

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR COMPREHENDING ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DILEMMA

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ABSTRACT

Comprehending the relations of any nation state's relations with the outside is a rather complex issue, especially if time frame exceeds a decade and more so, if the regime in power has been at the helm of decision making for quite some time. The complexity arises from the continued changes that take place within the international system which warrants the state to continually adjust its actions, reactions and interactions. Zimbabwe as a state has since independence in 1980 maintained a rather robust and active participation in the international system as way of ensuring sustainable development. Building an explanation for her interaction with the outside world requires a theoretical framework that guides the exploration of the foreign policy making process of Zimbabwe over time. It is therefore the purpose of this paper to map theoretical frameworks for comprehending Zimbabwe's foreign policy 34 years after independence as well as speculating on the future of foreign policy making in the ever-changing international system in the aim of achieving sustainable development in Zimbabwe. The theoretical frameworks raised will provide the basis through which interaction, actions and reactions of Zimbabwe as actor have a overall bearing on issues of achieving sustainable development not only for Zimbabwe but among actors in the international system.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Theory, International Relations, Zimbabwe, Development

INTRODUCTION

It is important to highlight that in order to comprehend Zimbabwe's foreign policy and its linkage to sustainable development one has to take note of the fact that it is not divorced from the traditional and historical themes that have shaped the world. From the impact slavery, mercantilism, colonialism, resources exploitation, intergovernmental organisations interaction, and overall political and socio-economic insecurity that dominates most of the African states. It is also embroiled in modern themes that gained currency with the end of the cold war that include liberalisation, democratisation, security perspectives, regionalism, power struggles, external influences, continentalism, and globalisation which have brought changing interpretations and capacities of the states' responses. From this background it is important to note that in order to comprehend Zimbabwe's foreign policy it is appropriate that multiple frameworks approach be adopted if one has expouse issues surrounding sustainable development.

FOREIGN POLICY THEORIES

One has to be careful with the use of the term theory since what we choose to call theories have been in literature over the years been referred to as paradigms, perspectives, discourses, schools of thought, images and traditions. (Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, 2009:11) Creation of scientific theory, whether through induction or deduction, remains a pressing task. Thus the research does not seek to be rigid in comprehending issues but relies on the strength of triangulation and eclecticism since there are many theories. Many meanings mean no single perspective tells all hence all perspectives have something to contribute. There are a wide number of theories that the research grapples and various classification have arisen. At most 'making comparisons between them is tenuous at best and vacuous at worst (Oliver Daddow, 2009:61). Central is the existence of vast array of explanation with some being an expansion of the former or a combination dealing with weaknesses of the former.

The theoretical framework underpinning this research builds on the conceptual framework regarding the field of investigation i.e. politics, international relations, foreign policy and development. Given the diversity and often contradictory theoretical frameworks of politics, international relations for this research multiple theoretical frameworks will be used to guide this research. The need to use these multiple theoretical frameworks is motivated by the desire to bring about a comprehensive understanding of Zimbabwe in international interaction and how it affects development. The weakness of each of the framework is compensated by the strength of the other. In fact when it comes to world politics it is important to highlight that science cannot uncover the one true way of comprehending issues because all ways are constructed and that the as no one way of achieving sustainable development..

THEORISING ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY

The paper will centre around two groups of theories. The first one pertains to international relations theories of power, liberalism and dependence which related to how circumstances arise, how they are changed and reproduced; and how they condition and influence action. The second relates to theories of foreign policy i.e. decision making theories which will encompass comprehensive rationality approach, bureaucratic politics approach, psychological approach, and the systems theory which deals with who are the actors, their resources and their repertoires of action; how and why do they decide to act; what are the actors' goals and interests and when do they arise (Engels Ulf 1994:11). Thus theories of foreign policy have to answer different questions in order to account for the foreign policy behaviour of not only states but also other international actors.

The purpose of these theories lies in the fact that they enable us to understand the actors, structures, institutions processes and particular episodes in the contemporary world (Scott Burchill and Andrew 2009:16). The paper takes consideration of the fact that in an arena of restructuring, which is above all what globalisation implies, the new architecture of world order at the beginning of this century cannot be imagined merely by calling forward a favoured body of overarching theory. In essence, the research takes care of certain requirements that ought to be fulfilled for a policy making theory to be relevant. For Palambo and Sheider a theory has to explain how public policy is made? Who the key decision makers are? Whose interests are advanced in public policy? Why they may be gaps between the policy objectives and policy outcomes. (2004:857).

Thus, as the theories are chosen paper took into consideration comprehension of an issue or process, explanatory power, success in predicting events, consistency and coherence, scope, capacity for and critical self-reflection. As the theories are explored paper take into consideration, as noted above, that it is very difficult to find a theory that will score at all things mentioned above, therefore political scientist's duty is fit the theories like jigsaw puzzle leaving out the flaws and taking only those that can explain particular issue/s, event/s, processes (Oliver Daddow 2009:62).

POWER THEORY/REALIST THEORY/RATIONAL ACTOR MODEL

Whilst this traditional theory has been said to lack explanatory power to African conditions and political system, this research begs to differ with this notion and alludes explanatory power of the realist theory to the African conditions. In fact, despite the views that realism does not appear to explain many African realities at first glance, but most case studies show alignment vis-a-vis the super powers and former colonial power are determinates of much of African foreign policies. Zimbabwe being a case in points as its relations with its former coloniser has continued to dominate her relations with the international community. On the basis of power theory Africa or Zimbabwe to be particular the stand point of power is derived from not from the point of view of being a powerful state but the lack of it. On one hand to explain the relations of states at almost the same level of power, at this point as African states or southern African state, issue of the struggle for power is eminent here. To which power theory is relevant in explaining the relations between Zimbabwe and her fellow developing countries, African states or Southern African countries.

From the tenets point of view, firstly, the competition amongst states for power is real than it is imagined. All states struggle for power and it is from the point of view of being powerful that national interests are safeguarded. This emanated from ancient philosopher, Thucydides who remarked that ' the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.' Robert Strassler 1996:5). As such Zimbabweans being a weaker state vis-à-vis the powerful developed states who wield power will suffer what they must. When it comes to development therefore

The powerful states, as symbolized by the so called developed states, with European connotations, have shaped the development of this global system, not through accident but through design and re-engineering. For Keygley and Blanton, 'the powerful did not design a global system for equals; the great powers followed the prescriptions of the realist thought to always seek self-advantage'(2011:103). As such development processes in African countries would be influenced by the actions of those that are powerful. In fact 'the origins and persistence of the inequalities of states stem in part from the fact that today's modern global system was initially, and remains a socially constructed reality by, of, and for the most powerful states' Charles W. Keegley and Shannon L. Blanton, 2011:103. The colonisation and subsequent

decolonisation of Zimbabwe bears evidence of the need for dominance and domineering which has come to shape the behaviour of Zimbabwe in the international system.

Secondly, a state's behavior is driven by rational assessment of interests and power resources to reach value-maximizing choices (Hans Morgenthau 1985). In designing foreign policy states are driven by the need ensure an achievement of their survival in anarchical environment. For Moldeski, All foreign policy requires power input, which is to say that power must be provided if foreign policy is to be followed at all; every foreign-policy operation (output) involves the use or misuse, of that power (George Moldeski 1962:40). Statesman are aware of the vulnerability of their entities and history have shown that a state is not a permanent feature in the international system and as it vanishes if it fails to protect itself confirming the concerns raised by Hobbes when he hinted that, life is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Oliver Daddow 2009:82).

Even the individuals who preside over the state apparatus and are at the helm of decision making are at most informed about the need to survive in a rather competitive environment. Jackson and Sorenson have noted that 'life is constantly at risk, and nobody can be confident about his or her security and survival for any reasonable length of time. People are living in constant fear of each other (Oliver Daddow, 2009:82). and unlike men and women states do not have a sleep, they have to be permanently on alert and have more means by which to fend off potential attackers. In Oliver Daddow, 2009 thus the behaviour of states is depicted by the behaviour the human beings it contains hence politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature (Hans J Morgenthau 2006) and are driven by the need to survive in a hostile environment.

Whilst moralists' intentions are depicted in most foreign policies especially at face value it is important to note that realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with moral laws that govern the universe. A closer analysis on human international political behaviour indicates that international politics, like all politics is the struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim statesmen and peoples may ultimately seek freedom, security, and prosperity or power itself (Hans J Morgenthau 2006). For Morgenthau driving people to fear God is 'liable to engender the distortions in judgement that, in the blindness of crusading frenzy, destroys nations and civilisations, in the name of moral principle, ideal or god himself' (Hans J Morgenthau 2006). Despite the existence of the dilemma between realist action and moralist action political actors are also aware of ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action (Hans J Morgenthau 2006). This is why propaganda is an important political tool in foreign policy formulation execution.

It is important to highlight that political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those to whom it is exercised. It gives the former control over certain actions of the latter through the effect that the former has on the latter's wants. In fact it is derived from three sources, the expectation of benefits, the fear of disadvantages, the respect or love for men or institutions. It may be exerted through orders, threats, and the authority, charisma of a man or of an office or a combination of any of these (Hans J Morgenthau 2006). For the hard-core realists, respect for moral principles is wasteful and dangerous interference in the pursuit of national self-advantage (Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa 2005:51).

Power as central to state and individual political behaviour reveal three basic patterns keeping power, increasing power, or demonstrating power. In essence Zimbabwe's relations with the outside world would be shaped by the need to

increase its power vis-à-vis its lack of it, within the region and beyond. Since it lack power in comparison to other powerful states Zimbabwe would forgo maintenance of the status quo and embark on confrontation with those that wields power and domineering on those that she perceives as less powerful. Thus dis agreements between Zimbabwe and other states are viewed as conflicts of interest and alliances are entered into to protect one's interest and cooperation indicates the commonality of interests (David Boucher, 1998:30).

Almost all international actions are power driven, any actions, be it dispatch of a note, the world tour of a minister, the grant of aid, or movement of an army requires effort and expense (George Moldeski, 1962:40-41). and is not driven by moralist behavior. For Moldeski '...there is no action without power' (George Moldeski, 1962:41). It is important to highlight that changes in behaviour of an international actors are directly related to the changes in the power output. As such resources constitute the very backbone of power input, and for this reason all those whose task is to decide on how to distribute power-output, how to allocate it to operations relating to the formation of resources (George Moldeski, 1962:45). Thus the maintenance of the existing power resources and the creation of the new ones becomes the pre-occupation of the statecraft. This demands that all assets be kept on constant care and the need for the formation of new power resources through power investment, which is the increase in power input and through the sacrifices of the existing outputs (George Moldeski, 1962). Thus struggles in Zimbabwe for the ownership of resources like land and other related resources is driven by the need to have independent control over resources for the purposes of political decisions and action.

Despite the shortcomings of the realist theory it is important to highlight that at the scholarly level, the realist paradigm's continuing capacity to evolve and grow by drawing insights from other fields and making them conform to its fundamental assumptions illustrate its fruitfulness and productivity as a guide to research (John Vasques and Marie T Herehan 2004:861). Thus this theory remains useful as a quick approximation to predict choices by policy-makers in states such as Zimbabwe in relation to the powerful international actors when it comes to facilitating developmental process. In the contemporary period, neo-classical realism accepts power rivalries but it suggests that state characteristics (state level variables) play a large role in the behavior of states. Neo classical realists believe that states don't just seek power and they don't just fear other powerful states, there are reasons that states seek power and there are reasons that states fear other states. Such theory informs the research on how Zimbabwe relates those it sees or perceives as being powerful or weaker visa vis its developmental challenges.

IDEALISM/ LIBERALISM/UTOPIANISM

This theory centers on three issues. Firstly, on human nature, the idealist/liberalist believe that a human being is peace loving, understanding, appeals to reason, rational and moral being. Those human beings are perfectible, faith in the power of human reason, faith in the power of humans to realise their inner potential, belief in progress (Oliver Daddow, 2009:70). As such the behavior of international actors is driven by the need by the need to create peace which is the conduit to promoting development.

Secondly, for idealists war is not the natural condition of international relations, peace is normal, and national interest are safe guarded by more than military means (Oliver Daddow, 2009:70). So states in terms of their behavior do not necessarily promote behaviors that are anti-peace but struggles to maintain harmony of interests and cooperation amongst actors. As such Zimbabwe's participation in international institutions and its abiding with international law has a

motivation on the need to be peaceful rather than resorting to non-peaceful means. Where peace is existence it creates an environment conducive for the attainment of sustainable development.

Thirdly, on governance, democracy is necessary for the perfectibility of human beings to be allowed to develop. Thus for any state institutionalising democracy becomes the norm, thereby contributing to peace. As envisaged that democracies do not fight each other (Francis Fukuyama 1992).

The approach stresses the importance of moral values, legal norms, values and harmony of interests as guides to actions and interactions of actors. The growth of multilateral institutions is influenced by liberal thinking and their expansion to cover almost all spheres of life demonstrates the importance of the idealist explanation (Oliver Daddow, 2009:78). Thus, Zimbabwe in joining these institutions is a realization that legal norms and harmonization of interest is possible. It becomes imperative therefore that Zimbabwe's international behavior is either facilitated or limited by and large by international norms, rules and regulations.

In essence for the liberals' key foreign policy objectives involve the long term economic and social welfare of a society as a whole (Centre for Peace Initiatives in Africa 2005:53). The aim of liberal foreign policy lies in the promotion of liberal principles abroad, thus changing the cultural, economic and political constitutions of non-liberal states so that the world's states are organized on universally accepted values and norms. In essence a state like Zimbabwe perceived by the liberal states as being non-liberal state would receive negative perception from the liberal community. The negative perception leads to the design of tools that are meant to alter the behavior and ultimately change the state's orientation to be more liberal. Resistance to liberalism, historically, has led to military intervention which has proved to be counter-productive (Beate Jahn, Classical Smoke 2006:181) and for Zimbabwe it proved that it is not possible to militarily deal with her. The preferred means to this end are economic sanctions or restricted interaction with the liberal states as Zimbabwe in the 21st century demonstrates. As the state becomes liberal benefits and rewards are extended in form of aid and trade with liberal or transnational states.

The centrality of the liberalist approach in understanding the behavior of states in the international system lies in the dominance of the capitalist system that came with the end of cold war. The end of cold war and the globalisation of world economy represent the growth and enhancement of liberalism. It makes state not the main actors on the international stage, states not unitary actors, and interdependence between states as the key feature of international relations (Oliver Daddow, 2009:70). When it comes to Zimbabwe international actors have expanded to include very active Non-Governmental Organisation and several civil society organisations. These have been central in driving the agenda for achieving sustainable development.

Whose interest do non state actors represent in the diverse international community is a question which the idealist would fail to answer. It can explain economic foreign policy but again it is linked to power—economic capability has a power function, which means control of weaker economies and failure to comply with the determination of those that are economically superior its meant with harsh punishment- sanctions, military interventions and aligning with those with resources is met with rewards. Given the need for development aid, many African countries have lost prior control over the establishment of an independent economic foreign policy (John James Quinn 2010:24-45). And have been forced to implement the ethos and the dictates of liberalist not out of the will but out of shortage of options. Those in opposition to liberalism have become radical in orientation an approach Zimbabwe has taken on major policy issues.

DEPENDENCE/RADICALISM/MARXIST

Emerging from the realist theory is the creation of hierarchy within the international system of states in relation to their power capabilities. Infact, 'in summary, imperialism and human nature are integrally related. A state that has the ability to acquire an empire is compelled to so by the Laws of Nature which dictates that the powerful rule the weak; that one must rule whatever one can; that self-interest overrides considerations of justice; that others will rule over you if you do not rule over them' (David Boucher 1998:77). As such other are rich and powerful whilst others are poor and less powerful creating a situation of dependence of one group of state over other states. In essence it marks the development of the system of dependence amongst state. Dependence theory put into perspective is the incorporation of developing countries into the world capitalist system.

Dependence as a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces (Koehene and Nye in Engels Ulf 1994:15) largely it affects the less developed countries/developing countries/Third world states. In essence, the third world states' behaviour, 'can be seen as a function of economic concerns, which include demands for more participation in existing liberal international regimes, or as a response to structural weakness, which leads to demands for more authoritative regimes that would enhance both wealth and control' (Krasner in Engels Ulf, 1994:16).

Thus the third world will serve the international system as the periphery with roles to play which does not result in their emancipation. At most, according to Wright they serve an important economic function as a source of strategic cheap raw materials, markets for expensive manufactured products, outlets for the export of capital and reserves for cheaper labour within the international division of labour (Stephen Wright, 1999:17). The interactions does not allow for their development despite the fact that they increase their earnings from the capital they invest. This is so because they tend to buy more than they are producing.

One good advantage of the centre/ the developed world is that it purchases these strategic raw materials are key to their national economy and defence and security cheaply (Stephen Wright 1999:17). A reason attributed to the nature of the global economy where the periphery does not participate in the decision relating to the setting of the prices of these raw materials. In fact the centre controls the entire processes in global economic policy making, assigning values to goods and services and controlling the overall flow of global resources from raw materials to knowledge production and dissemination. For Hill, third world states have continued to look to the old metro poles for investment services, freight forwarding, medicine, secondary and tertiary education, sports and entertainment, consultancies and technical standards (2003:172). In addition advanced technological, information, management, marketing and transportation tequiniques, and advanced science-based production methods of the centre are sought for by the periphery.

Thus the obtaining trade relationship between Africa and the centre is that of unequal exchange of commodities. While the primary products of African countries are sold to the centre at prices lower than their actual value, the manufactured products of the centre are sold to African countries at highly inflated prices (Stephen Wright 1999:18). This weakens Africa's economic position leaving transnational corporations to occupy a dominant position in determining the

development processes globally. At most the foreign policy of African countries depends on the decisions of the centre and is not primarily determined by African Countries (Stephen Wright 1999:18).

To this end Galtung sees this situation as the continuation of imperialism. For Galtung imperialism is in existence in contemporary world politics and is depicted: economically; the centre with means of production and processing, whilst the periphery provides raw materials and the markets; politically; the centre makes the decisions and models, and the periphery obedience and imitation; militarily; center offers protection, means of destruction while the south discipline and traditional hardware; communication the centre news and means of communication and the periphery emulates, passengers, goods; culturally; teaching, means creation-autonomy while the periphery learning, validation, and dependence (John Galtung 2006:239).

The necessary steps to be undertaken by African countries have been diversification of export markets and import sources. Production for the internal market to replace production for export as the basis of national economy and exports must become an extension of production for internal use (Stephen Wright 1999:22). However in most instances it has been very difficult to implement these measures because of structural limitations as well as dependence on the same forces for resources to successfully implement the policies.

According to Patel, dependence leads to developing countries into external reliance, fragmentation of the internal economy and compromise and collusion between national and international interests (Patel H.H 1987). There has been efforts by some developing countries like Zimbabwe do deal with dependence but with some challenges emerging. Thus in relation to dependence theory Zimbabwe's problems and emerging crisis in the 21st century can be linked to its incorporation into the international system where it attempting to disperse aspects of dependence. Zimbabwe exhibits at the very least attempts to at the dispersal of dependence

Though other authorities would like to argue that dependence does not offer much in explaining foreign policy of subordinate states (Michael B. Dolan, Brian W. 1980:415-449) it is important to note that for weak states foreign policy is a central instrument in altering the situation (Aluko in Engels Ulf, 1994). As the Zimbabwean case demonstrates the fighting the position of weakness has lead it to pursue an aggressive foreign policy which has pitted it against the most powerful states.

Others have argued that interdependence defines the order of the contemporary international system. Interdependence referring to mutual dependence, asymmetry described as an unbalanced mutual dependence and power the ability of an actor to get others do something they otherwise would not do (and at an acceptable cost to the other actor (Koehene and Nye in Engels Ulf, 1994:15) indicates that the overall benefit is tilted in favor of the powerful without giving a chance of the developing countries to progress and take a centre in international affairs. Overall, proving the importance and explanatory power of the dependence theory. For Shaw though 'the old rhetoric about imperialism and dependence had already worn rather thin; now it is quite thread bare. But the old habits die hard and reform conditionalities are quite unattractive (Timothy M. Shaw, 1994:21).

COMPREHENSIVE RATIONALITY MODEL

Comprehensive rationality model as a decision making theory assumes that humans have the capacity to comprehend reality and the processes of social change so as to guide the society in a given direction. As such experts or an elite set of

decision makers can use available knowledge to guide a society towards predetermined ends (good at organisational level) not so at societal level at large (Dennis Palambo, Anne Larason Schneider and Helen Ingram 2004).

In terms of understanding international relations the theory model adopts the state as the primary unit of analysis, and inter-state relations (or international relations) as the context for analysis. The state is seen as a monolithic unitary actor, capable of making rational decisions based on preference ranking and value maximisation. The process of making the decisions follows particular stages to arrive at a particular decision. According to the rational actor model, these stages chronologically includes: goal setting and ranking, consideration of options, assessment of consequences and value-maximization.

The setting out foreign policy goals and objective is motivated by rationalist calculations based on interest to be advanced. For Hill, '...the notion of rationality need not be abandoned altogether; so long it is not interpreted too narrowly or too prescriptively. In foreign policy the stakes are certainly too high to risk a conduct of affairs which disperses with, or even just down grades, the values associated with reason and rational processes' (Christopher Hill, 2003:126).

States or decision makers are viewed as solitary actors searching to maximise their goals in global politics (Lloyd Jensen, 1982:5) as such they tend to use the available information to make the right decision. Whilst some argue that it not possible to comprehensively analyse a problem and put the most rational policy given huge problems of uncertainty, information overload and a complexity which confront any public policy maker make it impossible to live up to the rationality method (Christopher Hill, 2003:103). It is important to highlight that the decision making environment takes cogniscent of what is available at that particular time to represent the totality of what is available when the decision is done.

However, this theory suffers some set back in that ignoring political factors like "political decisions, non-political decisions, bureaucratic procedures, continuations of previous policy, and sheer accident" (M. Clarke, in Cheltenham: Edward Elgar 1989: 27-59) it would fail to capture some issues in decision making. In fact, making decision is rather a continuous process that takes cogniscent of the past or experiences of others.

This is true for Zimbabwe having achieved independence at a later date than majority of African countries the leadership had a lot to learn from the experiences of other countries. Again it is important to note that individuals are the decision makers/the true actors in international relations. Every international event is a result of intended and unintended decisions made by individuals that individual decisions reflect the values and beliefs of decision maker (Joshua Goldstein 1994).

In addition using the theory need to note that some foreign policy challenges often exist where foreign policy seem to occur by accident than by design. Thus issue of rationality has to take into cogniscent issues of substance versus procedure, the individual versus the collective, efficiency versus democracy, normative versus positive (Christopher Hill 2003).

BUREAUCRATIC POLITICS APPROACH

This approach centers on the working of a government system. This is critical when it comes to achieving sustainable development as the government is the critical actor and driver of developmental projects. As scuck knowledge of the working of government would help understand how developmental goals and projects are consummated in relation to

actors in the international system. The working of government presents a complex phenomenon which displays what is commonly referred to as bureaucratic politics. This approach attempts to understand the inner workings of government by focusing attention on the role of bureaucracies and institutions. It highlights the role of organizational interests and bureaucratic procedures.

This approach is pertinent to understanding policy decision making as it is useful, especially in describing the interaction within a government, which leads to a decision, and the subsequent implementation of policy and serves as an effective explanation for some behaviors that appear not to be the product of rational calculation.

This is so because governments in their operation are largely semi-autonomous organizations with senior officials, each pursuing narrower purposes, and interacting using defined procedures to come up with final decision to be taken upon a particular issue or issue area. In fact, policy making is politics, and the bureaucrats responsible for high level foreign policy decisions are political animals whether they recognise the fact or not (Christopher Hill 2003:96).

For Zimbabwe key government agencies that deal with foreign policy becomes critical in foreign policy making process as formulators, implementers and evaluators of foreign policy action and outcomes to ensure that the set out development goals are realised. In relation to Zimbabwe the head of state and the ministry of foreign affairs, especially through coordinating all the activities of various ministries and agencies, are central in foreign policy making in Zimbabwe. In fact all activities of government in this globalization era have an international dimension. Thus ministries that deals with defence, home affairs, finance, economic development, international trade, international integration becomes very active in foreign policy issues. Besides these arms of the executive the parliament as an arm of government is also central in foreign policy issues as it is seized with ratification of international instruments. Thus the inputs processes and outputs from the working of these government offices feed it the foreign policy making. Often including issues raised by non-state actors being feed into the system through the various government departments concerned ensuring that all actors critical in development process participant in all levels of policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

The psychological approach deals with considerations that are taken into consideration when decision makers are making choices. This approach gives recognition to the uncertainties faced by decision-makers and the role of world views, cognition, and perceptions in dealing with them in relation to other international actors. The research will incorporate this as it attempts to the psychological processes i.e. perception, mis-perception, belief systems on the foreign policy behavior of states. In other words identity, interests and behavior are socially determined and actors are not prisoners of their socialization but the behavior of actors has the potential to reshape their interest, and changes in interests affects identities based on their cognition (Richard Ned Lebow 2008:563).

This theory bridges the gap between cognitive and rational theories of decision making. It postulates a two-stage decision process which on the first stage possible options are reduced by applying a "noncompensatory principle" to eliminate any alternative with an unacceptable return on a critical, typically political, decision dimension (Alex Mintz, 2004). It captures a basic intuition about the unwillingness of political leaders to do anything that might significantly threaten their domestic political positions (Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy 2013). Once the choice set has been reduced to alternatives that are acceptable to the decision maker, on the next stage, the decision maker uses more analytic

processing in an attempt to minimize risks and maximize benefits Alex Mintz, 2004. Thus the whole process of decision making involves cognitive processes which need to be taken into consideration when examining international relations and foreign policy in particular. Thus in order to fully appreciate developmental processes the mind set of development actors needs to be taken into consideration. There has been a tendency amongst actors in development process to put their interest first there by affecting the overall goal of achieving sustainable development.

SYSTEMS THEORY

In trying to marry aspects of international relations theory and the decision making theory the research integrates some related thinking under the systems theory. In essence, 'Systems analysis is a holistic perspective on a defined field of study ... the systems analyst look for definable and regular patterns of interaction between the constituent actors, in particular to see what structural characteristics and persistent and regular processes to be identified' (Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, 1992:313). White and Clarke prefers to call it the foreign policy system (Michael Clarke, 1989:8).

Historically the concept emerged from the Ludwig von Bertalanffy's open system analysis that enables one to a field or a set that interacts with an environment (In Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham 1992:313). The operation of any entity is read from the point of a system, in relation to its interaction with others within the same system. System theory as such it is applicable at any levels of analysis that can be stipulated for the study of world politics for as long as it is a complete functioning entity. A political process becomes a boundary activity between the national system and international (Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham 1992:313). For David Easton political life becomes 'a complex set of processes through which certain kinds of inputs are converted into the type of outputs we may call authoritative policies, decisions and implementing actions'(1965:32)

The theory assumes that society constitutes a system of behaviour, political life is surrounded by biological, physical, social and psychological environments, political life forms an open systematic, and the political systems, may be adaptive and need not just to react to passive or sponge like way. For David Easton political system could be seen as a delimited, that is, all political systems have precise boundaries and fluid or changing system of steps in decision making. (1965:32)

The theory can be represented through Fig 1 below.

to developing countries, particularly, Zimbabwe, it is of importance to recognise its applicability since most post-independence national structures in African states have become more complex, different actors have emerged in the last two decades towards the 21st Century as they seek to achieve a development model that is sustainable at the backdrop of centuries of exploitations through primitive trade, slavery and colonialism..

Conclusion And The Future Of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy Theory

It is important to highlight that theoretical frameworks are not in themselves fully adequate in explaining phenomenon. In fact for Clarke 'no single explanation is adequate to deal with the complexity of foreign policy, but a series of assumptions can yield a number of possible explanations which gives some insight into regularities of behaviour in a certain context (Michael Clarke, 1989:41). Bearing in mind the lack of a largely acceptable theory on foreign policy in general and African foreign policy to be specific (Ulf Engels 1994) the analytical framework of understanding Zimbabwe's foreign policy depend on these several theoretical fragments. Given the above analysis one can discern that understanding foreign policies in developing countries and Africa to be particular requires a rather multiple theoretical framework to explain a rather complex set of relations with various international actors if one has to explain the factors underpinning the achievement of sustainable development. However, it is important in political science that given the short comings of theoretical frameworks the research to be more realistic it has to rely on empiricism to cover up the gaps. Empiricism asserts calls for acquisition of knowledge that take consideration the knowledge that comes (only or primarily) via sensory experience opposed to rationalism which asserts that knowledge comes (also) from pure thinking. It is from this backdrop that Zimbabwe prevailing development challenges could be addressed if it is to achieve the desired sustainable development. The gaps that the theoretical frameworks fills is critical in espousing issues that needs to address the development gaps that exists not only in Zimbabwe but the majority of African countries.

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