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## FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

## DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

## *An analysis of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication Strategies from 1980-2008*

**BY**

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1. This dissertation is suitable for submission to the Department of Politics and Public Management. It has been checked for conformity with the department guidelines.

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Mr .W. Mudyanadzo (Supervisor)          Date

2. I certify to the best of my knowledge that the required procedures have been followed and the preparation criteria has been met for the dissertation.

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*B . S c .   H o n o u r s   i n   P o l i t i c s   a n d   P u b l i c   M a n a g e m e n t*

## DECLARATION

I, Pardon Chabata (R113963X), do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigation and research, except to the extent indicated in the acknowledgements, references and comments included in the body of the dissertation, and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or to any other university.


_____                    _____

 Pardon Chabata (R113963X)                    Date

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this research study to my late father MrFungai Chabata & my mother Mrs Chabata and all my family members with love. Through their treasured support and motivation, I was able to complete this research project.

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I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the assistance from a number of people who contributed to the completion of this project. Firstly I give all the honour and glory to God for without Him all this would have not been possible. I would also want to acknowledge the help from my parents and family members for without them the journey was going to be very tough. Completion of this research project would not have been possible had it not been for the joint efforts of various persons who sacrificed their time to help me.

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**ABBREVIATIONS**

| | |
|---|---|
| ACP | African, Caribbean and Pacific |
| BC | Before Computers |
| C.A. | Christian Alliance |
| CCZ | Crisis Coalition of Zimbabwe, |
| CHOGM | Common Wealth Heads of Government Meeting |
| E-10 | Ten elected Members of the Security Council |
| EDF | European Development Funds |
| EIB | European Investment Bank |
| FP | Foreign Policy |
| FYDP | Five Year Development Plan |
| GoZ | Government of Zimbabwe |
| GWEP | Growth with Equity Policy |
| ICTs | Information and Communication Technologies |
| IFIs | International Financial Institutions |
| IGOs | International Governmental Organizations |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| MA | Media Alliance |
| MDC | Movement for Democratic Change |
| MFA | Ministries of Foreign Affairs |
| MNCs | Multi-National Cooperation's |
| N.C.A. | National Constitutional Assembly |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organizations |

| | |
|---|---|
| NSAs | Non State Actors |
| PD | Public Diplomacy |
| PF-ZAPU | Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic-Front |
| TNDP | Transitional National Development Plan |
| VCDR | Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations |
| W.H.O | World Health Organisation |
| WOZA/MOZA | Woman/Men of Zimbabwe Arise |
| ZANU PF | Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front |
| ZCTU | Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, |
| ZDHR | Zimbabwe Doctors for Human Rights, |
| ZINASU | Zimbabwe National Students Union |
| ZLHR | Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights |

## ABSTRACT

*This dissertation makes an assessment of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication Strategies and analyse the impact exerted by these strategies on the political, social and economic welfare of the country.Over the years diplomacy has been regarded as a less important aspect of a country's development since the way states and their subjects communicates to the outside world have been trivialised and thus side-lining the power of actions and the spoken word. Zimbabwe among other 3$^{rd}$ world countries have implored actions of subordination and use of derogatory terms to muscle out competition and to keep external influence at a distance in the country's internal affairs. Thus the research seek to understand how these actions have directly or indirectly contributed to the failure of Zimbabwe's diplomatic relations at local, regional and international level. The power struggle that have been in existence in Zimbabwe since 1980 have greatly contributed to the division of the country's policies between the EAST and the WEST, thus ushering in an ideological warfare of communism versus capitalism and the means of communication adopted influenced the origins, nature and impact of domestic and foreignpolicies adopted by Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2008. The dissertation presents a platform for intense understanding of how actions (Signals) and spoken word (Verbal Communication) influence the direction of a country's international relations through analysing its domestic and foreign policies. However Diplomatic Communication also dwells much on Written Communication which will be explained in brief even though not the principal component of the research. The dissertation deliberately side-lines written communication since it has been treated as a sensitive field thus due to fear of information scarcity the dissertation concentrate on Signals and Verbal Communication as components of the study. It is through this research that recommendations on how to improve diplomatic relations through proper and acceptable communication strategies are proffered. The paper makes wide ranging use of newspaper evidence, parliamentary debates, oral evidence, speeches and observations. Thus dwelling much on secondary data.*

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## CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

### 1.0. Introduction

Zimbabwe has gone through several phases of development with emphasis placed upon the outcome of actions(signals) and spoken word (verbal communication) rather than the unforeseen implications of these trivialised components of diplomacy. It has been a norm that state leaders in Africa at large have made public proclamations and sanctioned barbaric actions of aggressiveness against their enemies or competitors to centralise power and maintain their status quo. However such aspects have plunged Africa as a whole into political, social and economic strife thus leading the masses to being poor and the elite being superior and richer. This dissertation paves way for an understanding of the implications posed by these actions of subornation and the extent to which they have compromised Zimbabwe's political, social and economic situation. Furthermore, it is through this research that Zimbabwe's diplomatic relations with the outside world is scrutinised at both regional and international level to uncover the intentions and immediate outcome of Zimbabwe's diplomatic relations with the international and regional community. Due to the evolutionary nature of diplomacy the dissertation will also assess the role played by Information Communication Technologies' (ICTS)in aiding diplomatic communication and the factors that have greatly influenced its adoption within the diplomatic circles especially in 3$^{rd}$ world countries like Zimbabwe.

### 1.1. Background of the Study

### 1.1.1. The Background of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication (1980- 2008)

Zimbabwe's  foreign policy can  be traced back to the peaceful co-existence of Kingdoms with well-developed political institutions, which first encountered foreign contact when the Portuguese moved  from  the  Indian  Ocean  coast  to  landlocked  Zimbabwe  in  the 1830's,  followed  by  the British  explorers and  missionaries.  Therefore contemporary diplomacy in Zimbabwe has been shaped by the practice of its former colonial masters, Britain, which declared the country a protectorate of Great Britain in 1894 until 1980 when Zimbabwe attained her independence. The conduct of foreign relations has been evolving and

changing with the post-colonial regimes and on the regional and international front although foreign relations were unpredictable and often erratic. Zimbabwe had a mixed foreign policy, ranging from dealing with the Soviet Union and China in increasing military capability to being an inconsistent policy implementer driven by the hatred of the colonial era that was instigated by Britain and the WEST at large. When the ZANU PF government paved way for a one party state in 1980; it solidified intense vote rigging which paved way for a phase of political, social and economic instability in the preceding decades after independence.

Upon attainment of independence there was high suspicion among Zimbabweans who had participated in the war of liberation based on ethnicity. Considering that the two major ethnic categories of Zimbabwe had participated equally in the struggle, the dilemma of who should occupy what position was critical thus paving way for the utterances of a party state. This gave rise to massive human torture and killing on grounds that they harboured anti-government forces and nurtured revolutionary and treason perceptions. Thus reshaped the composition of parliament and the way in which diplomacy was to be conducted in the near future.

Immediately after the attainment of independence, Zimbabwe was divided among the major frontiers ZANU and Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic-Front (PF-ZAPU) which contributed greatly to the future of diplomacy. This paved way for high rates of suspicion against each other thus breeding Factionalism among the Ndebele and Shona speaking people. Such a background of mistrust and pulling in opposite directions made it hard to speak of a functional Government for some time in Zimbabwe as the issues of governance continuously lost their value. The civil service had broken down; all the Government Departments were run down and the countryside were characterized by insurgency thus diplomatic communication was suspicious due to scattered allegiance both to the sitting government and the ethnic mistrust period.

Communication between the colonial masters in Britain and the Kingdom leaders in Zimbabwe was through telegrams and exchange of Envoys who travelled by Ship or road. The use of technology telephones, fax and computers generally followed global trends with most technological benefits reaching developing countries like Zimbabwe years after invention. Telephone use can be traced back to the 1960s in Zimbabwe and internet use to the late 1990s.

**1.1.2. Why is diplomacy treated secretly by countries?**

The traditional way of conducting government affairs with other countries was strictly for the trusted government officials since there has been fear of spying and access to sensitive information by counterparts thus creating a competing arena for supremacy. Thus the existence of black boxes in Diplomacy justifies the reason that political affairs have no permanent friends but rather permanent interests as argued by realist theorists in their explanation of the jungle nature of international politics which governs foreign relations. This has prompted government departments to carefully execute their daily duties and perfect their communication strategies to leave no room for human error. A clear insight of diplomacy also improves an individual's ability to appreciate other aspects of international politics. The argument brought forward by other scholars suggests that diplomacy is a set of mechanisms that help states avoid unwarranted or unexpected crisis escalation and achieve peaceful settlements that military instruments or coercive diplomacy cannot achieve. Thus through the research methods this component was maintained and information was given out selectively with caution.

The Zimbabwean system of governance is based much on suspicion and mistrust thus the Zanu Pf government has put in place a system that stamp out all possible criticism internally and externally. The government has made it priority to capacitate its local and international officials with skills and training from the secret service. This would allow them to source information and to be ahead of all incidences before they occur. Thus due to fear of opposition and regime change the government inherited a very secretive and confidential intelligent system from the colonial era and maintained it, thus further maintaining secrecy code.

The international community is according to Hobbes a jungle thus in order to survive there is need for treating relations with caution. In Zimbabwean scenario, Mugabe upon independence inherited a well functional economic base that was aided by financial support from the West. Mugabe enjoyed privileges from the west with him having family businesses there and he attained the Knightship of England thus making him a very close ally of the queen however all these privileges began to be stripped off him and the country thus justifying the fact that in politics there are no permanent friends but rather permanent interests. It is this background that highlights the reason why States like Zimbabwe have treated their diplomatic relations secretly.

Thus in its duty execution and communication with the outside world the ministry of foreign affairs is mandated to cautiously conduct its business and to test the waters before fully immersing itself in ties. The Ministry's Functions are thus treated secretly and information released only when deemed necessary. This has influenced the channel and system of communication to be tactful and eloquent without instances of ambiguity.

### 1.1.3. What are the main functions of the Ministry of foreign Affairs

*Functions of the ministry of Foreign*

The ministry of foreign affairs have implored different communication strategies to meet the demands of their set targets and objectives. According to the ministry's website, *http://www.zimfa.gov.zw/*the country is tasked to perform the following functions through any means of communication deemed possible:

a) to formulate and execute Zimbabwe's foreign policy, including the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations;

b) to serve as a point of contact for foreign representatives in Zimbabwe, other countries and international organisations wishing to do business with Zimbabwe;

c) to promote good political, economic, social and cultural relations with other countries in order to safeguard Zimbabwe's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as to enable it to realise its developmental aspirations;

d) to nurture and foster regional and international peace through participation in regional and international peace - keeping operations and conflict prevention, management and resolution;

e) to lead in the negotiation of bilateral and multilateral treaties and conventions and ensure compliance with their provisions in order to derive maximum benefits attendant thereto;

f) to co - ordinate the search for new trade, investment and tourism opportunities and promote co - operation in science and technology with other countries and multilateral institutions;

g) to cater for the consular requirements of Zimbabwean nationals and assist in the repatriation of destitute and/or stranded Zimbabwean nationals abroad as well as repatriation of the remains of Zimbabweans who die abroad;

h) to administer the Zimbabwe Privileges and Immunities Act in conjunction with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic and Consular Relations; and

i) to create awareness of Government policies within the diplomatic circles
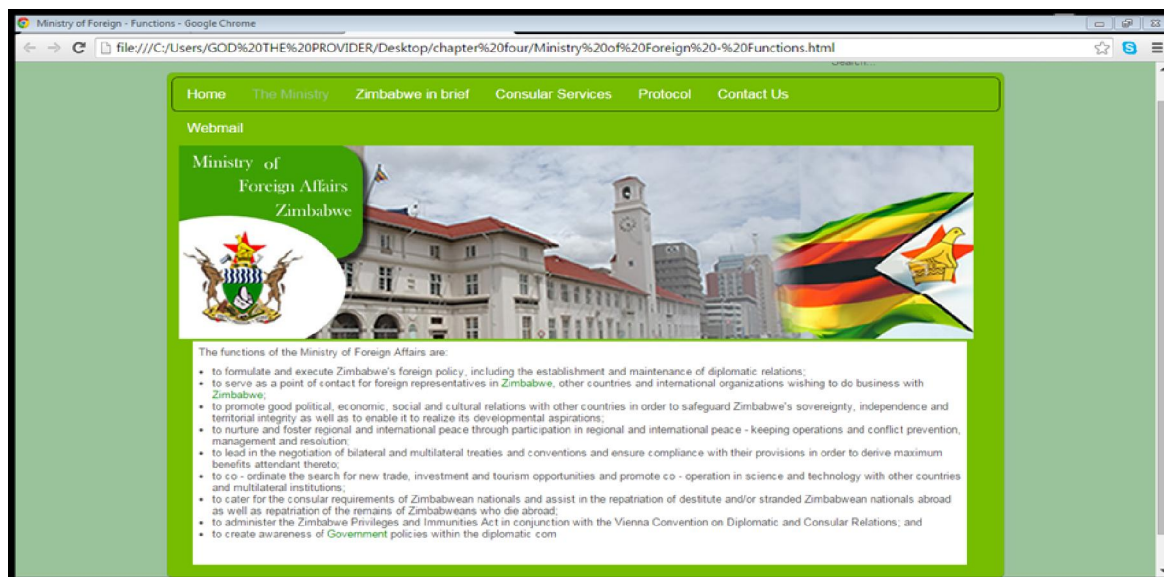


**Fig 1 (Screen short showing the functions of the ministry of foreign affairs accessed at http://www.zimfa.gov.zw/ on the 13 March 2015)**

### 1.1.4. Understanding of Diplomatic Communication

*Communication is to diplomacy as blood is to the human body. Whenever communication ceases, the body of international politics, the process of diplomacy, is dead, and the result is violent conflict or atrophy (Tran, 1987, p. 8).*

The field of communication is on its own ambiguous and calls for practitioners in different fields of work to properly give their time to the capacitation and development of communication skills. It has (communication) been arguably singled out as one of the main cause of conflict due to sarcasm of the harm insinuated by verbal, non-verbal and written forms of communication. The international community thus saw it fit to address the way

states communicate to have a standard form of communication that binds the conduct of international politics were diplomacy is inevitably a key component.

Certainly communication is the salvation of diplomatic missions, which according to ARTICLE 3 of the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations(VCDR) (2005, p.3), serve the purpose of;

a) Representing the sending State in the receiving State;

b) Protecting in the receiving State the interests of the sending State and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law;

c) Negotiating with the Government of the receiving State;

d) Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State;

e) Promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.

Diplomacy is regarded as "a tool of international relations which involves "…nonviolent problem-solving through cross-cultural communication, negotiation, and compromise Copeland (2009, p.5) alludes to the importance of communication in diplomacy. The term "diplomacy" originated from the Greek verb diploun, "to double," and from the Greek noun diploma, which refers to an official document written on double leaves joined together and folded. Diploma has the double connotations of a secret message and an official paper conferring certain rights to the bearer (cited in Jönsson and Hall, 2005, P.67). This also emphasizes the centrality of communication in diplomacy.

Traditionally, communication was pre-occupied with State actors only; however, this has changed with the increasing involvement of Non State Actors (NSAs) who now play an increasingly important role in international relations. Brown and Miller classify Non-State Actors into two categories: International governmental organizations (IGOs) and transnational or international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (cited in Ataman, 2003). They argue that the first group consists of NSAs that are created by nation-states and that they are officially documented by government agencies while the second group of non-state international actors is not established by nation-states, but

by certain group of individuals, businessmen and other societal forces and have no legal bonds with nation-states; therefore, they are truly transnational.

The National Intelligence council (2007) also defines Non State Actors as; "Non-sovereign entities that exercise significant economic, political, or social power and influence at a national and in some cases international, level". This includes; trade unions, Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), terrorist groups, community organizations, religious institutions, ethnic groupings, celebrities, business entities, the media and universities, among other actors.

### 1.1.5. Diplomatic Communication

Fundamentally, diplomatic communication is the acquaintance of states' inclinations so that they can identify whether and where their areas of concern overlap in the bargaining range in order to avoid conflict and war.According to J̈onsson and Hall (2005) communication is regarded as the core of diplomacy and its success is as a result of creation of proper communication strategies. Fearon (1994) was singled out to be a great proponent of the significance of diplomatic communication to diplomacy as he further downplay the utility of diplomacy without information credibility as nothing but a shear wastage of resources.

Analysis shows that the machineries of diplomacy do not hinge on their informational function; diplomacy often brings about new resolutions of conflict that military cannot provide. The lack of concrete diplomatic strategies alternative to coercive diplomacy represents a major gap in international security.

The standard rationalist theory of war and coercive diplomacy in perspective is pre-occupied with the assessment of effectiveness of diplomacy and military intervention in addressing looming problems of international order and security.

Diplomacy is an institutional solution to Strategic problems hampering peace and security, such as bargaining failure between States. Throughout history, state leaders have responded to various political and security challenges with some successes and some failures. At times those responses involved institutional innovations. In historical hindsight, diplomacy can be seen as having evolved as a set of norms and institutions to address various strategic issues at various historical turning points. The rationality of diplomacy is embedded in idiosyncratic features of diplomatic institutions that may otherwise seem irrational.

If information failure may prevent peaceful settlement of a dispute, one feasible solution is to allow states to communicate their relevant military and political information to each other prior to a crisis. Consequently, diplomacy, if informative, can simultaneously increase and reduce the net risk of war, depending on the strategic environment.

## 1.1.6. Locally

This dissertation makes an assessment of how states have conducted their international business with Zimbabwe and how Zimbabwe has responded in return. As a measure trying to maintain and widen its base in the international system Zimbabwe has carefully and tactfully engaged friends for furtherance its national goals. In Zimbabwe diplomatic communication has been shaped by the global trends and just like her foreign policy, it is based on the practice of the colonial administration. In the section below we examine the background to Zimbabwe's foreign policy relations which have shaped its communication.

The period 1980-2008 saw Zimbabwe plunging into dust after 3 decades of misinformed policies and hostile responses to external influence in internal affairs. In a bid to maintain a grip on power the ZANU PF led government continued to introduce policies that were a direct insult to the local, regional and international communities. This diplomatic error propelled Zimbabwe towards years of hunger and starvation, political discord and economic melancholies. Thus these problems bedevilling Zimbabwe can be greatly be attributed to limited tact and wit in addressing international affairs and maintaining diplomatic relations by principal officers responsible.

## 1.1.7. Regionally

Regionalism has been the key component that brought states together during and after independence in Africa. Colonisation played a key component in shaping the diplomatic relations of Africa, with states divided mainly based on shared history. Zimbabwe's diplomatic relations with Southern African countries was mainly due to shared interest of the hatred for the colonisation and the need to rebuild and develop the region politically, socially and economically. Thus diplomatic communication in Southern Africa rather pointed towards deterioration of ties with the WEST and finding a new Communist friend in the EAST. To date southern Africa is divided between these two frontiers thus complicating relations among states. Zimbabwe's actions were mainly based on militarising the region and dominating the security system of Southern Africa.

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Zimbabwe's existence in the SADC region has been based much on the attributes of colonial history since it draws much of its similarities to shared historical backgrounds. The SADC region has depended much on Zimbabwe since attainment of independence with the initial stages of early the 1980s making her (Zimbabwe) the bread basket of Africa and the world. However Zimbabwe's economy has depended much on South Africa with most of its imports coming in through South African ports and the Mozambican ports. The fact that Zimbabwe is a land locked country has influenced peaceful communication strategies with its neighbours thus Southern Africa enjoys co-existence and less conflicts since the key actors in the region are living harmoniously

### 1.1.8. Globally

The conception of a global village has created an international society that is greatly influenced by others people's conduct and evolutionary ideas of an envisaged better and efficient society in all facets of life. This has made the field of Diplomatic Communication a rather perplexing area since states have always been on logger heads fighting over intrusion and meddling with issues of sovereignty through espionage. Communication is however a complex subject in the international community since states have been socialised differently with a perception that language separates human beings. These social stratifications have been used by countries to muscle out competition and to create division of society according to origin, language and the amount of wealth and influence they possess.

Internationally language has created some conflict due to differences in dialects thus diluting or sending the wrong message in some cases. Thus Diplomatic Communication need continuous revisiting internationally to meet the progression of human kind from aboriginal beings to more developed beings. Moreso, coercive diplomacy have been used frequently by States to instil fear and to control other countries. The practice of threats of war and occupation or seizure as argued by realists' further call for an understanding of the international community, especially of the way it conducts its affairs.

The concept of communication internationally have been practised in three forms globally, states have communicated, verbally, non-verbally and in written form. Diplomats are tasked with the job of making sure that disputes, misunderstandings and political, socio-economic agreements are done within the confinements of the afore stated components. However the

main cause of conflict and international disputes have been based on mis-construed actions and wrong interpretation of words during speeches or discussions among heads of state.

## 1.2. Statement of the problem

Diplomatic communication in developing countries have continuously been marred by several factors that hinder effective dissemination of information and decision making of the parties involved these include ambiguity, aggressiveness, politicisation and globalisation. It is through this background that Zimbabwe has gone through several challenges and its political, social and economic spheres has deteriorated with relations turning sour due to unplanned actions and verbal proclamations. Communication is the backbone of effective implementation of policies and programmes within the discourse of politics and governance thus making it an imperative component of diplomacy. Much attention has been focused on the outcome of actions rather than the means implored, thus the research seeks to justify that the means justifies the end. The dissertationtherefore anticipates to analyse and understands the trends of diplomatic communication strategies vis-à-vis the different functions and activities of internal and external engagement.

## 1.3. Motivation of the Study

The diplomatic field has been subjected to many changes due to the evolutionary nature of international politics. This nature has greatly impacted on the way states conducts and communicate their diplomatic desires and preferences to the outside world. The research draws its motivation from the immediate limitations that accompany diplomatic communication and how these shortfalls have made relations among states sower. Zimbabwe's diplomatic circles have been highly influenced by mainly signals and verbal communication and these have been treated differently by states. This dissertation therefore examines the communication trends in Zimbabwe's diplomatic activities and sought to establish the extent of impact exerted by the means of communicationadopted, in the social, political and economic spheres of the country.

## 1.4. Objectives of Study

The main objective of the research is to understand Zimbabwe's Diplomatic activities and to proffer suggestions on how best this field can best be improved to realise its intended objectives.

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This study also sought to;

i.   Examines the communication strategies used by Zimbabwean diplomats between 1980 and 2008.

ii.  Assess the effectiveness of Diplomatic Communication Strategies employed by Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2008

iii. Examine the impact of Diplomatic communication strategies on Political, Economic and Social sectors of Zimbabwe

iv.  Examine the gap between Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication Strategies and internationally accepted diplomatic communication standards

## 1.5. Research Questions

i.   What methods of communication have been used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zimbabwe) to enhance its relationship with other countries between 1980 and 2008?

ii.  What factors have influenced the adoption of such methods of communication in Zimbabwe's Diplomatic actions?

iii. To what extend has diplomatic communication strategies impacted on the political, social and economic sectors of the country?

iv.  How has Diplomatic Communication Strategies influenced the course of events and policies in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2008?

v.   To what extend have Zimbabwe's MFA adopted internationally accepted legal instruments that bind international communication?

## 1.6. Limitations to the study

This researcher encountered problems in getting information especially from organizations such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which viewed the research suspiciously. The internet is also expensive to access especially now that everything has been dollarized in Zimbabwe. Issues of confidentiality especially with regards to releasing valuable information also hampered the research. However this researcher made up for that by gathering a lot of information from newspapers, journals and relevant books. Other sources of information such as ZimbabweInstitute of Diplomacy, Embassies and government ministries and departments were made use of. Moreso the researcher encountered the following limitations:

    i.    Time – unforeseen institutional disturbances within the ministry of foreign affairs such as political party involvement

    ii.    Incomplete information obtained from the various non-governmental and ministry officials institutions' respondents to be interviewed.

    iii.    Lack of expected cooperation from the selected respondents.

    iv.    Possible limited access to confidential information, which might be useful for the purposes of the research.

    v.    The provision of information is coupled with intimidation and secrecy since the ministry regards its information as sensitive.

## 1.7. Significance of the Study

In a country so infested with political, social and economic failure it is imperative to understand the factors that propel a country into such calamities. Zimbabwe face valuehas since independence deteriorated in all facets of life be it political, social and economic due to underestimation of actions (signals) and the power of the spoken word (verbal communication) to the country's allies. Thus diplomacy as the main ingredient of international, and regional cooperation ought to be scrutinized to reduce instances of abuse of office to make actions or verbal proclamations that are derogatory and highly suspicious. However due to dictatorial tendencies that engulf the African continent it is important to proffer solutions on how states should mind their body language, policies and actions to mentation good relations with others for no state exist as an island but rather depend much on each other. In a world that has evolved so drastically and took several twists and turns since the primitive period, there is continuous need to re-examine numerous parts of human conduct that have a direct impact on the stability of a country. Thus this dissertation is justified as it offers a lee-way to diplomats, policy formulators, international relations officers and researchers room to reconsider the way countries communicate with other countries to avoid conflicts and retaliation. It also paves way for an understanding of the impact of Information Communication Technologies (ICTS) in Diplomatic Circles.

## 1.8. Hypothesis

It is my opinion that 3rd world countries (developing countries) have lost a great chunk of their time to develop to the period of slave trade and imperialism. With this in mind the simplest forms of diplomatic function and communication to the outside world have been

diluted with imperialistic tendencies. Neo-colonialism has further compromised the conduct of diplomatic communication as most states have not exclusively conducted their internal and external business without external influence. Such aspects have sensitised states to be protective of their sovereignty and thus treating diplomacy and communication as sensitive areas which ought to be handled carefully. Thus it remains my contention that most African states have used aggressive means of communication in diplomacy to muscle out their competitors and foreign influence even though this has further compromised the domestic situation of the country, socially, economically and politically.

**1.9. Chapter Summary**

This chapter sets off in motion the dissertation with the background of the study clearly indicated outlining the factors that will guide the research. It is through this chapter that the limitations of the study are revealed and the research question are highlighted.

**CHAPTER TWO:**

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2.0. Introduction**

Most developing countries are still struggling with communication especially to the outside world due to limitedsavvy andtact in Diplomatic conduct. Thus the main thrust of this chapter is to uncover the challenges faced by third world countries in diplomatic communication with special attention being given to Zimbabwe's communication strategies from 1980-2008.Constricted logic validates diplomacy as a means of conveying essential desires, state of mind, opinions and beliefs to others in a way that does not offend any person's feelings. However, diplomatic communication includes, but are not restricted to, the use of innocuous communication methods, elasticity, and aptness, a positive approach, being open-minded and demonstrating a relaxed manner both verbally and nonverbally.In this chapter we examine the forms of communication common to diplomacy and review, with specific attention to signals and verbal communication, the impact these communication methods have to Zimbabwe's economic, social and political standing. This chapter further reviews the diplomatic relations of Zimbabwe based upon how she (Zimbabwe) communicates her preferences to the outside world.

**2.1. Origins of Diplomacy**

The history of Diplomacy can be traced back to the earliest states to exist through the medieval periods to the Italian-city states system and even to the Pre-Colonial period.Diplomacy, informally, came into being with the inception of human kind. Such traits of diplomacy further substantiate that the history of mankind cannot be divorced from the idea of diplomacy. Barston. (2006) traces the history of diplomacy to the ancient Greek city states were states were said to have exchanged their envoys who shared information as messengers of State A to State B. The demise ofthe primitive society, paved way for the feudal European system which manifested at the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire. The period was characterized by ethnic, religious, political and ideological wars which intensified

the conduct of coercive diplomacy. It was in fact referred to as the Dark Ages. The spread of Islam however put a check on the total collapse of diplomacy then.

By the late 15th century, the Italian city States established permanent diplomatic missions (i.e. embassies), career diplomats and complete privileges and immunities that went with them. By this period the Greeks, Egyptians, Assyrians and the Romans only established ad hoc envoys. Some scholars have argued that the Italian city state system is the bridge between the medieval and the modern International Society and State System.

The treaty of Westphalia which ended the thirty-year war, which engulfed Europe, also gave motivation to the inception of modern Diplomacy. Michael Omolewa (1976) clarifies the terms and conditions set by the Treaty of Westphalia as:

- Sovereign statehood
- International law
- Diplomacy
- Balance of power

The origin of Diplomatic relations can further linked to primaryepochs of African existence until the period of the Trans-Atlantic trade in slaves, ivory, beads and other goods. Treaties were ratified solemnly, widely accepted protocol regulated negotiations, sanctions were provided for the observance of treaties and embassies were sent to Europe with emissaries performing official diplomatic duties. These diplomatic activities went on in the pre-colonial period covering a period of four or five hundred years up to the last decade of the nineteenth century before the partition and the establishment of colonies. With the foregoing, you can appreciate with clarity, the historical antecedents of Diplomacy.

The trends of diplomacy thus vary widely with the number of actors involved in the communication system. In most countries like Zimbabwe, Diplomatic Communication Strategies are highly centred on political affiliations and partisanship. The impending action to be taken in every foreign ministry has its bases on the internal relations that exist amongst the local politicians. Zimbabwe's political environment took several twists and turn from being the best ally of the West to the favourite partner of the East.

## 2.2. Diplomacy and Communication

The evolution of Diplomacy and Communication have been greatly attributed to the impending decades of technological ramifications coupled with the changes in government systems which in recent years have seen the adoption of more democratic principles in

governing states and managing national affairs.These developments have seen a great shift in duty execution of many government institutions and further intensified the way states communicate with each other, with most states side-lining the traditional way of communication for more contemporary and effective methods of communication.

The practice of diplomacy is progressively being reinvented for the information age (Martin, Todd 2001). This has seen the substitution of the old and traditional (archaic) means of communication which prolonged the diplomatic function and thus decision making and agreement took longer to be reached. Such traditional methods, further paved way for loss of information. The instant access to information through internet has made states to be exposed to international issues and has seen states constantly recrafting both their domestic and foreign policy to suit the internationally accepted standards. This dissertation thus seeks to uncover some of the changes that have altered how states communicate with specific attention to the role played by signals and verbal communication in the development of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy.

Diplomacy has been defined differently by scholars for different reasons thus has failed to have a universally accepted definition like any other concept. However the key determining factors ofDiplomacy have been centralised around how states conduct their international agendas with other states and how these states communicate their domestic policies to the outside world without instigating violence or war.

Communication and Diplomacy have for years co-existed to provide a common ground of conduct among states to reduce instances of war and misunderstandings. International relations practitioners have argued that communication is more than the mere notion of information exchange but rather a medium used during negotiations "between states seeking to arrive at a mutually acceptable outcome on some issue or issues of shared concern" (Cohen, Raymond,1997, p. 9). Diplomats have their own discrete perception of communication even though the intention is similar the points of emphasis are different. "Communication among diplomats is a two-way street: one cannot expect to obtain much information unless one is able and willing to convey information" (Karl Gruber, 1983, quoted in Chas Freeman, Jr., *The Diplomat′s Dictionary*, revised ed. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997, p. 49). Diplomacy and Communication are rather family mates who have an intimate and deep connection thus cannot function well without the aid of the

other, for the diplomatic function to suffice there is intense need to invest in capacitation of diplomats with communication skills.

## 2.3. An evaluation of contemporary Diplomatic Communication and the VCDR

Examination of the provisions of communication in the 1961 Vienna Convention on diplomatic relations ( VCDR) , which marks approximately half a century of existence this year, indicates that most of them have been overtaken by events that could not have been predicted at the time it was signed. Article 27 of the Convention States that; "The receiving State shall permit and protect free communication on the part of the mission for all official purposes. In communicating with the Government and the other Missions and consulates of the sending State, wherever situated, the Mission may employ all appropriate means, including diplomatic couriers and messages in code or cipher. However, the Mission may install and use a wireless Transmitter, only with the consent of the receiving State", (2005, p. 8).  When one examines Article 27 of the VCDR, there is a great departure from the means of communication used in contemporary diplomacy. Increasingly, communication is becoming wireless in a borderless virtual world and use of couriers and telegrams is becoming obsolete. In addition to that, the wide spread application of wireless technology like the internet and mobile phones that circumvent the provisions of the VCDR at that time of coining the VCDR were unpredictable.

Article 41 of the VCDR states; "all official business with the receiving State entrusted to the mission by the sending State shall be conducted with or through the MFA of the receiving State or such other Ministry as may be agreed" (para2, 2005 p.13). In contemporary diplomatic practice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is no longer the principal contact point for diplomats. They now directly engage with the Civil Society, Government Departments, Think Tanks and the Media, Business associations among other actors.

The field of diplomacy have seen the introduction of different terminology that explains and clarifies the evolution of diplomatic communication. Allan Gotlieb former Canadian Ambassador to the United States devised the term "the new rules of diplomacy", which essentially means a number of activities which take one fairly close to understanding domestic affairs and the internal processes of Government. In an interview with Harry Kreisler and Thomas Barnes (1996), he explained why the MFA is no longer the principal contact point for an Ambassador; "Certainly, the State Department is the proper and

appropriate channel, and if you want to deliver a diplomatic protest, you go to the State Department. If you want to propose any major undertaking in the foreign policy field, the proper channel is the State Department. But if you look at the substance of international relations, and if you try to quantify it, the vast number of issues which have become the substance of international relations are generated by forces which are represented by other departments of Government or by the legislative branch".

Some scholars argue that this direct contact with other government departments and NSAs has weakened the role played by the MFA in international relations while others think it is useful to engage a Country at all levels in order to attract them to the interests of your Country a termed referred to as soft power by Joseph Nye and Public diplomacy by other scholars. This approach of diplomatic missions interacting with NSA however is closely linked with Art 3 para e) of the VCDR which mentions one of the functions of the diplomatic mission as being the Promotion of friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.

Having reviewed the evolution of diplomatic communication and evaluated the VCDR as a legal instrument regulating the conduct of diplomacy, one can argue that such a document lacks provisions for the regulation of an increasingly ICT based society; this supports the view point of many scholars who are increasingly pushing for the amendment of this convention. However some scholars of international law still justify the application of this convention to contemporary diplomacy. Denza (2008) in her book "Diplomatic Law, commentary on the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations", particularly points out the strength of the principle of reciprocity which is still applicable in modern diplomacy although this principle is not applicable to NSAs.

## 2.4. Factors that shaped Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy from 1980-2008

The espousal of Foreign Policy in Zimbabwe was compelled by several communication strategies that had affirmative and adverse effects on the image of Zimbabwe in the international Arena. Some of the methods used were Verbal, Non-Verbal and written communication methods, these methods had assorted effects on the Country's Foreign Policy. Zimbabwe's Foreign policy was greatly incited by its domestic policy, this further

reinforcedthe necessity to maintain its national values greatly prejudiced the establishment of the country's foreign policies.

Several factors contributed to the formation of Zimbabwe's Foreign policy and most of the factors constituted the Domestic Policy of Zimbabwe. The proclamation of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy was in May 1980 with emphasis placed on Non-alignment, African Concerns, peaceable coexistence, rationalization of the international economic order and exchange of ideas, culture and trade.( Patel; 1985). In His speech the then Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Mugabe (United Nations; August 1980) he further outlined the principles that govern Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy as follows:

1. National Sovereignty and equality among states
2. Attainment of  a socialist, egalitarian, and democratic society
3. Right of people to self-determination and independence
4. Non-racialism at home and abroad
5. Positive non-alignment and peaceful coexistence among nations.

These principles have further stressed the doctrines of nationalism, Pan-Africanism, anti-imperialism, solidarity, non-intervention and non-interference in internal affairs, multilateralism, and the look east policy. This has been clearly outlined in Zimbabwe's Constitution (Chapter 2, subsection 1 and 2) as follows

The foreign policy of Zimbabwe must be based on the following principles—
a) the promotion and protection of the national interests of Zimbabwe;
b) peaceful co-existence with other nations;  and
c) the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means;
d) respect for international law

The State must promote regional and pan-African cultural, economic and political co-operation and integration and must participate in international and regional organisations that stand for peace and the well-being and progress of the region, the continent and humanity. (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment Number 20:2013)

Thus the conduct of all diplomats hinge much on the maintenance of national values which in turn shapes the way they communicate with the outside world. Even though there is limited

detail in the constitution on the conduct of diplomatic missions the few that has been stressed has a lot to do with communication. This further emphasise the fact that the effectiveness of diplomacy and foreign policy implementation depends much on the eloquence of the diplomat.

Zimbabwe's foreign policy has always been heavily reliant on its domestic policy with much of her actions sending a message of anti-imperialism and intrusion from external forces in its local politics.

## 2.5. Domestic policies that shaped Zimbabwe's Communication Strategies

Zimbabwe immediately after the attainment of independence adopted several domestic policies which in turn shaped the conduct of diplomacy to the outside world. The policies adopted were centred on addressing the injustices created by the colonial era in all facets of production. This saw the need to consolidate nation building and resolving land crisis peaceably.

### 2.5.1. Reconciliation policy:

The attainment of independence paved way for the manifestation of nationalist agendas of nation building which facilitated the adoption of the policy of reconciliation in Zimbabwe. The key guiding principles of this policy were based on the need to build sustainable peace, equality and peaceful co-existence between races and ethnic groups in the country. This policy thus symbolized a radical departure from the yester era of racial discrimination and parallel co-existence. In a statement after the announcement of the first democratic elections in independent Zimbabwe, the then Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe emphasized the need to establish a society in which there is "space for everyone…a sense of security for both the winners and the losers- forgiveness and forgetting." (Davies et al, 1981, 206). The policy was initially shaped by the relations between blacks and former Rhodesian whites, and between major nationalist movements, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic-Front (PF-ZAPU). Noble as the policy is, unfolding events in subsequent years posed threats to the success of the reconciliation policy, notable among these being the tribally-based political tensions between ZAPU and ZANU between 1982 and 1987 to which government responded by setting up a „dissident cleansing‟ campaign code named Gukurahundi. Although sanity eventually dawned with the signing of

the 1987 Unity Accord between ZAPU and ZANU, these events constitute a sad chapter of Zimbabwe's post-independence history. Overall, the success of the reconciliation policy continues to be haunted by questions surrounding some societal ethnic minority groups such as the Tonga in Kariba, some sections of the Ndebele around Matabeleland, and the Ndau in south-eastern Zimbabwe, who seem to have been overlooked in the reconciliation discourse. To date, they have largely remained forgotten isles in the national unity agenda.

The policy of reconciliation has received mixed reviews with extreme ones describing it as a case of "reconciliation on behalf of the unconsented majority in 1980" (Muponde, 2004, 186). For those who hold this view, the policy reflects the position of the governing elite rather than the consensus of the nation. Some however read public good motives in the policy of reconciliation, viewing it as reflecting concerted efforts to manage a possibly volatile socio-political environment created by the recent change of government (Mandaza, 1986). For these, while political survival motives may have played a hand in the adoption of this policy, on the basis of cost-benefit analysis, the social gains that were derived from this policy overshadowed any political survival factors related to it. The new government was faced with bitter racial questions on the one hand, and inter-tribal and ethnic coherence challenges on the other (Ibid, 42). It is also important to note that state and nation building are delicate processes that can hardly thrive in unstable socio political environments characterized by intense suspicion and hostility. This realism that animates the 1980 policy of reconciliation echoes through the Unity Agreement of 1987 and the Global Political Agreement of 15 September 2008.

### 2.5.2. Land reform:

The unescapable land dispossession which took place during the colonial era heightened the land question which has for a long time been a major concern in the country. The Lancaster House Conference was pre-occupied with addressing the acquisition, allocation and distribution of this contentious resource (land) amongst the rivalries. Independence in Zimbabwe saw the adoption of four major land tenures which included Large Scale Commercial Farmers (LSCF) and urban areas; Freehold Tenure of Small Scale Commercial Farms (SSCF); Communal Areas and State Land with 4 000 large-scale white commercial farmers occupying 11,2 million hectares; more than 1 million rural families occupied 16,3 million hectares of dry, less fertile and less productive lands; 10 000 small-

scale farmers occupying 1,2 million hectares; 70 000 families were resettled on 2 million hectares, and only 0,5 million hectares were left for state farming (Takavarasha, 1994, 165).

At independence therefore, the government sought a redress in land allocations and distribution with the view to reduce rural poverty and give space to the participation of indigenous people in the national economy. The Lancaster House Conference Agreement fell short in providing adequate frameworks for acquiring and distributing land, a factor that pushed the Government of Zimbabwe to enact the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 to provide an operational framework for land issues and processes. This Act authorized compulsory acquisition of land by the Government following evidence of slow delivery of land to landless blacks under the willing buyer–willing seller approach. However, the Government did not have enough resources to compensate those whose land would be compulsorily acquired for redistribution. At a donor's conference that was held in 1998 to mobilize financial support for the second phase of the land reform and resettlement programme (LRRP II), pledges were made on the condition that financial support would come only after clear land policy and accompanying mechanisms for transparency and accountability were in place – to which the Government objected. Thus, the LRRP II was never implemented.

In effect, land reforms undertaken in the first two decades were falling short of expected policy targets. This situation fuelled the rise of unhappy scenarios of random land invasions across the country, which the Government effectively managed to control. But after the advent of the rejection of the draft constitution in a referendum in 2000, the government embarked on a fast track land reform programme, arguably exploiting the land crisis for political benefit. It indirectly approved the random land invasions by landless peasants by choosing to take no action against them, and in the process making these unlawful invasions as expressive of state policy on land acquisition. This can arguably be interpreted as attempts by the state to regain lost favour with frustrated sections of the landless peasants. This was followed by numerous amendments to the Land Acquisition Act to accommodate the new socio-political developments. To date some of the processes and legal procedures relating to the land policy are unconstitutional and punitive, confusing and disorderly. Thus notwithstanding the centrality of the land issue in Zimbabwe, land reform policy approaches have largely been a case of „implement first, formulate and legislate later". It resonates with some postulations in the „garbage-can" model.

## 2.5.3. Socialism

Upon attainment of independence Zimbabwe adopted a socialist approach to development. Through the lessons adopted from the cold war were ideologies led to intense war and conflict of interests. The EAST paved way for a socialist approach to development. At independence Mugabe made public proclamations about the need to address injustices created by the colonial era, thus the most viable way of ensuring public ownership of resources there was need for making the state, the sole owner of resources and to distribute them adequately to the masses. Chinese and Russian ideologies were the key components that have shaped Zimbabwe's economic approach and any means of production. Such proclamations and actions have created a platform for Zimbabwe's future foreign policy was pinned upon the initial decision taken to adopt socialist ideals thus Looking EAST was inevitable. Since Zimbabwe fell off the way side with Britain its immediate ally after independence it adopted the look east policy which was a sign that revealed that in politics there are no permanent friends but rather permanent interests. The look policy was an appreciation of the role played by the east during the war of liberation. Investment opportunities started to be awarded largely to the east and the west instead tightened their approach with the restrictive measures being reviewed constantly to make sure that Zimbabwe suffers. The look east policy was much emphasised through public verbal proclamations and was further enhanced by the documentation and enshrinement in the objectives of the ministry of foreign affairs.

## 2.6. Language and communication

Language has always been an issue of prime importance in diplomacy. This is so because if the exchange of information is not communicated in a language understood by the parties involved then no communication has occurred at all. Artaxerxes of Achaemenid Persia sent to Sparta a special messenger, named Artaphernes, with a complaint that he was unable to understand the many ambassadors who had been dispatched to his court, and urged the Spartans to choose someone who could speak plainly and be understood by him. Of interest, perhaps, is the highly complicated method involved in the transmittal of the above communication: it was prepared in Aramaic, written in Assyrian script, and in order to be acted upon by the Spartans required translation into Greek (cited in Jonson and Hall p. 69). This lack of a common language led to the evolution of the diplomatic language over the centuries to the recognition of six official languages by the United Nations namely Arabic,

Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. They are said to be the mother tongue or second language of 2.8 billion people, nearly half the world population, and are official languages in more than half the States in the world (United Nations, FAQs, 2011).

## 2.7. Diplomatic Communication Strategies

The contemporary world has been subjected to the dynamism of human nature from primitive beings to more sophisticated and efficient beings pre-occupied with maximising the output of conducting their daily lives. Such transformation contributed immensely to the shape and order of international relations and diplomacy with various means of communication being adopted by diplomats from the traditional mode of negotiation to the now-rampant form of coercion(Blake 1984). Communication transformation is continuously inevitable as the world is competing with each other for markets and resources (economic domination), territorial expansion, sovereignty (political prestige), and the introduction of the observance of international law (social and environment justice).

For the purposes of this thesis the methods are going to be merged into 3 main thematic areas and will be subdivided accordingly to factor in the strategies that accompany these thematic areas. Communication is the selective application of information exchange and can be facilitated by the different methods used in conveying information. This process paves way for the mutual exchange of messages by writing, speech and signals or behaviour. The key communication strategies are furtherexamined below these include written, verbal as well as non- verbal communication.

## 2.7.1. Written Communication

This form of communication have seen special names being developed to decode information from different documents used in interstate communication and these have specific formats in which they should be written. These include; Treaties, Protocols, Memorandum of Understanding, Note Verbale, Aide Memoires, Joint communique, Press Communiqué and Resolutions among others. It is now also common practice for Envoys to use normal letters in communication with government departments and NSAs. Emails are also used for informal communication between government officials but mainly with NSAs. Interdepartmental communication documents include; Briefs, letters, Talking Points, Record of a Meeting; Cabinet Memos and Loose Minutes or Memos.

The processing and presentation of the above mentioned documents, involves communication and the methods used range from use of messengers, couriers, snail mail, fax, Emails, the web and meetings. Increasingly, the web is used as the preferred means of conveying written communication (official and informal) and this is so due to the convenience of ease of access to information, widespread distribution, instant delivery and storage. Governments have had to follow suit in the use of the web, after the NSAs who are merited for efficiency due to this kind of communication. According to Paul James (2004), in the Late 1990s NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, IPA, Amnesty International and ICG, which had picked interest in Security Council work wrote policy papers, advocacy books and established websites which shaped the issues up for discussion at the Security Council.

Towards the beginning of 2000 Security Council delegations also started using the web to research on Council issues and also established their own websites on which they posted, official speeches, policy papers, news conferences, and draft resolutions. The Security Council is said to have followed this trend and in 2001 set up a Presidency area on the UN website. This carried the work programme, wrap-ups and assessments, Presidential statements, resolutions and transcripts and streaming videos of Council meetings. The use of the website to convey written information has increasingly been adopted by Governments around the world, and most MFAs and diplomatic Missions now have websites to serve this purpose.

### 2.7.2. Verbal Communication

Verbal Communicationusually compliments and enhances written communication, but is far more ostentatious than written communication. This has been the case mainly because not everything that is spoken can be written. Rana (2009) notes that "the preferred channel of sending information isalways one's own Envoy. One reason is that he can be relied upon to convey the exact pointsand the nuances to the decision-makers on the other side". Suchanemissaryought to practicediscretion, good negotiation skills, to ensure a positive outcome of his mission. It is the duty of the state to send diplomats who are non-resident in a country that is in deep crisis and those with political tensions that are likely to instigate political violence and which if not resolved, may lead to the severance of relations between the two States.

This method of communication (verbal) has been conducted also in the form of group briefings, organized for foreign diplomatsstationed in a country to explain policy actions,

avoid bias of information as well promote interstate relations. Such information may also be sent to one's envoys in the different capitals to ensure that the very same information is conveyed to the host governments.

Another example of verbal communication is the trend adopted by NGOs in the process ofcreating dialogue with the Security Council. They held conferences and meetings on issueson the agenda of the Security, and also participated in task force and special consultationmeetings. The ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross) held regular meetings with Council Presidents since 1980's. According to Paul James, (2004) in 1990, the IPA(International Peace Academy) started a series of roundtable meetings on various council issues and enlisted the participation of high ranking diplomats, executives and lawyers amongothers. In 1991, Amnesty presented a paper to the Council advocating for human rights monitors in Iraq and followed this petition with several written letters. In 1995, NGOs underthe leadership of the Global Policy Forum, founded the NGO working group on the SecurityCouncil to pursue policy reforms.

Technology has eased verbal communication by aiding direct communication betweenprincipals in different locations reducing diplomatic red tape in crisis situation. It is nowcommon practice for Presidents and Foreign Ministers to call up each other and consult onphone or by video conference on urgent matters that require immediate attention. Althoughthis kind of contact is not encouraged due to the absence of an official record and thedifficulty it presents for the MFA to make a follow up, its speeds decision making andeliminates the need to solely rely on written communication and envoys.

### 2.7.3. Signals

"Signalling is as essential to diplomacy as to a busy airport. One crucial difference is thatthere is much more scope for ambiguity in diplomatic signalling. Ambiguous signalling between pilots and traffic controllers may be a prelude to disaster, but in diplomaticcommunication ambiguity is considered constructive and creative" (Jönsson and Hall, 2005, P. 76). Signals in diplomacy involve behaviour conveyed with intention to another party.

Signals are hardly understood if used alone and therefore are usually used to complimentwritten or verbal communication. Moreover the understanding of signals also requires thatboth the sender and the recipient have a common cultural understanding. Short of this, signals will lead to distortion of the intended message and ineffective communication.An

example of use of signals with ambiguity in diplomacy include; the uncompromisingstand of the United States on the North Korea nuclear programme negotiations which werefacilitated and hosted by China since 2003 and were interpreted by Chinese officials as atactic to allow the Country to proceed. The U.S "had rejected proposals for a temporaryfreeze, technical talks and any interim steps short of the unconditional and complete endingof the programme" ( Lewis, 2004). China was worried that the U.S had intentions to toleratethe programme as long as the weapons were not transferred to terrorists. The Chineseregarded nuclear weapons at their Border not only a national security threat, but alsosuspected that this could eventually lead to acquisition of nuclear weapons by other Asianstates like Taiwan there by undermining China's strategic cooperation with the U.S.Other forms of signals include the mannerism or reception of an Envoy by the host Country.

A handshake, the venue of meetings, the level of representation and exchange of gifts arecommonly used and understood in diplomacy. Courteous behaviour portrays friendly relationswhile the opposite behaviour is a display of displeasure. Kautilya (1915, p.17), explains howsignals portray the good or bad relations between States; "Brightness in the tone, face, and eyes of the enemy; respectful reception of the mission; enquiry about the health of friends;taking part in the narration of virtues; giving a seat close to the throne; respectful treatment ofthe envoy; remembrance of friends; closing the mission with satisfaction;--all these shall benoted as indicating the good graces of the enemy and the reverse, his displeasure".

Partly because diplomacy is an art and its practice requires extensive display of virtueswhich are dependent on the personal character, it's not easy to convince diplomats thattechnology offers the same benefits as personal contact. However Applications such as Skypeand video conferencing seem to offer a comfortable choice of communication quite close tomeeting in person.

## ZIMBABWE'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE WEST

In a bid to understand Zimbabwe's diplomatic communication Strategies, the dissertation makes use of the relations of Zimbabwe's relations with the outside world. Thus this part look into the WEST and EAST's relations with Zimbabwe.

## 2.8. EU-Zimbabwe Relations 1980-2008 (WEST)

*Our small and peaceful country is threatened daily by covetous and bigoted big powers whose hunger for domination and control of other nations and their resources knows no bounds. Shame, shame, shame to the United States of America. Shame, shame, shame to Britain and its allies. Zimbabwe is for Zimbabweans, so are its resources. Please remove your illegal and filthy sanctions from my peaceful country. If these sanctions were intended to effect regime change, well, the results of the recent national elections have clearly shown you what they can do. President Robert Mugabe 68th UN Summit*

When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 its main aim was to establish a socialist, egalitarian society based on equitable distribution of resources. In an interview in The Courier ofMarch-April 1981, Mugabe outlined his thinking on making Zimbabwe a socialist, democratic, egalitarian society. He states that, *"We must use our political power to achieve economic power and that will give us the national economic independence we want. Once we are sure that the resources of the country and the means to use them are in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe, we can proceed towards socialism."*Such sentiments emphasised the impact of the spoken word (verbal communication) especially coming from a principled person thus verbal communication in diplomacy paves way for proper outlining of a countries' preferences.

The new government's preference for socialism arose from the conviction that capitalism could not redress the social imbalances that had characterized the colonial political order. By socialism the new state meant public ownership of the major means of production, the absence of exploitation of man by man, and finally, people's participation in all important national decision making processes. The leadership therefore hoped to achieve this by restructuring domestic institutions and by encouraging popular participation in the economic and political development of their country.

Three major policies were introduced from 1980-1990 aimed at translating the new government's broad intent in creating a socialist society. These policies were the Growth With

Equity Policy Statement (GWEP), the Three Year Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) and the Five Year Development Plan (FYDP). Kadhani points out that the TNDP, which covered the period 1982 to 1985 had embodied, "a range of goals aimed at completing the programme of post –war reconstruction, generating sufficient

growth to facilitate a rapid restoration of income levels- particularly at the lower end and redressing the social inequalities that had characterized the pre-independence political order."

On the other hand the FYDP adopted from 1986 was the Zimbabwe government's official framework for managing socio-economic development over the period 1986 to1990. It also assessed the gains and setbacks registered in the first five years of independence. In the external sphere, these policies set out to empower the state and its institutions to establish international cooperation that would facilitate economic development as well as enhance the political economy . Foreign aid was also to be considered within such a framework in order to assess its potential contribution to such goals. Despite the Zimbabwean leadership's rhetoric of following a socialist path, "the Zimbabwean state had all the trappings of a capitalist state since it had inherited the key elements of the white colonial apparatus." The new government had to depend on the goodwill of the European Community in its attempt to build new structures. Mandaza (1986) clearly points out that, "Therein lay the hope for the transformation of the capitalist system and for the transition to socialism, while at the same time foreign aid was viewed as an important component in that development strategy."

There was, therefore, no real structural challenge to the capitalist system as a whole. In reality the new government of 1980 found itself having to rely on Western assistance for its Reconstruction programme. Mugabe admitted that, *"You cannot overhaul capitalism overnight and so there has got to be some co-existence between socialism and capitalism."*

Chimombe (1986), commenting on such contradictions, argues that, "On the one hand the government outlines a most convincing economic policy to be based on MarxistLeninist principles and at the same time expects Western countries to assist in that line."

Instead of carrying out fundamental socialist reforms in the inherited economy such as land reform, the short cut to development was to get Western aid. Mugabe in his interview with The Courier, actually admitted that, *"Help comes through the EEC, but it also comes to us bilaterally and already we are in association with France, Britain, Belgium, Germany and other countries. Quite a number of projects have now been accepted by West Germany. They will participate in the development of our economy by granting us soft loans."*

*B.Sc. Honours in Politics and Public Management*

**2.8.1. EU-Zimbabwe Relations 1991-2000**

The 1990s witnessed the collapse of the bipolar power arrangement, ushering in the unipolar system where America unilaterally (and at times bilaterally with its Western allies) became the dominant superpower in the international system. Fukuyama, described this era as the 'End of History' such unforeseen changes in history continuously altered Zimbabwe's diplomatic communication strategies since Zimbabwe had to adjust and suit the emerging international political, and economic demagogue after the subsequent crumble of the Soviet Union. Literally he meant that the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the subsequent crumble of communism around the globe was a clear testimony to the fact that the USA and its allies had won the Cold War. Capitalism had triumphed over communism in the international system and this therefore meant that developing countries had to democratize in order to pave way for genuine development.

From the 1990s onwards the West undertook a strategy to put itself front and centre on the stage of international relations. The disappearance of the communist threat signalled not only a radical shift in the global power configuration in favour of the Western alliance (USA and EU) but also triggered off democratization demands by the West, on developing countries. From the1990s onwards the EU could now afford to attach explicit political and institutional conditionalities to its aid without fear of losing most Third World countries to communism. Foreign assistance as an instrument of state craft was now being applied by the EU on Zimbabwe and other LDCs to induce compliance and to show progress towards democracy, human rights, protection of the environment, population control and many other areas. According to Rugumamu (1996), "the EU in 1991 endorsed a common approach aimed at promoting human rights and democracy in developing countries, including not only positive measures but also the possibility of deferring or suspending aid in cases of grave violation of human rights."

It is also in the 1990s that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) came up with Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) for LDCs. The IMF and WB assumed the role of policy management for these countries. Zimbabwe and other LDCs could only get EU aid if they complied with IMF and WB policies. It should also be noted that the EU disbursed a lot of funds to the Breton Woods

institutions (multilateral aid) to help finance the structural adjustment programmes. Such funds were channelled through the EUs" Structural Adjustment Support Programmes. In the case of the IMF/WB loans, new credits could be provided only after a borrower government had signed a letter of intent with the institutions, undertaking to comply with specific borrowing conditions. Since aid from the WEST was associated with conditionalities, IMF and WB's lending criteria was based on the following components:

a) trade liberalization: abolition of foreign exchange controls and import restrictions
b) devaluation of exchange rate
c) monetary anti- inflationary measures
d) fiscal anti-inflationary programmes
e) anti-inflationary control of wage increases
f) Open door policy on foreign investment and privatization and or sale of public enterprises.

It should be pointed out that these conditions were uniformly applied to all countries, Zimbabwe included, regardless of the nature and specific circumstances of payment difficulties. It can therefore be argued that these policy prescriptions reflected the broad political and economic ideology of the powerful actors in the WB and IMF (USA, EU and others) rather than the long term development interests of recipient states like Zimbabwe. The primary concern therefore was no longer to achieve equity and alleviate poverty as evidenced in the 1980s, but to institute forms of Western democracy. From the 1990s onwards the EU now arrogated to itself the right to design development policies and to ensure closer and stricter implementation conditions. The EU- Zimbabwe relations from 1991 to 2000 can therefore be best analysed as follows:

The more aid Zimbabwe received from the EU, the faster its socialist goals were eroded thus prolonging Zimbabwe's look east intentions to a later date. Firstly, probably because Zimbabwe was afraid of embarrassing its foreign benefactors or simply afraid of forfeiting future EU aid allocations it tended to accept costly and inappropriate aid. This was so even when it was well aware that specific projects had low strategic importance in the national plans. Thus the inability of the Zimbabwean government to control and regulate the activities of EU aid steadily eroded its capacity to manage the economy, and diplomatically speaking this act of in action was a signal to show how dependent Zimbabwe was on the West and could not afford to jeopardise their diplomatic relations.

Secondly, aid flows in the 1990s became closely tied to stabilization and structural adjustment policy changes and to other socio-political concerns. In other words, EU foreign assistance was made to reflect progress towards market liberalization and democratic reforms, which would serve Western interests quite well. These conditionalities marked a new form of colonialism which Kwame Nkrumah, clearly described as "neo-colonialism" whereby a country has all the trappings of independence, yet its economy is controlled from abroad. This new aid perspective based on Western democratic principles, largely explains why the rate of aid flows to the Zimbabwean economy were not as impressive after the 1990s as they had been in the 1980s. "European donors were now demanding market oriented economic policy reforms, political liberalization, human rights, good governance, population control, environmental protection and much more." Lastly, the capacity of the EU in the 1990s to impose restrictive conditions on Zimbabwe like sourcing of machinery, equipment, spare parts and technical assistance personnel was a clear exercise of power. As was pointed out in chapter 1, "power is the ability to subject others to one's control or to limit their choices." Kennedy Griffin clearly points out that aid in the 1990s, "followed not necessarily where it was most needed but where the dictates of national self-interest suggest it would be most productive."

Thus the 1990s showed a big shift in the EU's foreign aid objectives to Zimbabwe, from economic development, poverty alleviation and infrastructural development in the 1980s to serving various EU political and economic interests in the 1990s. The EU therefore designed policies which specified that in their aid allocations the EU also took their own national interests into account. These interests included maintenance of spheres of influence, political or military alliances and promotion of EU's investments and exports.

The Zimbabwean government found itself increasingly having to follow the broad guidelines of EU donors. This was so even when those directly responsible for Zimbabwe's economic policies wanted to think that those policies were home-grown, independent of external influence.

### 2.8.2. EU-Zimbabwe Relations 2001 – 2008

Following Independence, Zimbabwe acceded to the Second Lome Convention, with effect from November 1980 and was a signatory of the Third Lome Convention from its outset in 1985. Together with other ACP countries, Zimbabwe was also a signatory of the successor Lome IV Convention. The Lome Conventions from 1975 to 2000 were essentially

economic agreements between the EU and its ACP partners. These agreements were considered to be measures conducive to development in the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. "The first Lome Convention which led to the relationship between the EC and the ACP states in 1975 was based on the concept of a partnership between equals."

This posture was also a product of the Cold War when most ACP countries were non-aligned and several pursued policies oriented to those of the soviet bloc and were thus courted by the EC and other Western powers. Originally the ACP-EU partnership focused mainly on economic cooperation. Neither the EEC nor the ACP countries were ready to extend their cooperation to political issues. However, the initiative to do so was taken by the EC in 1985 when it sought to introduce a human rights clause in the Lome III Convention. This move was however deemed by the ACP states to be in contradiction to the principles of sovereignty and equal partnership.

The introduction of a link between development and human rights, respect for democratic principles and the rule of law was a major feature of the Lome IV Convention (Article 5).

Signed in 2000 and expected to last up to 2020, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) was underpinned by a set of jointly agreed upon core values or essential elements. These covered the respect for human rights and democratic principles whose violation could lead to the suspension of the partnership. In the CPA review of 2005, good governance was defined as "the transparent and responsible management of human, natural, economic and financial resources for the purposes of equitable and sustainable development".

This was deemed to be a fundamental element in the EU-ACP relationships as from 2000 onwards. It can thus be noted that from 2001 onwards power politics became one of the pillars of the EUACP partnership .Political dialogue, previously confined largely to issues of political conditionalities with ACP governments was now being used as a tool to manage the partnership.

It was also used to assess and to review the implementation of EU programmes based on the progress in individual countries on human rights and the rule of law. Rather than responding to the special needs of the ACP countries in general and Zimbabwe in particular, the EU from 2000 onwards responded to its own economic and political needs. It capitalized on the economic poverty and political weaknesses of the ACP countries in advancing its own national interest objectives.

Since 2002 the EU-Zimbabwe relationships have deteriorated. Major disagreements over essential elements of the CPA, the land reform programme and difficulties surrounding the deployment of the 2002 EU election observer mission, led to current restrictions of the cooperation.(more will be discussed in chapter 4). In February 2002, the European Council adopted a decision partially suspending cooperation assistance under the European Development Fund (EDF).As will be discussed in chapter 4, the EU adopted a common position on restrictive measures such as the prohibition of arms supply to Zimbabwe as well as imposing targeted sanctions, a travel ban and the freezing of assets against a number of ZANU PF officials and their business partners.

A brief analysis of the EU-Zimbabwe relations from 1980 to 2008 will be as follows: In the 1980s the EU was involved in development related projects such as poverty alleviation and infrastructure development. Beginning from 2000 onwards the role of EU aid in economic restructuring became so pervasive as to give the impression of recolonization. Under the Lome Conventions assistance had been given to ACP countries and Zimbabwe in particular mostly on the basis of equality but from 2001 onwards, aid was based on EU dictates and progress shown on human rights, rule of law and democratic principles.

EU aid to Zimbabwe, like most other aspects of international politics, was largely governed by the structural power patterns. The ensuing asymmetry of domination and dependence virtually characterized the relationship between Zimbabwe and the EU from 2000 onwards. Aid provided the EU with the opportunity to intervene and influence the socio -political and economic life of the Zimbabwean state. Through project support the EU was able to control indirectly the direction and pattern of Zimbabwe's development process via country development programmes.

Ultimately they were able to pursue their least publicized commercial and security policy goals. The 2000 to 2008 EU agenda was mainly based on regime change as evidenced by its support of opposition political parties and civil society groups which were very much opposed to the ruling ZANU PF party. AS will be discussed in chapter 3, the EU overtly and covertly provided financial support to various civil society groups so as to bring about a change of government.

A closer lookat Unsaid in Zimbabwe from 1980 up to 2008 has provided insights into the nature and character of the international aid process. Most of the time, the EU not only fashioned the structure of the aid relationship but also determined what interests were to be served and the modalities for achieving them. On the other hand, Zimbabwe's high degree of

need for foreign assistance translated itself into almost total surrender of national sovereignty. It can be noted that from 1980 up to 2008, Zimbabwe's excessive dependence on foreign aid gradually eroded the capacity of the state to design and implement policies and strategies that would have enhanced socialism and promote economic growth. In the absence of credible policies and effective institutions, the EU increasingly usurped the role of policy management.

## ZIMBABWE'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST

## 2.9. Zimbabwe's survival plan: Look East Policy

The withdrawal of EU aid to fund major government programmes, plans, policies and projects forced the Zimbabwean leadership to adopt the "Look East policy". This meant attracting Eastern countries such as China, Russia, India, Malaysia and many other Asian countries to invest and assist Zimbabwe with the much needed aid. David Baldwin argues that, "sanctions depend a great deal on a combination of circumstances, including the target's vulnerability and dependence upon the source of sanctions whether the sanctions are applied individually or by a group of states, the availability of alternative sources of supply and markets and other factors." Thus basing on this research sanctions have proven to be the most effective toolof isolation that could in turn foster the objectives of the foster country and as a signal sanctions were the main cause of the shift in foreign policies.

Zimbabwe shifted its focus from the EU and its Western allies and formed economic partnerships with the Eastern countries. The Eastern countries, unlike the EU exclusively conducted business without imposing economic and governance models on Africa. These attributes have made the Eastern countries a particularly attractive alternative to the EU.

China which has shown a great deal of interest in assisting Zimbabwe through a foreign policy which is guided by, "an adherence to the principle of non- interference in the internal affairs of the host country and also a determination not to impose conditionalities on aid."

Thus by offering aid without preconditions China has presented Zimbabwe with an attractive alternative to Western 'tied' aid. However, critics deplore the Chinese principle of non-intervention and non-conditionalities as counterproductive to good governance, rule of law, human rights and democracy. These critics also believe that such a foreign policy helps to keep dictators in power whilst turning a blind eye on human rights abuses.

Whilst the neo liberal point of view on democracy, human rights, rule of law and good governance can be valid, Adama Gaye asserts that, "it is also important not to overlook the fact that the foreign policies of European Union member countries are also marked by a gap between claims and realities."

It can be argued that in contradiction to the liberal-humanitarian ethical foundations of foreign aid, Western countries also often pursue their own egoistic national interests which are also detrimental to Africa's development. Thus Zimbabwe in all its diplomatic ties continuously use tact and eloquence to pre-determine the hidden agendas of their international partners. The strategic partnership between China and Zimbabwe can be seen to be based on a 'win- win' principle rather than the winner takes all principle of the West which leads to the dependency syndrome.

The Chinese straight forward approach to trade and aid to African countries and Zimbabwe in particular, has proved to be an attractive alternative to European tied aid and also to that of the Paris Club of Creditors which has also been insisting on conditionalities for years. Michael Frith points out that, "many African countries are now fed up with the intrusiveness of the European Union fussing about corruption, good governance and rule of law."

Zimbabwe embraced the Look East" policy because Chinese aid and that of other Eastern countries comes with no strings attached to it. Ken Flower contends that, "when a country is under sanctions it always looks elsewhere for alternative assistance."

Although Europe remains Zimbabwe's main trade and aid partner, owing to its colonial history, EU aid directed to the government has gone down whereas China's is increasing. The'Look East' policy can therefore be analysed on the following assumptions. It was a policy implemented from a grand strategy which did not look at a single issue but an overall picture of economic, cultural, social and political needs. Kwaku AtuaneneGima argues that, "this policy was aimed at reviving and sustaining the Zimbabwean economy which was collapsing under Western "targeted" sanctions.

For the Zimbabwean state to survive from total collapse it had no option but to seek assistance from the East. "Looking East" also meant that the EU sanctions would not be very effective unless the whole international community joined in. The Zimbabwean Government, by looking east managed to avoid complete isolation within the international system. Complete isolation would have meant a total collapse of the economy which would have led to social and political instability. In the international

system the competition for scarce resources between powerful countries usually helps the target country to survive under sanctions. Zimbabwe found new friends in the East despite the fact that the relationship was highly commercially motivated. AtuaheneGima maintains that, "sanctions will never be very effective as long as there is international sympathy for the government of the target."

Eastern countries have shown a lot of sympathy to the Zimbabwe government thus defeating the whole purpose of the EU sanctions.The policy was also a veiled threat to the EU so as to make it reconsider its position on Zimbabwe. The relationships between Zimbabwe, China and other Eastern countries made the EU realize that it was losing out to Eastern investors. According to Baldwin, "the whole essence of sanctions is that the costs of applying the sanctions to the coercer are significantly less than those suffered by the target."

If the target has strategic resources that the coercer needs, then it will be a bigger disadvantage to the coercer than the target. Zimbabwe's strategic mineral resources would make the EU realize that the continued stand-off between it and Zimbabwe would not pay off in the end.

China's political and economic interests are fuelling Africa's economic leverage and this has become a major concern for the EU simply because China is encroaching upon what has traditionally been an area of interest and influence for European powers. China's involvement in Zimbabwe means that the latter does not have to rely on one set of development partners who in the past have not shown the African continent the maturity it deserves. However, it should not be overlooked that Zimbabwe's relationship with China also raises issues of concern especially whether its official assistance will lead to Zimbabwe's economic development and stabilization.

Zimbabwe needs to understand that China is not going to provide the panacea for its developmental challenges and the onus rests on the Zimbabwean government and other local institutions to ensure that regulatory frameworks are established to monitor good governance. The Zimbabwean government must push the development agenda with its Chinese counterparts to ensure that the relationship is translated into viable developmental practices which are not as exploitative as those of the West.

Blaming the United States, the United Kingdom, and other western governments for the country's economic crisis, Mugabe has sought to engender investment and trade opportunities with Asia, particularly China. Dubbed the "Look East" policy, Mugabe's efforts have been criticized by his own party as insufficient to address the economy's slide. In December 2006,

the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Budget, Finance, and Economic Development, chaired by a ZANU-PF MP, accused the central bank governor of exacerbating inflation with "quasi-fiscal activities" and warned the administration that "the Far East destinations be viewed as a market in its infancy and that the traditional market of the West should not be neglected as the nation moves toward regularizing relations with the international community.

However these policies were further strengthened by some other actions of insubordination highlighted verbally and non-verbally as signs of dissatisfaction and anger. Zimbabwe in a bid to show its mastery also participated in regional and international peace keeping missions such as in Kosovo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and Mozambique among other countries. These actions spread a message of its political and military competence thus at one time being accorded the non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.

## 2.10. Factors that influence Diplomatic Communication

The diplomatic function has been subjected to several factors that influence its development and efficiency and among these factors are:

1. Advances in Technology,
2. Globalization
3. Broadening of the Development Agenda.
4. Involvement of Non-State Actors

Since diplomacy has continuously shifted and now involves state and non-state actors, it is imperative to pay attention to the role played by non-state actors in reshaping the face of diplomacy from the traditional conception to the contemporary diplomacy.

According to the National Intelligence Council (NIC) (2007) in its assessment of the Impact of NSAs on International relations and the implications for the United States notes that, globalization fuelled diffusion of finance and technology has enabled NSAs to build upon functions traditionally performed by nation-states, facilitating their evolution into forms unheard of even a few years ago. Irfan ul Haque (1999) in his paper prepared for the meeting of G-24 titled 'Non- State Actors (NSAs) and Global Governance', also argues that; "The rise of non-state actors in global governance was a product of the widening of the

development agenda, on one hand, and the scaling down of government's role in economic activity, on the other.

The process has been helped by the realization on the part of the IFIs (International Financial Institutions i.e. the World Bank, the IMF and regional Banks) that dealing with some of the non-state actors is politically convenient and enhances their credibility as far as their major shareholders are concerned". Anne Peters et al (2009) supports the viewpoints of both scholars, she notes that, "the context in which the proliferation of Non- state actors …occurs is well known. Globalization, liberalization and privatization waves which swept the globe in the 1980s and 1990s have contributed to shifting the focus away from the State as the sole source of regulation…" she further argues that the integration of national economies into a world economy has diminished or at least modified the authority of the State.

The increased involvement of NSAs in matters formerly handled by states only has equally affected interstate relations and communication. The exchange of information or communication between diplomats and NSAs in the receiving state is termed as Public Diplomacy (PD). A form of diplomacy described by Copeland (2009 p.6) as one which, "...involves diplomats from the sending States using dialogue, image projection, reputation management, and the power of attraction to connect directly with foreign populations; opinion leaders, NGO representatives, businesspeople, journalists, and others to advance the objectives of their Governments". This widened scope of engagement has increased the communication requirements of the MFAs and led to a change in the methods of communication used in order to retain efficiency and as such, the traditional means of communication are edging out. In this study, the traditional means of communication are associated with inability to overcome barriers to distance and time while the modern communication systems are those advantaged by the advances in technology that have greatly curtailed these limitations.

## 2.11. Chapter conclusion

The field of diplomacy has greatly evolved, with the genesis of technology, the demands for diplomats to be aware of the new methods of technological communication have further compromised the conduct of diplomacy in 3rd world countries. This chapter summarises some

of the dilemmas of diplomatic communication and the changes that re-shaped this field of diplomacy.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

**3.0. Introduction**

The dissertation intends to make an analysis of diplomatic communication strategies employed by Zimbabwe in its diplomatic circles. It further makes and assessment of the extent to which these diplomatic communication strategies have influenced the political, social and economic systems of the country. Since the field understudy is regarded as a sensitive area of study the research will concentrate much on secondary data and make use of limited primary data were necessary to unleash the intended objectives. This chapter gives a detailed account of how the study was executed, taking into account all the activities and procedures undertaken during the course of the research. The main thrust will be placed on the research design, sampling techniques, data collection techniques, data collection tools used and also the population the researcher used in his research. Primarily the research was to have an understanding of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication Strategies and how they evolved since attainment of independence (1980) to period before the unity government (2008). In addition the research also intended to see whether these strategies have been fully explored and utilised to meet the country's intended objectives.

**3.1. Research design**

Research design is the specification of methods and procedures for acquiring the information needed to structure or solve problems (Green et al, 1998). It is a framework that stipulates what information is to be collected, from which sources and by what procedures. Kerlinger (1983) defined it as "the plan, structure and strategy of investigation conceived so as to obtain answers to research questions and to control variance". Therefore from the foregoing definitions, it is evident that research design is the overall operational framework of the project, which stipulates what information, is to be gathered from which sources and by what procedures. The researcher therefore employed the descriptive research design in which several instruments were used to gather data, which are the interview, questionnaire and observations. Robson 2002 stated that the aim of descriptive design is to portray an accurate profile of persons, events or situations. Descriptive research provided a clear and accurate

picture of the problem. This then enabled the researcher to shorten large volumes of data obtained from the selected respondents into few summaries.

## 3.2. RESEARCH SUBJECTS

### 3.2.1. Research population

Kotler (1996) also defined population as a collection of all observation of a random variable under study and about which one is trying to draw conclusion in practice. For the purposes of this research, the population is made up of three randomly chosen Embassies. The countries will be form the three from Asia, Africa and Europe. This population allows the researcher to have an understanding of how Zimbabwe has maintained its relations through diplomatic communication in all the key continents. The other targeted population will be drawn from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to give an insight on to the methods that are there among other areas of concern.

### 3.2.2. Sampling

A sample is a part of a population, which is provided by some process or usually by deliberate selection with the object of investigating the properties of the parent population (Beri, 2000). Thus sampling involves taking a proportion of a larger universe for purposes of carrying out the study. According to Lapin (1987), sampling is the act, process or technique of selecting a suitable sample or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population sample. A sample is a subset of the population to be considered in the study (Schiffman, 1996).

Due to limited time and resources the researcher made the use of sampling as it is cost effective. Conclusions could then be drawn against the rest of the population. After the population of interest was identified and the sampling frame determined, a researcher then determined the sampling procedures to be employed. Sample units may be selected in a variety of ways, the methods fall into two general types. The most important decision in sampling is whether to employ probability or non-probability sampling procedures. A probability sampling procedure is one in which each study object in a sampling frame possesses a known chance or probability of being selected for sample inclusion. Non-probability sampling procedures are those that purposefully of accidentally select the specific

members of the sample in a non-random manner. The researcher employed a probability method and used systematic random sampling systematic random sampling.

### 3.2.3. Sampling technique

This refers to the procedure for selecting participants in the research project. Both probability and non-probability techniques were employed. Probability sampling technique gives the respondents an equal chance of being selected (Saunders et al, 2009).Sudman and Blair (1998) also defined probability sampling technique as a random process to select population elements for the samples and gives every population element a known non zero chance of being selected. Systematic random sampling technic was used out of the hundred companies selected the research used a systematic approach to select every fifth number after a simple random sampling technic was conducted. Non probability was used on the selection managers to interview.

### 3.2.4. Sample Size

"This involves the number of sampling units that are included in the investigation", (Vander Walt – 1996:155).A sample of 20% of the total population was selected. 20 participants of the total population (100) were selected to represent the entire sector under study. The number encompasses both managers and shop-floor workers in all the two companies under study.

A common question of sampling is, "how large should a sample be" Stanton et al (1997). The sample size should always be a representative of the population.

### 3.3. Data collection sources

These are the procedures used by the researcher to collect data. For the purpose of this research, both primary and secondary data sources were used.

### 3.3.1. Primary data

Shao (1999) defines primary data as information collected or generated by the researcher for the purpose of the project immediately at hand. Primary data source was sued because of its greater control over data accuracy and relevance to the problem. The data collected was therefore relevant valid and relevant as it was up to date and also addressed the problem at

hand at the same time giving a balanced view on the subject under study. The researcher made use of questionnaires and interviews to obtain first-hand information. The questions were directed towards the problem under study thereby making it easy to address the research questions at the same time saving time. The researcher was able to get all the information deemed necessary.

### 3.3.2. Secondary

According to Shao (1999), this is data that has been collected by other researchers for other purposes but related to this particular study. Such sources included, literature reviews from textbooks and the Internet. Secondary data proved to be realistic, reliable and well accepted in the academic world, thus the researcher found it useful. This was chosen because less time and effort was devoted in analysing and interpreting data that had been compiled already and due to time constraints, the researcher required some data quickly and secondary sources were the best to use.

### 3.4. Research Instruments

The research instruments are tools one would use for collecting information and data needed to find solutions to the problem under investigation. As already indicated, the researcher basically employed multiple instruments, which are the interview, questionnaires, document analysis, personal experiences and observations as well as quantitative analysis of the responses. The researcher used multiple techniques to improve the validity of the results.

### 3.4.1. Interviews

According to Tuckman as cited by Cohen and Manion (1981:243) an interview provides access to what is inside a person's head, makes it possible to measure what a person knows, what a person likes and dislikes and what a person thinks. The management as well as general employees within the organisation were interviewed so as to collect data. The researcher used interviews to obtain the desired data because they make it possible to probe for more specific answers .They make it possible for the interviewer to observe the non-verbal behaviour and to assess the validity of the respondent's answer.

## 3.4.2. Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a document where questions are written and the respective respondents complete this document. Sekaran (2003) and Leeds (1985) defines a questionnaire as a pre-formulated list of questions used to solicit information from respondents. The questionnaire was designed with the aim to collect a huge proportion of the primary data. The questionnaire was drafted using a variety of techniques which included close ended and open ended as well as incomplete sentences where respondents were supposed to complete. This helped in soliciting opinion, behaviour and attributes from the respondents. Techniques such as closed questions made it easier and faster for respondents to reply whilst open-ended questions ensured in-depth objective responses. However, the researcher could not get immediate feedback on respondents understanding of the questions, to compensate for this the researcher made use of interviews. Also data validity could not be fully assured considering that respondents could discuss the questionnaire , where the researcher suspected that responses were influenced by either possible discussion of the questionnaire, the researcher had  no choice  except to resort  to professional interrogation during interviews.

### 3.4.2.1. Close-ended questions

This kind of question permits only certain responses. Quantification of data is carried out easily and effectively. Apart from that the answers obtained are standard and can be compared between some respondents. They are also much easier to code and analyse. In addition they also make it easier for the respondent to answer because he has to choose a category.

### 3.4.2.2. Open-ended questions

The respondent makes any response he wishes in his own words. The researcher used this type of questions because it makes it possible for the respondent to answer adequately with the amount of detail he/she prefers and to qualify and clarify the given answer. In addition they allow more opportunity for creativity or self-expression by the respondent.

### 3.4.2.3. Significance of using a questionnaire

i. ***Cheaper to administer***: They are advantageous if the researcher sample is geographically widely dispersed. When this is the case a questionnaire will be much cheaper because of the time and cost for interview.

ii. ***Easier to manage***: They can be sent out by post or otherwise distributed in very large quantities at the same time. A lot of questionnaires can be sent out by post in one

batch, but with interviews, it will take a long time to conduct personal interviews with a sample of that size.

iii. ***No interviewer variability***: Self- completion questionnaire do not suffer from the problem of interviewer asking questions in a different order in different ways.

iv. ***Convenience for respondents:*** Self- completion questionnaire are more convenient for respondents because they can complete a questionnaire when they want and the speed they want to go.

v. ***Absence of interviewer effects:*** Since there is no interviewer present when a questionnaire is being completed, interview effects are eliminated the respondent will be free to answer a given set of question without any bias.

### 3.4.3. Documentary analysis

The researcher as an attempt to bring credibility through triangulation, documentary analysis shall be used to complement the interview. The targeted documentation will be the organizational organograms and minutes recorded during the internal company meetings. The researcher will be attempting to determine if there are ever any attempts to consider adoption of ICTs in diplomatic communication within the company.

### Justification

i. It allows for establishment of facts that exist and its related associations.

ii. Requires very minimum ethical considerations since there will be no any direct interaction with people.

iii. The study can be done at any given time i.e. no time hassles since it is an already recorded data.

iv. It is quicker way of getting information.

v. Documentary analysis cannot be affected by the behaviour or the attitude of the respondents.

### 3.5. Data collection procedures

These are fundamental steps taken by the researcher in organisation of the instruments and the collection of data from the respondents.

### 3.5.1 Questionnaires

Due to costs that were likely to be incurred in administering the questionnaires and as per the request from the embassies due to their tight schedule, the questionnaireswere administered via email.  Thus the questionnaires were send to the embassies and ministry of foreign affairs respondents' emails. Also as a way of measuring ICTs usage the research was made as digital and technological as possible. The respondents were selected by the targeted institutions based on their abilities as well as the questions that were to be answered. The Questionnaires were accompanied by an email that explained to the respondents the importance of the research and assured them that the information collected was only for academic research purposes only and made sure that the respondents accepted voluntarily to participate in the study.

### 3.5.2 Interviews

Due to sensitivity of the information provided, the respondents had to scrutinise the questions first and see whether they were requesting for information that does not compromise their relations with other country embassy representatives. So the interview guides were sent beforehand. The interview was done over the phone since it was economic as compared to travelling around to meet delegates, also for convenience the information was given during office hours. Interviewing people over the phone helps in allowing people to continue with their daily work since the work at most embassies and foreign ministries involves travelling around. The researcher would conduct the interviews within time limits using interview questions guidelines. The time limits ranged from 15 to 20 minutes. All the respondents were recorded on the interview question papers.

### 3.6. Data validation and reliability

Data reliability entails that when data is processed into information it should be free from material error and bias and can be depended upon by users.  Research instruments are considered valid if they measure the knowledge and skills.  Wiermin, Merrian and Simpson (1984: 2) stated, "…… poorly constructed questions, unrelated and confusing items and lack of truthfulness in response are some of the reasons that lesson validity of the questionnaire." To ensure validity, the researcher made use of relevant instruments, triangulation and pilot

testing. Validity was also attained through using simple, unambiguous and clear words in both the interviews and questionnaires.

## 3.7. Chapter Summary

The chapter has adopted the qualitative research design in which the research subjects as well as the sampling procedures have clearly been provided. The researcher used three data collection techniques namely the self-administered questionnaire, interviews and documentary. These ensured collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The research instruments were basically administered following an appointment with the  and these have been analytically described to bring out their strengths and weaknesses as a way of justifying their selection and suitability to research. The next chapter focuses on data presentation, the discussion and interpretation of the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESANTATION

**4.0. Introduction**

The research depended much on, but not entirely on secondary data due to the sensitivity of the field of study thus the data presented was gathered from and not limited to textbooks, e-resources, speeches newspapers and institutional reports. This chapter presents the extent to which Diplomatic communication strategies have influenced the political, social and economic systems of Zimbabwe. It also highlights the role played by such methods in shifting the diplomatic relationsof Zimbabwe with the regional, and international community. Thus the period 1980-2008 was an evolutionary era which saw the early stages of Zimbabwe's missions marred with revenge tendencies in addressing the inequalities that came into existence during the colonial epoch. As the 3 decades of diplomatic existenceprogressed the method evolved and intention shifted from external challenges to addressing internal conflicts. This chapter then presence the findings produced by the research.

**4.1. Research Findings**

**4.1.1. Response rate**

**4.1.1.2.Questionnaires**

The researcher drafted 50 questionnaires to collect data. 80% of the questionnaires sent were responded to and returned back to the researchers.

**Administration of questionnaires**

| Department | Questionnaires Administered | Questionnaires Returned | RESPONSE RATE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ministry of foreign Affairs | 1 | 1 | 100% |
| Chinese Embassy | 1 | 1 | 100% |
| South African Embassy | 1 | 1 | !00% |
| United Kingdom Embassy | 1 | 0 | 100% |
| Total | 4 | 3 | 75% |

The response rate for questionnaires administered through email are represented as shown in the table above. The outcome of the findings was summarised below.

The interviews produced most of the information as they were conducted via the phone.

**4.1.3. Analysis of Data**

The questionnaires administered to complement the secondary data present revealed that in most developing countries, the traditional means of communication are still dominant and regarded as more reliable and effective. The research revealed that most diplomatic missions are still using written form of communication and they are very reluctant to adopt new methods being ushered in by the principle of globalisation such as technology. There were also reason that have provided to substantiate the element of reluctance. Also to consider is the fact that the trends of communication in diplomatic fields is has fluctuated depending much on the environment and methods adopted.

**4.2. Signals that influenced the political, social and economic system of Zimbabwe.**

**Signals (actions)**

**State visits**- the president has attended diplomatic meetings in the WEST and EAST in a bid to source assistance and ideas on how to operationalise the state's political, social and economic systems. Hence these visits in the early stages of independence frequented the

WEST but however shifted to the EAST after the land reform programme as a way of making up for the hostile ties between the WEST, that was solidified by the imposition of Sanctions.

**Withdrawal from the commonwealth**-Zimbabwe upon attainment if independence enjoyed support and economic assistance from the countries within the commonwealth of all nations. These countries shared common market values and ideas on economic development. However Zimbabwe couldn't stay in this economic bloc thus decided to withdraw its candidature. Diplomats have argued that this was a tactful move to avoid the shame of being dropped since it had fallen off the wayside with the WEST.

**Barring International observers in the 2008 elections:**the international community was so keen to see the outcome of Zimbabwe's 2008 elections however their hopes were turned down whenZimbabwe barred them from observing the elections thus this raised a lot of suspicion.

**DRC peace keeping-** Zimbabwe also embarked on the peace keeping mission in DRC which was a dual blow as it increased the economic rift in Zimbabwe. This also received a lot of criticism from the economists. However such an action to Zimbabwe was also to spread its military capabilities.

**Land reform programme**- Zimbabwe also made an effort to redistribute land to the landless peasants. This effort was however received with great criticism since it saw the violent removal of white farmers from their pieces of land.

**Look east policy-**in a bid to address the challenges faced by Zimbabwe with the WEST and maintain the its position in the international community it had to find a powerful competitor to the WEST and the EAST was the most viable competitors considering the role played by the EAST during the colonial era.

However these signals/actions are not exhaustive but a lot of signals were practiced by Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2008. For the purposes of this study these will produce the intended outcomes as highlighted below.

## 4.3. Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Relations

### 4.3.1. Zimbabwe-China Relations:

While many western governments have moved to isolate the Mugabe regime, China continued strengthen ties and deepen their involvement in Zimbabwe's economy. China,

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which became active on the continent in the 1950s and 1960s to gain global influence, now looks to Africa for natural resources to meet the needs of its growing population. A long-time ally of ZANU-PF, which it backed during the liberation struggle, China is reported to be Zimbabwe's second largest trading partner and its largest investor. Many observers see Zimbabwe's platinum concessions as a major draw for Beijing, and Chinese firms are playing roles in the cell phone industry, as well as in television, radio, and power generation. China holds controlling interest in the country's only electricity generator. Some critics worry China's investment in Zimbabwe comes without the "strings attached" that Western governments might require, such as commitments to human rights, accountability, and anti-corruption. Arms agreements between China and Zimbabwe have attracted considerable attention in recent years, as most Western governments continue to enforce an arms embargo against the country. Zimbabwe's $240 million purchase of twelve Chinese fighter jets has drawn questions from analysts as to why a country that faces no immediate external threat from its neighbours would need such an air force. Thus such signals portrayed by Zimbabwe of militarising the country at the expense of the provision of basic commodities shows how important diplomatic concessions are to the stability of the state,

Reports indicate that Zimbabwe further ordered riot gear, water cannons, armoured vehicles, and AK-47 rifles from China. How impoverished Zimbabwe could pay for arms from China is a subject of much speculation; Defence Ministry officials have admitted to being in arrears for the 2005 arms purchases. Some observers suspect that the acquisitions are covered in some way by China's growing economic role in Zimbabwe.

State visits have been used effectively by Mugabe's regime in a bid to secure further diplomatic ties with China thus since the 1990s he has been frequenting to China to ask for assistance. In 2005 Mugabe travelled to request assistance to deal with the country's foreign exchange shortfall and fuel shortage, received a scant $6 million for grain imports reportedly because Zimbabwe was deemed unworthy of significant investment.

Although Mugabe did secure a $200 million buyer credit loan from China to promote agricultural production (reportedly the largest loan to Zimbabwe since western donors ceased lending in 1999), China dismissed reports that the countries were negotiating a much larger $2 billion loan meant to revive the country's flagging economy. In addition to investment and economic assistance, Zimbabwe's Asian partners have offered diplomatic support. A Chinese

official visiting in 2004 said that his government "appreciates the reasons for the land issue" and was opposed to any interference by foreign governments.

China played a leading role in trying to quiet U.N. efforts to condemn Zimbabwe for Murambatsvina, and is expected to veto any proposed action by the Security Council to punish the Mugabe Administration.

### 4.3.2.Zimbabwe-South Africa Relations

The bilateral relations between Zimbabwe-South Africa Thabo Mbeki's "quiet diplomacy" toward Zimbabwe has drawn criticism from some for its slow pace and seeming lack of results. However, some analysts point out that Mbeki's reluctance to openly confront or condemn Mugabe is understandable on a number of grounds. Mugabe lent aid and shelter to the African National Congress (ANC), now the ruling party in South Africa, during its long struggle against white minority rule, creating a bond of gratitude such components of creating friendships through actions(signals) have sustained Zimbabwe, locally, regionally and internationally. Mugabe enjoys considerablepopularity around Africa and in South Africa itself, not least because of his moves to seize lands owned by comparatively wealthy white farmers, and this may constrain Mbeki as well. The stance of seizing land around Africa extended Mugabe's stay in power and influence around the continent since he was glorified for looking in face of international detractors without fear.

South Africa has enjoyed the privilege of being Zimbabwe's greatest trade partner in Africa. This has made economic ties between the two countries strong as they continue to influence each other's economic systems. South Arica also has a port thus becoming the link between Zimbabwe and the international community as most of its exports come through South Africa. For example when Zimbabwe embarked on its re-militarisation exercise, she had to access them through South Africa. Furthermore most Zimbabweans have flocked to South Africa as economic refugees when Zimbabwe started to face challenges in both its social, political and economic systems. These relations clearly outline that Zimbabwe has tried to maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa and avoided all the derogatory actions and words to solidify diplomatic relations.

### 4.3.4.Zimbabwe-United Kingdom Relations

In 2002, in conjunction with the United States and the European Union, the British Parliament imposed targeted sanctions (for the purpose of this study sanctions are regarded as

signals) on leading members and affiliates of the ZANU-PF regime, as well an arms embargo and an asset freeze. The UK has imposed travel bans on over 100 members of the ZANU-PF and close affiliates of the party. Britain continues to provide humanitarian aid in Zimbabwe. Concurrently, the UK maintains its willingness to release funds to Zimbabwe to pay for parts of an orderly land redistribution program if Mugabe retires and the rule of law is returned. Mugabe was extremely hostile toward former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, a persistent critic. Speaking at his 81st birthday celebration, Mugabe said the upcoming election would *"kill once and for all the machinations of that man in Number 10 Downing Street, who for some reason thinks he has the divine power to rule Zimbabwe and Britain.... On March 31, we must dig a grave not just six feet but 12 feet and bury Mr. Blair and the Union Jack."* Current Prime Minister Gordon Brown has maintained his predecessor's position, boycotting the December 2007 EU-Africa Summit to protest Mugabe's attendance. It is through these unforeseen actions that Zimbabwe continues to feel the impact of Verbal diplomatic communication strategy and continues to lose its face value in the regional, international and local scene. This has also further complicated the trade, funding and business ties with WEST, and in return such actions greatly impacted on Zimbabwe's economic, social and political systems

## 4.4. Impact of Written Communication on the Diplomatic function

Diplomacy as a field of study depends much on the effectiveness of diplomats in their field of work. It is through this research that that written communication was singled out as the most viable and communicable form of information dissemination within the diplomatic field. In Zimbabwe the move to reintroduce the prime-ministerial post, had to be communicated in the form of formal letters that informed embassies and ministries responsible for such a shift in the composition of government. Furthermore Zimbabwe is a signatory of treaties that binds its different activities and these treaties have been made accessible in the form of formal or informal writing for example Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1962). Thus as a form of communication the ministry of foreign has relied much on written communication since its cheap and need less funds to administer. However concern has been raised by diplomats on the time taken to send and receive letters or any form of written communication which has been argued to delay decision making and implementation. Moreso this system of communication have been subjected to loss of credible data since the law on protection of diplomatic begs have been breached in most cases thus compromising the diplomatic

function. Another than the above stated factors written communication is argued to be an old and archaic way of communication that rather complicates and prolongs the effectiveness of communication strategies.

## 4.5. Impact of verbal communication on the Diplomatic function

Written communication on its own is insufficient to complete the effective implementation of the diplomatic function, it depends on verbal communication as a supporting element that authenticate and give emphasis on the message being send or being received. It depends much on the eloquence and clarity of the spoken word. There are several ways of disseminating information verbally these include press conferences, speeches, and statements issued by head of state or diplomats standing in on behalf of their country. Public proclamations by President Mugabe during international gatherings such as '*Blair keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe*', further compromised Zimbabwe's relations with Britain and contributed to the imposition of sanctions, these sanctions greatly influenced how diplomats conduct their daily business in Europe. It was through such innocuous proclamations that the WEST started to detest Zimbabwe and all its key components of national sustainability. The political, social and economic functions of Zimbabwe could not suffice in such an unorganised international relations. Such utterances have seen the lessening of value of diplomatic function and hence contributing to its ineffectiveness.

## 4.6. Impact of signals on the diplomatic function

Signals have been argued as intended or unintended actions by diplomats and Foreign Service officers that either communicate or response to certain actions by counterparts within the diplomatic circles. In this case a mere handshake or an act of saluting each other during international meetings and gatherings, clearly communicates the intention of the representative even without verbally communicating or writing something to convey a message. Diplomats and statesmen have subconsciously acted in a way that ambiguously misinform the other part thus causing tension in diplomatic relations. When Zimbabwe chose to embark on land reform the land grabs were violent and not supported by any legal instruments not until the action was taken. This clearly communicated a message that whites were not welcome and all their exploits deserved to be redistributed. Thus such domestic actions greatly influenced the face value of Zimbabwe in the international community thus promoting hostile diplomatic relations with the West.Through such an act of aggressiveness

the political, social and economic systems of Zimbabwe suffered a great blow from these actions of sabotage. However this form of communication has been singled out as more porous and ambiguous thus more tensions has been generated by these actions as they can be decoded differently thus it is very imperative to pave for the merging all the three communication methods to effectively contribute the effectiveness of the ministry.

## 4.7. Impact of written speeches at regional and international level

The ministry of foreign affairs is responsible for writing the president's speeches before they are forwarded to his personal assistance for further review and additions. Thus the relationship that exist between the ambassadors, minister and permanent secretary and people in their area of attachment, have a great bearing on the outcome of the speech. These speeches are further tailor made to pave way for the assurance of the state's agenda on regional and international relations and its domestic policy. The heads of states and government through the ministry of foreign affairs have facilitated the protection of national interests and the speeches read during gatherings such as independence have ensured uniformity around the country's embassies.

## 4.8. Impact of Diplomatic Communication Strategies on the Economy of Zimbabwe

Sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe have been agued to be targeted thus their impact have been singled out as null.Zimbabwe strongly condemns the use of unilateral economic sanctions as a foreign policy tool to effect regime change. Thus, the illegal economic sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by the United States and the European Union violate fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter on state sovereignty and non-interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state. Moreover, such illegal sanctions continue to inflict economic deprivation and human suffering on all Zimbabweans. In the eyes of our people, the sanctions constitute a form of hostility and violence against them for the simple crime of undertaking the land reform programme by which land was put in the hands of the then majority landless Zimbabweans.

Moreso, Zimbabwe decided to drop out of the commonwealth as a result of the allegations pinned upon her for violating human rights. This move was retrogressive since Zimbabwe

chose to "go it alone" and denied assistance from external countries. The argument brought forward was that the assistance came with conditionalities thus it opted out.

Zimbabwe's Economic support system in monetary, trade concessions, institutional development and policies relied much on theWEST in the early stages of independence and due to inconsistent policies and utterances the support began to drop drastically and so was the economy. Even though China and Africa came on board, their efforts were a drop in the ocean as there were great disparities on the amounts disbursed for Zimbabwe's sustainability. Locally Zimbabwe tried to suffice on its own through indigenising its land (land reform programme) and the socialist approach to development, however the timing and implementation of these actions (signals) was untimely thus the crisis was inevitable with added efforts to torment Zimbabwe, Sanctions in this case regarded as signals were imposed against Zimbabwe to motion the regime change agenda. These trends and developments within the economy of Zimbabwe are illustrated in the figure below.



**ECONOMIC SUPPORT**

■ 1980-1990  ■ 1990-2000  ■ 2000-2008

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (%)

| WEST | EAST | AFRICA | LOCAL |
|------|------|--------|-------|
| 600% 400% 150% | 250% 400% 500% | 100% 300% 300% | 400% 250% 100% |

SOURCE OF FUNDING
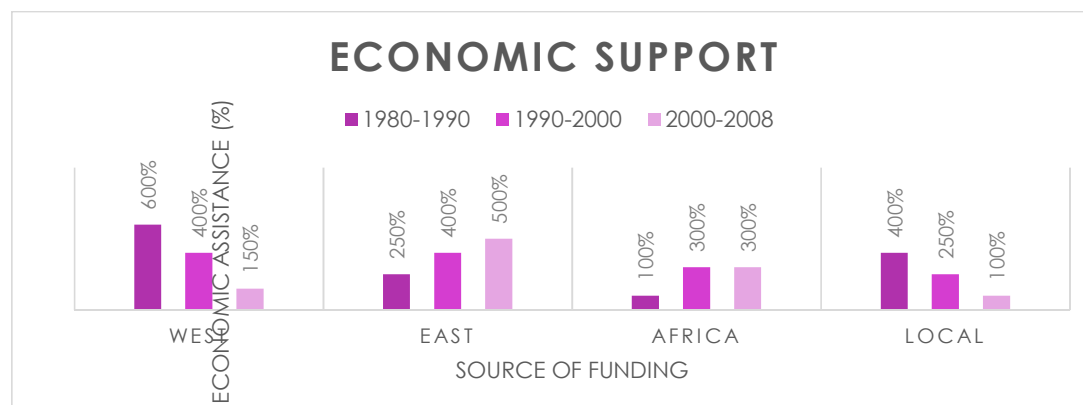
*Figure 1; (IMF and WORLD BANK statistics on financial aid; 2009)*

## 4.9. Impact of Diplomatic Communication Strategies on Politics of Zimbabwe

### 4.9.1. Civil society, Human Rights, Good Governance and Rule of Law

Politics in Zimbabwe has been marred with fear and patronage since independence with those perceived as threats and in contradiction with the ideals and principles of the ruling party ZANU PF subjected to torture and suppression. Principles of good governance seized to exist with intense introduction of repressive measures imposed to curd so-called malicious behaviour in during the widespread protests and sit-ins instigated by trade unions. The politics of fear for years since the 1995 era has prevailed thus highlighting instances of

maladministration and poor governance practices since no-one had the guts to stand up against such noises of inhumanity. Trade unions were the greatest threat to the Zanu PF government and to address such repressive laws such POSSA and AIPPA were crafted and enacted to silence the looming opposition. Even though these laws were regarded as domestic policies, they had greater bearing on the face value of Zimbabwe to the outside since they suppressed human rights and democratic principles. This tension fuelled the formation of one of the strongest opposition party funded mainly by the WEST. As one of the WEST's main agenda to contribute to regime change they funded the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) well and it was a pain it the flesh of ZANU PF.

Zimbabwe's electoral system was one which has left much gaps and faced intense criticism from the outside world especially the WEST. Elections that followed periods after 1996 were marred with intense vote rigging and manipulation of the voters' role, thus inviting considerable scrutiny from Civic organisations which were later suppressed with some being banned. Monopolistic tendencies continued up until the formation of the unity government in 2008 with the international community being denied access to observe elections. Mugabe placed much trust in the African bloc rather than the international community since there was inconsistence in the Foreign policy of countries in the WEST and the E.U. at large

The ZANU PF government used intense vote rigging techniques and employed jobless youth to go and perpetrate violence and force people to vote for them. This background was perpetuated by the need to maintain a strong hold on power thus the only way to do it was to use the young unemployed youth trained as youth militias and brigades to fight innocent and unarmed civilian. Periods that led to the run-off elections in June 2008 people were force marched to the election points unwillingly and forced to vote even though it was an uncontested election. Thus such acts of terror reshaped the face value of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic relations with the international community declaring Zimbabwe a civil war case during that period. However the move taken by Zimbabwe to ban International observers further raised intense suspicion thus making Zimbabwe one of the top ten countries that violated human rights to maintain power positions.

## 4.10. Impact of diplomatic communication on the social standing of Zimbabwe

### 4.10.1. Agriculture and Food production

Zimbabwe among most countries in sub-Saharan Africa had one of the most efficient agricultural system. It was one of the few countries on the African continent which was self-sufficient in food production. The country was capable of maintaining food supplies to its population without having to make recourse to substantial imports even in most drought years. Over time, Zimbabwe became one of the few countries in Africa to be a net exporter of cereal foodstuffs during the 1980s and 1990s.

The growing importance of Zimbabwe as a regional food supplier was apparent from the fact that considerable quantities of maize were transferred to neighbouring countries as a part of triangular transactions. In July 1985, the European Community purchased from Zimbabwe 25,000t of maize at a value of US \$4,5 million in order to provide food aid to Mozambique (10,000t) and Zambia (15 000t). In December 1985, the United Kingdom purchased 14,500t of maize which was then distributed in the drought-affected provinces of Mozambique .At the beginning of 1986, Australia and Zimbabwe concluded a contract whereby Australia would purchase 30,000t of maize to be used as food aid to various African countries.

In March 1986, South Africa imported 30,000t of maize from its neighbour Zimbabwe at a price some 33% higher than the level on the world market at that time. In 1988, Zimbabwe sold 95,000t of maize to the World Food Programme (WFP) and to other donors. In the 1980s and 1990s, Zimbabwe became the bread basket of the Southern African region. It was given the food security portfolio in the SADCC region owing to its ability to export surplus grain to its neighbours. The fast-track land reform programme, started by the Zimbabwean government in July 2000, which was geared at levelling out unfair advantages which the colonial era conferred on the minority white group led to the freezing of official development assistance in the agricultural sector.

Since 2000, Zimbabwe's food production has considerably declined with much dependence being placed on external supplies. Through the research conducted most arguments pointed to the unplanned and mis-informed land seizure programme which saw Zimbabweans elites instigating violent invasion of farm lands and destroying machinery and equipment worth billions of dollars. This made food production inevitably unreliable since the people who took

over the land had little or no knowledge at all on how to provide for the country's ballooning population.

Zimbabwe through its actions and spoken word greatly heightened the agricultural decline with production downsizing drastically especially after the violent invasion of the farms in early 2000. Even though Zanu Pf claims to be clean in these barbaric acts of subordination, the people who masterminded the invasion are still to date part of ZANU PF thus justifying the fact that it was through the ruling party's inaction that production nosedived.
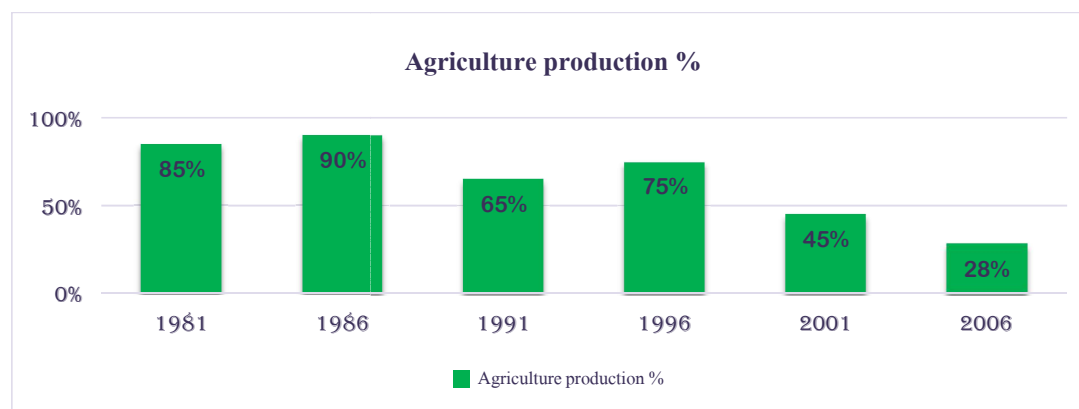


**Fig 2 (Source; World Food Programme (WFP) annual survey on agricultural sustainability: 2009)**

### 4.10.2. Health Sector

On achieving independence in 1980 the new government realized that health care was not adequately and equitably distributed to all sections of society. The structure of health care was biased in favour of certain groups such as Europeans who were in control of the health services. Samuel Agere, observes that, "based on this understanding of the nature of the problem with health services, the Ministry of Health adopted a policy of „Equity in Health" which indicated a radical departure from the previous system."

The Ministry decided to shift resources from urban to rural and from curative services to preventive services. The government's national health programme was in line with the World Health Organisation's (WHO) "Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000." In the interests of an improved public health services, the government implemented a series of special programmes which followed the policies announced in its "Primary Health Care" strategy. "These included an extension of the vaccination campaign against the six main

killer diseases affecting infants; the diarrheal disease control programme; children's supplementary feeding programme; national village health worker programme and provision of free health care to the low income groups" programme."

The EU was the most important donor to the health sector in Zimbabwe, contributing millions of euros to fund the above health related programmes. Ever since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the EU has provided the bulk of the country's" essential drugs including Anti-Retroviral and other medical requirements.

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

Aside from shortage of staff the health sector fell victim of drug shortages and mortality increased with chronic diseases such as cancer, and AIDS, rising insignificantly. Due to unemployment most families separated with quite a number relocating to South Africa, this greatly increased the rate of HIV and other sex related infections as there was no proper medication support and education from responsible ministries. Zimbabwe's social system malfunctioned with people struggling to table a decent meal in a day. This made high rates of prostitution inevitable thus increasing the rate of HIV infection.



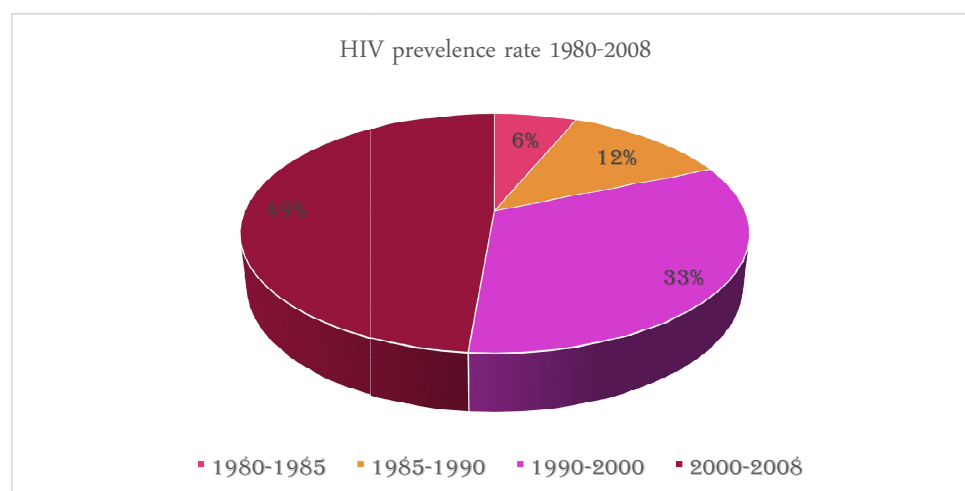**HIV prevelence rate 1980-2008**

6% | 12% | 49% | 33%

■ 1980-1985   ■ 1985-1990   ■ 1990-2000   ■ 2000-2008

***Fig 3: (Source, National Aids Council Annual Report: HIV prevalence report 2010)***

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The figure above illustrates the rate of infection and justifies the deterioration of services within the health sector and according to surveys conducted HIV and AIDS is associated with a poor social system and an undermined economic base.

Due to the plan to relocate people to rural areas who were squatting in town, the government further worsened the situation, this era saw the government introducing operation Murambatsvina in urban centres in a bid to reduce overcrowding and pressure on sanitation.

### 4.10.3. Education Sector

The majority of Zimbabwe's young people were poorly served by the education system until independence in 1980. "Whereas virtually all of the white minority had access to educational institutions, the vast majority of the black population had no access to secondary and higher education and tens of thousands never even started school."

After independence in 1980, the new nation made changes in the education system to reflect political changes and the new circumstances. Zvobgo postulates that, "education become a vehicle for social change. Racial education was replaced by unitary multiracial education." In the 1980s there was stunning evidence of the rapid expansion in the secondary and primary education. The EU played a major role in ensuring increased education and improved infrastructure. The rationale behind this was the realization of the role education played in development. Rural schools immensely benefitted from EU grants through the building of teachers" houses, classrooms and the provision of textbooks. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Zimbabwe government encouraged private organizations to construct schools so as to ensure accessibility to children of all races and classes and also to improve physical infrastructure.

However the education sector also fell victim of the action taken by ZANU PF government to drive away white settlers. After receiving plenty plus funding towards education Mugabe chose to slap the E.U. in the face and thus through anger from the derogatory sentiments shared, E.U. connived with the west and imposed sanctions. The look east policy didn't do much to revive the education sector instead they expanded their eastern territory. Even though there were some considerable measures to fund people to study in the EAST, it cannot be compared to the number of people who have been assisted by the WEST. Thus the communist and capitalist warfare is still in existence.

The education sector of Zimbabwe was highly dependent on the assistance from the WEST with most of its support and funding for development coming from the European Union. The table below shows AID provided to the education sector between 1980and 2005.

**E.U. Education Aid %**
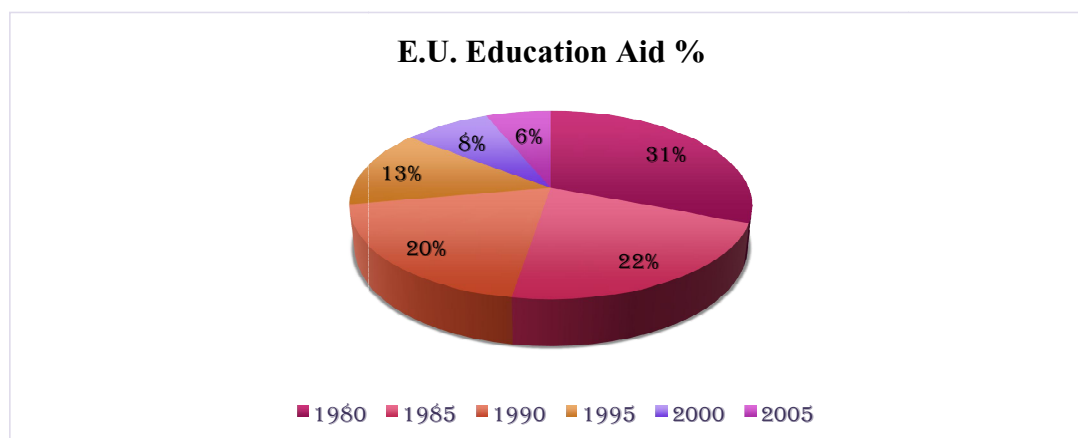


*Fig 4; (Source: Zimbabwe Ministry of Education: ODA Statistics: 2008)*

From the above estimates it can be noted that in the 1980s EU"s official assistance to Zimbabwe's education sector was very high. This aid was used to support the government's Transitional National Development Plan (1983-1985) and the Five Year National Development Plan (1986-1990)."Figure 2: Estimated Percentage Distribution of EU Aid to Zimbabwe's Education Sector from 1980 to 2005.

The EU's aid programmes involved construction of teachers' houses; provision of wells and boreholes at rural schools; training of teachers; construction of classrooms, laboratories and libraries; capacity building and supply of special education needs."EU aid inflows were also high in the 1980s owing to the Soviet communist threat to Western democracies. The EU used aid to court the newly independent African countries to its ideological side. Ignatius Chombo points out that, "between 1980 and 1984, 1000 schools were built. Between 1984 and 1988,310 schools were built and only 42 schools were built between 1992 and 1994."

After the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes in the 1990s, the EU demanded that pupils pay "user fees" if schools were to remain viable. This new aid perspective based on Western liberal principles largely explains why the rate of aid flows to the education sector was not as impressive after the 1990s as it had been in the 1980s. From 2000 to 2005 and 2008, EU funding to the education sector had greatly decreased to 8%, 6% and 3% respectively. The EU did not fund any new programmes in the education sector from 2005 onwards. Such programmes would have greatly improved education standards in

the country. The decrease in aid from 2000 onwards had a lot to do with the deterioration of relations between the EU and Zimbabwe. This also resulted in low morale among teachers due to low salaries and poor conditions of service. As a result teachers flocked mostly to neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. The European Commission reported that in 2006 about 4500 Zimbabwe teachers quit their jobs.

This greatly affected the quality of education in Zimbabwe. The overall education system in Zimbabwe continues to decline. Infrastructure is deteriorating. Zimbabwe needs to re-engage the EU if its education sector is to be saved from total collapse.

## 4.11. Conclusion

Diplomacy as a field of study has succumbed to too many phases of revolutions thus evolved from traditional and archaic ways to contemporary and empirical ways of conducting diplomatic activities. Through diplomatic communication strategies, several challenges and developments were felt thus the social, economic and political sectors were used to understand the impact of diplomatic communication on a country's stability as presented above. Moreso the chapter cross-reference diplomatic communication with the new trends that have been ushered in by globalisation and the shift in governance practises. Much as statistics have proven that Signals and Verbal Communication have been highlytrivialised in terms of the implications that follow but however in the Zimbabwean situation, have paved way for plummeting of the economy, politics and social life of the Zimbabwean populace.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

## 5.0. Introduction

This chapter conclude the dissertation with and overall analysis of the trends of diplomatic communication. It asserts the need to take into cognisant the factors that have been usheredinby globalisation and the creation of one international community. These factors have seen the gradual replacement of traditional ways of communication in diplomacy and paved way for new methods greatly informed by the intense use of technology. However this area has greatly been affected by financial standing of most countries thus making 3rd world countries more vulnerable and easy to manipulate.

## 5.1. Conclusions

Signals have been highly trivialised and thus their implications have been unimagined. This has made states to act aggressively and in an unplanned manner to try and win support from their countries to protect their national interest.

The gap between Zimbabwe's Diplomatic communication strategies and the internationally accepted standards of Diplomatic communication has continuously widened considering the value that has been placed on signals and verbal communication strategies. The field of diplomacy has continuously been dependant on the conduct of states in the international community and many of its principles have been dictated upon by great powers. This has compromised the adoption of other internationally accepted standards of diplomatic function. Zimbabwe as a sovereign state have been at the epicentre of criticism by the international community for deviating from the principles of international law that binds diplomatic conduct.

## 5.2. Recommendations

After making and assessment of the means by which the government and responsible ministries conduct their daily business with the outside world, it is imperative for the responsible for the following recommendations to be taken intocognizant to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of the Diplomatic Communication strategies. Furthermore the systems of economics, politics and social aspects dwell much on the ability to properly utilise Signals, and verbal communication to impact on their development.

### 5.2.1. Government

i.   Since most of the challenges bedevilling Zimbabwe have emanated from the action or inaction of the government and certain individuals it is important for the government to adopt proper policies that govern and address the way state representatives communicate mainly through actions (signals) or spoken word (verbal communication) to reduce instances of misunderstandings and tension.

ii.  After this research it is imperative that the government re-engage international community and restrain from derogatory actions and words during regional and international meetings or forums to re-operationalise the economic, social and political systems of Zimbabwe.

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iii. It is my submission that the president and all government officials should remember that they carry the flag of Zimbabwe and the plight of all Zimbabweans is in their hands thus whatever actions and proclamations they make should be made in the best interest of the country and should maintain the national interest and the desires of the people.

iv. There is need for GoZ to address the low levels of affordable connectivity and computer penetration among the Zimbabwean society, by investing in the provision of ICT infrastructure just like Roads and Electricity to propel the society towards ICT literacy which in the future will be the backbone for all citizens' communication and information needs. This will lay a strong foundation for active utilization of ICT in Zimbabwe's diplomacy. The Government could also partner with the Private Sector in this regard to provide the infrastructure and the computers and provide incentives such as tax holidays;


## 5.2.2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs

i. There is need for the MFA to align the use of diplomatic communication strategies with the implementation of its core objectives. These will not only make the use of Signals, Verbal Communication relevant in the Foreign Service, but it will make these more proper in solidifying ties among states, as well it will ease of access to information and communication viable. This will also lead to change of attitude towards the use of Diplomatic Communication Strategies;

ii. There is need for Government through the Ministry of Information and Publicity and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to provide interdepartmental coordination and sharing of information to enhance coordination and unity of purpose in furthering the national agenda. This will increase proper use of Diplomatic Communication Strategies by government and responsible ministries thus creating an environment suitable for use of these communication strategies for the development of the countryby Zimbabweans and other stakeholders. In the long run this will reduce paper based services, cutting costs, creating efficiency and reducing Government red-tape in communication and access to information;

iii. It is important to put in place a legal framework formalizing the use of online communication and services to stimulate use by the Private Sector; The Ministry

should hire private consultants to initially support the implementation of the ICT plan but back it up with rigorous staff training for the end user department to ensure continuity of activities in the absence of ICT experts who can occasionally provide support; There is need for MOFA to put in place a comprehensive framework to monitor and evaluate the use of ICT in the attainment of its objectives, to ensure the adoption of appropriate online services for Ugandans and the global community.

## 5.3. Chapter conclusion

This dissertation's main scope was to examine the change of trends in diplomatic communication with a specific focus on Zimbabwe. The dissertation has paved way for the intense understanding of the daily activities of Diplomatic personnel and the ministry of foreign affairs. Through the research diplomatic communication methods have revealed some of the pros and cons that befall states if they fail to adopt key principles that govern diplomatic communication, these include political, economic and social systems of the country. An understanding of the diplomatic communication strategies have shaped the domestic and foreign policy of Zimbabwe. It is also important to acknowledge the role played by domestic policies in formulating foreign policies and vice-versa. The recommendations will go a long way in re-shaping the way countries communicate with the outside world and what effects these strategies have.

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<div align="center">**APPENDIX**</div>

## (i) Request letter for research

Dear Sir/Madam

I am Pardon Chabata a Bachelor of Science (Honours) Degree student at Midlands State University majoring in Politics and Public Management. As part of the curriculum, I am mandated to undertake a research that concords with my area of study in this case your institution.

I would like to rest assure you that any information given will be treated with some confidentiality between the student and the examiner.

Your co-operation on this matter will be greatly appreciated.

NB: Please note that your name should not appear anywhere on this questionnaire.

Thank you,

NB: You are required to tick the appropriate box, and if there are any comments, put them on the space provided.

A research study is on the following topic;

***An assessment of Zimbabwe's Diplomatic Communication Strategies between 1980 and 2008.***

## ii) Questionnaire Guide

1. Do you understand the role/functions of Diplomatic Communication?

    Please Tick        Yes            No

2. Do you consider the present diplomatic Communication strategies in your organization to be effective?

    Please Tick        Yes            No

3. Do you think appropriate techniques and tools are being applied in achieving effective Diplomatic Communication in your organization?

    Please Tick        Yes            No

4. What methods of communication have been used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zimbabwe) to enhance its relationship with other countries since 1980?

Explain

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. What factors have influenced the adoption of such methods of communication in Zimbabwe's Diplomatic actions?

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…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Briefly explain the extent to which Diplomatic communication strategies have impacted on the economy, politics and social systems of Zimbabwe

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………..

8. How efficient are your diplomatic communication channels?

Please Tick     Effective        Not effective

10. To what extend have Zimbabwe's MFA adopted internationally accepted legal instruments that bind international communication?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

11. Do you think professionalism is being practiced in the handling of Diplomatic activities?

Please Tick       Yes           No

Explain

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………….

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**(iii) INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. How do you rate the effectiveness of the present diplomatic missions and do you think the ministry have met its objectives?

2. What communication strategies do you think are effective and how can they be fully exploited.

3. Does diplomatic Communication Strategies influence political, social and economic systems of the country

4. What challenges are being faced by diplomats in their daily missions and do you think they contribute to the ineffectiveness of the diplomatic communication strategies being faced?

5. What role has been played by non-state actors influencing the shift from traditional communication strategies to empirical strategies?

**SUPERVISION CHECKING LIST**

NB. THIS FORM MUST BE ATTACHED TO THE FINAL COPY OF YOUR DISSERTATION

NAME OF STUDENT..............................................REG no.........................................

**STEP 1 LIASE WITH SUPERVISOR FOR TOPIC**

SUPERVISOR.........................................SIGNATURE............................DATE..../..../....

Topic.......................................................................................................................................

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

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**STEP 2 SUBMIT TOPIC TO DISSERTATION COMMITTEE**

CHAIRPERSON SIGNATURE.................................DATE.........................................................

COMMITTECOMMENTS........................................................................................................

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

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

Date of Approval.......................................

**STEP 3 SUBMISSION OF PROPOSAL**

SUPERVISOR SIGNED.......................................DATE..................................................

**STEP 4 DATA COLLECTION**

Approved to proceed to data collection..............signed ...............................date

**STEP 5 PRESENTATION OF DATA FROM THE FIELD (RECORDINGS, QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS.....)**

SUPERVISOR.........................................SIGNED......................DATE.......................

**STEP 6 SUBMISSION OF THE DISSERTATION**

SUPERVISOR ..........................................SIGNED....................DATE...........................

**STEP 7 SUBMISSION FOR VIVA-VOCE**

CHAIRPERSON...............................DATE...................................................

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