting of research gaps (Cresswell, 2001). As such content and thematic analysis is going to be used in presenting findings. Content is going to be used to present and analyse data which was collected from different participants. The content will be analysed in relation to the objectives and research question as well as in line with the theoretical underpinnings of the adopted theoretical framework.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data and essential information on certain areas such as the nexus between foreign policy and socio-economic development in Zimbabwe. These themes were aligned with the theory of power interdependence in order to have a detailed analysis of the findings and the gaps which exist between the existing literature and the findings. Hence the research chose to use the thematic data analysis because it allowed the research to discover the major themes in the study. More so, thematic analysis has the advantage that a theme captures

something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Cooper and Schindler (2008) define validity as the extent to which a test measures what actually it wishes to measure. Validity is concerned with the truthfulness of conclusions that are made after undertaking a research or extent to which a measure honors its claim. To achieve validity validation of the interview guide was done through pilot testing. Validity can be classified into two, which is internal validity and external validity. Internal validity is concerned with the question as to whether a conclusion incorporate a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water (Bryman and Bell, 2007). On the other hand external validity refers to the extent of generalizability of the results of a causal study to other settings, people or events (Makore-Rukuni, 2004).

Internal validity has to do with credibility of research findings on Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its associated effects to socio-economic development in the Ministry of Agriculture since 2001, whereas external validity has to do with transferability of research findings to other contexts. In this case validity has to do with the credibility of findings of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its impact to socio-economic development in the Ministry of Agriculture since 2001 and transferability or generalizability of the findings to other ministries or situations in Zimbabwe.

However, past events (history), developmental changes (maturation) and instrumentation are examples of threats that may influence internal validity. There was need for considerable care to deal with these threats for the production of valid and reliable results. As such to obtain valid results there was need to take cognizance of the threats among others in order to obtain fair or accurate results through minimizing the impact of the threats. On issues of reliability, Makore-Rukuni (2004) defines reliability as a matter of whether a particular technique if applied repeatedly to the same object would yield the same results each time. That is the degree of self-consistency among test scores obtained or earned. Cooper and Schindler (2008) argues that a measure is reliable if it provides consistent results if repeated several times. This had to do with the instruments and how they were administered; in this case the findings on Zimbabwe's foreign

policy and its impacts on socio-economic development should be replicated when carried out by a different researcher some other time.

To ensure reliability on interviews the research was not biased and has presented findings as highlighted by the participants. Elements of subjectivity and observer bias were dealt with to ensure results or findings were reliable. This was realized through concurrent recording of response by the research. In all activities the research was as objectivity as possible such that the research's perception, attitudes or motivation did not influence the participants' responses.

3.7 Ethical considerations

The researcher upheld the American Psychological Association's human research ethics and they include anonymity, informed consent and confidentiality. The principle of anonymity means that the participant's identity will remain unspecified all the way through the study (Creswell, 2014). Confidentiality can be articulated as an unambiguous or implicit surety by a researcher to a participant whereby the participant is assured that any data delivered to the researcher cannot be ascribed back to that participant (Boyce and Neale, 2009). The principle of informed consent demands that prospective participants must be given adequate information to allow them to decide whether they want to take part in the research or not (Haralambos and Holborn, 2013). This was done by the researcher as he had to first notify participants of how their information will be protected and how they are able to choose not to take part in the study. However, all participants were keen to take part in the study.

3.8 Summary

This chapter focused on the research methodology that was employed by the researcher in investigating the impact of foreign policy on socio-economic development. It provided the research paradigm as well as the research design, sample and sampling procedures, data collection procedures, data presentation and analysis procedures and the ethical issues that were

considered by the researcher. The researcher, as highlighted in the chapter, used qualitative research methods. The findings of the study from the sample are then analysed, discussed and presented in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR:

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presented and discussed the data that the researcher analysed as explained in the previous chapter. The researcher collected data from participants using interviews and analysed the data using qualitative data analysis. The researcher then presented the data in narrative form and as such, focused on findings on Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001, the impact of foreign policy on socio-economic development since 2001 and the interventions that can be used to improve foreign policy's impact on socio-economic development. The researcher also discussed data at each every section after presenting it. Some of the responses were in Shona and the researcher had to translate the findings into English.

4.1 The impact of Zimbabwe's foreign policy on socio-economic development since 2001

4.3.1 Presentation of findings

The researcher asked participants questions related to the impact of Zimbabwe's foreign policy on socio-economic development. The researcher had targeted participants from the ministry of Agriculture so as to get their responses in line with developments that have occurred within the ministry over the years in line with Zimbabwe's foreign policy. Their responses indicated that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has had a somewhat negative influence on socio-economic

development, even though some tried to say some positives. It is also clear from the responses of key informants that the social policy landscape has brought some benefits, but some, particularly one legislator argued against Zimbabwe's foreign policy and stated that it has brought nothing, but widespread doom and no developments can be salvaged from it.

In the study, one of the participants argued that;

...by just merely looking at what is happening in the country right now and what you hear on media outlets, do you think Zimbabwe's foreign policy has brought in any benefits that can be counted on the path to socio-economic development? My answer is a big NO... Nothing nothingnothing has come out of Zimbabwe's foreign policy...rather we now engage with the Chinese who brought in a new form of colonialism and we are being exploited in broad daylight...

Drawing from the above perspective by the participant one can deduce that, Zimbabwe's foreign policy changes especially after the FTLR has heralded doom and suffering to the citizens and the economy in general. This shows that, there is a symbiotic relationship between foreign policy of a country and its socio-economic development. The above finding and argument by the research participant is in concurrence with Chitiyo (2016) who postulated that a country's foreign policy is heavily informed and determined by its domestic policies and as such socio-economic development of a nation greatly depends on its foreign policy.

In another interview, it emerged that;

The moment we separated with the West, no development took place, rather, things have been nose-diving head down...look at what happened to the economy, to infrastructure, to

management in government and several other issues...we have been reduced to nothing...As I mentioned earlier that we are now in isolation and that characterizes our foreign policy, isolation has no good and that is why you see that prior to the First World War, Britain neglected her policy of splendid isolation...this isolationist policy has killed all government initiatives and has caused untold suffering...wages of people fell, the cost of living rose and so did the number of emigrants...

The above responses clearly highlight that the foreign policy trajectory of Zimbabwe has, since 2001, brought no tangible development on the socio-economic front. However, what has been obtaining on the ground is deterioration of all aspects of human and economic life. These responses sort of summarised the negative responses that were received and these were in the majority. There were also positive responses and these were very few.

In light of the positive responses, one of the participants argued that;

I will admit that during Mugabe's era, the foreign policy that we had brought socio-economic development in several aspects. If you go back to your 2009, you will see that the inclusive government managed to engage with foreign jurisdictions to bring in the US Dollar which stabilized things and brought some relief to people...Moreover, if you look at the help that the government has received from China and Russia towards helping in resuscitating the economy during Mugabe's era, you will see that the foreign policy helped in a way. Right now, with the Third Republic, the government has signed several mega deals with investors from other countries and this has helped the country in some aspect...

Another participant even went on to say that;

Since 2001, by just looking at the surface, the foreign policy brought nothing to be desired, but if you go deeper, you will see that some issues and some adverse economic and social situations were prevented. Look at what China has been doing, the trade relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa, the positioning of Zimbabwean leaders in the African Union and SADC and various other issues...there was some socio-economic development in as far as the impact of our foreign policy was concerned...

The above responses show that there is somewhat mixed feelings and perceptions on the socio-economic development brought about by Zimbabwe's foreign policy. In other terms, some have argued that it brought some socio-economic development whilst the majority of participants argued otherwise.

4.3.2 Discussion of findings

The findings of this study are strongly supported by Jaguaribe (2013) who argued that when analysing foreign policy's role in promoting development, one has to acknowledge the state's relevance in this process. Bearing this in mind, one can divide foreign policy into two large areas through which it influences the country's development, namely economy and politics (Jaguaribe, 2013). These can be further divided into lines of action specifically related to enhancing a country's economic growth and reducing its inequality levels, which is usually not a priority to most policymakers. As seen from the study, the foreign policy of Zimbabwe failed to bring about trade promotion, a robust investment policy there have been poor economic, financial and commercial negotiations. According to Jaguaribe (2013), states have failed as a result of this, and from the look of things, Zimbabwe has failed, or is on the path to failure.

The economic area of foreign policy has a more direct relation to the development project, especially to its economic growth perspective (Souza, 2002). This area is usually the subject of

analyses that relate countries' foreign policy to their development, albeit not usually treating all lines separately and thoroughly. The economic area's first line of action is recurrently used to show the results of foreign policy to the broader public, frequently included as a proxy for success of foreign policy or proximity between two countries in scholarly analyses (Baumann and Moreira 1987; Souza 2002). Increasing a country's trade is a matter whose importance to foreign policymakers grew significantly in the 20th century. According to Feder (1982), exports lead to greater economic growth than just their contribution to GDP. The greater participation of state and government leaders in implementing their country's foreign policy and their special attention to trade has caused many analysts to compare them to salesmen, a mistaken comparison according to Sérgio Danese (1999). Although criticized, this comparison allows us to deduce the great importance assigned by rulers and their foreign services to enhancing trade with the world.

Trade promotion consists not only of raising quantitatively national exports, but also of upgrading them qualitatively (Fonseca, 2015). Bearing in mind the aforementioned concept of development, this line of action includes actions to encourage exports with more high-value-added components. In order to do so, foreign policymakers usually try to reach new markets – formerly little interested in national goods – and to promote high-value-added goods in its trade with traditional partners. This line of action depends heavily on a domestic policy of enhancement of domestic goods' competitiveness, which is helped by improvements to workers' skill levels.

A country's investment policy encompasses two positions a state can find itself in. These relate to foreign direct investment (FDI) attraction, usually presented as of utmost importance in the initial stages of production diversification, and expanding national investments abroad. Fonseca (2015) understands FDI as potentially beneficial for both investor and recipient. However, the

weaker side, the recipient, needs to worry about guaranteeing that capital transfers are followed by technology transfer, which is vital for development. On the investing side, expanding a country's outreach to other regions opens new opportunities for national business people to invest abroad.

The third line of action tries to set up systemic conditions for a national development strategy, being a historically recent element. Its start can be pointed back to North–South tensions during the Cold War. When Southern countries started to reflect upon the great gap that divided them from the North, a need for global debate on the real opportunities for development allowed by international constraints emerged. Chang's (2002) analysis of different countries' development trajectories contributes to ascertaining the need for the periphery and semi-periphery to demand conditions different from the ones already in place. As Chang (2002) puts it, the center-espoused liberalism is part of a status quo strategy, supporting conditions far from the ones they enjoyed while growing and developing socio-economically.

In this line of action, the strategy is to demand suitable conditions for development, for the elimination of developed countries' disloyal trade practices (such as subsidies, tariff and non-tariff barriers (NTBs), and dumping), for fairer intellectual property regimes (flexible to national technology generation programs), and for the possibility of developing unorthodox programmes. In this sense, Amsden (2001) presents Asian economic growth strategies that were responsible for producing high-value-added goods, gaining international competitiveness, and avoiding Northern pressures for liberalization. Infant-industry protection and fairer international economic and trade regimes are strongly supported.

The other three lines of action have a more indirect effect on the economic growth of a country, but can contribute hugely to both aspects of development. The situation of a country's image in

the international system is of utmost importance to maintaining and enhancing its trade flows, to keeping its autonomy in relation to more powerful actors, to gathering support for its positions in multilateral forums, to gaining access to more up-to-date technologies, and to creating the necessary environment for its companies to increase their activities both nationally and abroad. Therefore, the political area has a positive effect on the overall outcome of the economic area and its lines of action.

What is understood by resource exploration discussions is the need for a country to assure its right to explore its own natural resources. This comprehends both ownership and environmental negotiations. When joining international regimes of land and sea resource ownership and exploration, a country's foreign service tackles the issue of guaranteeing that the necessary resources for its development remain available to itself. Therefore, discussions on borders' delimitation and on law of the sea assume a strategic sense and can help ascertain the necessary means to promote economic and social development. Similarly, environmental negotiations appear as an important arena for developing countries.

International co-operation appears as a dual policy, which benefits both sides involved in the action. According to Leite (2012), co-operation presents an aspect of trade through which involved parties receive something in return for their contribution. So, a country can, as a target of foreign co-operation projects (from both countries and international organisations), receive technology, develop shared projects of resource exploration, or create programmes of inequality reduction. The pattern through which a country receives this kind of co-operation plays an important role in guaranteeing that its benefits will last and in generating conditions to eliminate the continuous need for foreign assistance.

Decisions in all six lines of action should be made simultaneously or harmoniously, being constrained by both domestic and international variables. In this sense, FPA and IPE need to come together to allow for a greater understanding of the dynamic and of its possibilities of success, as supported by Caporaso et al (1986). As Hudson and Vore (1995) put it, there is a need for decision making to be duly analysed, which can be done through Putnam's (1988) two-level game. Jaguaribe (2013) states that development promotion, through domestic and international means, requires a great deal of domestic support for a certain development project. First of all, this development project is a decisive element in establishing the strategies pursued by a country in every line of action presented above. Secondly, to guarantee popular support for a specific project, a leader or ruler resorts to different strategies. Finally, when dealing with the international system, the co-ordination with other states involves the domestic support of all involved states, which makes the process even harder.

The influence of Zimbabwe's foreign policy on socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture since 2001.

The researcher asked participants questions that were in line with their knowledge of Zimbabwe's foreign policy and the related effects to the Agricultural sector since the year 2001. They gave similar responses on Zimbabwe's foreign policy direction and this can be attributed to the clarity that is there in domestic and international issues in Zimbabwe. Part of this relates to the relationship between the country's president and presidents of the developed world, the land reform programme and the look-east policy. In the study, participants highlighted that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been changing, but despite that, there seemed to be concurrence on the impact of the land reform programme on Zimbabwe's foreign policy trajectory.

In the interviews, one participant argued that, '*...Zimbabwe since 2001 has had a foreign policy that is against the West because of their plans to thwart the rule of the ruling party in Zimbabwe...*' In another response, the respondent said that, '*...what I find interesting here is that Zimbabwe had a very robust foreign policy soon after independence, but everything changed since 2001. Mugabe stirred animosity with Britain and USA and this affected how we related with other countries...*' What was clear from these responses was that Zimbabwe has had a somewhat poor foreign policy because of its detachment with the West. The sour relations which have been articulated by the aforementioned participants affected the agricultural sector and as a result farm produce has been decreased since the year 2001. These findings are in tandem with Basada and Moyo(2016) who realized that, Zimbabwe's foreign policy has created more international enemies than friends and as a result suffocated the Agricultural sector in the country coupled with inexperienced farmers.

In another interview, a participant answered related questions at length, he argued that;

If you look at what was being done before the second republic, the then President was always speaking against Britain. Our relations with them became sour and that affected how investors approached our country. However, after then, the government then changed its focus towards the East where China was seen as the perfect trading partner...the Chinese are now everywhere in Zimbabwe because of that...Also, in Africa, our foreign policy is to engage with all African countries... To date, we are trying to force the European Union and the USA to withdraw sanctions against Zimbabwe because their sanctions affect our foreign policy...

Pursuant to the above submissions by the respondents, the findings explains the nature of China's increased engagements with Zimbabwe over the years 2010 to 2016 and explores the

impact it had and has on the economy resulting from close interaction. The findings of this study prejudices the Look East policy as a desperate or crisis management foreign policy strategy basing on the assumption that, it was only after the imposition of economic sanctions by the Western bloc that Zimbabwe shifted its attention to the East rather than developing a comprehensive foreign policy approach that engages all angles of the international system. In this case, the analysis of the relationship in question is appreciative of the fact that Zimbabwe had nowhere else to turn to but the East as noted by Chitiyo(2016). Therefore some of the findings of this research are a radical rejection of the commonly accepted phenomenon which dismisses the Look East policy as a weak and exploitative connection between Zimbabwe and China.

Another participant said the following;

Our foreign policy since 2001 is simple, it's the Look East Policy and that was it until the Second Republic took over power from the Mugabe regime. When the second Republic took over, the thrust has been reengagement with all countries even Britain and the USA. However, some issues on the domestic front have acted as stumbling blocks to this reengagement. The President was seen flying all around the world trying to reinvigorate ties that were once there between Zimbabwe and several other countries... we have even been trying to get back into the Commonwealth of Nations...

These responses make it clear that Mugabe, the former President of Zimbabwe, had taken a stance to look towards the East (Look East Policy), but the current President has been trying to reengage with other countries as well and not only those in the East. Such countries, as reported by the participants include, inter alia, Britain, USA, Russia and Serbia. On top of all these efforts and diplomatic strategies the ministry of agriculture has suffered the most resulting in the

reduction of standards of living since Zimbabwe's economy was and is still anchored on agriculture and farming activities have been affected by the shift in foreign policy of the country. Efforts by the government to rejoin the commonwealth were however explained better by one participant who highlighted that, '*...the need to rejoin the Commonwealth by the current government demystifies the relevance of foreign policy on socio-economic development...these guys are so sure that there is no development without foreign engagement, particularly with our erstwhile colonizer...*'

In another interview, the researcher noted that the participant highlighted more on the influence of issues on the domestic front, particularly political issues on the poor foreign policy that the country has. She argued that;

...in talking of Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001, we need to be alive to the fact that politics has been the major determinant of all that has transpired since then...you can look at what the land reform programme did to the country and how it was received by the West...that was when all the foreign policy quagmires bedeviling the country started...Moreover, the land reform, if you were there when it happened or if you read you literature with passion, you will come to the strong conclusion that it was a political move by the ZANU PF regime so that they could gain political mileage over their rivals who were taking advantage of their poor standing...

From the above findings, it is prudent for one to note that, the effects of FLRP to the foreign policy and agricultural sector of the nation cannot be understated. However, Zimbabwe' foreign policy has shifted from isolationism and belligerence towards the West to a policy of re-engagement. Kegley and Wittkopf (2001) posit that, state's foreign policy is determined by interrelated factors such as international, inter-domestic and

domestic. Rosenau (1976) views foreign policy from three dimensions that is, orientations, foreign policy as commitments and foreign policy as activities (behaviors). Through orientation, one delves into the core issues guiding Zimbabwe's foreign policy under Mnangagwa which include its political traditions, experiences and aspirations.

Another participant even went on to argue that;

Talking of our foreign policy, from what I see, it has been one of isolation...we isolated ourselves from the rest of the world and this has continued to today...many countries do not want to associate with us because of the poor human rights record of our government and issues of mismanagement of the government as these have cause widespread suffering of the people of Zimbabwe... what I can only say we have managed to do in as far as our foreign policy is concerned, it to create more enemies than friends...right now those we call 'friends' are only here because we have something which they want and they know that they will get it easily as our country is desperate for engagement...

These responses try to sum up the findings from all the participants, but the key issues relate to the fact that politics has been a major determinant in Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001 together with a poor domestic management record relating to human rights and government mismanagement. Additionally, the government, around 2001, detached itself from the West and took a stance towards the East. This, as came out from the responses, has been partly responsible for the socio-economic woes affecting the country.

4.2.1 Discussion of findings

The findings of this study are supported by Sachikonye (2011) who argued that the new millennium was a critical trajectory of Zimbabwe's international relations in general and her

foreign policy in particular because certain historical incidents took place. These saw Zimbabwe's foreign relations with her erstwhile colonizer Britain gradually shifting from cordiality to hostility, which later drew the ire of all European countries as well as the United States of America. Domestically the ZANU PF-led government was facing its major political challenge since the country's attainment of independence following the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change, the MDC, whose support base constituted the working class, the students, the civil society the private sector and the academia (Sachikonye, 2011). Internationally Zimbabwe's image was daunted following an orchestration by the Western media on alleged human rights abuses by the state. One such historic event according to the Commonwealth Observer Group (2000) was the 2000 referendum and it was a critical point in Zimbabwe's international relations in that it heralded Zimbabwean Government's clear cynicism on Britain, re-oriented Zimbabwe's policy on land as well as Zimbabwe's ideological leaning from the West and turning to the East.

Moreover, in arguing towards the domestic issues as a determinant of Zimbabwe's foreign policy, Chari (2013) argued that Zimbabwe's land redistribution programme that was initiated with the coming of the new millennium was a critical domestic policy embarked by the Southern African state which however turned out to affect its foreign policy. In support of this also is Willems(2004: 167) who argued that the farm occupations and the subsequent FTLRP in July 2000 became major talking points in the local and international media, soliciting varied interpretations in relation to their causes, objective and impacts on the economy and social relations. Britain's perceived arrogance became coincidental with government which was facing threats of chaos and seizure of power from every quarter, ranging from the war veterans, civil society, students and the newly formed MDC. Chigora and Guzura (2008: 7) argue that the

implementation of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe did receive condemnation from the British Government. According to Scoones (2011), Zimbabwe's land reform had a bad press. Images of chaos, destruction and violence dominated the coverage. Indeed, these have been part of the reality but there have also been successes, which has thus far gone largely unrecorded.

With regards to the deterioration of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the West, Chan and Patel (2006) argued that the period from 2000 to 2008 was characterised by a hostile intricate relationship between Zimbabwe and the European Union. Chan and Patel (2006:177) argue that Zimbabwe has reinvigorated its defense of its sovereignty as the continuation of the struggle for independence, recast in terms of the Third Chimurenga. This was fought against the UK in particular, and its Western allies, illustrated by the official currency of phrases such as "Zimbabwe will never be a colony again", and "the land is the economy and the economy is the land", and by the characterization of the March 2005 parliamentary elections as the 'anti-Blair elections'.

Moreover, according to Brown (2007), the crucial 2002 Commonwealth summit in Australia set the motion for Zimbabwe to be suspended from the group citing human rights abuses, political decay and improper governance by Zimbabwe. According to Sasa (2007: 35), the EU-Africa Summit was postponed seven times since 2000 because of the dispute over Zimbabwe's attendance. In 2003, Portugal, under pressure from its ex-colonies, Angola and Mozambique, reportedly tried to have the EU travel ban on President Mugabe and other senior Zimbabwean government officials lifted so that Zimbabwe could attend the first Africa-Europe Summit in Lisbon.

As came out from the findings of the study, Zimbabwe has had a rather poor relationship with the United States following the land reform programme (Charamba, 2007). On 4 July 2004,

President George Bush's then secretary of state, Colin Powell, announced that the USA and European Union had ended all official assistance to the government of Zimbabwe and that they were lobbying other governments to do the same (Charamba, 2007: 26). According to Ankomah (2007: 80), on 21 December 2001, President Bush signed into law the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA). Apart from ZIDERA, antagonism and open confrontation between the two countries continued to exist. Addressing the United Nations on the occasion of the 62nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly on 26 September 2007 in New York, President Mugabe openly rebuked President Bush and his counterpart Prime Minister Blair.

To make matters worse, in August 2014, the USA called for the USA-Africa Summit. Assistant Press Secretary Jonathan Lalley announced that President Obama would include all African Heads of State or governments, with the exception of those who were not in good standing with the US or under African Union suspension. Zimbabwe was part of the only four countries not invited. The other three countries were Egypt, Sudan and Eritrea.

Chan and Patel (2006) also supported the findings of this study with regards to the Look East Policy. Zimbabwe's Look East Policy was a deliberate foreign policy stance adopted by President Mugabe following the diplomatic fallout between Zimbabwe and Britain and later the United States of America and the entire European Union. Chan and Patel (2006: 178) note that as early as 1992 Zimbabwe had announced an economic thrust to its foreign policy, which anticipated future trade, investments, joint ventures and tourists coming from the East. Since 1980 Zimbabwe has pursued relations with the then Eastern bloc, China and North Korea both because of their support for the armed struggle and as a method of modulating its historically structured dependence on the West, (Chan and Patel, 2006: 178).

The relationship of Zimbabwe and the East precisely China intensified in the post 2000 era, the very same time of Zimbabwe's antagonistic relations with the West. With the coming of the new millennium, China had adopted a policy to open new markets and trade relations through its initiative of the Forum of China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Some scholars however maintain that the Look East Policy was a desperate measure by Zimbabwe at a time the state was facing isolation from the West and the international community. Chan and Patel (2006: 181) argue that the Chinese have been reluctant to ride to Zimbabwe's economic rescue but instead intends to use the Southern African country as a spring board into other African states. However it has been noted that a considerable judgement on the efficacy of the Look East Policy will require some time, (Chan and Patel, 2006:9).

4.2 Interventions that can be used to improve the impact of Zimbabwe's foreign policy

4.4.1 Presentation of findings

With regards to interventions, the researcher found out that a lot can be done, in line with the responses, towards improving the foreign policy of Zimbabwe and its impacts on socio-economic development. The participants highlighted the need for the country to properly manage itself on the domestic front if any notable development from foreign policy is to be seen. Moreover, other responses related to the need to manage natural resources, the need to improve economically, the need to have a good human rights standings and also the need to improve reengagement with developed nations.

In the interviews, one of the participants highlighted that;

I think what is affecting our foreign policy is what is happening inside the country. No country would want to associate with a country that has a poor human rights record and

no country would associate with a country that has no currency, where there is economic and political volatility....we need to fix these things first if we are to improve our foreign policy and for it to improve socio-economic development in the country...

In view of the above findings, it is noble for one to be of the view that, if Zimbabwe as a sovereign state improve on its domestic issues and governance. It will simultaneously build its good will and reputation in the international system, failure to sanitize the governance issues domestically will soil the foreign policy of Zimbabwe and the way other countries see Zimbabwe globally. Crisis internally will be interpreted as crisis internationally as well so it is very pertinent for Zimbabwe to resolve its domestic policies so as to enrich foreign policy.

Another participant said that;

The government has to make sure that its human rights record improves. Just imagine you are the President of Ukraine, would you want your people to come and invest in a country where human rights are violated every time, where people are killed for nothing or where there is no respect for the rule of law? I think countries that want to engage us would want to bring investment to us and investment has some factors that pull it where one of them is stability and a respect for human rights...

The above findings show that, the importance of human rights as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights cannot be overlooked since it forms part and parcel of a country's democracy and good governance in the modern world. Failure or ignorance to these contemporary neo liberal ideologies in the international system will devalue the foreign policy of a State and thereby affecting its socio-economic development negatively.

In another interview, a participant highlighted that;

There is a need to properly manage our natural resources. If we do so, these countries will come flocking towards us and we also need to recheck some domestic policies that affect investment creation, for example, that indigenization policy....

Arguing from these findings, one can opine that the way a State manages its resources has a serious influence to investors and its foreign policy. The Indigenization and Empowerment Act by the government of the Republic of Zimbabwe deterred many investors to come and invest in Zimbabwe and consequently the foreign policy of Zimbabwe was widely condemned and Zimbabwe had been isolated globally since then.

Another participant said that;

I wouldn't want to lie...we need a robust foreign policy, not the one of looking towards the Chinese...those guys have just exploitation to offer. We need to reengage with Western countries, particularly Britain because if your relationship with Britain is sour, all her allies will hate you, as is the case right now...

A key informant even highlighted that;

International relations are a difficult thing if you have poor diplomatic apparatuses... we need to reorient our diplomats and put in place diplomats who are competent enough to act on behalf of the country and change the negative perceptions that people have out there...

These findings sort of capture almost all the responses from the participants. What stands out from the responses is the need for political and economic stability, the need to improve diplomacy and the need to have a good human rights record and also manage properly our human resources.

4.4.2 Discussion of findings

The findings are supported by Washington and Forbes (2011) who argued that good diplomats ambassadors, envoys and ministers and through their art of diplomacy can put country's viewpoint effectively before the world and fulfill foreign policy objectives by means of mutual negotiations and thus spare their country from resorting to coercive methods. Diplomacy reduces the area of disagreement and misunderstanding with other states (Washington and Forbes, 2011). It is instrumental in reaching out agreements, treaties and pacts with other nations. It plays its role both during war and peace. Moreover, various economic methods are also adopted by various nations to achieve their foreign policy objectives and also to harm the interest of opponents. Economic organizations are formed for this purpose, for instance, the European Union Commission (Kumar, 2015). Sometimes nations also exploit religious, cultural and ethnic affinity to fulfill foreign policy objectives tag the use of Islam by many Muslim countries.

Also in support of the above findings, particularly on managing natural resources properly, Kyrog and Madenstein (2016) found out that food, minerals, metal, coal, crude oil, water resources constitute an important element of national power and consequently of foreign policy. Availability of these resources in plenty definitely enhances the importance of a country. For example, the presence of petroleum has significantly strengthen the position of West Asian countries in international relations (Kyrog and Madenstein, 2016). They have used oil as a tool of their foreign policy. If natural resources are not locally available, they have to be procured through international cooperation. Availability of strategic and crucial raw materials will place a country in advantageous position in foreign affairs. On the contrary, a country lacking in these resources will follow a weak foreign policy.

Moreover, Wright (2010) supports the findings of this study when he argued that sometimes domestic instability works as a determinant of foreign policy and for a country to have a robust foreign policy, its domestic state has to be stable. Wright (2010) observed that a ruler prevents sedition by making external war. It is a common saying in India that Pakistan has been continuously following an aggressive and hostile attitude towards India as it has never been able to deal with numerous internal issues challenging its very legitimacy and existence. Some Pakistani also allege the same thing about New Delhi. Many people suspected that the nuclear explosion of 1974 by India was primarily meant to divert the attention of Indians from domestic difficulties and enhance the image of Mrs. Gandhi who was then fishing in troubled water at home (Wright, 2010)

4.3 Applicability of power, interdependence and neo-realism theories to the study

Realism emphasizes that leaders seek power, but they should know that the extent to which they exert this power can have detriments to foreign policy. Moreover, the theory states that leaders should be good when they can, but they must also be willing to use violence when necessary to guarantee the survival of the state. The trajectory of Zimbabwe's foreign policy after 2001 was in sync with trying to maintain national security and this affected happenings on the international relations scale. Mugabe wanted to maintain power and as such, he brought about the land reform programme and became antagonistic with the West. This shaped Zimbabwe's foreign policy trajectory since then as the West has always been up against Zimbabwe and the country has sunk into socio-economic decadence or doom.

Neorealism, on the other hand, can be used to best explain Zimbabwe's foreign policy. It takes cognizance of both internal and external factors in determining a country's foreign policy. In other terms, Waltz (2002) argues that domestic politics is an intervening variable between the

distribution of power and foreign policy behaviour. In other terms, according to this theory, the internal political landscape is a major determinant of a country's foreign policy. In other terms, the two theories helped the researcher to look at foreign policy and its impacts on domestic development. However, in doing so, it became clear that it is indeed happenings on the domestic front that can also affect the effectiveness of foreign policies and also affect international relations. For instance, as came out from the study, what has been happening on the domestic front in Zimbabwe since 2001 has been responsible for shaping Zimbabwe's foreign policy. It is these domestic issues that need to be solved or rather acted upon if any notable impact with regard to foreign policy is to be recorded.

4.4 Summary

This chapter discussed and presented the findings of the study. The researcher presented the findings in narrative form and then discussed the findings, or rather, gave meaning to findings in line with the literature that was reviewed in Chapter 2. The following chapter wraps up the study by focusing on the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.0 Introduction

This chapter enveloped the study by giving a summary of the study, study conclusions and recommendations. After presenting and discussing findings of the study in the previous chapter, this chapter tried to provide a short and precise account of the whole study whilst at the same time providing recommendations that will positively assist in improving the impact of foreign policy on socio-economic development in Zimbabwe and beyond.

5.1 Summary of the study

This research was made up of five chapters of which the first chapter introduced the study by looking at the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, study questions, the justification of the study, limitations, delimitations and the definition of key terms. The researcher, in this chapter looked at the background of foreign policy and development throughout the world. In the subsequent chapter, chapter two, the researcher reviewed literature related to the study objectives by looking at the conceptualization of foreign policy, indicators of socio-economic development, Zimbabwe's foreign policy since independence, foreign policy and development throughout the world and what has been done towards improving the impact of foreign policy on development. The chapter also reviewed realism and neorealism as the theoretical base of the study and they assisted the researcher in subsequent chapters.

Chapter three focused on the research methodology that was used by the researcher in the study. The researcher made use of a qualitative research methodology and collected data from participants and key informants using interviews. The researcher made use of a qualitative research design as espoused in this chapter and selected participants through purposive sampling. The chapter also presents the ethical considerations that were observed and upheld by the researcher, how the sample was selected together with the targeted area of Harare. In chapter four, the researcher analysed the collected data through qualitative analysis and presented the data in narrative form. Data was presented in line with the study questions. As such, the researcher presented and discussed findings related to the objectives of the study. In this chapter, the researcher also discussed the applicability of realism and neo-realism to the study findings.

The findings of this research highlighted that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been shaped greatly by domestic policies which consequently enacted shift in its foreign policy. Therefore, of interest to note is the FTLRP, Operation Murambatsvina and indigenization and empowerment act. These policy initiatives caused a foreign policy shift by Zimbabwe in the international system and simultaneously the economy was affected by these shifts in foreign policy by Zimbabwe. The research concluded that, there is a direct nexus or a symbiotic relationship between foreign policy of Zimbabwe and its socio-economic development..

The findings of this research indicated that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has a strong bearing and influence on socio-economic development within the Ministry of Agriculture since 2001. This ministry has been victimised the most through FTLRP where human and property rights were abused and in reciprocity international regimes from the Western bloc intervened in form of sanctions against Zimbabwe. The effects of FTLRP, sanctions and foreign policy shift overtly affected socio-economic development since the GDP and standards of living decreased

tremendously in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the influence of foreign policy on socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture cannot be overlooked as shown by this research.

The study further noted intervention strategies which can be used to improve or sanitize Zimbabwe's foreign policy in the international system these include good governance, promotion and protection of human rights as well as good administration of natural resources of the country.

5.2 Conclusions of the study

The researcher made the following conclusions from the findings of the study that were analysed and presented in the previous chapter by the researcher. The conclusions are in line with the study questions

5.2.1 Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its impact on socio-economic development in the Ministry of Agriculture since 2001

The findings of this research alluded that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has serious impact on socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture. The respondents noted that since FTLRP there has been no meaningful and serious farming and production in the country and most of the Grain marketing boards ceased operation. These findings are in chorus with Basada and Moyo who articulated that, the violence and economic disruption that have accompanied land reform have left a scar on the face of Zimbabwe. As a result, many Western donor nations and organizations halted economic aid to and investment in Zimbabwe. As a result, Mugabe's land grabbing effectively crippled Zimbabwe's commercial industry, which was once dominated by 4,500 mainly white farmers and which, in the past, had constituted some 20 percent of the country's GDP and 40 percent of its export earnings. (Hawthorne 2000: 98). After all

being said and done, it is indisputable for one to conclude that foreign policy has a direct influence to socio-economic development within the ministry of agriculture as shown by this research.

5.2.2 Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been determined by domestic issues like politics and human rights issues

The nature of Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been determined, in part, by the political climate that has been prevailing over the country since 2001. Issues related to the political climate relate to the Fast Track Land reform Programme (FTLRP) and sour relations with Britain, the EU and the USA. Moreover, the violations of human rights have also influenced Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001. Chitiyo (2016) concurs with the above findings when he postulated that Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been dominated chiefly by the politics of the ruling party and leadership crisis. Since most of the human rights abuses were alleged to state directed. Therefore, it is pertinent to improve the promotion and protection of human rights if Zimbabwe wishes to correct her good will in the international system.

5.2.3 The foreign policy has been a 'look East Policy'

Zimbabwe's foreign policy has been more oriented towards the East since 2001 as the government, after cutting ties with the West, turned to China, North Korea and Japan. However, successes from this form of orientation have arguably brought little to be desired in terms of socio-economic development. The findings of this study highlighted that, the two countries developed a relationship that grew through loans, projects and further visits. In fact, Maunganidze et al (2013) argued that "Beijing reaped the political capital it had sown in the 1960s and was invited to construct hospitals and the National Sports Stadium in the early 2000s". The period under review witnessed the shunning of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe by

former friends in the ‘West’ over the political crisis in his country. This necessitated the adoption of a “Look East Policy” by Zimbabwe forging stronger ties with countries like China, Malaysia, Indonesia and India.

5.2.4 The foreign policy since 2001 has brought no considerable socio-economic development

No considerable socio-economic development has been brought by Zimbabwe’s foreign policy after 2001. Rather, the foreign policy has been responsible for the deterioration of the economy and society.

5.2.5 There has been some modicum contribution of foreign policy on development

However, there has been a few developments that have been brought by Zimbabwe’s foreign policy since 2001. For instance, after the formation of the inclusive government, the foreign policy that was taken then brought about dollarization and stabilized the economy whilst improving human development.

5.2.6 Zimbabwe needs to improve issues on the domestic arena

In order to improve the impact of foreign policy on socio-economic development and to also improve international relations with other countries, Zimbabwe needs to improve issues on the domestic arena. These issues relate to political management of the government, accountability and the rule of law in the country. This is because countries out there would want to engage with countries that have a good reputation.

5.3 Recommendations of the study

The researcher made recommendations of the study from the study findings and the study conclusions.

- The government of Zimbabwe needs to reflect on its foreign policy and fix all issues that are affecting its foreign policy from having robust impact.
- There is need to thoroughly examine and evaluate the impacts of the ‘Look East Policy’ because from the look of things, it seems as if the policy is more skewed towards the exploitation of Zimbabwe by countries like China where they come and easily snatch resources from Zimbabweans.
- More research needs to be conducted on what exactly needs to be done in order to turn the fortunes of the country back. Currently, there seem to be no clear cut interventions and the researcher recommends more research if the government is to successfully come to grips with reality and if it is to act accordingly.
- The government needs to put in place competitive diplomats in all countries which the country wants reengagement with. Those with expertise and the much needed skills will be able to broker reengagement deals with these countries and thus, improve the fortunes of the country because the country will not develop in isolation from the major powers of the world.
- The country’s ministries need to work on luring more investment towards the country through foreign policy. In other terms, we cannot talk of socio-economic development without having Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
- The country also needs to have policies in place that promote trade creation and investment creation. Policies like the indigenisation policy will only successfully push investors out of Zimbabwe because there are several other benefits of investment to the local people, for instance, employment creation which results in improved human development.

5.4 Areas for Further study

A key finding of this research is that, Zimbabwe's foreign policy has a direct influence to socio-economic development within the ministry of Agriculture since 2001. This has been witnessed by this research through reduction in GDP, reduced standards of living poor agricultural produce since the shift in foreign policy after FTLRP. Nevertheless, the study sample was small. What is needed is a comprehensive study on the effects of foreign policy to other ministries apart from the ministry of Agriculture

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARTICIPANTS

Interview questions

1. What has characterised Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001?
2. What are the events that have shaped Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001?
3. How best can you describe the foreign policy trajectory of Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium?
4. How does foreign policy affect the socio-economic development of a country?
5. What aspects related to socio-economic development can we attribute to the foreign policy of Zimbabwe since 2001?
6. In what way has the foreign policy trajectory been positive in socio-economic development?
7. In what way has the foreign policy trajectory since 2001 been negative in as far as socio-economic development is concerned?
8. How best can foreign policy in Zimbabwe be improved so as to bring about socio-economic development?
9. What can be done to improve the impact of Zimbabwe's foreign policy in bringing about Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)?
10. What can be done through foreign policy in Zimbabwe to improve the quality of life of Zimbabweans?

THE END... THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Interview questions

- 1.** In your view, what has characterised Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001?
- 2.** What are the events that have shaped Zimbabwe's foreign policy since 2001?
- 3.** How best can you describe the foreign policy trajectory of Zimbabwe since the turn of the millennium?
- 4.** What aspects related to socio-economic development can we attribute to the foreign policy of Zimbabwe since 2001?
- 5.** In what way has the foreign policy trajectory been positive in socio-economic development?
- 6.** In what way has the foreign policy trajectory since 2001 been negative in as far as socio-economic development is concerned?
- 7.** How best can foreign policy in Zimbabwe be improved so as to bring about socio-economic development?
- 8.** What can be done to improve the impact of Zimbabwe's foreign policy in bringing about Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)?
- 9.** What can be done through foreign policy in Zimbabwe to improve the quality of life of Zimbabweans?

THE END... THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

