

**ZIMBABWE'S REENGAGEMENT WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM AFTER THE NEW
POLITICAL DISPENSATION**



By

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation, **Zimbabwe`s Reengagement with the United Kingdom after the new political dispensation**, is my original work. Furthermore, all resources and literature used in this study have been properly recorded and acknowledged by full references.

Signature

B1747657

DATE

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my two lovely boys, Isheanesu and Anotidaishe.

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I wish to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the following people for their various input and sacrifices which made this research a success. My parents who kept supporting me, my two boys for the love and support and not forgetting my husband.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DFID	UK Department for International Development
DIT	UK Department for International Trade
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZIDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001
ZimTrade	Zimbabwe Trade

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ABSTRACT

The relations between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom took a nose dive following the fast track land reform programme which disposed white commercial farmers of their land. This subsequently resulted in United Kingdom imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe which impacted negatively on Zimbabwe`s political and economic fortunes. The United Kingdom also felt the heat of bad relations with its former colony and the two nations have been making efforts to reengage for mutual benefit of the two nations. This research was focused on understanding Zimbabwe`s reengagement efforts with the United Kingdom after the new political dispensation. The study employed qualitative research methodology, with primary data being collected through semi-structured interviews, while secondary data was gleaned from published books, journal articles, reviews and newspaper articles published in print and online. From the British perspective for reengagement to succeed the Zimbabwe government must institute political and economic reforms that would attract foreign direct investments. The research noted that the British acknowledge efforts by the Zimbabwe government in initiating reforms notably repeal of POSA and AIPPA as a move in the right direction. However there are some sticking points in as far as political reforms are concerned citing too much interference of the military and other security agencies in suppressing demonstrations. The study also noted that from the Zimbabwean government the British were not sincere as they are making unreasonable demands aimed at effecting regime change. According to the research findings it can be concluded that the reengagement process is going to take a long period of time to bear fruits economically. The research therefore recommended that the Zimbabwe government should deal with the internal reforms so as to give impetus to the reengagement .The study also recommended that Zimbabwe must maintain the Look East Policy as a back up plan in case reengagement with the United Kingdom does not bear fruits.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Between 1980 up to 17 November 2017, the domestic and foreign policy of Zimbabwe had been shaped by Former President Robert Mugabe (Ndimande and Moyo, 2018). However, since his dramatic removal in the Military led Operation Restore Legacy (ORL), the new administration of President Mnangagwa has had to realign its policy priorities characterized by re-engagement, strategic rethink and a major foreign policy and diplomacy shift. According to Ndimande and Moyo (2018), “Mnangagwa inherited a Zimbabwe whose relations with the international community were less than cordial and it is observable that under Mnangagwa, Zimbabwe’s foreign policy has shifted from isolationism and belligerence towards the West to a policy of (engagement and) re-engagement”.

Engagement as a tool of international relations between countries is one of the areas that have been given little attention in the study of international diplomacy. Various scholars have expended more energy and thought on the impact of sanctions and isolation on political and economic conditions of sanctioned and isolated states while negating processes of engagement that ensue and their impact on the economy. This study noted that vast research was written on the isolation of Cuba (1960s) during the cold war, Iran, Iraq, Burma, Libya and North Korea among others. To this end, this study seeks to unpack the Zimbabwe’s Re-engagement process with the United Kingdom during the period 2017 to 2019.

Engagement at international level is traced back to 1946 to 1952 where the United States of America (USA) engaged Europe. Resnick (2001) borrowing from Victor Cha engagement is “one of the most overused and understudied terms in post Cold War international relations.” Those who studied the subject were occidental particularly Americans whose views were anchored on engagement to prevent attacks hence their move was mainly to disarm other states for her safety. Therefore, the study is moving from occidental approach to the study of engagement in international relations to zero in on Zimbabwe’s approach to international engagement with the UK.

From the year 1997, Zimbabwe and its former colonial master, the United Kingdom developed a bilateral tiff over Zimbabwe's land reform programme that sought to resettle the landless majority and disposes the minority white farmers. This diplomatic row led Zimbabwe to face international isolation and reprimand from countries such as the United States of America, and regional blocks such as the European Union (EU). The International Relations standing of Zimbabwe took a knock on the back for various issues and allegations such as Human Rights violations, disrespect of property rights and the escalation and internationalization of bilateral arguments between Zimbabwe and Britain over the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (Cliffe, Alexander, Cousins and Gaidzanwa, 2011). The most visible international isolation of Zimbabwe at the instigation of Britain was related to its suspension from the Commonwealth, restriction from accessing international finance under the Bretton Wood institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. In addition, on the instigation of Britain, the United States slapped Zimbabwe with sanctions under the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 2001 which curtailed economic relations between the United States companies, entities and individuals in multilateral institutions and the Southern African Country.

The isolation suffered by Zimbabwe after the turn of the millennium prompted her to pull out of the Commonwealth grouping protesting its suspension and attempts to handhold its internal processes (Kwatala and Oliver, 2002). In reaction to this international isolation, Zimbabwe crafted an *ad hoc* international relations policy dubbed the Look East Policy (LEP), in which it sought to focus its relations with countries such as China, India, Malaysia and Russia. According to Ojakorotu and Kamidza (2018), the Zimbabwe's LEP was intended to respond to the economic sanctions imposed on it by Western nations hence disengagement. Despite the existence of LEP, Zimbabwe experienced massive economic decline, world record hyper-inflationary conditions, basic food shortages, sky rocketing unemployment, low Foreign Direct Investment inflows and lack of access to international loans and budgetary support.

The integral part to international isolation are economic, political and social relations. It is notable that political disagreements within the international relations discourse, in the absence of war, are extended to the economic front. Inversely, political convergence at the same front is evidenced by economic reengagement and strengthening of economic ties. Of note is that Zimbabwe, since 2015

has embarked on the Lima Process prescribed by the International Monetary Fund's Staff Monitored Programs (SMPs) that sought to bring Zimbabwe back into the fold with International Finance Institutions (IFIs) it currently owes money, so as to unlock another round of funding (Chinamasa, 2015), Government of Zimbabwe 2015). In addition, since the ushering in of the New Dispensation through the Operation Restore Legacy which saw the transfer of power from Robert Mugabe to President Emmerson Mnangagwa, Zimbabwe has witnessed a shift and escalation of economic re-engagement and diplomacy under the mantra, "Zimbabwe Is Open for Business".

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to understand Zimbabwe's reengagement efforts with the United Kingdom after the new political dispensation.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The decision by Zimbabwe to re-engage with the United Kingdom as a significant foreign policy was expected to end Zimbabwe's isolationist trajectory and give Zimbabwe access to economic assistance. However the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom has come to be realized as a complex two way process with reciprocating demands for reforms (on the part of Zimbabwe) and economic assistance (on the part of UK). The UK dictates the pace of reengagement calling for improved investment climate, respect of property rights, return to democratic rule, constitutionalism and the application of rule of law subjective tenets which the two will never agree as they apply it differently. On the other hand Zimbabwe is suffering from what can be called "a crisis of expectation" where reengagement has been expected to be a panacea for its current economic downturn, financial crisis, unemployment and overall economic development.

1.4 Research objectives

1. To understand and explore the elements of Zimbabwe's reengagement process.
2. To establish and refine our understanding of Zimbabwe - UK re-engagement process.
3. To understand the challenges being faced by Zimbabwe as she re-engages with the United Kingdom and by extension, the international community.
4. To proffer recommendations on Zimbabwe's Re-engagement process and its experiences.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What are the elements of the re-engagement process?
2. What is the significance of Zimbabwe's reengagement process to the economy of Zimbabwe?
3. What is the impasse to the full implementation of Zimbabwe's re-engagement process?
4. What lessons can be drawn from Zimbabwe's Re-engagement process and experiences within the realm of international relations and economic diplomacy?

1.6 Assumptions

- a) Zimbabwe is going to benefit from the reengagement process.
- b) United Kingdom is willing to reengage Zimbabwe.

1.7 Significance of the study

The research was of importance in the study of international relations as it will benefit policy makers, the academia and other developing countries that will be interested in the area of reengagement or will be reengaging in the future. Reengagement as a foreign policy thrust and its elements are of importance to diplomats, foreign policy officials and other interested stakeholders in International Relations. Benefits of this study include but not limited to documenting reengagement efforts that have been carried in other countries, evaluate the Zimbabwean case, and lastly, provide recommendations on the same. To this end, the study will significantly raise a general awareness on the inseparable link between economic and political behavior of states within the international relations arena.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

The study focused on Zimbabwe's international relations policy with other countries but particularly focusing on reengagement. The study further looked at only the reengagement policy between Zimbabwe and United Kingdom further delimitating the area of study. The study period was from the ushering in of the new dispensation 24 November 2017 to present 2019. The research mostly focused on formal reengagement at a state to state level.

1.9 Limitations

- Political events and diplomatic events are too liquid as the study progresses a lot of facts might change and affect the study. For instance as the new dispensation came into power United Kingdom sent the Minister of Africa but after 1 August ,violent demonstrations happened there seems to be a shift in how they view Zimbabwe .However the study will capture the dynamic nature of international relations in terms of reengagement and capture state interests as they reengage. Reengagement process is covered by the official secrecy act since participants are state officials. Thus the study relied more on public available information and seek authority to interview the state officials.

1.10 Definition of terms

The following terms and concepts have been taken to have the meanings given by the:

- **Sanctions refer to** a penalty imposed to ensure international law whose major aim is to punish the law breaker so as to avoid him from attaining his objectives and to change the rule breaker's policy (Hove, 2012).
- **Re-engagement** - A renewed or repeated engagement, obligation or agreement
- **Bilateral Relations refers to** the sum of interstate interactions between two nations which may include the social, economic and political exchange(s) (Paul and Wildad, 2008:4).
- **New Dispensation** - Second Republic in Zimbabwe that came as a result of a coup.
- **Foreign Policy** – This is purposive action with the view towards promoting the interest of a single political community or state (Hill, 2003)

1.13 Proposed Chapter outline

The research study will comprise of 5 Chapters. They will be presented as follows:

Chapter 1 is the Introduction; The Chapter will provide a background to the study, study objectives, statement of the problem, significance of the study, among others. Chapter 2 is Literature Review and Theoretical Framework discussing the Reengagement between Zimbabwe and the UK after the new political dispensation, Utilitarianism and World Systems Theory and how it impacts on the economy of Zimbabwe. Chapter 3 presents the Research Design and Methodology the research will detail the Research Design and Methodology. The study research approach will be qualitative and naturalistic (Creswell 2013).Chapter 4 presents Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion of Findings, Zimbabwe – UK Reengagement and its implications on the economy. The chapter will

mostly deal with Data Presentation and Analysis as the research will present and provide an analytical overview of research findings and this will include processing gathered information into consumable literature. Chapter 5 presents the Summary, Conclusions, Recommendations and Areas for further research. The study was undertaken as provided for in Chapter one, and the Literature review established that reengagement is not a new policy. Findings from the study indicate that reengagement as a Third World country's foreign policy is always met with conditions from powerful countries such as the UK and the US. The study recommends that stakeholders involved should have a structured reengagement platform that Zimbabwe needs to maintain the Look East Policy as a back fall.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature on the concept of sanctions and their effects on sanctioned states. It further reviewed the concept of reengagement and how it has been carried out in other countries. The chapter also introduced the Utilitarianism and World systems theory as the theoretical framework of the study and how they apply to the Zimbabwe – UK reengagement thrust.

2.1 Theoretical framework

The study is informed by two theories utilitarianism and the world systems theory. The utilitarian ethical theory was propounded by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill (Driver, 2009). Utilitarianism is a term derived from ‘utility’ which generally refers to something (Ibid). It is a normative ethical theory that argues that any action has moral worth if it brings about the greatest net happiness among available alternative courses of action to the greatest number of people affected by the given action. Furthermore, World systems theory explains social change in terms of economic relations within the international community and it was propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 2004). The study adopts the two theories as they are relevant to the area of study but will use WST to inform the Engagement process. This is because engagement concept is lucid and does not have coherent interpretation and elements by theorists unlike the WST. Therefore, the study as indicated uses engagement concept to inform the WST.

2.1.1 Utilitarianism Theory

This study utilized the utilitarianism theory and how it informed the engagement thrust between Zimbabwe and Britain after two decades of antagonistic diplomatic relations. Utilitarianism is an ethical theory according to which the rightness and wrongness of acts depends entirely on facts about the maximization of overall well-being. As propounded by Wallerstein, 2004, it is commonly associated with the phrase ‘the greatest good for the greatest number,’ and it typically requires people to act in whatever way will result in the greatest possible amount of well-being, where well-being is understood as closely related to happiness. In this article, after a brief account

of the historical sources of utilitarianism, the following topics will be explored: the defining characteristics of all forms of utilitarianism, the differences among various forms of utilitarianism, objections to utilitarianism, and the application of utilitarianism to moral problems.

Traces of utilitarian thought can be found in the works of Plato and Aristotle, but not until the eighteenth century did utilitarianism truly begin to emerge as a well-defined and freestanding ethical theory (Eggleston, 2012). From that century to the present, various authors can be identified as having made especially significant contributions to the articulation of utilitarian ideas. First, in the middle of the eighteenth century, David Hume argued in his ethical writings that much of our moral thinking is ultimately determined by what we find agreeable (Ibid). This line of argument, though essentially descriptive and psychological and not an affirmation of utilitarianism per se, suggests that utilitarianism's focus on well-being has a strong basis in human nature. Second, Jeremy Bentham wrote the first full treatise on utilitarianism, with his 1789 work *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* offering a detailed exposition of a form of utilitarianism and an application of it to such matters as criminal and penal law (Ibid).

Third, John Stuart Mill offered his own account of the theory in his 1861 essay *Utilitarianism*. Mill sought to formulate a version of utilitarianism that built on the strengths of Bentham's rigorous thinking but also included more thoughtful accounts of well-being, moral motivation, and the role of moral rules in utilitarian reasoning about moral problems (Ibid). Today, Mill's essay is almost certainly the single most widely read account of utilitarianism. However, the widely regarded and most thorough, systematic, and philosophically subtle treatise on utilitarianism were written by Henry Sidgwick titled *The Methods of Ethics* which were published in several editions in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century (Ibid).

Meanwhile Classical utilitarianism mostly retained a hedonistic interpretation of utility. It is a doctrine that, in its standard 19th century formulation, meant the promotion of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Contemporary utilitarianism can be defined as the combination of act consequentialism, welfarism, and a principle of sum-ranking (Sen, 1979). Consequentialism implies that an action is moral if and only if the social outcome of the resulting state of the world is good. Welfarism is the principle that the goodness of an outcome depends solely on individual

utilities and on no other information. Sum-ranking says that the appropriate method of aggregation is to add individual utilities.

2.1.1.1 Application of Utilitarianism in International Relations

In his sketch of guiding articles of his international code, Bentham suggested that “Each Government cannot but be considered as regarding its own form [of government] as being in a higher degree than any other conducive to the greatest happiness of the whole number of the members of the community of which it is the government: but it means not to pass condemnation on any other, or to put into dispute its fitness for the community of which it is the government”.

According to Postema (2018), this expresses a statist analogue of the principle: “the individual is the best judge of his own interest” and in a global order of roughly equal and interdependent states, it involves a concession and a demand. It concedes recognition of the right to non-interference of other states on condition of their recognition of its demand of non-interference in its own affairs. Read in this way, the principle of universal good governance is the product of a concession to the facts of power and its limits in the global domain. Also, this argument rests on the assumption that there is a significant degree of interaction, indeed interdependence, among sovereign states, and there with considerable potential for reciprocity (Baujard, 2013).

In addition, Postema (2018) noted that, reciprocity is a critical feature of Bentham’s account of the circumstances of international order on a utilitarian blueprint. He believed that effective coercive enforcement of rules is not feasible and institutions designed coercively to enforce the rule must not be contemplated. Rather, rules of international law must be largely self-enforcing, relying at most on the sanction of negative public opinion. In conditions of extensive interdependency and reciprocity, the equal common utility principle (and more specific rules and arrangements manifestly grounded in it) is the only principle that any given sovereign can publicly endorse and hope that others would do so as well, Bentham argued. It is the principle that rationally motivated sovereigns, concerned for the well-being of their own nations, but forced to interact with other independent sovereign nations on whom they are dependent, converge on if they are required publicly to endorse a principle for their common governance. Bentham offers an example of this process of convergence.

Integral to Bentham's comprehensive theoretical project, Baujard (2013) noted that it was a concern on "International politics". Although he never developed his theory of international politics to any substantial degree, he offered a sketch of a global order and its grounding principles that enriches our understanding of his larger jurisprudential project (Ibid). He articulated a distinctive cosmopolitan principle for the governance of a state-pluralist global order. This "Westphalian" state-pluralism was, for him, a settled fact for which there was overwhelming support in his normative theory and rejected any form of a unified universal republic, he insisted on the normative equality of all independent states (Ibid).

2.1.2 The World Systems Theory

The study is also informed by the World Systems Theory (WST) to understand the reengagement efforts undertaken by the government of Zimbabwe and the international community and how this impacts on the economy. The WST was propounded by Immanuel Wallerstein in around 1974 and explains social change in terms of economic relations within the international community (Wallerstein, 2004). With this brief definition in mind, it can be deduced from the onset that the WST fits perfectly with the realm of the study in that reengagement process in Zimbabwe is undertaken in pursuit of an economic developmental agenda that should see Zimbabwe become a middle income class by 2030. Although the reengagement process is politically chaperoned, this study views the process as more informed by the economic realities on the ground that saw Zimbabwe plunging into an economic comatose that has brought unprecedented suffering and a ballooned unemployed youth generation.

Literature indicate that Wallerstein viewed the modern world-system as a capitalist world-economy that emerged around sixteenth century in Europe. The world-economy includes a large geographic zone within which there is division of labour, significant exchange of commodities and flow of capital and labours (Wallerstein 2004:23). The system focuses on production and exchange of products in the world-market and the participants' priority is the endless accumulation of capital (Kilembe, 2010). The process of controlling capital is controlled by the elite through manipulation of IFIs, WB and IMF as they are responsible for bailing out distressed countries and loaning them under certain conditions.

One of the fundamental tenets of the World-Systems theory is that strong states in the modern world-system are hegemonic powers. “They quake upon those weaker states that do not possess sophisticated weaponry, possess nuclear power or sometimes do not have a currency. This is done to further propel exploitative relations which are more of a mafia gang whereby survival is akin to the life in a jungle”, Matseketsa and Kazizi (2016). Wallerstein (2004:57) contends that “what allows us to call them hegemonic powers is that for a certain period they were able to establish the rules of the game in the interstate system, to dominate the world-economy, to get their way politically with a minimal use of military force and to formulate the cultural language with which we discussed the world.” This is a real manifestation of the 21st century state and international development discourse where rules of the interstate system are dictated by the hegemonic powers including the United Nations system structured in an exploitative manner. Chigora and Goredema, (2010), “The five permanent members of the UN Security council, predominantly the United States of America, Britain, China, Russia and France wield the ‘international military sword’ that is used to strike mainly emerging countries that threaten challenge the five’s foreign policies and hegemony”. Similarly, Andre Gunder Frank (1972) —views the world economic structure as hegemonic and composed of struggle for domination. Although his contributions rallied around dependency theory in the 1970s and world-system debates in the 1980s, as well Frank explores the argument that “the contemporary world system is part of a continuous five-thousand-year-old history, providing yet more evidence to contest conventional theories that continue to place Europe at the centre of economic development ” (Oliveiro and Lauderdale, 2008:184) Frank was interested intensely in examining the essence of coercion and imperialism, and eventually rejected capitalism as a useful concept. It is this capitalist mindset of the developed world that has created inequality among nations even during engagement periods.

The world systems have also created global capitalism, which is an open ended and continuous exploitation and propelling of capitalism which is now embedded in transnational capital flight perpetuated by the elite and liquidity mafias across the globe has led to unequal world relations (Matseketsa and Kazizi, 2016). In the meantime, dependency is a result of the fixed magnetic creation or a liquidity osmosis relationship has left the periphery with no option but to succumb as they are left dry but thirsty for development.

The periphery states (Africa, Latin America and some parts of Asian) including Zimbabwe lack economic autonomy to develop as they keep seeking assistance from the core. The core helps the periphery either by foreign development aid or foreign investment but this does not have a significant effect to reverse the unequal relations in the world market. Accordingly, the world-systems theory is reliable in connecting the inequality of the world-market to dependency of periphery states on the core. The periphery relies heavily on foreign aid for instance, in 2012, US extended a total of US\$ 48, 4 billion in economic and foreign aid to developing countries (U.S. Overseas Loans and Grants (Green book, 2014.). What is intriguing in this discourse is that for the developing countries to access such grants certain conditions are set mainly to do with the rule of law and democracy subjective elements which are measured in the lenses of the economically powerful.

The World-Systems' model makes an attempt to explain one large world economy composed of small economic sub-systems which are further sub-divided into four categories namely; core, peripheral, external and "semi-peripheral", constitutes those that are some sort of combination of "core" and "peripheral" (Kilembe, 2010). The core refers to the iota of economic production where everything happens and possibly multilateral policies are formulated to influence the economic decisions worldwide. This category includes groupings like Group of Four (G4 Brazil, Germany, Japan and India), Group of Seven (G7 Canada, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, United Kingdom and United States of America) among other groupings, World Trade Organisation (WTO, World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and FETEFa among others. Interesting in this category is that the United States, Germany, Britain and China are the most influencing key stockholders of these international institutions.

2.2 Concept of Sanctions

Sanctions are a form of punishment to a target State in an effort to compel it to change certain unacceptable behaviour. According to Chingono, Hove and Danda (2013) sanctions are a foreign policy tool used by States or international organizations to persuade a particular government or group of governments to change their policy by restricting trade, investment or other commercial activities. Therefore, sanctions are a penalty imposed to ensure international law whose major aim

is to punish the law breaker so as to avoid him from attaining his objectives and to change the rule breaker's policy (Hove, 2012). Regarding the Zimbabwean situation, consensus prevails among the Western states that the fundamental objective of the Zimbabwe sanctions is to restore democracy and normalcy as according to the western modern standards of democracy. On the contrary the Zimbabwean government perceives the use of economic sanctions as an illegal tool meant to destabilize the internal political affairs of the country and a serious contravention of the principle of non interference in political internal matters as they have caused a challenge on Zimbabwe's sovereignty (Mugabe speaks on the internet in Geneva: Association of Zimbabwe Journalists:9 October 2009). Hence it is imperative to unpack the types of sanctions that have been used against weaker states by the powerful states as a way of punishing them or to make them obey their dictates.

2.2.0 Types of sanctions

2.2.1 Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions and their proxies are by far the most important of all sanctions imposed on a nation. Economic sanctions therefore are designed to further cripple the key sectors of production on a given state in order to accept issues raised by the imposer. Examples of areas that can be sanctioned are the withdrawal, or threat of withdrawal of trade and financial relations, including technical cooperation travel bans and freezing of foreign bank accounts of targeted individuals or entities. In support of economic sanctions, Miyagawa (1992:9) states that "Economic sanctions are designed to punish the rule violator and to safeguard the economic interests of the imposer". Joseph Kurebwa in support of the aforementioned notion reasoned that "a delinquent state threatens international security either through acts of aggression or by creating domestic conditions that are conducive for international anarchy" (Kurebwa, 2000: 3). Thus by sanctioning the delinquent state economically, it forces a dialogue for example cutting of trade ties with North Korea resulted into a dialogue meeting between USA and North Korea represented by their leaders in 2018.

It is not all the cases when a country is economically sanctioned and all trading partners cut ties. In the history of international trade we see some country maintain their interests by further increasing trade ties. A clear example is when Zimbabwe then Rhodesia in the 1960s after she was accused of infringing human rights by the UK particularly Britain during the war against the

Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) forces in their quest for independence, when apartheid South Africa, Israel and Portugal did not uphold the sanctions as they continued to trade with the Rhodesian Government. This resulted in the creation of Machipinda service station in January 1966 to increase flow of oil into the country (Jardim, 1979). Another example of economic sanctioning post Independence in Zimbabwe, after being slapped with the Zimbabwe Democracy and Recovery Act (ZIDERA) by the USA government, the UK and allies including the European Union (EU), we saw Zimbabwe finding a survival strategy by declaring the Look East Policy (LEP) thereby increasing trading with China, Russia, Malaysia, India, Dubai and Singapore to mention a few.

2.2.2 Trade Sanctions

Trade sanctions limit the country's exports or restrict its imports and come as embargoes and quantitative restrictions are thus imposed on the country (Sanos,). Examples of countries which experienced trade barriers outside Zimbabwe are South Africa and Iraq. The rationale was that the international community wanted to influence political changes. According to Sanos (), the EU and US have imposed sectorial sanctions, a new breed of sectorial sanctions that targeted specific sectorial of the Russian economy, financial services, energy, mining and defence related sectors. With the aim to limit Moscow from gaining access to capital and dirty markets as well as technology and expertise.

2.2.3 Financial Sanctions

Financial sanctions are aimed at stifling financial flows such as aid, short and long term loans, thereby reducing foreign exchange flows to Zimbabwe (Gono, 2006). These are meant to distort commercial and trade finance, through reduction of both Government and private sector access to foreign loans. In the case of Zimbabwe, there is a deprivation of loans and aid comparing with other countries in the region. If ever some creditors are identified they charge high premiums which leave huge burden to the country.

2.4 Effects of Sanctions

Sanctions are taken as an antithesis of economic development and have large crippled the economies to which they are imposed. It takes rigorous measures and raft survival strategies.

However, the majority if not all cases of sanctioning yielded negative results. In his study of sanctions in Iran, Kokabisaghi F (2018) noted that,

the sanctions on Iran caused a fall of country's revenues, devaluation of national currency, and increase of inflation and unemployment. These all resulted in deterioration of people's overall welfare and lowering their ability to access the necessities of a standard life such as nutritious food, healthcare and medicine. Also, the sanctions on banking, financial system and shipment led to scarcity of quality life saving medicines.

Meanwile, Fariboz (2012) noted that, “a devalued currency has obvious, profound and immediate effects on the population at large. For the average Iranian citizen, this is the most commonly experienced in the form of inflation, which has been estimated at 25 percent annually.” On the other hand, Richards (2018) in his study of the socio economic impact of sanctions in Iran noted that sanctions have a bigger socio-economic cost on children. He indicated that, the greatest impact, to date, has come as the result of stringent sanctions imposed by America against international banks that do business in Iran. This policy has had the predictable result of sharply decreasing the purchasing power of the rial relative to the US dollar, losing roughly half its value in a year. (Los Angels Times, 2012).

On the health impact of sanctions in Iraq, (Al-Nouri and Al-Rahim, 2003) noted that;

Sanctions were imposed on the people of Iraq in 1990. Iraqi people are still suffering, especially children. Infant mortality (IM) has increased more than five times. Previously it had decreased from 139 in 1960 to 20 in 1989, which was comparable to developed countries. In 1992 it went up to 111.1 In 1999, a decade later, IM was still high at 104.2 The Gulf War and trade sanctions caused a threefold increase in mortality among Iraqi children under 5 years of age. It has been estimated that more than 46 900 children died between January and August 1991.

The study of the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation, published in a letter to the BMJ in 1995, concluded that deaths of more than 560 000 children could be attributed to UN sanctions. It also stated that the death rate among children under 5 years in Baghdad had increased fivefold since the war ended in 1991.⁴ Data for 1994–99 showed that mortality for children under 5 years was

131 per 1000 live births, compared with 56 for 1984–9, before sanctions. The reasons for excess deaths are clear—economic collapse with plummeting wages, soaring food prices, poor sanitation, lack of safe water, and inadequate provision of health care.

In Cuba, effects of sanctions have been the same as those witnessed in Iran, Iraq, North Korea and even Zimbabwe. According to DeMelfi (2006), since the early 1990's, Cuba has faced hard financial time and a vicious cycle of economic hardships caused by limited capital inflows, and reduced exports which led to lower domestic production. Agricultural production was especially hurt by the collapse of the Soviet Union as between 1989 to 1994, agricultural production fell fifty four percent because of shortages of fuel and equipment (Ibid).

2.5 Zimbabwe-United Kingdom Relations

Zimbabwe-UK relations can be described as one embedded in realism whereby one state aims at satisfying its national objective, interests through domestic and foreign policy. Following the abrupt land reform exercise pursuant to a misunderstanding with the Blair Administration, the United Kingdom in 2002 went on to slap the Robert Mugabe led administration with sanctions further accusing the same of violating human rights and stifling democratic space by enacting draconian legislation as a way of banishing dissent voices. Zimbabwe lost over US\$42 billion in revenue and the economy contracted by over 40 percent by 2013. However the exit of Britain from the EU and the current political dispensation in Zimbabwe provides prospects for re-engagement. Furthermore, the new political dispensation under President Mnangagwa is currently reviving the economy and has implemented a number of economic reforms.

2.6 Unpacking Re-engagement in International Relations: Zimbabwe's Re-engagement Process

Reading around International Relations history among nations states shows that they serve their own and interests and pursue policies that suit their aspirations and hope (Thomas Hobbes, Morgenthau, Thucydides). As such, their actions and maneuvers on the international platform are guided by the above mentioned normative rule. This extends to defining friendship and relationship among nation states and usually a powerful friend has a tendency of dictating or

influencing a weaker friend. Connecting the above to the area of study, it can be deduced that at times friendship among states can reach waterloo due to various reasons but the situation can change if members are willing to engage.

The Zimbabwe-United Kingdom (UK) relationship was at its peak during the first decade after the attainment of independence and thawed bit by bit until it reached low after the agrarian reform programme with UK accusing the Mugabe administration of flagrant disregard of property rights after seizing land which the kith and kin of the UK had possessed, stifling the opposition political parties and failure to observe basic democratic tenets. On the one hand, the Zimbabwean government (former colony) accused the UK (colonizer) of interfering in its sovereign jurisdiction and mooted to effect regime change. This resulted in Zimbabwe pulling out of the Commonwealth of Nations (Matseketsa and Kazizi, 2017). However, after a decade the government of Zimbabwe sought to normalize its relations with the UK to allow for economic growth. It is this study's assumption that the engagement drive pushed by the government of Zimbabwe since 2010 has a tendency of improving the economy. Therefore, this study raises fundamental interests in breaking the tradition in the study of international relations by interrogating the effect of the engagement drive by London and Harare.

Literature on re-engagement primarily revealed that the policy of engagement has largely been written from the perspective of major powers such as the United States of America and European states against what they term, rogue states. In his study of the United States foreign policy tools and strategies it uses when seeking to change the behavior of rival or adversarial states, Nincic (2012) in his study titled, *The Logic of Positive Engagement* observed that American foreign-policy makers tend to resort to "negative pressures," such as the use of force, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions. Less appreciated and less understood, Nincic argues, are the tools and strategies of "engagement," policies that use positive inducements to alter the incentives and orientations of other states. The book sought to explain the bias in American foreign policy toward threats and punishments and argues that it is a legacy of the Cold War, which taught politicians to worry about charges of appeasement. Nincic also sees biases in the American security-studies community, where, he claims, realist understandings of the world shift attention away from non-military tools of influence. The book's most useful contribution is to spell out how strategies of

engagement and positive inducements can work, using the United States' experiences with Cuba, Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Syria as case studies.

In an article titled "*Why engagement is the key to US foreign policy*", the Slaughter (2015) noted that during the recent past, the US Administration led by Barack Obama had undertaken engagement as a foreign policy, despite its shortcomings. She argues that Obama had rejected his predecessor George W Bush's policy of isolating "rogue states", recognizing that America's only hope for influencing isolated countries' behaviour was to engage directly with them in a bilateral context. Besides, Iran, Myanmar and Cuba, the paper noted that over the last decade, US leaders have made efforts to establish productive frameworks for multilateral cooperation with Latin America.

Meanwhile, another study by Mayer (2004) proposed for a selective economic engagement strategy with Iran which was to be more effective towards achieving US interests than the existing strategy of containment. He noted that the absence of overt engagement with Iran had failed to resolve these issues or alter Iranian behaviour. To this end, he thought that a strategy of engagement utilizing economic means targeted at the Iranian general populace, coupled with a public diplomacy effort espousing economic and political reform provides a way to influence Iranian behaviour and build a relationship that supports US interests.

Added to the theme of engagement as a foreign policy strategy to moderate behaviour of states, Lynch (2002) interrogated the reason for engagement between United States and China especially after the end of Cold war. She highlighted that with the breakdown of American relations with China after 1989 and the rapid growth of Chinese power in the 1990s, the American policy of engagement attempted to encourage China to become a moderate participant in the international status quo through the building of economic interdependence, participation in international institutions and strategic dialogues. In turn, Kong (2017) reviewed China's use of engagement as a foreign policy tool to deal with North Korea. In his article titled *China's engagement-oriented strategy towards North Korea: achievements and limitations*, Kong noted that the engagement policy was a response to the challenge of an unstable North Korea, characterised by a weak economy, yet developing weapons of mass destruction.

The above study shows that China's engagement oriented strategy was based on diplomatic persuasion, economic interaction and moderate economic sanctions. On implications of such a policy, Kong noted that the engagement policy had only facilitated economic reforms with North Korea, but had failed to dissuade the hereditary regime from stopping nuclear developments. Mguni (2016) on the one hand conducted a study focusing on Zimbabwe-China engagement presents a dynamic opportunity to studying Chinese geopolitical interests in Africa, for Zimbabwe had to divorce the ever controlling Western racist husband and marry the new scheming, calculating Eastern husband. He further eludes that the Western principle of attempting to enforce human rights and the rule of law came to clash with the Chinese principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of its partners. This precondition somewhat dampens the spirit of engagement as UK called for the adoption of certain reforms. However, Mguni's engagement is the focus of the study although it centers on engagement but the thrust of this study relates to reviving of the relationships that were once vibrant.

According to Lynch (2002), engagement rested on a strategic mode of action, in which the building of interdependencies and dialogues were instrumental policies to change the target state. The policy of engagement carries within it the potential for a communicative mode of action; however, in which states enter into public dialogues in order to more effectively communicate, discover and shape preferences, and arrive at mutually acceptable institutions. Communicative engagement, designed to allow for the free exchange of reasoned argument under conditions which minimize the direct application of power, provides a superior means to achieve the avowed goals of engagement. Through an analysis of an important potentially conflictual strategic relationship, this article advances the emerging dialogue between rationalist and critical theories by focusing on communication, uncertainty and the transformative potential of public discourse. It draws on a theory of communicative action rooted in Habermas to evaluate the empirical record of engagement in the 1990s, and to articulate theoretical foundations for a communicative engagement which more effectively communicates and shapes state preferences.

Another famous case of engagement regards the United States of America and North Korea as they sought to normalize their relations. The U.S. policy review issued in June 2001 called for

unconditional talks between Washington and Pyongyang on a range of issues including the DPRK's nuclear program, its production and export of ballistic missiles, and the conventional military posture on the peninsula. These are the same issues that the Trump administration seeks to pursue to have a long lasting solution to insecurity in Korean peninsula. The policy recommended engagement with North under President Kim Dae-jung. Previously the USA government pursued engagement with Japan from 1993 to 2000 aimed at trading economic and political inducements for an end to the development of weapons of mass destruction. One weakness of the notion of engagement pursued by the USA centres around insecurity concerns by the former, Cha (2002) noted. The USA under Bush Administration moved in to sanction North Korea and Japan in order for them to comply. Deputy Defence Secretary Paul Wolfowitz and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, expressed reservations on use of sanctions to effect compliance because in one way or the other the sanctioned state would use even diplomatic tactics for the purpose of obtaining the food and economic aid to stay afloat, (Cha *ibid*).

Formal studies and publications on Zimbabwe's reengagement efforts with the west are arid, scant and limited. However, reports by The Herald Newspaper traced Zimbabwe's attempts to kick start the reengagement process has been traced to 2010 following the easing of sanctions and thawing of relations during the Government of National Unity era. In addition, the government was reengaging with Western organizations such as the IMF staff monitoring team in 2014 and demonstrated tentative re-engagement with the international financial institutions. Chitiyo and Kibble (2014:31) cited that the reengagement process only stalled following concerns by Western countries that the 2013 elections were not credible. Nonetheless, reengagement was being pressured by the reality of a globally recognized ZANU-PF government in power and with pressure to engage from the Western business community, especially in the minerals sector (Chitiyo and Kibble, 2014:32). It is this thesis argument that although democratic tenets are a precondition of engagement, the Zimbabwe government between 2010 and 2017 moved towards amending relations. This was further amplified during the Operation Restore Legacy (ORL) era.

The authors went on to suggest that although President Mugabe ignored his invitation to the EU–Africa summit of 2014 due to process surrounding the invitation and reaction to it, it signaled steps towards reengagement. They noted that this act highlighted the complexity of EU-Zimbabwean

relations (Ibid). However, they postulated that although Zimbabwe could not become a partner country to the West overnight, the parlous state of the economy did put pressure on the government to push for reengagement and investment. They suggested that at the very least, a relative normalization of relations would be felt with reciprocal visits by Western envoys and Zimbabwean ministers in search of rapprochement. In addition, there was a call to totally lift sanctions against Zimbabwe which have been construed as impediments to reengagement efforts. According to Chitiyo and Kibble (2014:31) sanctions are diplomatically obstructive beyond Zimbabwe and not only are they an irritant, acting as a blocking factor in public and private diplomacy between that country and the West, but they also hamper the West's relationship with the region as a whole, and particularly with SADC, which urges their lifting.

Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom, in particular, needed to articulate strategies for achieving sustained re-engagement through their respective foreign ministries. According to Chitiyo and Kibble (2014:32) it was of importance for the two countries to establish a Zimbabwe–United Kingdom Bilateral Forum, where issues of mutual interest and concern can be discussed at ministerial and other levels. A good template is the South Africa–United Kingdom Bilateral Forum, where trade and development and other issues are discussed within a consistent and structured diplomatic framework. This involves formal meetings every two years and ongoing discussions and Track Two dialogues (Vines and Sidiropoulos). Chitiyo and Kibble (2014) argued that if relations between London and Harare are to improve in a sustained fashion, a similar forum will be necessary to help structure the dialogue and re-engagement as well as to detoxify the discussion of contentious issues.

The argument advanced by Chitiyo and Kibble did not exert their effort on linking the engagement narrative to the structure of the World Systems which remains a thorn in the flesh for weaker states which feel their sovereignty and right to self determination is constantly trembled upon by the stronger states as they advance preconditions for any further engagement. Democracy and other preconditions advanced by the UK from another point of view are tools that are meant to facilitate unequal bargaining. Ian Taylor and Paul Williams shares the same view with the UK government on land issues, lawlessness, reforms and corruption as the cause of thawing of relations between the two countries. These conditions are tacitly amplified and supported by the international

financial institutions in the form of IMF and World Bank which places the burden on Zimbabwe government for failure to service her debts and arrears (Moreliti 2017). Hence the study interprets the actions of the UK as controlled by an unequal international structure meant to maintain the international status quo that is protecting the interests of the stronger states. In mitigating the weaknesses of Chitiyo and Kibble, the study will triangulate qualitative data to come up with a full view understanding of the engagement process between the two countries.

Whereas, engagement has been written by various scholars, for and against various countries, the main thrust established within the literature, has been that covering interests of major powers within the international relations framework. Very few scholars, if, any, have focused on steps taken in the engagement processes, especially from the isolated states such as Zimbabwe, Libya, Iran, North Korea and many other countries deemed despotic or worth sanctioning. The strength of previous studies lies in how they dealt with reasons and rational of engagement in international relations, and their weakness is how they overlooked steps that encompass the engagement process itself. To this end, this study will seek to interrogate Zimbabwe's reengagement process with the West, taking note of steps taken and underlying international relations power play between major powers and developing countries.

The UK-Zimbabwe engagement raises wider issues about Britain's Foreign policy more generally. It presents points of difficult in terms of implementation of foreign policy and achieving broader objectives. It thus tests the leverage of the British government's exercise of power at international stage. Zimbabwe on the one hand then decided to implement the LEP hence widening of the rift between the two. Christopher Hill observed that, "it was in Zimbabwe where the limits of British influence were most sharply exposed.... Ultimately Britain was shown up as having responsibility but not power." The focus placed by Hill relates to the limits of power by the UK government but this study borrows from the power aspect whereby it is used as a bargaining tool on the international platform.

One weakness of engagement as a power balancing strategy for the bilateral or multilateral relations does not exist and the proponents of such in international relations are missing. This is attributed to the fact that the concept of engagement did not develop consistently and has been

neglected in the studies of international relations (Brooks and Wohlforth, 2005). The concept is quizzed and limited to state's foreign policy and how interests of a nation state can be satisfied. Its limitations are thus imbedded in statecraft hence only a privileged few or political elites are aware of the process with the general public starved of such information but see failure or success as yardsticks rather than observing the process (Ibid). It is this process that this study endeavours to unpack and push towards its declassification for the purposes of everyone to follow. To overcome this weakness, the study will rely on an established theory (WST) whose thrust and tenets are elaborate.

The theory of engagement can be interpreted in the theoretical conceptions of containment theory (Jakstaiate, 2010). It was basically about created to balance Soviet Union power during the Cold War era. In the analysis of engagement as a means of foreign policy attention the focus falls on the study of its possible types (in accordance with the instruments and the approach to the target country), since it is through such a prism that engagement is analyzed. However, engagement can be considered a theory, as it interprets and predicts how top approach the problem of balancing out the behaviour of an adversary. Engagement also falls into the category of middle-range theories, since it explains one of the aspects of realism, power balancing; but it also has a specific approach to this phenomenon, as it stresses different tools of power balancing, and their implementation situations (Ibid).

Engagement is interpreted in the following categories; an approach to engagement as hawk, realistic, economic, unconditional and conditional engagement. This study discusses hawk, realistic, economic and conditional engagement because they follow the line of argument of this study. The theoretical approach to engagement of hawk engagement is very strict towards the target of the state and does not assume that the target state may completely change its foreign policy course (Davis 2000). In this kind of engagement, there is a way to check whether the target state is non-greedy (in this case engagement will cause changes in the policy of a target state- therefore, is appropriate), or greedy (in this case the use of sanctions will be more effective). Proponents of hawk engagement assume that the so-called "greedy" states, against which they recommend the use of sanctions, can be identified by their behaviour during the implementation of engagement. A greedy state, according to James Davis; "has no desire or intention to change

their behaviour.” (Martin 2007). In support of this theorists of engagement recommend the use of sanctions in specific situations where the target state has reliable weaponry and may provoke a military response in advance, rather than capitulation.

Hawk engagement presupposes that this form of engagement is recommended in relations with unpredictable states. The state seeks a dual purpose (as opposed to other types of engagement): the strategy aims both to help the target state to transform its situation and cooperate with it and sets the stage for possible violence if the target state refused to co-operate. The target state is encouraged to collaborate, demonstrating the benefits of the *status quo*, and promising an incentive in exchange for peace talks, so this form of engagement is often called the option preventive defence (Cha 2002). This is because “today’s carrots tomorrow may be the most effective stick” (ibid). By presenting the benefits of the status quo to the target state and then threatening to use sanctions, more positive results would be achieved because if the target state had really chosen to adjust its foreign policy course, it will not want to renounce its favourable status quo. In order to encourage the target country to change its behaviour hawk engagement uses both non-coercive and non-punishable pressure measures such as, for example, different levels of inter-state dialogue, information exchange, financial support (positive initiatives), the economic embargo, etc. (negative). According to Poneman and Gallucci (2004:184), hawk engagement often does not rule out the possibility of using other policy measures, not excluding the use of force and military, if the cooperation collapses. In the case of UK-Zimbabwe relations, the hawk engagement has been used with Zimbabwe being sanctioned and isolated on the global scale but later after Mugabe departure certain carrots were dangled in a more relaxed way. Unlike in the past, Britain sent its high profile officials to meet the new administration, a sign that was reciprocated by Zimbabwe.

One other form of engagement discussed in this study is economic engagement that is defined by Kahler and Kastner (2004) as a policy of deliberately expanding economic ties with an adversary in order to change the behaviour of the target state and to effect an improvement in bilateral political relations is the subject of growing, but still limited, interest in the study of International relations. The majority of the work on economic statecraft traditionally tend to focus on coercive policies such as economic sanctions that given to a non complying state. The emphasis on negative forms of economic statecraft is not without justification: the use of economic sanctions is

widespread and well documented, and several quantitative studies have shown that adversarial relations between countries tend to correspond to reduced, rather than enhanced, levels of trade (Gowa 1994;Pollins 1989). At the same time, however, relatively little is known about the frequency with which strategies of economic engagement are deployed. Scholars disagree on this point, in part because no database cataloguing instances of positive economic statecraft exists (Mastanduno 2003). Hirschman in his classical work (1945), posits that most studies of economic engagement have been limited to the policies of great powers. This is particularly true as the widespread literature is occidental and neglects the point of view of a weaker. This thesis balances this point by focusing on the concerns of the disadvantaged partner in a negotiating forum and provides a profound analysis. Engagement policies adopted by South Korea and Singapore and Taiwan, demonstrate that engagement is not a strategy limited to the domain of great power politics and that it may be more widespread than previously recognized.

Another approach to engagement is realistic engagement that balances between the interruption of risky contacts (or containment) and widely used engagement was offered by Michael McFault. The approach to engagement as realistic engagement looks realistic (rationally and practically) at the key defining aspects of the strategy – the strategy terms, means, using situation, goals. It can be argued that precisely here is the exclusivity of this theoretical approach to engagement. Having a realistic view to engagement, the state that applies this strategy develops a dialogue with a target country having well-calculated expectations on the realization speed and requirements of the process. UK and Zimbabwe governments have been on talking terms and meeting at various international fora to discuss terms of engagement. According to the representatives of this theoretical approach, the player of international relations, while using a realistic engagement, reduces the short-term expectations and focuses on long-term goals because to change the target state's policy in short term is not realistic. One key aspect of realistic engagement is the promotion of political reforms because it opens avenues for integration into international organizations such as the IMF and World.

Such exclusivity of realistic engagement (a realistic approach to engagement process, tools) indicates that this strategy is suitable to use in relations with specific countries, which, theorists say, “are not friends, but are not enemies”: that is with complicated but strategically important

states (Jakstaiate, 2010). Since the development of relations with such states is difficult, realistic engagement uses well-defined rules for the target countries and strict time frames to implement the requirements that are set out in the light of the circumstances and possible obstacles (Ibid). Thus, the state that is applying realistic engagement (UK) behaves rationally and prudently, strictly determines time frames, rules (which target state is able to implement), focuses on long-term goals and the final result, uses such instruments as could affect the behaviour of the target state in the spheres of security and policy (arms control, political reforms). Such a state is behaving according to the core principles of the theory of realism. Following Operation Restore Legacy, the British government subtly endorsed the new dispensation and moved towards realistically engaging the new administration.

Conditional engagement as aptly described by Haas and O'Sullivan (2000) relates to the type of intergovernmental relations where the target state is offered incentives in exchange for specific changes in its domestic and foreign policy. Conditional policies, sometimes labelled linkage or economic "carrots," are the inverse of economic sanctions. Instead of threatening a target country with economic loss (sanction) in the absence of policy change, conditional engagement policies promise increased economic benefits in return for desired policy change. Drezner's (1999/2000) analysis of conditional economic inducements yields a set of highly plausible expectations concerning when conditional strategies are likely to be employed, and when they are likely to succeed (Kahler and Kastner, 2006).

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter touched on Zimbabwe-UK relations how they turned sour after the abrupt land reform exercise which saw white farmers being ousted from farms which was regarded as a violation of property rights by the International community. The chapter also discussed sanctions how the various types are used to force change within a rogue country and the effects of sanctions on Zimbabwe were discussed. The research used utilitarianism and world system theory in unpacking the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and UK after the new political dispensation and how the reengagement will help the economy of Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an overview of how the research study will be undertaken as well as how it will be analysed and presented. This chapter basically encompasses the research methodology, research design, population and sample, sampling methods that were used, data collection methods, validity and reliability, data presentation and analysis, ethical considerations as well as the summary of the chapter.

3.2 Research Methodology

Research methodology is defined by Schwardt (2007:195) as a theory of how an inquiry should proceed. The study used qualitative research methodology to extract data from the respondents. Qualitative research methodology is defined by Van der Merwe (1996) as a research approach aimed at testing theories, determining facts, demonstrating relationships between variables and predicting outcomes. Qualitative research methodology was utilized in this research as the study sought to demonstrate the relationship between Zimbabwe – United Kingdom reengagement after the new dispensation.

3.3 Research design

A research design is defined by Kothari (2004:31) as, “the conceptual structure within which the research would be conducted.” The study follows an exploratory case study approach in understanding the Zimbabwe reengagement process. Creswell et al (2016:107) defines case study approach as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.” This study used the case study approach as it allows the use of multiple data collection techniques that provides the researcher with opportunity to triangulate information from other sources. One advantage of using case study approach in this

study is that throughout analysis and evaluation process, the research remains open to new approaches and insights.

3.4 Population and sample

Kumekpor (2002) defines a population as the total number of all units of the issue or phenomenon to be investigated into which is “all possible observations of the same kind” The population of this study encompassed all citizens of Zimbabwe and the UK, who are in their millions. The study recognized that the best population to include in this research would be respondents with knowledge, capacity and authority to speak over the Engagement process between Zimbabwe and UK. To this end, the study narrowed its population to officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, the Academia and the Embassy of Britain. On the other hand, a sample is defined as a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole (Webster 1985). This study had a sample size of 10 respondents as it was impractical to interview all government officials.

3.5 Sampling methods

Trochin (2006) defines sampling as the process of selecting units from a population of interest so that by studying the sample, we may fairly generalize our results back to the population. This research utilized purposive sampling method to identify respondents to the research questions. Purposive sampling is defined as, “method of selecting respondents whereby an expert uses judgment in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind” (Neuman, 2007:143). This research employed purposive sampling since it enabled for the selection of the most knowledgeable experts on the topic under study especially respondents who could provide information on diplomacy, reengagement and sanctions. The sample of respondents were Desk officer for the united Kingdom in the Policy and Research Department -Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ministry; Principal director for National Budgets in the Finance Ministry and Departments; the Academia in areas of International Relations, Political science and Economics; and the Counsellor Political and public Affairs Attaché at the Embassy of Britain.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

The research used primary and secondary data collection methods.

3.6.1 Primary Data

For primary research, the research used key informant unstructured interviews to collect information from respondents. According to Dawson (2002:39) unstructured interviews, “provides holistic understanding of the interviewee’s point of view or situation with little directional influence from the interviewer.” This research has to create rapport with participants so that intimate or in depth information is unraveled. Unstructured interviews were carried out from the following respondents;- the Desk officer for the united Kingdom in the Policy and Research Department -Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ministry; Principal director for National Budgets in the Finance Ministry and Departments; the Academia in areas of International Relations, Political science and Economics; and the Counsellor Political and public Affairs Attaché at the Embassy of Britain. Key information sought in the interviews were on elements of the Zimbabwe – UK re-engagement process, effects of sanctions on reengagement, impact of reengagement on the economy among others.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data means data that are already available which has already been collected and analyzed by someone else (Wisdomjobs, 2019). The research collected secondary data through a desk research which includes reading through textbooks, national achieves, newspapers, surfing the internet, checking on publications related to pronouncements, policy thrust. Dawson (2002) points that, desk research has the following advantages; it has low cost, relative speed and it has possibility of generating comparative data set. In this study, secondary data was utilized to argument historical and current information publicly available and needed in the study.

3.7 Validity and reliability

Validity is broadly defined as the state of being well grounded or justifiable, relevant, meaningful, logical, conforming to accepted principles or the quality of being sound, just, and well founded (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2016). On the other hand Merriam (1995) defines reliability as, “the more times the findings of a study can be replicated, the more stable or reliable the phenomenon is thought to be.”. Reliability and validity are two (2) factors all research embarking

in a qualitative study should be concerned about while designing a study, analyzing results, so as to ascertain its quality.

To ensure validity and reliability of the study, this research only targeted well placed experts who are instrumental in the area under study. In addition the study triangulated information from various primary and secondary data sources. For example, dates and events mentioned by respondents were also checked through secondary sources, in cases where it was published information. Under primary data collection, respondents were asked similar questions.

3.8 Data presentation and analysis

Data analysis is defined by Kothari (2005) as the editing, collating, verification, classification and tabulation of gathered data so that they are amenable to interpretation and analysis. This research utilized thematic and content analysis.

3.8:1 Thematic Analysis

The research used thematic analysis in data presentation. Thematic analysis is used in qualitative analysis for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data. This method was used to consolidated patterns describing patterned responses of the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and Britain, and its perceived impact on the Zimbabwean economy. Creswell (2009: 183) postulate that the process of data analysis involves making sense out of text and image data...it involves preparing the data for analysis, moving deeper and deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data and making an interpretation of larger meaning of data. The study identified themes and patterns that emerged during research, breaking them and or collating them up for the purposes of data analysis.

For the purpose of this research study, thematic data analysis will be used as the primary data analysis technique that will be used to identify certain emerging and common themes of group of thoughts or sentiments which are related to the reengagement process and strategies being used between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom and their impact on the economy.

3.8.2 Content Analysis

The research also used the content analysis method for analysing data relating to the Zimbabwe – UK reengagement process. Content analysis is defined by Neuman (2007:227) as “a technique for gathering and analysing the content of the text.” The text is found in published journals, pictures, meanings, textbooks, symbols, themes, stored and declassified security information and newspapers. Walliman (2011) provides that after reading through secondary data sources, there is need to review the quality of evidence that has been presented in the arguments and the validity of the arguments themselves as well as the quality of the source of information. During this study, information from electronic and hard copy text books was collected, compared and only quality information was obtained in order to produce quality results related to international relations, and reengagement.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The study will be premised on three ethical considerations as noted by Babbie, (2008:67) that is, (a) Respect for persons by ensuring autonomous and voluntary participation of informants, (b) beneficence which requires total commitment to minimizing the risks associated with research, including psychological and social risks and (c) anonymity and confidentiality ensuring that justice is observed through maximizing benefits and minimizing risks by analyzing and reporting genuinely as narrated by the participants and to observe anonymity and confidentiality. The research will strive to seek consent first before engaging the targeted sampling groups. Information collected during the research will remain confidential and used for the purposes of this research study only.

The type of the research study is quite sensitive and confidential; however the research will take note of the above ethical practices before, during and after the research study. The research will also promise all the respondents that no further publication of any part of this research will be done without prior approval of the respondents. The research will endeavour to tell the truth during compilation of data and will not alter the same to suit the interest of any particular group but will report factually. The respondents will be addressed by their names, pseudo and job ranks only after approval.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented the various methods and procedures the research adopted in conducting the study in order to answer the research questions raised in the first chapter. The key issues discussed in this chapter include exploratory case study as a research design for this study, unstructured interviews as primary data collection tool, reading through textbooks, publications and surfing the internet as means of collecting secondary data and sampling procedures. The study applied qualitative data gathering techniques in order to have a full view and in-depth understanding of the subject. By the same token the study used Thematic and Content data analysis to analyze data gathered. The next chapter presents the results and findings of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, the research presented findings gathered in field research comprising of in-depth interviews with selected key informants as well as analysis and interpretation of data gathered from secondary sources like books, journals, newspapers and cyber garnered scholarly articles. From primary research, this chapter contains responses from the respondents as follows, Desk officer for the United Kingdom in the Policy and Research Department -Foreign Affairs and International Trade Ministry; Principal Director for National Budgets in the Finance Ministry and Departments; the Academia in areas of International Relations, Political science and Economics; and the Counsellor Political and Public Affairs Attaché at the Embassy of Britain. The chapter presented and analysed the data collected during the research answering the research questions.

4.2 Nature and Elements of the reengagement

The first objective of the study was to understand and explore the elements of Zimbabwe's reengagement process. To answer on the nature and elements of the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and the UK, answering whether reengagement was formal or not, the Counsellor Political and public Affairs Attaché at the British Embassy in Zimbabwe said that,

“Indeed reengagement is formal as it was started three years prior to the 2017 new dispensation and had been spearheaded by the former Ambassador, Catriona Laing. Since the new dispensation, the British embassy had heightened its interactions with the Zimbabwean government. He indicated that in the first four months of 2019, they had held 12 meetings with Zimbabwean Ministers, yet prior to the new dispensation, they met Ministers once a year. He further stated that Zimbabwe had recently opened a trade office in London as a sign of official reengagement.”

An official from the Ministry of Foreign affairs and International Trade also indicated that,

“Reengagement was formal, as Zimbabwe recently appointed an Ambassador to the UK to specifically handle issues of reengagement. He also indicated that there was formal liaison and sharing of notes between the Zimbabwe Embassy in London and officials from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, something that was non-existent in the old dispensation.”

From the Ministry of Finance and Economic development, the Principal Director, national Budgets, propounded that,

“Reengagement was now formal as the Ministry is now conducting meetings with the UK Department for International Trade (DFID).”

From the Zimbabwean government, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, in a speech noted that the main thrust of the foreign policy after the new dispensation included "Rapprochement and re-engagement". He postulated that,

“The main objective of the re-engagement process is to normalize all aspects of the country’s relations with the West. These include ending Zimbabwe’s estrangement from the Western world and re-opening lines of communication at the political level ; to achieve the removal of sanctions and all other punitive measures imposed on Zimbabwe in order to unleash the country’s full economic potential ; to restore confidence in our national economic policies and to project Zimbabwe as a nation that values democracy, respects human rights and the rule of law, upholds its international obligations, property rights and generally abides by all tenets of good governance ”(Newsday 4 April,2019).

To increase engagement, the government of Zimbabwe is of the view that it has taken necessary steps to improve the country's standing and attract investment. The official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated that,

“The first measure Zimbabwe took to reengage Britain was by showing clear commitment towards dialogue. He cited that since January 2018, President Mnangagwa dispatched about three special envoys to the UK, comprising

Honorable Patrick Chinamasa (January 2018), Wiston Chitando and Priscilla Mupfumira (March 2018) and Minister of Foreign Affairs, S.B Moyo (April 2018).”

In terms of modalities of engagement by other countries, Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated that, "A number of leading Western nations, including the USA, the UK, France , Germany etc have sent Special Envoys and delegations to the country since the dawn of the new era. The President has also sent Special Envoys to key Western countries, with messages of the Government’s willingness to open a new chapter and its desire to normalise relations"(Newsday 4 April 2019).

On the same note, Minister of Foreign Affairs noted other government efforts to reengagement as follows:

“Efforts are underway to create a conducive environment to attract significant and sustained FDI. Government is determined to protect all foreign investments including those covered by Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements (BIPPAs) . Government has resolved to address all BIPPA violations and to compensate all those whose investments were affected by the land reform programme. In the same spirit , the government is improving the ease of doing business in the country . Amendments have already been made to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act to reflect that the 51 - 49 percent requirement now only applies to natural resource- based investments in diamonds and platinum. But even these restrictions are under active review for possible relaxation and the further opening- up of our economy to those who would wish to invest in these highly lucrative sub - sectors . Foreign investors are welcome to do business in all other sectors.”

Meanwhile, the elements of the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and the UK were reported by the media, and specifically, The Independent (2019) as a preexisting reconstruction plan that has clear elements. According to the report,

“Zimbabwe recovery strategy and roadmap which Britain is supporting has various elements and markers: an economic stabilisation blueprint; fiscal policy shock; the Lima Plan and flying in of assessment missions to check if Harare is ready to negotiate with international financial institutions (IFIs), especially ahead of the annual International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank meetings in Bali, Indonesia; an International Advisory Council; Harare re-joining the Commonwealth, restoration of military-security co-operation between London and Harare, and securing funding”, noted an unnamed diplomat. The report further highlighted that “Zimbabwe’s economic bailout and recovery programme as well as a political reform package are designed to achieve, among other outcomes, economic revival and democratic restoration underpinned by respect for political, civil and human rights, as well as freedom, rule of law and property rights.”

In addition to local meetings, reengagement has largely been done through normal diplomatic channels, exchanges, meetings and communication through exchange visits of special envoys. The publication noted that,

"The first envoy from London to Harare was British Minister for Africa Rory Stewart who met Mnangagwa a few hours after his inauguration on November 24 2017, – 10 days after the coup. After that Sir Simon Gerard McDonald, permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Head of the Diplomatic Service, followed. And then Baldwin came in February before meeting (President) Mnangagwa in New York again on the sidelines of the (2019) United Nations General Assembly. Britain gave input to the government’s transitional economic stabilization programme overseeing the debt clearance strategy." According to Deputy Chief Secretary to the President and Cabinet (Presidential Communications) George Charamba, the UK was also involved in the Lima process by way of sending assessment missions to check preparedness of Zimbabwe to interact with multilateral financial institutions. (Ibid)

4.4 Impact of reengagement on economy

When asked about how reengagement policy was improving prospects of Zimbabwe getting international capital and finance, the British official said,

“Such a question could best be answered by the Zimbabwean government since the issue of debt clearance has been more of an obstacle to Zimbabwe getting new international capital.”

Meanwhile, from the perspective of the Ministry of Finance,

“It was too early to judge the economic impact of reengagement. He however indicated that there has been an increased flow of development aid to argument Zimbabwean social, economic and infrastructural development needs.”

Meanwhile, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that Zimbabwe views reengagement as a success. He postulated that,

“There has been overall enthusiasm and positive reaction to the President’s economic development vision -Vision 2030 - and the related policy pronouncements. A number of potential investors in such fields as energy, mining, manufacturing , agriculture and the tourism/ hospitality sectors have visited the country to explore, identify or firm- up on already identified investment opportunities. There is an encouraging level of regional and international interest in the ongoing exercise to privatise a number of our State Owned Enterprises : an exercise which is gathering momentum and is likely to see a significant dilution of Government shareholding in such Entities as TelOne, NetOne, IDBZ , Agribank and POSB amongst many others.”

He however contended that, “Whilst the new dispensation has generated a lot of goodwill towards Zimbabwe in the West, it is important to note that they have adopted a cautious approach and are still not yet persuaded to abandon the sanctions and other punitive measures imposed on the country since the early 2000’s”.The Oxford Analytica in its Daily Brief of September 2018 noted that “President Mnangagwa was expecting significant international good will and investment after the election ,yet the post-poll crackdown and resulting international condemnation has dampened such hopes.”This was also reinforced by The Independent report that indicated that, "Britain is in the thick of action, although other European Union states, especially big powers like Germany and France, remain neutral. Other donor countries treading carefully include Australia and Canada. China is ready to help subject to negotiations. The United States is digging in and has tightened sanctions, hence financial challenges."

On capital and investment access, British firms have led the way in providing Zimbabwe with funding, perhaps as a token gesture of thawing relations. According to the Independent,

"In May, the CDC Group plc, a development finance institution owned by the UK government, became the first British entity to extend a direct commercial loan to Zimbabwe in more than two decades, making available US\$100million facility to the private sector through one of that country's biggest international banks, Standard Chartered. CDC's CEO, Nick O'Donohoe was quoted in a GT Review(23May2018) article saying that, Our support will not only enable local companies to access finance in hard currency, but will demonstrate to commercial investors that the economic environment is ready for further financing."

In addition to this facility, in September 2018, the London based emerging market fund Gemcorp Group extended a US\$250million loan to Zimbabwe to help the country import essential goods like fuel and medicine." The Minister of Finance and Economic Development , Mthuli Ncube was quoted by Reuters (18September,2018) at the time saying

"The granting of the facility by Gemcorp is a strong signal by foreign investors of their growing confidence in Zimbabwe. I expect more investors to follow suit."

The new dispensation's reengagement efforts were cited by the British Official as one of the reasons why the UK was able to open a Department for International Trade in Zimbabwe while Zimbabwe has also opened a trade office in London. According to a Zimbabwe Mail report dated 12December2018, the UK's Department for International Trade (DIT) has set up an office in Harare, in a development that was seen as a significant boost for the Zimbabwe government's reengagement efforts. Total trade in goods and services between Zimbabwe and the UK was £385 million and Zimbabwe was the 100th biggest trading partner of the UK (DIT, 2019).

According to Tom Hill, DIT's head in Harare,

"The office had been established to protect and facilitate UK investment into Zimbabwe, advocate for changes to the business environment to unlock further trade and investment, and also work to develop local export capability to create more markets for UK goods and services in the long -

term, positioning the UK as the partner of choice for Zimbabwe. He indicated that to achieve this, DIT was working closely with the likes of ZimTrade to create more export opportunities for Zimbabwean business in sectors such as agri-business, and are working to build the brand of Zimbabwean produce in the UK. In addition to this, Hill revealed that the DIT was also working with partners in the UK government, such as the Department for International Development and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, to ensure that efforts to support the macro-economic recovery in Zimbabwe are aligned with support for UK business overseas” (Ibid). Thus, to some extent, reengagement was seen as facilitating the opening of closed avenues between the two countries.”

4.5 UK Reengagement and Reforms Demands

On the question related to demands for reforms as part of reengagement, the official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated that,

“As much as reengagement was going on, there was increased and needless pressure by the UK for Zimbabwe to reform. This was despite the fact that Zimbabwe had taken crucial steps and measures to reform the economic and political architecture in the country. To some extent, the pressure forms were now a subtle push for regime change agenda which has stood since the days of the old dispensation. Zimbabwe will not reform at the dictation of anyone other than on its terms and for the benefit of its own people”

The above sentiments were also echoed by the Ministry of Finance official, who said that,

“Demands for reforms were pulling Zimbabwe behind as UK was putting multiple demands for reforms even when their previous demands have been met, showing an element of inconsistency. The official also indicated that reforms were being used as an albatross for reengagement as UK and other powers were taking advantage of the fact that in the SADC region, no financial institutions and banks can provide lending to Zimbabwe as they fear sanctions.”

From the British perspective, the Attaché intimated that,

“International engagement only occurs when there are reforms, without economic and political reforms, Zimbabwe will not get any financial assistance it so requires.”

This position dovetails with what former Ambassador to Zimbabwe Catriona Laing said in December 2016 where she clearly spelt out the role of the UK in Zimbabwe's reengagement with International Financial Institutions (IFIs), where it has influence. In response to a question by Faith Zaba of The Independent (9 December, 2016), on the role of the UK government and other countries in the Lima process?” Laing stated that,

“The UK could bail out Zimbabwe with funds if it reforms. She highlighted that the economic reform package is necessary, but not sufficient for us as the members of the boards of the IMF, the World Bank and the AfDB. The executive directors sitting on these boards will receive instruction from their capitals, London, Paris, Washington and so on as to how they should intervene.”

In addition, Liang gave out the conditions for engagement and assistance to Zimbabwe as permanent and unavoidable. She highlighted that,

"We have made it clear as the international community, very much spearheaded by us as the UK in line with our government's commitment that we want to see improvements in government's rule of law and human rights, as well as the economic reform plan. Frankly, the board will not take these decisions until pretty much everything is nailed down, the arrears clearance, the economic reform plan as well as the governance, the rule of law and human rights and the Paris Club. That has been made very clear to the government. They know that this is a difficult process and the hurdles are high. But frankly, there isn't another pathway for Zimbabwe. Whichever government is in charge, whoever is running the country, will have to go through this process. There is no alternative."(Ibid).

To support this position, an economics lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe said in an interview, “That demands for institutional reforms were a result of human rights abuses in the country, and as long as there are no reforms in that regard, reengagement efforts were a futile attempt.”

4.6 Impact of sanctions on Reengagement efforts

On the third research objective, that sought to understand the challenges being faced by Zimbabwe as she re-engages with the United Kingdom and by extension, the international community. To answer the question secondary data pointed to the effects of sanctions on reengagement, Minister of Foreign Affairs, recognized that the UK and other Western countries had given conditions to Zimbabwe's reengagement thrust. He further indicated that,

"All major Western countries have declared that the most critical benchmark for the removal of those sanctions is concrete evidence of both economic and political reforms. It is clear therefore that re-engagement will be more of a process than an event: that it will be anchored in confidence- building measures, sending the right signals with regard to reform and with regard to our commitment to the conduct of 'decent politics': and the pursuit of economic policies that will restore and sustain macro- economic stability and that will provide guarantees on Government's intentions to meet its international obligations."

To this end, sanctions have been maintained on the government to force it to conform to the dictates of the West.

While the new government was targeting annual economic growth rate of at least 6% over the next five years, planning to attract US\$5bn in foreign direct investment (FDI) and US\$10bn in domestic investment a year, according to the UN, the country secured just US\$89mn of FDI in 2018. According to John Lentaigne, chief underwriting officer at the African Trade Insurance Agency (ATI), investors are spooked by two particular challenges other than the country's regime change. The first is around certain US sanctions,

"Which make finance incredibly tricky and slows down the ability to transact", secondly he spoke of the on going currency issue, including foreign currency shortage where, it is difficult to transfer funds from an international bank to a Zimbabwean company account."

In his Independence Day speech, President Mnangagwa said sanctions were a deterrent to the country's development. He highlighted on the progress made so far in the reengagement process.

Various strategic engagements have resulted in the signing of 25 bilateral cooperation agreements and concrete investments. However, the government is calling for the unconditional removal of the illegal and unjustified economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe.

Findings of the study noted that sanctions affected capital inflows as financial institutions handling funds to and from Zimbabwe were targeted with US sanctions. In 2017, CBZ was subject to OFAC investigations over 15,127 transactions, carried on behalf of then sanctioned ZB Bank. OFAC was reported to have imposed a penalty of US\$385 million on the bank, leading CBZ to sack its CEO and issue a cautionary. OFAC regulations are partly why many international banks have cut off Zimbabwe. In addition, Standard Chartered Bank Plc in April 2019 was fined US\$18 million by the US government for violating American sanctions on Zimbabwe by handling transactions for state-owned firms and sanctioned individuals.

It can thus be said that sanctions measures continue to scare away investors willing to invest money into Zimbabwe and positively impact on the economy. According to RBZ data, Zimbabwe has over the past decade lost 102 correspondent banking relationships (CBRs), the links that make it possible for a customer to make international payments. This dovetails with the official from the Ministry of Finance's sentiments that, it was very difficult for Zimbabwe to find any correspondence bank to assist it due to the sanctions.

4.7 Challenges to the reengagement process

Political developments in Zimbabwe have been cited by Minister of MFA as a set back to reengagement. On the hand, Britain responded harshly to the 14 January 2019 demonstrations and alleged heavy handedness of the Zimbabwean security forces to the situation. According to Newsday of February 6, 2019,

“Presenting evidence before the parliamentary committee on international development, Britain's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Harriet Baldwin, said until soldiers who killed civilians are brought to book, no international bailout would be extended to Zimbabwe. The report further noted Baldwin's proposal to add names of people involved in recent human rights violations to the sanctions list as part of new punitive measures against Mnangagwa's

government. Specifically with regards to sanctions, the UK has been urging that it is not the right time for the sanctions to expire.”

Geopolitical events were touted by David Mutori (2019) as likely to impact Zimbabwe's economic outlook, especially under the reengagement policy. He noted that,

“One pillar of the ‘new dispensation’ in Zimbabwe’s approach to the economy is re-engagement with the wider world following years of isolation under former president Robert Mugabe’s rule, however, relies on events that take place in the countries that Zimbabwe is trying to connect with. The UK’s political and economic outlook is dominated by Brexit. The type of exit deal that the UK will secure from the EU may determine its approach to trade and political relationships with other countries like Zimbabwe. We have already seen overtures from the UK that they are open to re-engaging with Zimbabwe and there are clear signs that the UK is scaling up its presence in Zimbabwe. There is an increase of Zimbabwe products in UK supermarkets which indicates that links are being woven together at different levels. The pace of re-engagement is likely to shift from the beginning of 2019 as the UK prepares for a no deal Brexit”.

4.8 Reengagement and Brexit

A question on how Brexit politics is going to affect reengagement was answered by the British Official in two ways.

“Firstly, Brexit was not a challenge to the current reengagement efforts since UK has a soft spot for Zimbabwe. Secondly, Brexit was actually going to present new opportunities to Zimbabwe as the UK was renegotiating its trade pacts with certain countries like Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles, and Zimbabwe. Previously the trade relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK had been treated under the auspices of the European Union - East and Southern African States Economic Partnership Agreement EU-ESA EPA. And following the British efforts to exit out of the EU, the UK made efforts to ring fence its trade with the afore mentioned countries.”

The above sentiments are supported by a statement that was issued by the Department for International Trade on 10 October 2018, in which it mentions a joint meeting of the UK and Eastern

and Southern Africa states (ESA) on a future UK-ESA Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) to ensure trade continuity that was held in Johannesburg, South Africa, on 6 to 7 September to continue discussions on maintaining the current trade relationship between the UK and the ESA countries after the UK leaves the EU."

On future prospects of reengagement, the British official noted that,

"Reengagement was going to be successful but at a very slow pace than anticipated as Zimbabwe was somewhat failing to institute reforms timeously. He gave the example of Gambia which he said undertook reforms after a political transition and was reintegrated into the international community."

A Ministry of Foreign Affairs Official indicated that,

"From the Zimbabwean perspective, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was very hopeful that the reengagement process was going to improve, possibly after the settling of the Brexit question in the UK. And when reengagement is complete, Zimbabwe was set to benefit more out of it."

Besseling, executive director of EXX Africa, also shares the same view the relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe has warmed in the wake of the UK's Brexit vote; and the UK is actively promoting debt write-offs in exchange for a commitment to reform. The same sentiments were proffered by Ministry of Finance Official, as part of the research interview.

Meanwhile, one academic, from the Women's University said,

"That prospect for further reengagement was low as there is no trust between London and Harare. He argued that, "the former feels that the current dispensation is pursuing retrogressive policies with the latter of the view that London intends to increase its neocolonial foothold through proxies or agents under the guise of reforms."

4.10 CONCLUSION

From the interviews carried out and desktop secondary research that was undertaken, it was ascertained that reengagement between Zimbabwe and the UK was a formal process that had

improved bilateral cooperation between the two countries. It was noted that reengagement was being affected by conditions for reforms as well as the current sanctions imposed on the country. It was also established that reengagement takes time to bear fruits. However, majority of the respondents had faith that reengagement was going to positively impact on Zimbabwe as witnessed by various maneuvers being undertaken by both countries.

Chapter Five

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary of the study findings, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research. The study established that the nature and elements of the Zimbabwe - United Kingdom reengagement is formal, and is being pursued by both countries since the New Dispensation. The study further came to an understanding that sanctions are having a negative impact on Zimbabwe's reengagement efforts. In the conclusion, the study noted that the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and UK intensified after the new dispensation, but has in the short term, failed to change the fortunes of Zimbabwe. Furthermore it has been concluded that reengagement is a two way process that needs time to bear fruits.

5.2 SUMMARY OF STUDY

Chapter one gave the background of the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom after the new political dispensation. The chapter further explained the purpose of the study as well as the problem statement which necessitated the need for the study to be carried out. The significance of Zimbabwe's reengagement with the United Kingdom based on the assumption that Zimbabwe was going to benefit from the reengagement process was also discussed in chapter one. Study objectives, research questions and limitations of the study were also stated in this chapter.

Chapter two captured related literature on the re-engagement process. Two theories, the utilitarian theory and the world systems theory were used in this research to explain Zimbabwe reengagement process with the UK after the new dispensation. Utilitarianism theory states that any action has moral worthiness if it brings about the greatest net happiness to greatest number of people (Driver, 2009). The world systems theory explains social change in terms of economic relations within the international community (Wallerstein, 2004). The chapter also explained the research gap that the research wanted to fill, which aimed at finding out the elements that influence reengagement processes. Literature review exposed the manner in which super powers in the international arena use sanctions to force weaker nations to implement reforms that have direct benefit to them. Some

of the countries that were victims of these sanctions are Cuba, Iran, Iraq and North Korea. Iraq ultimately gave in to these demands and allowed UN to go ahead with weapon inspection, which the UN used to attack as Iraq was alleged to be harboring weapons of mass destruction.

Chapter three detailed the research methodology the research used and qualitative research was done. The case study approach was chosen as a research design in discussing Zimbabwe-UK reengagement, research population was carefully selected, the research used purposive sampling in gathering the data that pertain to Zimbabwe's reengagement with the United Kingdom after the new political dispensation. Thematic and content analysis method was used to analyze data gathered through interviews and desk research.

Chapter four discussed the research findings which include unless Zimbabwe implements political, economic and social reforms the reengagement process will not bear any fruits. Furthermore reengagement is a two way process that demands willingness of both parties. The chapter also addressed the research questions and objectives. The research concluded that Zimbabwe's reengagement with the United Kingdom is formal and is progressing in the right direction though it is a process that takes time.

Chapter five gave the research summary, conclusions which include that political change from the Mugabe era to Mnangagwa era has largely been seen by the UK government and other Western countries as "old wine in new bottles". Recommendations were also proffered in relation to the research findings .One of the recommendations include Zimbabwean government must reform so as to unlock the full potential of the reengagement process .Areas for further research were also suggested basing on the recommendations of the study.

5.3 C ONCLUSIONS

The first objective of the research was to understand and explore the elements of Zimbabwe's reengagement process. Findings of the research indicated that the reengagement process was formal as evidenced by Zimbabwe`s trade office that it opened in London as a sign of official reengagement. Furthermore UK also opened a trade office in Harare signifying the will to continue

reengagement between Zimbabwe and UK. According to Lynch (2002), engagement rested on a strategic mode of action, in which the building of interdependencies and dialogues were instrumental policies to change the target state. The policy of engagement carries within it the potential for a communicative mode of action; however, in which states enter into public dialogues in order to more effectively communicate, discover and shape preferences, and arrive at mutually acceptable institutions. Communicative engagement, designed to allow for the free exchange of reasoned argument under conditions which minimize the direct application of power, provides a superior means to achieve the avowed goals of engagement. Zimbabwe has improved its communication with the UK as alluded to by the Foreign Affairs official who stated that there is improved communication and sharing of notes between the two countries. Meanwhile, the elements of the reengagement process between Zimbabwe and the UK were reported by the media, and specifically, The Independent (2019) as a preexisting reconstruction plan that has clear elements. According to the report,

“Zimbabwe recovery strategy and roadmap which Britain is supporting has various elements and markers: an economic stabilisation blueprint; fiscal policy shock; the Lima Plan and flying in of assessment missions to check if Harare is ready to negotiate with international financial institutions (IFIs), especially ahead of the annual International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank meetings in Bali, Indonesia; an International Advisory Council; Harare re-joining the Commonwealth, restoration of military-security co-operation between London and Harare, and securing funding”, noted an unnamed diplomat.

The second objective was to establish and refine the understanding of Zimbabwe – UK reengagement process. The study established that the process is complex as it comes with demands for political, economic and social reforms which the Zimbabwean government is finding difficult to meet. The former British ambassador Catriona Liang, gave out the conditions for reengagement and assistance to Zimbabwe as permanent and unavoidable. She highlighted that,

"We have made it clear as the international community, very much spearheaded by us as the UK in line with our government's commitment that we want to see improvements in government's rule of law and human rights, as well as the economic reform plan. Frankly, the board will not take these decisions until pretty much everything is nailed down, the arrears clearance, the economic reform plan as well as the governance, the rule of law and human rights and the Paris Club. That

has been made very clear to the government” (The Independent, 2016). From Liang’s statement above the British have set conditions that the Government of Zimbabwe has found difficulty to implement thereby delaying the smooth implementation of the reengagement process.

The findings of the research conform to Nincic (2012)’s assertion in his study titled, *The Logic of Positive Engagement* observed that, “American foreign-policy makers tend to resort to “negative pressures,” such as the use of force, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions. Less appreciated and less understood, Nincic argues, are the tools and strategies of “engagement,” policies that use positive inducements to alter the incentives and orientations of other states, no international bailout would be extended to Zimbabwe.” The Zimbabwean government as postulated by (Nincic 2012) is under pressure to implement reforms that would ultimately led to Zanu Pf being pushed out of power. The study findings also concur with the theoretical framework of Utilitarianism and World Systems Theory which underpinned this study. Given that the Zimbabwe government pinned its hopes for unconditional engagement with the UK after the New Dispensation. Under the mantra, “Zimbabwe is open for Business”, President Mnangagwa's government heralded an economic and business oriented approach to governance and foreign policy. However, the Utilitarian theory notes that countries choose to act from the most ethical choice and moral persuasions that produces greater good for the greatest population. Given that the West has largely justified its imposition of sanctions on alleged human rights and property rights violations by the Zimbabwe government and other political reforms as a moral obligation guiding UK's measured response to reengagement. This was clearly spelt out by the British Minister for Africa, Harriett Baldwin in the aftermath of the 14 January 2019 disturbances and army crackdown on protesters. She noted that the “UK will not be able to support Zimbabwe’s application to re-join the Commonwealth because we (UK) don’t believe in the kind of human rights violations by the security forces”. She added that following the violence, it was difficult to argue whether it was “the time for the UK to be stepping up to the plate and working with international partners” and if any progress was expected to happen, it “will have to happen in terms of political reforms in Zimbabwe”(The Independent, 2016). Hence, an element of real or perceived moral persuasion could be the reason why the engagement process between Zimbabwe and the UK has largely remained much of a talk than an experience felt by ordinary Zimbabweans.

The third objective was to understand the challenges being faced by Zimbabwe as she re-engages with the United Kingdom and by extension, the international community. The study also noted that sanctions and demands for reforms were the twin tools the UK, assisted by the US were using to influence the reengagement process between the two countries. The World Systems Theory also applied to the study as the findings have shown that the UK has taken a conditional approach to reengagement. For Zimbabwe to be accepted back into the family of international states and remove the pariah status, it is becoming evident by day that it has to conform to the dictates of the UK or remain where it is. As stated by Wallerstein (2004), “hegemonic great powers have been able to establish rules of the game in the inter-state system, to dominate the world economy and to get their way politically.” Thus it comes as no surprise that the USA continues to wield sanctions on Zimbabwe to reform as a stick, while the UK seems to be wielding the carrot of reengagement, all tools being used on Zimbabwe to either way force it to reform.

Dore (2018) supports this assertion and highlighted that “One of the key lessons that Francis Fukuyama describes in his book *Political Order and Political Decay*, is that the drive for change rarely comes from those elites with entrenched interests in the existing system.” She further argues that “Reforms historically come from coalitions of ethically-grounded social groups demanding clean and efficient government. Hence expectations of any significant change from the Mnangagwa government are probably misplaced. Such view might be close to the British view of the current reengagement efforts, in which no concrete returns can be alluded. The Economist (2018) added to this view by concluding that “much more will have to change before Zimbabwe can really be called open for Business.” Thus the study concludes that the reengagement between Zimbabwe and the UK has largely remained indirect, with no official guidelines to have immediate effects the economy.

The last objective of the study was to proffer recommendations on Zimbabwe’s Re-engagement process and its experiences. From the research findings it can be recommended that the reforms that are being pushed for by UK are a necessary evil, they are basic human rights that are long over due in Zimbabwe. If political reforms are implemented they would be limited interference of security forces in social issues and people will enjoy their right to demonstrate without fear of the security forces heavy handedness. Kahler and Kastner (2004) postulates that, another

engagement policy is the deliberate expanding of economic ties with an adversary in order to change the behaviour of the target state and to effect an improvement in bilateral political relations. This is achievable only when the Zimbabwe government implements some of the political and economic reforms. The study established that if the World Systems theory is also juxtaposed to the current study, Zimbabwe is a peripheral weaker state and reforms it needs to undertake are expected to benefit the core (UK) and the failure being continued estrangement economically and politically.

The study concludes that despite the Zimbabwe - UK reengagement's failure to yield and produce immediate and tangible impact on the economic front, it has laid a base and platform for enhanced diplomatic engagement and opened up some barriers to communication. This has seen the reopening of credit lines between the two countries and further encourages other countries to consider investing in Zimbabwe. The reengagement process has also resulted in the establishment of a trade focused relationship rather than informal development aid focused engagement that existed during the old dispensation since 2000. Instead of limiting its activities in Zimbabwe through DFID, the UK has roped in DTI, so as to increase import and export of goods and services between the two countries. This finding is significant in that it brings investor confidence and has potential to attract capital to Zimbabwe thus assisting in the economic reconstruction and development.

5.3 Recommendations of the study

- The study recommends that since the Zimbabwe government is going to benefit more from the reengagement process it is of paramount importance that the Zimbabwean government implements some of the reforms in the political, economic and social spheres which are important as it will be observing fundamental basic human rights which the west clamor for.
- The study also recommends that Britain and the United States suspend or remove all forms of sanctions and or restrictions (whether smart or not) for the reengagement process to be sincere. The removal of sanctions will thus put away one of the key demands of the Zimbabwean government towards the international community.

- It is also the study's recommendation that the demands by the UK are difficult to meet hence Zimbabwe should not disregard its Look East Policy or show pointers of disregarding the look East Policy as they will remain with no friend.. Giving concessions or making promises to all countries with no particular ally among five great powers has potential to breed mistrust and this may have accounted for Zimbabwe's failure to secure a bail out from both China and the UK.
- There is need for the Zimbabwean government to improve on its political and economic communication as the country's image was being affected by media oriented perspective that shows Zimbabwe as not reforming.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

How the Zimbabwean government should benefit from the Look East Policy with particular focus on concessions being signed between Zimbabwe and China. The Chinese should play a pivotal role in resuscitating the manufacturing sector. This relationship will be of mutual benefit to the two countries without any conditions as evidenced by this research,in which UK is making demands.

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