



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE FOR AREA STUDIES**

**THE INTERACTION OF DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN
POLICY: A CASE OF ZAMBIA**

Master's Thesis

AMON SHAKEMBA

AFRICAN STUDIES

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African Studies

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Final Approval





ABSTRACT

Most countries, Zambia included, make foreign policies that reflect the domestic interest of a state. These domestic interests range from political, economic, military and the needs that may arise within the state at a particular time. The overall objective of this study was to analyse the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia. The specific study objectives were; to investigate the actors involved in the foreign policy-making process in Zambia; to examine the role of domestic policy in shaping the country's foreign policy and to find out whether domestic policy change affects Zambia's foreign policy. The study was exploratory and a one-time case study of Zambia. It was qualitative in nature as it used qualitative data due to the nature of the findings the study intended to achieve. Both primary and secondary data were used. The primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews, while the secondary data were centred on the use of already published books, articles, journals, YouTube, newspapers, internet materials, government official statements, other research papers and event occurrences. The study sample size was six (6) key informants of which four were academicians and researchers from the University of Zambia who lecture and comment on Zambian politics in the country. While the other two are policymakers from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. The key informants were selected using the purposive sampling method. The collected qualitative data were analysed using content analysis. In relation to the first specific study objective, the study findings reveal that in Zambia the President has been the main actor in foreign policy making because constitutionally he is the chief diplomat while government ministries and Presidential advisors play the supporting role. In regard to the second specific objective on the role of domestic policy in shaping the country's foreign policy, it has been found that economic, ideological, political, religious, social and national security policy plays a vital role in shaping Zambia's foreign policy. Other domestic policies that have an influence on foreign policy include Vision 2030 and economic recovery among others. While on the final specific objective it has been indicated that domestic policy change brings about certain changes in the foreign policy of Zambia.

Key Words: Country, Domestic Policy, Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, Zambia

ÖZET

Zambiya dâhil birçok ülke ulusal çıkarlarını yansıtan dış politikalar yapmaktadır. Bu iç çıkarlar; siyasi, ekonomik, askeri ve belirli bir zamanda ülke içinde ortaya çıkabilecek gereksinimlere kadar çeşitlenmektedir. Zambiya'nın iç ve dış politika etkileşimini analiz etmek bu çalışmanın temel amacıdır. Zambiya'da dış politika yapım sürecine dâhil olan aktörleri araştırmak; ülkenin dış politikasını şekillendirmede iç politikanın rolünü incelemek ve iç politikadaki değişimin Zambiya'nın dış politikasını etkileyip etkilemediğini bulmak ise alt amaçları oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma keşfedici nitelikte olup, Zambiya vaka örneği olarak incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada birincil ve ikincil verilerden yararlanılmıştır. Birincil veriler yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar aracılığıyla elde edilirken ikincil veriler mevcut literatürdeki kitap, makale, dergi, gazete, resmi devlet açıklamaları, açık kaynaklar ve YouTube'dan elde edilmiştir. Nitel araştırma yaklaşımının benimsendiği bu çalışma kapsamında dördü Zambiya Üniversitesi'nde Zambiya siyaseti hakkında ders veren akademisyen ve ikisi Dışişleri ve Uluslararası İşbirliği Bakanlığı'ndan politika yapıcılar olmak üzere altı (6) kilit konumdaki kişi ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Kilit bilgi sahibi kişiler amaçlı örnekleme yöntemi kullanılarak seçilmiş, toplanan nitel veriler ise içerik analiz yöntemi kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, birinci araştırma sorusu özelinde, Zambiya'da Cumhurbaşkanı'nın, anayasal olarak baş diplomat olması ve hükümet bakanlıklarının ve Cumhurbaşkanlığı danışmanlarının onu destekleyici bir rol oynaması sebebiyle, dış politika yapımında ana aktör olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. İkincisi, iç politikanın ülkenin dış politikasını şekillendirmedeki rolüne ilişkin olarak Zambiya'nın dış politikasının şekillenmesinde ekonomik, ideolojik, siyasi, dini, sosyal ve ulusal güvenlik politikalarının hayati bir rol oynadığı tespit edilmiştir. Vizyon 2030 ve ekonomik iyileşme gibi ulusal politikalar da dış politika üzerinde etkisi olan iç politikalar arasındadır. Nihai sonuç ise, Zambiya'nın iç politikasındaki değişimlerin dış politikasında da değişiklikleri beraberinde getirdiği ortaya konulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ülke, Ulusal Politika, İç Siyaset, Dış Politika, Zambiya

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Statement of Compliance with Ethical Principles and Rules

I AMON SHAKEMBA, hereby declare that the work presented in this study is of my own research and it has not been previously published in any form. In this study ethical principles and rules were adhered to.



ABBREVIATIONS

AU: African Union

COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EU: European Union

FRELIMO: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

IMF: International Monetary Fund

MMD: Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

NSC: National Security Council

OAU: Organization of African Unity

PF: Patriotic Front

SA: South Africa

SADC: Southern Africa Development Community

UN: United Nations

UNIP: United national independence Party

UNITA: The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

UPND: United Party for National Development

USA: United Sates of America

WB: World Bank

ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union

UNITA: The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZNBC: Zambia National Broadcast Cooperation





CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Study

Globally, countries formulate their foreign policies based on different factors. They decide which country or non-state organization to interact with and what interest to promote on the international scene. For example, countries like the United States of America as well as Britain are among the few that have been active in promoting their democratic values when interacting with other countries within the international system. Although with no single agreed definition, foreign policy involves behavioural patterns expressed by states when interacting with other actors. Foreign policy can be defined as the set of goals or objectives and plans which states set toward other states and international organizations (Folarin, 2017). However, it is important to note that foreign policy making is affected by both external and internal factors. The external factors responsible for shaping a foreign policy of a state range from International Organizations, International Law and the behaviour of other states among others. On the internal factors, it has been documented that foreign policy is affected by local politics, population, public opinion, national interest, and the history of a state among others. According to Hagan (1993), foreign policy making is a political decision, hence it gets affected by different political factors. The domestic-political phenomena usually interact to affect or influence foreign policymaking. Therefore, foreign policymakers usually consider the domestic factors and domestic situations too. These factors are factored into the foreign policy-making of states. Furthermore, the domestic factors also include opposition political party behaviour and political leaders' influence (Hagan, 1993).

In addition, Bextemirova (2015) explains that a state's foreign policy is determined by its domestic policy. He narrates that in any country the domestic policy configuration exhibits a predominant role in analysing and understanding a state's foreign relations. Hence, for one to have a better understanding of a country's foreign policy, a domestic political configuration like the state's political system, political policies, political leadership and other domestic factors of a state must be put into consideration. To Bextemirova (2015) domestic policy is a key factor in understanding a state's behaviour in the international system.

Further, foreign policy is viewed as the rational pursuit of a state's planned national objectives. These pursuits are meant to define actions, roles and steps which delineate a state's attitude and behaviour in the external environment. As explained by Sheriff Folarin, states' foreign objectives also known as a foreign policy may be considered to be like a "wedding ring" with which a nation's domestic policy solemnizes its union with other international actors. To Folarin, such a "political marriage" is guided by the state's ambition and desires. Thus, a state's foreign policy is basically "a means to an end for a state". He further explains that foreign policy is defined by domestic dynamics and changes because it projects the state's domestic values and the nation's interest in its local development. Moreover, the foreign policy of a state aims at strengthening the internal context of a polity through the outside environment (Folarin, 2017).

Tip O'Neil, the former United States House of Representative Speaker in the 1980s, *"All Politics is Local"*. He explained that during foreign policy formation, it is important to note that a country's foreign policy is ultimately linked to a country's domestic policies. He mentioned that domestic policies are of importance in the realm of foreign policy. Mostly, states defend their domestic policies and interest when interacting with other actors in the international system. Thus, foreign policy is used as a tool to promote and defend a country's domestic and national interests. Sometimes, it is vital to note that the course of domestic politics is seen as a determiner of various state relations abroad, he explained (Ortega, 2020). For example, while external factors seem to affect the United States' foreign policy, domestic politics still cannot be taken away or ignored when understanding the USA's foreign policy. This is because, from history in time, the USA's domestic policy and politics have also been at the centre of the country's foreign policy. For example, the USA's promotion of liberal policies and agendas in the country gets reflected in its foreign policy. This has been observed on different occasions when the country is dealing with other countries in the international community. In 2010 for example, former U.S President Barack Obama criticized the Zimbabwean government led by Robert Mugabe for not promoting a liberal political environment in Zimbabwe. Obama stated that American sanctions on Zimbabwe were not going to be withdrawn because Zimbabwe was still promoting undemocratic tendencies. To promote liberal leadership, Obama further went on and invited young African aspiring leaders from Southern Africa to the White House to which a leadership workshop was offered to them (Bull, 2010).

Furthermore, countries like Spain have a great deal in pushing domestic politics in the foreign arena by engaging non-state actors in promoting the Spanish foreign policy. Spain has been encouraging local active participation of local actors like the Civil Society, and local companies are among the few to be active in implementing local policies. At the same time, it is promoting its local companies to be active implementors of its foreign policy abroad. This was highlighted in Martin Sandbu's analysis of domestic and foreign policy, he stated that "what a country does domestically will affect what it can do on the biggest stage." Spain has been pushing its domestic climate change policy for European Union (EU) adoption. The policy aims at tackling climate change in Spain (Ortega, 2020).

In Africa, some countries like South Africa have demonstrated a foreign policy which resonated with domestic policy. As seen after apartheid, New South Africa embarked on the promotion of democracy in the country. When Nelson Mandela became President in 1994, he stated that his government was not going to be indifferent to others' rights. Everyone in South Africa was going to be treated equal and fair. Mandela also highlighted that human rights are the light guide to New South African foreign policy. As he promoted democratic values domestically, he was projecting the need for promoting and fostering democratic political systems of governments globally. New South Africa also became active in calling for a stop to the human rights abuse in other countries. For example, in the 1990s Mandela called for a stop to human rights abuse in Nigeria. The New South Africa also became an active member of the African Charter on Human Rights (Cooper, 1998:709-10).

Just like other countries, Zambia is among the developing countries with an active foreign policy. Since its independence in 1964, the country has been seen to be active in the international mallei. Zambia's first Republican President Dr Kenneth. Kaunda of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) became one of the most active African leaders in the fight against colonialism in Africa. Kaunda took an active foreign policy on the liberalization of Southern Africa. He also made changes to the local political system in the 1970s by introducing a One Party-State. Externally, Zambia was active in providing military, political and financial support to countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe that were under white minority rule. The government also showed interest in solving the Angolan War in the 20th Century. Furthermore, it called for Western support in solving this conflict (Chan, 1987).

Moreover, Zambia showed support to International Organizations like The Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) now called as African Union (AU). UNIP government always presented Lusaka, as an international centre for liberation movements. Main international actions were carried out in Lusaka. For instance, Zambia being a frontline state, was active in forming the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), currently known as the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The formation of SADCC took place after the Lusaka Declaration of 1980 towards the national political liberalization of Southern Africa. The OAU called for countries' support in fighting colonialism in Africa. With this calling, Kaunda continued to fight colonialism in Africa (Chan, 1987). Originally SADCC was later changed to SADC in 1992 with a focus on economic integration. In the 1980s, Zambia was seen to express more economic interest away from political interest (POL Module, 2014).

Even with the change of government in 1991, when UNIP lost power to the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) under the leadership of Dr. Fredrick Titus Chiluba, the country continued to take an active role in its external relations with the international community. Domestically there was also a change in the economic and political system. The country promoted its relations with International Organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in search of its internal development. Under the UNIP government, the country could not cooperate well with the IMF's proposed economic changes through the Structural Adjustment Program. UNIP could not adopt the liberal economic system as advised by the IMF as it opted to continue with central planning and a one-party state (Siachiwena, 2021).

After eight months in power, the MMD government focused on a different foreign policy from that of UNIP. Some members of the international community received it as a shock as they feared multi-party politics. While to some it was received with excitement because they wanted democracy to flourish in Africa. For some, they were Kaunda's personal friends. Chiluba was criticized by some political party leaders within the SADC region. For example, Nelson Mandela during his time as the political party official member of the African National Congress (ANC) condemned Chiluba's domestic politics toward Kaunda the former President of Zambia. Chiluba restricted Kaunda from participating in Zambian politics by calling him a foreigner. Despite this, Zambia went ahead to establish a trade mission with the South African Apartheid regime and called for

more of South Africa's business organizations to participate in Zambia's business as Foreign Direct Investors. Mandela's sceptical behaviour toward Chiluba influenced Zambia's response toward the international community. In response to Mandela, Chiluba called for non-interference in Zambia's politics. Different from UNIP, the MMD government re-established the country's lost bilateral diplomatic relations with Israel and it called out for an open-door policy in solving the Israel-Palestine conflict. The MMD government was interested in open talks between these two conflicting countries (Tafirenyika, 1992).

Moreover, the MMD government was also active in providing peace talks in the Angolan Civil War in 1994. Zambia provided a platform in an attempt to end the civil conflict between the warring parties through the process of integrating and disarmament of The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and providing nation reconciliation. Also, in the Second Congo War in 1999, Lusaka provided a platform for peace talks between the conflicting parties. In 2011, the MMD government lost political power to the Patriotic Front (PF) under the leadership of Micheal Chilufya Sata. In interacting with other countries, the PF government embarked on Economic Diplomacy as the main component of the country's foreign policy. PF adhered to following the guidelines of IOs. The government also prioritized Zambia-China relations. However, this was against their manifesto when in opposition. Furthermore, the PF government worked on promoting its relations with the United Arab Emirates and Angola. They agreed to withdraw VISA requirements between Zambia and Angola (Sanches, 2015). Zambia also made many different economic agreements with other countries like China, and Turkey among others (Mataka, 2020, Lusaka Times, 2018). Further, the country established a diaspora policy for the first time in the history of the country (Diaspora Policy, 2019).

In 2021, the PF government lost power to United Party for National Development (UPND) under the leadership of Hakainde Hichilema. In its foreign policy directive, the UPND government stated that it is promoting a foreign policy that is based on mutual interest and respect and enhancement of economic diplomacy with continuity in supporting and being a member of international organizations. Regional integration is another component of the UPND government. Currently, this is the foreign policy Zambia is promoting (The Republic of Zambia, 2021). From the above, foreign policy directives

of Zambia under the named governments, the paper is interested in analysing the role domestic policy plays in a country's foreign policy.

1.2. Statement of Problem

Since its independence in 1964, Zambia has been ruled by different governments. These governments include UNIP, MMD, PF, and the current UPND. During UNIP, Zambia experienced both multi-party politics and a one-party state system which ended in 1991 when a multi-party-political system was re-established due to the end of the Cold War and public demand. In their reign, all governments have been active in pursuing the country's foreign policy. The studies done in relation to Zambia's foreign policy indicate that the country has been active in its external interactions. The country has been considering international organizations in the management of its foreign policy due to its subscription to international organizations (POL 2014). However, there is less established literature on the role domestic policy plays in Zambia's foreign policy. Tip O'Neill, former US House of Representatives Speaker in the 1980s, stated that 'all politics is local, citing that a country's foreign policy is closely linked to its domestic politics and domestic policy. Hence, domestic policies are of importance in the realm of foreign policy and when understanding the formulation of a country's foreign policy, he stated. A domestic policy usually shapes a country's foreign policy (Ortega, 2020). In consideration of domestic policy, it is therefore for this reason, that this study will analyse the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia. This will bring to light the role of domestic policy in the country's foreign policy.

1.3. Objectives

1.3.1. Main Research Objective:

The general objective of this study was to analyse the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study were as follows;

1. To investigate the actors involved in the foreign policy-making process in Zambia
2. To examine the role of domestic policy in shaping the country's foreign policy
3. To find out whether domestic policy change affects the country's foreign policy

1.3.3. Research Questions

To answer the above objectives, the following questions were asked;

1. Who makes the foreign policy in Zambia?
2. What is the role of domestic policy in shaping the country's foreign policy?
3. Does domestic policy change affect the country's foreign policy?

1.4. Definition of Study Concepts

The used concepts in this study can be subjected to different meanings. Hence, this becomes difficult to grasp one meaning of each concept used. In avoiding this, the study specifies clearly the meanings of the concepts used. This becomes easy for other users to understand the meaning employed although they may conquer or not conquer with the researcher's usage. Thus, below are the defined concepts;

Foreign Policy: Refers to government action and behaviour when interacting with other countries, its citizens abroad, citizens of other countries and international organizations. In this study foreign policy comprises both state's formal written objectives and the actual behaviour when reacting to events outside its geographical territory. Also, the government statements toward other countries, international organizations and individuals in other countries are used to refer to foreign policy. The response whether by speech or action targeted towards other countries or international organizations' statements and behaviour are also considered to mean Zambian foreign policy. At some point, foreign relations, external behaviour, external politics, external relations, foreign politics and foreign attitude will be used to mean Zambia's foreign policy.

Foreign Making Process: Refers to the followed stages in which a country makes its official objectives when interacting with other countries.

Foreign Policy Actors: Refers to the people who make foreign policy objectives and decide on how to interact with other countries and international organizations and how to respond to other countries' statements and actions.

Domestic Policy: In this study, domestic policy refers to the group of laws, actions as well as guidelines the government applies locally or within its geographical boundary when interacting with the general public or when favouring the general public. Also, domestic policy is taken up to mean the principles, goals and decisions taken by the central government in solving, governing or providing solutions to problems within the state's

borders. Therefore, the set of actions, laws, decisions, guidelines, actions and solutions passed within the country is taken to mean domestic policy. These set of laws and actions are those applied to the economy, trade, state security, citizenship, conflict resolution, climate change, political system and the judicial system in Zambia.

Domestic Policy Change: In this study, the researcher takes domestic policy change to mean any changes or sudden changes the government makes in the locally applied decisions, actions, laws, principles or goals as well as a change in a political system. These changes are those in relation to trade, economy, military, political system, constitutional, institutional, citizenship, climate change, conflict resolution and the judicial system.

Domestic Politics: In this study domestic politics is defined as the cooperation and rivalry that takes place in political power competition within a state. It is also about the maintenance of political activities within a state. Also, the study borrows Easton's (1965:50) definition of politics as the authoritative allocation of resources and values within a political system.

Ideology: The use of ideology in this study refers to a set of organized values, beliefs and ideas or doctrines on which a society is based on. Ideology provides ways of conducting economic, social and political activities in society. These beliefs, values and ideas guide a state's behaviour both within and outside its territory, hence they act as a prescription and justify the state's behaviour.

Interaction: Refers to the direct effect domestic policy has on the country's foreign policy during the making process and the implementation stage and when deciding how to behave towards the international community. Further, interaction is drafted to mean the similarities the foreign policy has to domestic policy.

National Interest: The concept of national interest is one the tricky concepts to define. However, this concept is important because it is mostly used in explaining and understanding a state's foreign policy. In this study, we define national interest as what the government wants at the moment of drafting a foreign policy or when interacting with other countries and international organizations.

Role: Means to make a statement and take foreign actions that are similar to the domestic policy objectives when associating with other countries and international organizations and the Zambian people who stay in other countries.

1.5. Significance of Study

The study of foreign policy in Zambia is one of the under-researched fields of study. Thus, there is a need for more research to be done. Therefore, the researcher decided to undertake this study in order to bring to attention Zambia's foreign policy. Considering less academic attention given to the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia, this study will be one of the first kind. Therefore, its importance is on the basis that it provides information on the foreign policymakers in Zambia as well as the role of domestic policy on Zambia's foreign policy from 1964 to date. It also provides empirical evidence to the scientific body of knowledge on how domestic policies in Zambia have been influencing the country's foreign policy. The realization of this will be of value to the academic literature as it will contribute information on the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia. Further, it will help in providing information to the policymakers on the role of domestic policies in the formulation of the country's foreign policy. The study is important because it shows the impact of domestic policy change on the country's foreign policy. Hence, it will be beneficial because it will provide information to academicians, international organizations, business communities, the general public and foreign policymakers in Zambia. Also, this study will help to review if changes made in domestic policy bring about change in the foreign policy of the country. Lastly, this study is vital as it is hoped to generate more empirical evidence and data to support the existing theoretical body of knowledge in the linking of domestic politics and foreign policy.

1.6 Theoretical Framework of the Study

1.6.1 Liberalism

In this study, the liberalism theory of international relations has been used as a theoretical framework because it explains the interaction between the domestic and foreign policy of a country. Just like the realist theory of international relations, this theory is one of the most useful theories in understanding international relations. The liberals support a world in which the endogenous play a vital role in the determination of

exogenous state behaviour. For liberals, states project their domestic politics into the international system through foreign policy (Fukuyama, 1992).

When considering actors in the international system, liberals view states as rational actors. However, unlike the realists, liberals consider non-state actors to be important actors too. The non-state actors include individuals, regimes, and international organizations like the United Nations, World Bank and Multinational Corporations (MNCs), among a few (Tuicakademi, 2019). The theory highlights that international institutions help in promoting state cooperation because it considers international institutions as agencies of cooperation. To liberals, international institutions guide state behaviour through a set of rules and norms. State cooperation is not only on trade but other areas of interest like technology, finance, communication and climate change to mention but a few (Viotti & Kauppi, 1999).

According to Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye who advanced the liberals' ideas in their neoliberal approach, international regimes with their design to govern states' internal behaviour and handle conflict management have an influence on how states behave towards the international community because they set procedures, rules and norms for states. International regimes constrain the behaviour of states in the international system. Also, global trade, financial relations and other economic incentives alter the state's behaviour in the global system. International capital markets, MNCs and international banks are used by states to implement state's international and domestic monetary policies. Further, states are stated to promote a free economy, individual freedoms and human rights. Domestically, states promote a free economy in which there is less state market involvement. Also, there is the promotion of free trade between or among countries which allows interdependence of states and individual cooperation outside state borders (Tarz, 2004: 115-128).

Furthermore, liberalism emphasises the role of the domestic and international society on the strand of a state's external behaviour. To use Poulantzas' term "*Overdetermined*" a term which he refers to the international system theoretically, the international system is an actor-determined system. Internal bureaucratic and decision-making goals, domestic interests, national security needs, local preferences and capabilities determine a state's goal in its external relations. For example, the liberals explain that the analysis of domestic sources of a state's foreign policy makes it possible

for states to examine the government's propensity of going to war with another state in achieving its domestic goals (Tarz, 2004: 115-128).

The way a state behaves, responds to the international community or its conformation to the international environment and its performance in certain roles within the foreign arena depends on its internal attributes like policies, domestic goals and capabilities. Furthermore, liberals state that national actors or goals may lead to change or abolishment of some rules in the international system. The domestic preferences and attributes in turn are said to affect the conduct of states on the global level. The theory further stresses out that states make rational calculations when promoting their absolute gains. During global interaction, states focus on the maximization of their national interest. Thus, a state's domestic preferences are a fundamental cause of state behaviour in world politics. This is a central insight of the liberal theory of international relations. For the liberals, states' action abroad is moulded in their internal environment and the transnational social environment (Moravcsik, 1997: 512-530). Hence, domestic state-society relations are seen to constitute the central issues of a state's politics abroad. The local demands get transformed into domestic policies. These policies later spill over into world politics. These societal demands are made locally by different societal social, political and economic groups. Later, the demands spill over into a state's external relations. Both the state and informal institutions present this interest abroad (Moravcsik, 2003b).

To liberals like Moravcsik, the theoretical connection between a state's preference and its behaviour towards the international community is built from the concept referred to as 'Policy Interdependence'. Policy Interdependence refers to the extent to which the pursuit of state preferences necessarily imposes costs and benefits upon other states, independent of the "transaction cost" which are imposed by specific strategic means chosen to obtain them (Moravcsik, 2008: 331 – 340).

With reference to liberals like Mill, Mazzini, Wilson and Keynes, it is stated that foreign policy objectives are determined by a state's domestic values and policies which are legally authorised and accepted within a state by the government, and interest groups and other influential decision-making groups. From the liberal perspective, domestic political policies and ideology and the regulation of socioeconomic welfare provide a guide in the formulation of a state's foreign objectives. Depending on a state's internal

political policy, state external behaviour gets affected differently, liberals narrate (Tarzi, 2004). Through the 'Inside-Out Looking Approach,' the liberals like Francis Fukuyama adopt the principles of legitimacy that evolve in their domestic political orders. He explains that a state's behaviour or the way a state will choose to behave in the international system is generally observed from its endogenous arrangements internally.

Therefore, when explaining a state's external relations, it is important to note that liberalism focuses on tracing the effects of internal variables besides international ones on a state's external relations also called foreign policy. A state's foreign policy stated by the liberals is basically a set of external goals determined and motivated by domestic policies and the environment. From that perspective, the liberals cite an ascending analysis approach when understanding the state's external policy. Therefore, to them, an Inside-Outward approach should be applied to understanding a state's external behaviour (Rittberger, 2004). Therefore, from that perspective, the study assumes that Zambia's foreign policy is directed by its domestic policy which makes the study argue that liberalism best explains the role of domestic policy on Zambia's foreign policy as seen in chapters two, two and three. These chapters have shown that domestic policies in Zambia shaped and have continued to shape the foreign policy of that country. Furthermore, liberalism considers both political and economic factors ranging from democracy, rule of law, governance, security and economic factors. Hence, liberalism can be argued to best resonate with the influence of domestic political and economic policy on Zambia's foreign policy.

1.7. Literature Review

In this study section, the concept of foreign policy will be explained. This will be done by giving different scholarly definitions of foreign policy. Further, the factors that determine a state's foreign policy will be explained. Thereafter, similar studies done in relation to domestic and foreign policy will be reviewed. The review of these studies will be done from a global to a national perspective and from the Zambian perspective. This part of the study ends with a literature summary.

1.7.1. Concept of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is a sub-field in the area of international relations. Although it is one of the main and most talked about concepts, foreign policy has no single literature

definition. For foreign policy scholars like Feliks Gross, the decision made by states not to develop or build relations with specific states must be viewed or considered as a state's foreign policy (Gross, 1945). Due to its unanimity, it can be considered elusive. This can be with reference to St Augustine's paradox of time to which he asserted that "If no one asks me, I know what it is. If I wish to explain it to him who asks, I do not know (Modell, 1990:76). Hence, foreign policy has multiple definitions by different scholars. The framework used in understanding and executing foreign policy changes or evolves with time. Due to this, foreign policy definition is basically affected by these changes that take place in both domestic and international environments, causing a "constant mutation" (Han et al, 2018:3-4).

To scholars like Charles Hermann, foreign policy has been referred to as a "neglected concept" due to the lack of a single or clear and agreed definition. To him, the reason for this neglect is attributed to the confident position that many of the people dealing with foreign policy felt. He states that they show too much confidence that they know what foreign policy is (Bojang, 2018:1). However, Hermann's definition of foreign policy is that, it is "the detached determined action which results from an individual or group's political decision (Bojang, 2018:1). With this definition, Hermann perceives foreign policy to be a product or a result of political level decisions that are made by individuals or groups. He does not refer to it as a decision but a product that comes out of the made political level decisions. Further, his definition relates to the states' observable behaviour or artefact that are born from the made political level decisions. He mentions that it is about the behaviours of a state too.

Further, Hermann does not accept the view that foreign policy is about the study of policy. Nevertheless, his view has been stated to be a minority perspective. Other scholars like Bruce Russett, David Kinsella and Harvey Starr take a different and wider perspective different from that of Hermann. They state that "we think of a policy as a program that serves as a guide to behaviour intended to realize the goals an organization has set for itself. Foreign policy is thus a guide to actions taken beyond the boundaries of the state to further the goals of the state" (Neack, 2008:9). In their explanation they also include the formulation and implementation processes that take place in foreign policy making while other scholars like Deborah Gerner defines it in terms of intentions, actions of actors and statements that states usually direct towards other actors in the external

environment or beyond national boundaries. In her definition, she also considers the response other actors make to these directed statements, intentions and actions. Further, Gerner explains that states are not the only actors but non-state actors are too. These non-state actors may include international cause groups, and religious groups to mention but a few, of which they can develop guidelines or goals directed or targeted towards other actors in the international system (Neack, 2008).

For scholars like George Modelski, foreign policy is viewed as a system made of activities which are evolved by communities in changing the behaviour of other states as well as adjusting communities' own activities in the international environment. It is about shedding light on a way or ways a state attempts to change the behaviour of other states and to succeed in shaping or changing other states' behaviour. In his definition, Modelski focused mainly on the aspects that focus on changing the behaviour of other states (Bojang, 2018:1). In another perspective, foreign policy can be defined as a "set of actions or rules governing the actions of an independent political authority deployed in the international environment" (Morin and Paquin, 2018:3). This definition is said to be one of the broader perspectives used in understanding a state's foreign policy. Also, Hudson (2008:12) defines it as "the strategy or approach chosen by the national government to achieve its goals in its relations with external entities". In addition to the above, foreign policy has been defined as not merely the state action itself but the underlying vision which also includes a specific role of conception that informs and advises the action taken by states when interacting with other actors in the international system. 'Role of conception' is about the perception the foreign policymakers have in relation to their nations' position within the international system, their national interest and the national principle in defending it (Han et al. 2018:4-5).

According to Frankel (1968) a state's foreign policy is made up or comprised of decisions and actions ponderable or calculated towards other states in the international system. These decisions and actions are applied by states when interacting with each other. Hence, he views foreign policy as a planned set of actions made within a state's territory but intended toward the forces that exist outside the state's geographical territory. With these actions, states enhance and defend their national interest. Folarin (2017) defines a state's foreign policy as the pursuit of a state's national interest and objectives. By 'pursuit' he refers to the actions, roles and steps which guide a state's attitude and

behaviour in the external environment. Basically, it is about the state's external behaviour. It should be known that regardless of the differences in their definitions, all these scholars relate foreign policy to state behaviour outside its territorial physical boundary.

1.7.2. Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy

To start with, domestic factors are seen to include national interest, geographical location, political systems, leadership as well as economic development among others. Basically, national interest is what the state wants to achieve at a particular point in time and it changes from time to time. On the other hand, geographical location refers to the size, climate and area a state occupies. How large a country is may influence its interaction with other countries. Similarly, the location is vital in persuading state behaviour when conducting business with each other. Furthermore, a country's historical background as an internal factor influences the state's external behaviour by shaping its identity and deciding on who to interact with (POL Module, 2014:36-38).

The economic resources of a country also play a vital role in a state's foreign policy. A country's economic power has an influence on how states behave in the international system. Seemingly, states seeking to develop their countries tend to cooperate with developed nations as a way of attracting investment. In this case, countries tend to make economic agendas when interacting with other actors. On the other hand, is the ideology through which countries tend to express their values and principles across their national boundaries. For example, countries that had embarked on socialist ideologies are perceived to promote peace by not interfering in other states' internal political affairs. While countries that are capitalist in nature have exhibited different behaviours of internal interference in other states' politics and economies. The other domestic factors that affect or influence a state's foreign policy are its political leadership style, nature of its political system, military capabilities and diplomacy (Biswas, 2021: para 12-18).

According to the pluralist approach, domestic factors that influence the foreign policy of a country include non-state and sub-state actors. Pluralists explain that interest groups present their interests to the decision-makers. The decision-makers later consider the presented interest when making foreign policy. These may be economic, political or social lobbyist groups or based on other interests. Also, public opinion is another

domestic factor that can influence the foreign policy of a state. It involves the mass, various political or interest groups, lobby groups and attentive public. Public opinion can affect both foreign policy-making and its implementation process (Alden and Aran, 2017).

To the Pluralists, media is another domestic factor considered influential in foreign policy-making as it acts as a bridge of information between the state, public and the international arena. The media can be used as a tool to set foreign policy agenda, as an information clearing house as well as a tool for government propaganda. Through agenda setting, the media can affect foreign policy making-decisions by presenting issues of importance to decision-makers. As an information clearinghouse, the media makes information available to the public. While from the propaganda perspective, authoritarian regimes use media to control information flow to the public in line with state security. In democracies, a polity can use media to manipulate the citizens as a way of steering foreign policy directions in line with the elite's interest. This is what Noam Chomsky calls 'manufactured consent'. This means that the media and the state work to shape the public outlook in supporting certain issues relating to the foreign policy agenda. Moreover, in a democracy, the government use the media to seek public approval on certain actions to be taken by the state. Pluralists add that non-states actors like advocacy groups influence foreign policy making through a media campaign. Computer-based media like blogs, websites and social networks to mention but a few also influence foreign policy-making by providing information to the general public which later reaches the policymakers (Alden and Aran, 2017).

1.7.4. Empirical Literature Review

In this part, different scholarship in relation to the study objectives is reviewed. This is inclusive of articles, books, lecture notes, conference presentations and other research papers done by different scholars.

1.7.5. Actors Involved in Foreign Policy Making

1.7.5.1. Global Perspective

This section presents a general perspective on the actors involved in foreign policy-making in developed countries as well as some empirical cases on foreign policymakers in developed countries. In explaining the actors in foreign policymaking, Brogan (1941, 1-9) in his article titled *American Foreign Policy*, explains that the

American constitution gives the President the power to make foreign policy decisions by and with the senators 'approval or consent. The President can make treaties if two-thirds of senators accept it or concur with his/her proposal on treaties to be made and actions to be taken. He further explains that, although there is a call on the Senate to act as a Privy Council by proposing treaties to the top executive (the President) and offer advice to the President during the negotiations process of the treaties, in actual practice the senators' power over foreign policy becomes operative in situations where the top executive has made treaty negotiations and seeks or demands the ratification of the treaty by the senate. Further, the State Secretary is provided with the responsibility to constantly engage the Senate Committee on foreign policy issues. This, according to the American Constitution is to make the executive have limited power of treaty-making. Moreover, he explains that there are important committees that first debate the issues to deal with foreign relations. He gives an example of the Committee of Foreign Relations which is made of senators. This committee can either veto a treaty or amend it. Further, Brogan states that the constitution encourages discussion on foreign policy issues, petitions, public opinion and views from various well-organized groups in the USA. Based on their interest, these groups may influence foreign policy in different ways, he explains. This study is important because it highlights actors involved in the foreign policy-making of a country like the USA. However, it cannot be applied to a developing country like Zambia. It is for this reason that the study taken focuses on Zambia as a case study.

Further, Cliffs Note (2022: para.1-5) titled *American Government* explains that the US foreign policy is mainly formulated and implemented by or within the government executive organ. The principal policy institutions that take an active part in US foreign policy making also include the National Security Council (NSC), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), including the State and Defense. During the formulation process, the State Department has a direct responsibility in conducting the US foreign policy. The Secretary of State is theoretically the chief foreign policy official of the nation. However, the State Secretary's role can at times be taken by other state officials within the administration. For example, during the era of President Nixon, the head of state relied more on Henry Kissinger who served as National Security Advisor and not William Rogers the then Secretary of State.

In addition, daily diplomacy is carried out by US foreign service. The State Department is another consideration in the US foreign policy-making cycle. This department provides advice to the top executive on issues dealing with military planning and strategies to be employed when relating with other actors. For example, during the Presidency of John F Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara who was the Defense Secretary by then had a huge influence on US's foreign policy throughout the Vietnam War. Further, the National Security Council (NSC) which comprises the President, Vice President, State and Defense Secretary, CIA Directors, leaders of the Council from Armed Forces (Joint Chiefs of Staff) and other government officials work on providing advice to the President. President Nixon for example depended more on the NSC by engaging Henry Kissinger on US-China relations who also acted as a representative on the US-North Vietnam Peace negotiations. During George W Bush's first term, Condoleezza Rice was actively involved in advising the Bush administration on foreign relations issues. Adding to the above, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) gets involved in gathering information, evaluating, analysing and disseminating information in regard to national security and foreign matters. The CIA also works with other national agencies like National Security Agency which provides the top executive with information (Cliffs Note, 2022). Like Brogan (1941), this study is also important because it shows how foreign policy gets influenced and the different factors that contribute to the development of foreign policy in the US. However, the gap in this study is similar to that of Brogan (1941). The context these studies apply is different. It is for this reason that the study to be taken will focus on the Zambian context.

Furthermore, when explaining policy-making actors, Leftwich (2010:96) in his article titled *Beyond Institutions: Rethinking the Roles of Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in the Institutional Formation of Developmental States and Strategies*, explains that countries differ in various ways, to which he mainly highlights the difference in structures. This, according to him means the material circumstance of a country. Further, he also uses the terminology structure to refer to the socio-economic and social arrangements that exist in a polity. He also adds the formal and informal institutions of a country that shape culture, religious beliefs, rules, laws and social and political life. In developed countries, the structures are seen to be different from those of developing countries in terms of formal institutions, rule of law and the governing regulations that shape these structures. He continues to explain that they differ in terms of informal institutions like ideologies.

For instance, modern states have different resource endowments and socio-economic and political structures. His study continues to explain that other differences that exist between the developed and developing countries are the political power arrangement as well as the distribution of power found in these states. Also, nations differ in terms of geographical features like location, weather patterns and the size of the state. The structures within a polity are vital because they influence leaders in making strategic policies of a country while also affecting the country's strategy in decision making. Further, they influence leaders in making institutional arrangements and policy choices. He argues that it is important to consider the view that structures tend to differ from one society to another. The structures also present opportunities and constraints to the agents here referred to as groups, organizations, coalitions and individuals that push or aim at achieving certain interests (Leftwich, 2007:7, 2010:96).

To Leftwich's explanation, Mitna (2018: 20) in his research paper which aimed at finding *the Factors Influencing Papua New Guinea's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, adds that a country's foreign policy is usually shaped by these various dynamics involving the interaction between domestic structural factors, like formal and informal institutions and the agents. By focusing on developed countries, he narrates that foreign policy making in developed states is mainly formalized and more institutionalized. The foreign policy making in these states is usually a shared responsibility by the different government agencies which might involve various departments or ministries. These agencies may have a dominating role but not to mean a highly dominant role. He further, highlights that cabinet takes a vital role in foreign policy issues. The parliamentary committees that get formed illustrate the formalization and institutionalization of a developed country's foreign policy making. Mostly, developed countries use these parliamentary committees to promote transparency in policy-making processes. Each policy issue or core interest is separated and dealt with by a different committee but it gets coordinated at the centre. By citing Australia as an example, the study explains that different committees of the Australian parliament play a part in foreign policy making.

Also as shown by the Australian Government (2022: para. 1) different committees take different roles in the foreign policy-making of the country. In Australia, the cabinet committee called National Security Committee focuses on the security aspect or issues of the country's foreign policy while the Australian Joint Standing Committee which is in

charge of the state's foreign affairs, defence and trade issues, takes into consideration reports that are in line with foreign affairs, human rights and trade.

Further, Firth (2011:88-92) in his book titled *Australia in International Politics; An Introduction to Australian Foreign Policy*, adds that committees like the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties work on reviewing and reporting all the government proposed treaty actions before any action binding Australia by considering the treaty terms before it is put into action. On the other hand, the Australian Senate Standing Committee works on issues to do with foreign affairs while the Trade and Defence Committee works on legislation and offers inquiries on issues that get referred to it. Therefore, his book explains that foreign policy making is taken in a bureaucratic way in developed countries making it not to be confined to an individual. The literature above is vital in that it explains the role of structures and agencies in making foreign policy. However, the study applies to developed countries as they mainly give the experience of developed countries like Australia. Hence, covering this gap will make the researcher focus on Zambia as a case study. In this case, actors from the Zambian experience will be examined.

Similar to the above, Gyngell and Wesley (2003:17-57) in their book titled *Making Australian Foreign Policy*, add that in developed countries like Australia, each level of foreign policymaking is handed by different authority levels. There is the separation of powers that takes place between the actors and the policy-making institutional hierarchy. The actors like civil servants and political executives have different responsibilities in foreign policy making and implementation processes. Like other studies, these studies provide insights into policy-making actors in developed countries. However, they do not shed light on Zambia, for this reason, the study taken focuses on Zambia from 1964 to the current leadership of the country.

1.7.5.2. Narrow Perspective

This section of the study provides some of the existing literature relevant to this study by focusing on the general perception and empirical evidence on actors involved in foreign policy-making processes in developing countries. Mitna (2018: 23-26) in his research paper which aimed at finding *The Factors Influencing Papua New Guinea's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, explains that the foreign policy-making process in developing countries is different from that of developed countries. In post-

colonial states especially, he argues that these were not well built-in functioning like modern states in that they attained their political independence without having strong political institutions, hence their formal state institutions are usually weak when compared to that of modern states. The rules, as well as the regulations on which the institutions are supposed to follow, are usually ignored in practice. Politics in post-colonial states is generally organized on traditional structural lines that exist in these societies. The political cultures still exhibit parochial features weakening the formal institutions which later affects the decision-making process in most developing countries. Further, he highlights that in developing countries, authority and power distribution are mostly personalized and it is concentrated in the hands of one individual or a few people or leaders. Hence, foreign policy is usually monopolised or is taken as a highly executive offer. State political leaders in developing countries work towards insulating the country's foreign policy from domestic influence. He also mentions that Presidents or Prime Ministers in most developing countries usually personalize foreign policy-making by excluding opposition political parties as well as civil society suggestions, and neglect of bureaucracy and public officials. The President or PM tend to be less accountable to the legislative organ of government. Mitna (2018) acknowledges that foreign policy institutions exist in developing countries. However, he argues that most of these institutions' role is only reduced to policy implementation mainly through rubberstamping the executive's plans and programs. To this, the Melanesian parliament is given as an example, as a rubberstamp to the executive programs since there is less opposition to foreign decisions made by the executive.

De Gedare (1994:44) in his research titled *Australia-Papua New Guinea Relations, 1980-1990; Independence and Change*, adds that in post-colonial states controlled by authoritarian governments or regimes, the country's national interest is personalised and sometimes conflicting interest among the elites who then tend to translate their own interest as national interest. Also, Alden and Aran (2012:33) add to the above notion that in developing countries with democratic regimes, the governments in power define national interest. The above literature is of great value to this study as it provides the role of the executive in foreign policy making in developing countries, and how the political culture in developing countries affects policy-making processes and who gets involved in foreign policy-making. However, this study cannot be generalized to Zambia because it is not a specific country of focus. To cover this gap, this study will

focus on Zambia's domestic politics and the actors involved in its processes of foreign policy making.

Furthermore, in explaining the foreign policymakers in developing countries Jie and Ridout (2021, 1-7) in the briefing paper called *Who Decides China's Foreign Policy*, explain that the formation of the Chinese foreign policy is mostly or often results from skirmishes that occur between the influential central government institutions, the provincial-level governments and China's main State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). They explain that some Western scholars tend to hold a common global view that the party leadership in China which is the Communist Party of China (CPC) controls and dictates China's foreign policy agenda setting. However, on the ground, the country's political choices and decision-making are influenced and driven by various interests and are shaped by different actors/stakeholders within China. Despite the President's centralized power in the CPC, some actors still contain certain levels of accord and independence as well as the capacity to get involved and intervene in the country's foreign policy-making process. SOEs are one of the actors in the making of the country's foreign policy and implementation. Currently, their involvement is evident in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) policy to China's provocative activities in the South China Sea. These actors act on the state's behalf but their interests (commercial interest) have sometimes not aligned with the agenda of the state. After the death of China's leader Mao in the 1970s, the country's approach changed to a pluralistic character due to economic liberalization reforms that took place. The CPC is almost involved in every political decision of foreign policy making. The Standing Committee, Politburo together with the State Council act to provide long-term policy goals and the country's policy strategic overview in relation to its external affairs. On the other hand, individual policy estimates or measures mainly fall under different government institutions like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Provincial-level Governments and SOEs.

Further, Jie and Ridout (2021) explain that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' role is to be part of foreign policy-making; administering China's diplomatic relations and advising the State Council. However, it is a subordinate institution to the Chinese Central Foreign Affairs Commission led by CPC general secretary. CFAC's role is to decide on foreign policy making. No one government central institution has full control of foreign affairs decisions. As a way of having more political influence stakeholders maximize the

use of their resources and expertise to have access to the CPC Politburo. An example, of the multi contribution of different institutions in the country's foreign policy making and implementation, is given in President Xi's BRI policy in which the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) takes the leading role in the overall coordination in delivering the initiative. At the same time, this responsibility is recorded by the State Council, it is a joint responsibility shared with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM). As per party tradition, the CPC formed a consulting body in ensuring consensus among different stakeholders when implementing the BRI policy and also, other stakeholders that can get involved. The Standing Committee seek foreign policy advice from ministries and agencies before an agenda is set. However, this kind of professionalism and institutionalism of Chinese foreign policy making does not shade off or undermine the utmost power of decision-making by Beijing's top leadership. The Politburo only focus on issues of high politics which include national sovereignty as well as military decisions among others. While the issues of low political agenda like trade negotiations, international aid, and climate change are usually ranked by the Politburo in relation to their current importance at the given time. If an issue is ranked high, then Politburo will take less time to deal with it.

The Politburo's Standing Committee still makes decisions on vital issues. For example, when President Donald Trump was the US President, the Chinese top leadership (Liu the Chinese Premier) handled the China-US trade phase negotiation. However, as the issues of trade and tariffs are now considered to be less of a priority between the two countries, Chinese ministries have taken the responsibility to deal with such. To this, under Joe Biden's leadership, China has given the negation responsibility to the Vice Minister of Commerce. To demonstrate more on how different stakeholders influence the foreign policy in China is the Made in China (MIC) 2025 policy which is an industrial and scientific policy established by the Chinese Academy of Engineering, industries and the Ministry of Information. This policy impacted the Chinese foreign policy agenda on making China a self-reliant and global champion in innovation sectors.

Further, although there seems to be a centralization increase under the current Chinese President, the Provincial-Level governments pose a leeway in exerting their influence on China's foreign policy-making and directives. For example, Shanghai shapes the Chinese foreign policy, especially when dealing with Sino-US relations, as it holds diplomatic venue meetings. In 1972, Richard Nixon former US President visited Shanghai

and met Zhou Enlai who was the Premier by then. They signed a Shanghai Communiqué as a way of normalising the two country's relations. Six years before 2019, Shanghai launched the Shanghai Pilot Free Trade Zones (SHFTZ) in order to open up to more foreign investors. Later, in 2019, the Chinese State Council approved a new area of trade Zones and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government (SMPG) launched its document plan on encouraging foreign investment and promoting its Free Trade Zones. It also proposed the Foreign Investment Law (FIL) which promotes equal treatment of domestic and foreign investment. In 2021, Shanghai also hosted Biden's governmental official first visit to China. In their paper, they concluded that China involves various stakeholders in its foreign agenda. This study is vital because it explains the involvement of various stakeholders in foreign policy making. It shows that foreign policy is at times made by different actors who work as a team. However, the information presented in this study cannot be applied to the Zambian context due to its different political system. Hence, as a way to feed into this gap, the study focuses on Zambia.

Mutheu (2017) in her thesis titled *The Impact of Non-State and State Actors on South Africa's Foreign Policy in Africa*, where a qualitative method of secondary data was used. Her study focused on the period between 2000 to 2016, during the presidency of Thabo Mbeki (1999) and Jacob Zuma (2010-2016). Her findings indicate that South African foreign policymaking during the given period above was dominated by the executive branch of government. The executive leader himself in both regimes was the main actor in South Africa's foreign policy. She justifies this action by stating that part of the reason the executive dominated foreign policy making is that the South African Constitution gives more powers to the executive when dealing with foreign relations. Other government ministries dealing with foreign affairs are consulted but power still remains with the President. Hence, the President has more foreign policy decision-making power than any other government official or ministry. Also, the executive dominated foreign policy making because there existed a lack of pressure from non-state actors or non-governmental actors. She further explains that the South African general public had shown less interest in external issues as they focused much on domestic politics. However, at times the civil society in South Africa has demonstrated some interest in influencing the country's foreign behaviour. For example, in 2008 there was multi-stakeholder action by voicing out to stop the South African government from allowing the shipping of arms that came from China and awaiting delivery to Zimbabwe. The civil society managed to

influence the government not to go ahead with the shipping of arms to Zimbabwe as it was considered a threat to human rights because the Zimbabwean regime was brutal towards its citizens.

Although the civil society acted to stop the shipping, Mutheu (2017, 61-65) still explains that they still had less commitment to external affairs of the state due to lack of resources, and poor communication among themselves to mention among others. These challenges have made it an exception not to be involved in influencing external relations but it is not a rule. Furthermore, academia, think tanks and individual academics were involved in foreign policy-making, especially during Mbeki's Presidency. The executive and other government institutions were consulting with academicians and think tanks. Parliament in South Africa exhibited little influence on foreign policy issues with a few Opposition Members of Parliament (MPs) like Colin Eglin, Ben Skosana and Boy Geldenhuys were recorded to have made vital contributions by engaging the government in tough questions while the majority of the MPs largely considered foreign policy as an executive issue and left it to the executive branch. This has been attributed to the fact that the African National Congress (ANC) does not promote backbenchers who usually ask tough questions. Moreover, she adds that although government departments like the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, Defense and Intelligence offered policy directives, they mainly acted as implementors and not formulators. Some departments' high officials served as advisors to the heads of the state, however, there was a lack of consistency among these advisors because their influence was largely affected by personal relationships with the head of state. Parliament through its Portfolio Committee had a greater voice in the formal policy process and sought clarity on government plans. In her paper, she concludes that although some influence existed from academia, civil society and think tanks both Presidents made their foreign policy in a more personalized way and just consulted a few trusted advisors on policy implications. This is because the constitution gives more powers to the President on foreign policy formation. Mutheu's (2017) study is important because it shows the actors involved in foreign policy-making in South Africa, which is an African country like Zambia. However, the South African political system is different from that of Zambia. It is for this reason that the taken study puts Zambia into consideration.

1.7.5.3. Zambian Perspective

According to Chan (1987, 229-231) in his article titled *Zambia's Foreign Policy, The Round Table*, Zambia's foreign policy during the 1980s was influenced by the head of government who was Kaunda by then. Only a few elites who had worked closely with the President contributed to foreign policy-related issues. Kaunda, during this mentioned period, worked towards the promotion of Zambia as the regional counterpart to South African growing influence in neutralizing Zambia. Hence, to act to this Kaunda worked on reducing dependence on South Africa. Therefore, Chan's (1987) study is vital because it explains the actors involved in foreign policy-making during the 1980s when Zambia was a one-party state. However, the study does not explain the actors involved in foreign policy making before Zambia became a one-party state and it does not cover foreign policy actors during the current republic. Also, it does not explain why Kaunda was the top foreign policy maker within the country. To cover up this gap, the study taken covers the period from Zambia's independence until the third republic. It will also explain why President Kaunda was the top leader in the foreign policy-making process of Zambia.

1.8. Role of Domestic Policy in Shaping the Country's Foreign Policy.

1.8.1. Global Perspective

This part presents a global perspective on the role of domestic politics in shaping a state's foreign policy. Written literature is revealed and later the context of developed countries and empirical evidence is put into consideration in showing how domestic politics drive a state's foreign relations.

Hill (2003:37-39) in his book titled *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy* explains that a state's foreign policy is a reflection of domestic policy. He ascertains that foreign policy cannot be abstracted or separated from the domestic context; hence it springs from a domestic milieu. To support this, Hill explains that there is no foreign policy without society and state. He further explains that the two, meaning domestic and foreign policy of a state, can be considered a continuum with two ends unlike being demarcated. Although states take some international consideration when making decisions on different issues ranging from education to the disposal of waste internally, their domestic context structures and politics will act like intervening variables in external trends and external policy outcomes. Hill's (2003) work is very important because it puts into consideration the role of domestic politics in a country's foreign policy. However,

his work does not delve into Zambia's actual context. Therefore, to cover this weakness the study to be taken will have an in-depth analysis of the role of domestic policy on Zambia's foreign policy.

Furthermore, Adnan (2014: 657-661) in an article titled *Foreign Policy and Domestic Constraints: A Conceptual Account*, narrates that a state's foreign policy should be considered as a never-ending dialogue that takes place between the powers of change and continuity. A country's foreign policy is implemented outside the state's border. However, a state's foreign policy is influenced by domestic policies or inputs and no one should ignore the role of domestic policy in order to understand a state's foreign actions or behaviour, he explains. The domestic or internal needs get reflected in the state's foreign policy hence, foreign policy should be viewed as a projection of a country's internal policies. Sometimes, in order to interact with other actors (states), a state is restricted or guided by the internal or domestic originating pressure that exists within a state. The political system or conditions that exist within a state can play a determining role of governments on the polity's external behaviour. This is due to its existing support from home political conditions which allows it to either act or not to act. Domestically, different pressure groups, the press and parliament or congress affect the state's foreign policy. Hence, the domestic policy can affect a state's interaction with other actors. In his discussion, he adds Norman Kogan's view that the influence of the domestic system on the process of foreign policy is so dominant that it becomes difficult to make a distinction between domestic and foreign policy. Sometimes state's foreign policies aim to attain the domestic goals of a state (Kogan, 1963: VII).

Adnan continues to highlight further by citing Russett and Starr's (1981:23) analysis that a domestic political style is basically used to refer to the manner or ways a country establishes in handling its affairs locally; the political habits, the inarticulate primary premises of a certain nation that get decorated by the tradition which is reflected in government domestic policies. Also, political style involves the ways of dealing with issues or arrangements within a society. Therefore, this political style gets extended into the international system and shapes state action when interacting with other actors and it provides clues on how to react to particular situations. He explains further that state diplomats may respond to international situations or events based on how their country is expected to react due to the political style reflected in domestic government policies. In justifying the above statement, Adnan cites the U.S.A as an example. He explains when

responding to international affairs, the country has two views which is either to attack or intervene in other countries' happenings. Therefore, from that perspective, it is clear that the formulation of foreign policy is guided by domestic policy as internal sources in state adjustment and compromise, he explains.

In addition, Adnan states that foreign policy and domestic policy are to be viewed as two related policies originating from the same political system even though at times foreign policy decisions can affect the domestic interest of a state. Also, he points out that the domestic politics of a state can affect its relations with other actors. The scholarship presented above is imperative to this study as it explains how the domestic needs of a state get reflected in its foreign policy agenda. However, the above-explained literature does not focus on Zambia. In dealing with this gap, this study will explore the influence of domestic politics on Zambia's foreign policy.

According to Neack (2008) in her book titled *"The New Foreign Policy-Power Seeking in a Globalized Era"*, the head of government in any type of political system gets motivated or influenced by two related goals. These are to build and return political power and maintain policy coalitions at the same time. She further explains that the domestic politics of any country can work to influence the head of state when making foreign policy or when interacting with the international community. This is because leaders may want to achieve their planned domestic goals and policies by using their foreign policy. Furthermore, her book highlights that at times, leaders make foreign policies that are similar to domestic policies as a way of avoiding interrupting planned domestic agendas. Neack's (2008) study is important because it explains that the domestic politics of any country can work to influence the head of state when making foreign policy or when interacting with the international community. This is because leaders may want to achieve their planned domestic goals and policies by using their foreign policy. However, like other explained studies, this study does not present Zambia as a case of these findings. Therefore, in covering this research gap the study to be taken will focus on Zambia's domestic and foreign policy goals.

Drezner (2005:2-13) in his article called *Introduction: The Interaction of International and Domestic Institutes* aimed at understanding the interaction that takes place between international and domestic institutes. He explains that there is observable growth in literature today on the existing interaction between domestic and international

politics. In his explanation, he applies Putnam's view of the two-level game by stating that domestic politics affects a state's position in international politics and bargaining. His study further explains that domestic political opponents tend to affect the leader's ability in bargaining at a global level and when dealing with other actors. However, states are still primary actors in international politics and in international bargaining but they are occasionally restricted and regulated by domestic politics. Sometimes the opposition political parties affect the state's decision in making foreign interactions with other actors in the international community, he explains.

Further, Drezner argues that international politics also affect domestic policy. It is not the only domestic policy that tends to affect or shape a state's foreign politics but the other way round too. He explains that International Organizations usually advocate for certain norms in states' domestic politics. These organizations provide knowledge and expertise to domestic actors on uninformed issues. They may use coercion to influence domestic politics in a state. International Organizations make member states ratify treaties after which these ratified treaties, and states may change their domestic policies as a way of compliance. He gives an example of how the International Monetary Fund influences local politics in developing countries through the provision of loans that come with conditions like opening up the economy, removal of subsidies and upholding democracy among others. The study by Drezner (2005) is of great value to this research as it explains how both internal and external factors can affect a country's foreign policy. Unlike, Drezner's view, the study to be taken will only focus on the role of domestic policy in Zambia as a way of avoiding generalization.

Farnham (2004, 441-463) in her article titled *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision Making* mentions that foreign policy is affected by the acceptability of political system institutions and the decision-makers. For example, she states that a political system that does not have consensus within its system is less likely to agree on external actions to be taken. She narrates that although in other systems like a feudalistic system of government, acceptability or consensus is not always considered vital. Hence, her acceptability degree differs from one political system to another. Regardless of the difference in political systems, she maintains that domestic politics interferes with external actions and decisions. Policymakers get to cope simultaneously with the domestic and international imperatives, hence maintaining a good impression both internationally and locally. She narrates that in situations of conflict between

international and domestic interests, the decision-makers are more likely to pay attention to domestic interests and make foreign policy that promotes domestic policy. In her findings, she further explains that the domestic politics of states tend to influence a country's foreign policy frequently. Internal politics of states continuously affect the policy makers' awareness of the local political context and what is acceptable within their political system. She also adds Baker's (1995, 144) view that in a democratic system, a foreign policy that cannot manage to attract domestic or local consensus may have challenges in succeeding. A study by Farnham (2004) recognizes the impact of consensus on foreign policy-making within a political system. Further, she narrates that in situations of conflict between international and domestic interests, the decision-makers are more likely to pay attention to domestic interests and make foreign policy that promotes domestic policy. The gap in findings is that they were never experimented on Zambia. As a result, Zambia will be used as a case study on determining the role of domestic policy on the country's foreign policy.

According to Evans (2009, 1-2) in his article titled *What is the Relationship Between Domestic and Foreign Policy? Should They Even be Distinguished*, a state's foreign policy is primarily generated from within. He explains that the domestic policy influence is used and acts as the basis on which states' foreign policy is made upon. In his explanation, this works as a foreign policy strategy base. Although the two environments might be different, relations that exist between the domestic and foreign policy is however determined by domestic populism which is also viewed as common populism. The decisions made by state leaders in democratic states are a reflection of common consensus. This is done because leaders have a desire to retain political office he explains. In extending domestic policies across state borders, Evans (2009) gives an example of the USA when Barack Obama was the President. He explicates that Obama's 2009 foreign policy which aimed at liberal agendas abroad was an extension of domestic liberal agendas by the democrats. Also, the 2009 advocacy by Obama for military withdrawal from Iraq is related to the liberal principle of promoting a liberal agenda both domestically and abroad. In this case, domestic politics called for the withdrawal of American troops from Iraq as the majority of Americans in the Gallup Poll of 2008 stated that deploying troops to Iraq was a mistake. Thus, this public opinion also led to Obama working on a liberal agenda to withdraw troops from Iraq. It is from this perspective that Evans explains that domestic politics from domestic agendas and public opinion influences government

action both internally and externally. Evans' study is important because it explains the role of the domestic agenda on foreign policy. However, this study cannot be applicable to Zambia as it focused on a developed country with a developed political system. To cover this gap, the role of domestic agendas on foreign policy in Zambia will be investigated.

According to Lumsdaine (1996:299-306) domestic politics are seen to affect a country's foreign policy in an ambitious way. By this, he explains that domestic politics constantly foists certain curtailment and biases on a state's foreign policy. At times this happens as a learned behaviour. For this explanation, he uses the US as an example. He mentions that the USA has a tendency of dominating the small Latin American and specifically Central American neighbours. This dominance behaviour is said not to rise from the strategic interest, instead, it comes from the learned habit of the US in considering itself to be in charge of the countries which are geographically close to it. In addition, the USA's support and belief in free and fair trade are implanted not in its national interest but are rooted in domestic institutions and coalitions and the belief in the success of such policies. He also cites France's independent foreign policy and its very effort of promoting the French grandeur which was the French attitudes acquired in the early centuries when France was occupying a more central position. This is also another explanation of domestic politics getting projected into a country's foreign policy. Lumsdaine, also adds that domestic politics have a predictable wider spread and regular effects on a country's external behaviour. He explains that democratic countries transfer their democratic principles into the international system. Also, through his other work in Lumsdaine (1993), he explains that developed countries with strong social welfare policies tend to formulate foreign policies that promote foreign aid and social support programs. Therefore, this study is important because it provides evidence of the role of domestic policy on a developed country's foreign policy. However, the weakness of this study is that it mainly focuses on America and France as main examples hence, side-lining developing countries like Zambia. As a result, the undertaken study focuses on Zambia.

A study report by Belkin (2011:1-22) on France in relation to the *Factors Shaping Foreign Policy and The Issues in US-French Relations* aimed at explaining the factors shaping France's foreign policy and French-US relations. The study revealed that France considers its self-identity when making its foreign policy. The domestic self-identity aims at spreading French views and values which include values of democracy and the spread

of human rights. Similar to the USA on democratic and political stability interests, France works towards building a stable Europe through the EU and NATO. Due to the self-identity of promoting human rights domestically, France also supports the fight against terrorism on the international scene. He further explains that the French revolution event of 1787 which aimed at getting rid of the monarch system and bringing liberty, equality and fraternity (a sense of brotherhood and companionship) led to the democratic establishment in France and later to other European countries. Hence, since the time of the revolution France holds the view that it is a beacon of civilization and it has to continue shedding light on this path. This view of the beacon of peace has been evidenced to continue in the 21st Century when interacting with other countries. During the interaction with other actors, France puts emphasis on democracy and human rights, especially when relating with developing countries and Central European countries. A lot of French political leaders especially the Gaullists have worked on promoting and spreading French values globally. Leaders like Dominique de Villepin who happened to be the last Prime Minister under Jacques Chirac (Sarkozy's predecessor) stated that at the heart of France's national identity exists a permanent search for values that can be shared with other countries. Belkin explains that the French self-identity of human rights and democracy is central to France's identity when dealing with internal affairs. In 2011 President Sarkozy of France took an active leading role in a military operation in Libya in order to protect the civilians from Qadhafi's regime. France and the United Kingdom (UK) influenced the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolutions in initiating an arms embargo on Libya.

Further Belkin's findings explain that as a beacon of human rights, France was at the forefront in pushing the EU's quick sanctions against the Qadhafi regime. The French government hosted an international conference on the future of Libya, the first of its kind and it was the first country that launched the first attacks on Qadhafi's ground forces in Libya. The attack was carried out by the French jet fighters. This action was motivated by the French domestic value of protection of human rights. Further, with its assertive view of promoting human rights and democracy France under President Sarkozy was also at the forefront of containing Iran's nuclear programs. In 2010 France joined countries that pushed for UN sanctions against Iran's nuclear program. The sanctions included a ban on investing in Iranian gas and oil industries and also pushed for EU sanctions on establishing financial relations with Iranian banks. Moreover, the domestic notion that

France is a beacon of civilization has made it assertive in driving the European Integration Project. For instance, France under Sarkozy took an active and major role in conceptualizing and implementing the European Union's Economic Monetary Union (EMU). This made other European leaders like Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel frustrated by Paris' action of pursuing EU-wide programs and initiatives without consulting other European member states/leaders. France and Germany also led away in implementing the Schengen Agreement which called for opening borders to people whose countries belonged to the EU.

As a believer in democracy and promoter of human rights, France under President Jacques Chirac opposed the US-Iraq-led war of 2003 by stating that it was going to destabilize the region. Instead, France called for the peaceful disarmament of Iraq as a priority. On February 11, 2003, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs De Villepin stated the use of ideal and giving priority to peaceful disarmament. This move was supported by the majority of the French population because it was viewed as a reflection of the French values which symbolizes a beacon of civilization, democracy and promoter of human rights, Belkin (2011) explains. Belkin's work is important to this study because it highlights the role of the French domestic beliefs and values which influence France when interacting with other countries. Hence demonstrating the role of domestic politics on foreign policy. However, the gap in this study is that it cannot be applied to the Zambian context as it is a developing country and less civilized when compared to France. Hence, the study to be taken focuses on Zambia.

In explaining further, the linkage between domestic and foreign policy, Owegi, Tolometi and Kwambai (2014:1-6) in their paper presentation titled *The Linkage Between Domestic and Foreign Policy*, explored the relationship between domestic and foreign policy. Their findings disclose that although foreign policy is at times affected by international attributes, a state's foreign policy can be said to be primarily made from within. The country's domestic policy is vital in providing the state with a foreign policy strategic basis. In as much as domestic policy aims to deal with the issues within the state, foreign policy is targeted toward the external environment. The domestic politics of a state can influence a state's external behaviour and at the same time, the state's external behaviour can affect the domestic policy of a state. Further, they mention that ideologies that are domestically employed by states influence their external policy too. They cite Barack Obama's left ideological push when he served as the US President. His push for

health reform of promoting individual health freedoms and military withdrawal from Iraq was a reflection of the left ideological consensus by the democrats in the USA. Their study explains that Obama's action of promoting social welfare and responsibility was a reflection of the left ideology spectrum. Hence made in populist interest. They also add to say that, the foreign policy of a state can be influenced by domestic populism which can later affect states' relations with each other. Owegi, Tolometi and Kwambai's (2014) study is important because they made a contribution to the linkage between domestic and foreign policy. However, they did not offer a particular case for Zambia. To deal with their shortcoming, the linkage between domestic and foreign policy in Zambia will be given research attention.

1.8.2. Narrow Perspective

In explaining the role of domestic policy on the foreign policy of developing countries, Laura (2008) in her book titled *The New Foreign Policy Power Seeking in a Globalized Era* uses the new agreement between India and the USA as empirical evidence in showing how domestic politics affect the foreign policy of a state. In her study, the events that happened between these two countries are a clear demonstration of how the domestic politics of a country shape its external behaviour as Hussain (2011) explains. The foreign policy referred to in this case is the nuclear agreement that was intended between the USA and India in the year 2005. The USA wanted India to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), however, India had not signed this treaty and decided to hold on first and foster its nuclear capabilities as a way of defending itself given that other countries were doing the same. However, there was opposition from the US regarding India's stance especially since India had once conducted a nuclear test in 1998. The 2005 agreement terms required India to go ahead with not signing the NPT, but as a way of exchange to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct some inspections in relation to civilian nuclear facilities. The treaty terms called out India to reprocess its nuclear fuel as a source of energy generation and to validate its position as a nuclear weapon power state. This situation was a win-win. However, India through the Head of Government prepared to withdraw from the agreement as a way to protect its domestic political interest. During this period, India was ruled by a coalition government known as the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) to which Manmohan Singh was voted as head of government and PM. In 2007, the Communist Party which was part of the coalition threatened to defect away from the alliance if the government had entered into a

consensus with the USA. Moreover, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which was the main opposition political party issued a threat that if the deal was made then a breakdown of the coalition government would be the result of such a decision. This treaty did not require parliament's approval but the head of the government's endorsement. With this pressure, the head of government backed down from the treaty, as he never wanted the India National Congress Party (INC) to lose power. If there was a withdrawal from the coalition by the Communist Party, elections would have been the next action and the INC Party did not stand a chance to regain power. Hence from that perspective, Singh stated that he was not going to risk losing political power for the sake of this agreement. Later in time, the Communist Party re-submitted to the treaty.

However, Hussain (2011) explains that the lesson drawn from this event before the Communist Party's resubmission is that the Indian government was observed to put domestic politics at heart when interacting with other actors in the international system. The domestic politics of India took a lead in its external decisions. The government worked towards the satisfaction of domestic demands he explains.

Aliyev and Ashifa (2021) in their study titled *Internal and External Factors Determining Foreign Policy of Iran: Prospects and Perspectives* explain that together with the international factors, the domestic dynamics of a state affect its foreign policymaking. This was established through a qualitative method of study with the use of secondary data. Further, their findings explain that factors like nationalism, religion and bureaucratic institutions of countries can affect a country's foreign policy. They cite Iran as an example, by explaining that it had followed an ideological foreign policy after the 1979 Islamic Revolution. The Iranian ideology became its foreign policy orientation against imperialism. Also, by citing Kazemzadeh (2017) they explain that Iran's Shiism and ethnic identity are important factors in Iranian foreign policy. Despite the domestic events that took place like the Islamic Revolution and changes in neighbouring states and global power balance, Iran's foreign policy has been observed to be consistent with its foreign policy priorities on Pan-Islamist and Pan-Shiite and the revolution trauma has been used to show deep suspicion towards the West. Aliyev and Ashifa's (2021) study is important because it recognizes that countries like Iran perceive religion and historical events in their foreign policy. However, the findings of this study cannot be applied to Zambia as the two countries differ in their religious belief and political history. To cover

this gap, the study to be taken will focus on Zambia's domestic policy in relation to religion and its foreign policy.

Furthermore, in understanding the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in developing countries, Wai's (1979:300-314) article titled *The Sudan: Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations under Nimiery*, is a good demonstration of the role of domestic politics on foreign policy. In his study, he explains that when Gaafar Nimiery of Sudan seized power in 1969 on May 25, by overthrowing the Sudanese civilian government and his foreign policy focused on state protection of the independence, advancing territorial unity and promoting better economic and social change. However, having a pliable domestic political environment was an important prerequisite to such a policy. To Wai, although the Revolutionary Council were united on overthrowing the previous regime, they still did not agree on a single ideology to be applied in Sudan.

Nimiery later banned all political parties in Sudan and established Sudan Communist Party (SCP). This was the only political party allowed to function. He also departed from the conservative policies of the previous regime accusing them of deterioration of the Sudanese economy and mishandling Sudan's Southern Region problem among others. This made Nimiery in nationalizing the economy and later aligned his foreign policy leftwards and associated more with the military governments similar to his. He became anti-capitalist and his relationship with the west deteriorated as he decided to build strong relations with the Soviet Union, Egypt and Eastern Europe. In 1970, Sudan, Egypt and Libya mentioned an agreement to form one federation. However, implementation failed because Sudanese Communists and National Socialists fiercely opposed it. Also, the Revolutionary Council had divided views on the federation.

Later, Nimiery declined the subscription to the federation (Tripoli Charter). This declination was also attributed to domestic political challenges Sudan was facing by then. Wai continues to explain that Nimiery declined the federation because he had re-ordered his priorities to first focus on domestic issues, specifically ending the civil conflict in the Southern part of the country where strong opposition to Khartoum's Arab orientation came from. As a result, he did not want to associate with the federation which would align Sudan's identity with its Arabic neighbours institutionally. Also, as a way of maintaining peace domestically, Wai's findings explain that Nimiery stated that a change of foreign policy was necessary to have internal peace. Sudan further changed its foreign policy

towards countries that were willing to offer help in different acceptable ways as Sudan needed much aid in making peace settlements between the north and South. This made Sudan align herself with the West, thereby reducing relations with the Soviet Union, as they were accused of supporting opposition to Nimeiry's regime through the 1971 coup that occurred but later it was defeated and Nimeiry regained power. Sudan reversed its nationalization domestic policy and called for foreign investment. More relations were established with Britain, West Germany and the USA. Therefore, the need to ensure peace domestically guided Sudan's foreign relations with the West.

Wai (1979) concludes that the lack of a firm ideology in Sudan, changes in political alliances, national priorities of peace in South Sudan and the need for development are some of the domestic factors that distinguished the Sudanese foreign policy under Nimeiry's leadership. Wai's (1979) study is important because it explains the role of national priorities and the lack of one firm ideology that shaped Sudanese foreign policy. However, it cannot be applied to the Zambian context due to differences in political culture and political history. Therefore, this study will focus on Zambia.

According to Evans (2016) in his article titled *what is the relationship between domestic and foreign policy? Should they even be distinguished*, the role of religion is prominent in influencing a state's foreign policy, especially in developing countries like Egypt. From time-to-time religion has proved vital or pivotal in influencing a state's behaviour both locally and externally he explains. He gives an example of the Egyptian government run by Hosni Mubarak. In 2009, Mubarak's government was active in using religious sentiments domestically as a way of consolidating political power and holding on to power. The Egyptian government promoted the broadcasting of religious programs, especially on the state-controlled media channel. This was taken as a way of promoting dominant religious sentiments of mind within Egypt. In 2009, during the continued Israel-Palestine conflict the Egyptian government pledged support to the Arab population that live in East Jerusalem. The notion of this pledged support rested on defending and protecting of the Islamic culture on the internal scene.

Evans further cites Christopher Bill's view that a nation's foreign policy is inevitably affected by national religious values or factors because of certain morals that exist in other countries. It is important to note that Evans's (2016) study is important because it presents the impact of religion on the country's external behaviour. However,

this study is a presentation of the Egyptian experience. To deal with this information gap, the study to be taken will focus on Zambia and its religion and the role it plays in influencing the country's foreign policy.

Another study by Cooper (1998:705-714) in an article titled *The Multiple Faces of South Africa Foreign Policy*. The study aimed at examining the interaction between international and domestic politics in South African multiple-faced foreign policy. In his study, he examined secondary data. The findings of his study revealed that South Africa is an interesting case for understanding the interaction between its domestic and international politics. He refers to Putnam's description of puzzling tangles that exist between domestic and external factors. In his findings, he further explains that the transformation of a New South Africa after apartheid gave value to the interaction between domestic and external politics. This transformation that took place in 1994 when the African National Congress (ANC) took power led to many domestic reconstructions politically, socially and economically.

Cooper (1998) revealed that these domestic changes led to changes in foreign policy as they led to a multiple face foreign policy in the country. The new South Africa aimed at the domestic distribution of resources to its supporters locally. To have more resources distributed the government focused on an outward approach called 'external extraction'. This was done by calling for more open international economic interactions between and among states by applying equitable rules and norms that support fair trade. In 1996, the Minister of Trade and industry by then Alec Erwin stated in Parliament that a New South Africa was not going to isolate itself but instead engage with the forces of globalization as a way to generate domestic resources and benefit from the new markets that did not exist in South Africa. Further, the study findings explain that South Africa called for Free Trade Area within the Southern Africa Region and other trading blocks.

Further, Cooper (1998:715-20) narrates that, in ensuring domestic distribution of resources, South Africa further embarked on trade diversification when dealing with other developing countries. This led to an increase in trade relations between South Africa and Latin America between 1995 and 1996 of which the trade increase between the two stood at 26 per cent while exports to Arab Peninsula countries showed an increase of 88% in 1996. Moreover, after December 31st 1997, the South African Government stated that the government want to normalise China-South Africa political relations and most

importantly to have more open trade and investment relations with China. This was in line with the domestic trade diversification program in ensuring that domestic resource needs are met. The planned economic diversification led to South Africa's increased participation in promoting regional integration. For example, New South Africa became an active player in the Southern African Customs Union re-negotiation process and cross-border integration activities. The South African government extended into a transport corridor agreement with Mozambique. Moreover, in finding new markets as a way of diversification, New South Africa restricted its domestic goods market to goods from other countries within Southern Africa. Especially in Zimbabwe, the goods that had the same comparative advantage were restricted through an increase in import duties. This led to former Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to openly criticize the South African government at a SADC economic summit in 1996 May, in Cape Town.

Moreover, New South Africa embarked on promoting democracy in the country as they just came out of an apartheid regime. Following Nelson Mandela's release from prison. He stated that a "democratically elected government" was not going to be indifferent to others' rights. Meaning the consideration of others' human rights. Mandela also highlighted that human rights are the light guide to New South African foreign policy. As it promoted democratic values domestically it was projecting the need for promoting and fostering democratic political systems of governments globally. South Africa also became active in calling for a stop to the human rights abuse in Nigeria that was taking place in the 1990s. The New South Africa also became an active member of the African Charter on Human Rights (Cooper, 1998:709-10). Therefore, this study is important because it shows the influence of the domestic agenda on a country's foreign policy, but it cannot apply to Zambia because it is a South African case. To sort out this gap, the study to be taken focuses on Zambia.

1.8.3. Zambian Perspective

This part of the study presents the existing literature on the role of domestic policy in Zambia's foreign policy. According to POL (2014:38) lecturer module prepared by The University of Zambia, titled *Introduction to Zambian Politics*, explains that Zambia is a member of International Organizations (IOs) its foreign policy is influenced by the norms of these organizations. For example, after it became independent in 1964, Zambia became a member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The organization aimed at Pan-Africanism and Anti-colonialism in Africa, the organization put pressure on Zambia to

help other African countries that were fighting colonial rule. This made Kaunda throw weight behind colonial struggles in Africa by supporting the liberation movements in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Angola. Kaunda offered financial support to ANC. This information is important because it shows how IOs influence state external relations by explaining how membership to OAU made Zambia support anti-colonial struggles in Africa. However, the gap in POL (2014) is that the role of domestic policy on foreign policy is not explained. To cover this gap, the taken study focuses on the role of domestic policy on Zambia's foreign policy.

Also, Chan (1987) explains that Kaunda was influenced by the humanistic perspective in interacting with other countries. However, Chan's study does not clearly indicate which principles of Kaunda's domestic ideologies influenced Zambia's foreign policy as he only gives a general view. To cover this gap, this study will specifically explain the specific domestic policy principles that influenced Kaunda's foreign policy under the UNIP government. Also, the study extends to cover the MMD, PF and the UPND government.

1.9. Impact of Domestic Policy Change on the Country's Foreign Policy

1.9.1. Global Perspective

Hermann (1990:4-5) suggests that foreign policy change can be viewed in four different change levels. He stated that foreign policy can change because of adjustment, which is caused by a change of interest or when there is a need to re-identify the target but the policy object remains the same and the foreign policy tools used remain the same. The second change level of foreign policy he mentions is the program change, which he states that it is the change in the tools used in achieving the country's foreign policy goals. During this process, the state's foreign policy goals still remain the same but the tools are changed. Third, he explains that it is the foreign policy level change which involves the change in goals and tools states use to achieve their desired interest. Lastly, Herman gives an account of international orientation change, where he highlights that states change their role at the international scene or level. There is a change toward specific issues in the international system. This study is vital because it offers a different perspective on which foreign policy change can be viewed from. However, it does not specifically explain those that apply to Zambia because the study

did not focus on Zambia. In covering this gap, this study will take Zambia as a case study.

Further, by citing Herman, Kidane (2022:7) explains that foreign policy change in a country mainly occurs due to the leaders' influence, to which he refers to as *a leader driven influence* on foreign policy change. To Kidane, this usually happens in countries that are authoritative in nature with authoritative policymakers. He continues to say that a leader or head of government may impose his or her own redirection as necessary for foreign policy. Also, he continues to explain that foreign policy change in a country may occur as a result of bureaucratic advocacy. This happens when a group of people within the government advocate for a redirection in the country's foreign policy. If this advocacy gets successful, it brings about policy change. Also, the domestic restructuring which he uses to refer to a situation where some elites who have power in legitimizing the government by changing their views in relation to external relations become active in changing the government's external views. When this happens, the government tend to make changes in its foreign policy. Similarly, if a shift in domestic political restructurings like a change or shift in political power among political parties or groups takes place within a state. Such change can bring about a new set of interests or beliefs into the country's foreign policy-making process, later leading to foreign policy change or re-arrangement.

With the concern of foreign policy change, Welch (2005:8) in his book titled *Painful Choices: A Theory of Foreign Policy Change*. He worked on understanding the various sources of a state's foreign policy change to which he examined different approaches like the organizational, motivation and cognitive and prospect theories. From his perspective, he explains that a state's foreign policy change should not be viewed as common. When foreign policy change occurs, usually it occurs as a result of decision makers' view of loss. He argues that, when decision-makers seem more fearful that the current foreign policy will bring about cost or much loss, they tend to change the external policy. He further points out that when foreign policymakers realize that the continued status quo will bring about more painful losses, then they can dramatically change the policy as a way of avoiding losses. From Welch's point of view, he takes the role of individuals within the domestic environment and the psychological factors involved in foreign policy-making decisions. Welch further narrates that these factors

are at the centre of foreign policy change as they act as sources of the policy change towards the external environment. His analysis of foreign policy change, therefore, is focused on human agency as a single unity of analysis as indicated by his writings. In supporting the role of individuals in a state's foreign policy change, Alden and Aran (2017: 127-128) points out that literature on foreign policy and international relations indicates the role of individuals being responsible for a change in foreign state relations with other actors. The process of learning is a factor that makes individuals involved with foreign policy-making make foreign policy change attempts. Welch's (2005) and Alden and Aran's (2017) studies are important as they explain foreign policy change. However, they do not focus on Zambia in their explanation. To avoid this weakness, the study conducted focuses on Zambia's experience in changing its foreign policy.

In 2009, Blavoukos and Bourantonis (2009:4) in their work titled *Identifying Parameters of Foreign Policy Change: A Synthetic Approach*, to which Israel and Greece are applied as case studies. In their findings they presented that factors that can lead to foreign policy change vary from one political system to another, political and institutional structures, electoral system, electoral system, leadership style, informal or formal veto points, and the extent of societal involvement may bring about a state's foreign policy change. The paper's findings further indicate that the autonomy and unit insulation from political dependencies like the coalition partners, army, and electoral concerns creates an environment which is more conducive to foreign policy change in Israel. For instance, in democratic regimes, foreign policy change has a high chance of occurring when there is a strong, single-party government where the executive or the Prime Minister dominates the decision-making power in the cabinet. Also, foreign policy change can easily take place where there are no or few veto points by a constitutional court or a President or other and where there is less societal interest or involvement in foreign policy issues.

Further Blavoukos and Bourantonis (2009:5) argue that another domestic cluster that causes foreign policy change in a state is structural parameters made by advocacy groups which support an alternative foreign policy by calling for the course of action in changing the policy. These groups may include policy entrepreneurs, socio-economic groups and the adherents' groups calling for a change in political culture and foreign policy orientation. These groups can exhibit an overlap in membership and the more

powerful they become in voicing out their interest within the domestic political environment the more influence they have in changing a state's foreign policy. These groups work towards voicing out their preferences. They further cited Evans's (1993:414) view that the alternative preferences individual groups hold in the domestic political environment may take a predominant role in inducing a state's foreign policy change. Holsti (1995:260-265) also adds a similar account that the social economic groups may bring about foreign policy change because they operate within the domestic society they originate from; they have a collective actorness which gets expressed through public opinion. Later, this public opinion can either work as a constraint or a foreign policy change facilitator.

Further Blavoukos and Bourantonis (2009) added that international events/parameters changes may bring about foreign policy change. Developments in the international system may make a state change or adjust its foreign policy or make new means of achieving its foreign policy objective. For example, they cite the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a new foreign policy focus for the new USA, Germany and other countries. Also, internationally, they point out that foreign policy of a state can change due to the state's interaction with fellow states or actors and non-state actors like the International Organizations by the application of policy adjustment socialization process and conditionality of policies called upon by these organizations to bind their member states. Blavoukos and Bourantonis (2009), Evans's (1993) and Holsti's (1995) work is important in understanding how different factors can lead to a state's foreign policy change. However, it does not focus on the Zambian system, to deal with this challenge, the study to be taken will focus on Zambia in order to have in-depth information on the role of domestic policy change on the country's foreign policy.

1.9.2. Narrow Perspective

Moshref (2020:53) in his study titled *the Impact of the Domestic Environment in the Change of Foreign Policy-The Case of Russian Policy towards the European Union after the end of the Cold War*, indicates that the change of political leadership in Russia after the cold war from Yeltsin to Putin led to foreign policy change in Russia. During Boris Yeltsin, Russia's foreign policy was characterized as chaos in the 1990s. It had no clearly specified objective hence it was viewed as chaos, he explains. However, in linking the domestic transformation to foreign policy change. Moshref mentions that

during Putin's time Russia has a well-defined foreign policy unlike during Yeltsin's Presidency. The well-defined international structures and industrial technical strength and capabilities in the high quantity of gas and oil have led Russia to project itself as a powerful state when interacting with other actors on the international scene. In brief, he highlights that the well-formed internal construction has made Russia's projection of a powerful state on the international scene. In his scholarship, he further cites China and Japan as examples by stating that many years ago these two countries had less regard for their domestic environment, however, following their development in human capital, science and improvement in the national competencies within all their sectors, they have now established a strong political stance at global level and in their foreign policy. To this, he adds, that domestic human capital and economic development also contribute to change in foreign policy. Moshref's (2020) study is important because it shows the impact of the domestic environment and political leadership in shaping change in a country's foreign policy.

Alden and Aran (2017:127-128) in their book titled *Foreign Policy Analysis; New Approaches*. They argue that domestic factors that bring about a state's foreign policy change may differ. In their book, they point out that literature indicates the role of individuals in foreign policy change when the individuals apply what they have learned which later gives space to foreign policy change. This scholarship is inspired by the role of Mikhail Gorbachev in embracing the basic change in the USSR's domestic and foreign policy change through the inclusion of glasnost and perestroika. Gorbachev who was Western-educated introduced the learned political and economic policies both in domestic and foreign policy by opening up the economy and encouraging political openness of the USSR members. To this, they state that individuals apply what they have learnt and this brings a shift in the foreign policy of a state. Further, they explain that state institutions may act as foreign policy change actors and can take up the place of foreign policy change competition in relation to new ideas promoting or advocating for change. Moreover, they argue that domestically, the domestic structure in a polity can provide some clues to policy change or they can act as an obstacle to changing a state's external behaviour. How authority is distributed between a state, society and domestic institutions is vital in assessing and understanding foreign policy change and the actual process of change. The study by Alden and Aran (2017) is important because it shows that domestic factors that bring about a state's foreign policy change may differ.

These may include learning, and individuals among others. However, the study did not investigate the foreign policy change in Zambia and the different factors responsible for policy change from 1964 to 2022. To cover this gap, the study to be taken is interested in focusing on Zambia from 1964 to 2022.

1.9.3. Zambian Perspective

According to Shaw (1976) in his article titled *the foreign policy of Zambia: ideology and interest*, Zambia's foreign policy was influenced by its national ideology of Humanism. Zambia demonstrated contradiction and changes in its foreign policy under the UNIP government. Further, Shaw's findings indicate that after independence Kaunda promised to help other countries achieve their liberation struggle by supporting them in non-violent ways. Under Humanism violence was also not encouraged, the ideology called for peaceful means of co-existence in fighting inequalities and racial discrimination both locally and internationally. However, in the 1970s Zambia shifted her stance on non-violence means and stopped supporting the violent approach of African states in fighting for independence. Humanism further, explained the change in Zambia's foreign behaviour as it aimed at fighting inequalities, and racial discrimination and promoting equality both locally and internationally. Kaunda also stated that foreign investors can invest in the country as long as they do not affect the sovereignty of a state, they can invest in Zambia he stated but later he was against the MNCs and nationalized the economy.

Furthermore, Shaw (1976) explains regardless of the introduction of a one-party state in Zambia, Kaunda did not support military regimes and coups. He viewed them as obstructs to internal order. To this during UNIP Zambia became critical of military regimes, and the country's changed its relations with such countries. In giving examples, Shaw cites the O.A.U summit of 1975 that took place in Kampala, Uganda during the reign of Idi Amin who happened to rule by terror, Kaunda did not attend the summit, as he did not respect such regimes. Also, following the 1973 coup in Chile, Zambia changed its relations with Chile by cutting diplomatic relations with that country because the UNIP government did not perceive military rule as the right leadership rule of a state. Furthermore, Shaw attributes the changes in foreign policy to the elites' interest in controlling the country's resources and society.

However, scholars like Chan (1986:223-233) disagree with Shaw on this point, that Zambia's foreign policy was not by any means controlled by the elites. Chan agrees with Shaw's arguments that Zambia took a reactive foreign policy which too many people viewed as a contradictory and inconsistent policy. Zambia was also changing its behaviour towards South Africa due to South Africa's foreign policy of dominating Southern Africa. Like Shaw, Chan also argues that Kaunda as the President of Zambia applied Humanism both locally and internationally in fighting inequalities. Humanism led to Kaunda's abounding the Western ideologies and Eastern socialism, to which Humanism replaced the Western ideology. In 1975, Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia was to be confronted by guerrilla warfare as he kept on being aggressive, when it was clear that a violent approach was the way out, Kaunda encouraged Joshua Nkomo the Africanist from Southern Rhodesia to engage Ian Smith in peaceful talks. This was perceived as contradictory to Kaunda's view of fighting aggressive colonial regimes by any means necessary if they became aggressive.

Also, Chan, highlights that Zambia being a landlocked country, the foreign policy of other countries makes it vulnerable to policy change. This literature is important because it explains the external changing behaviour of Zambia during the second republic when UNIP was in government. However, the explained studies above are limited in nature as they just focus on the second republic, there is also disagreement on the literature on the contribution of elites in foreign policy change during the second republic. To cover up this gap, this study covers the period from 1964 to 2022.

1.9.4. Summary

In summary, the reviewed studies are important to this study because they explain the role of domestic politics in shaping a country's foreign policy. They explain the actors involved in foreign policy-making in developed countries and some developing countries. Further, they provide an explanation of foreign policy change as being caused by regime change, leadership, elite's interest, international events, foreign policy of other states, public opinion, and change in political culture. In Zambia, the studies mainly focus on the second republic leaving out the first republic and the third republic. It is, therefore, for this reason, that this study will cover this gap in the literature by focusing on Zambia and it covers the period from independence to date, this is because there is less literature on the role of domestic policy in Zambia's foreign policy during the third and first republic. Also, Zambia has undergone different domestic

policy changes since 1964, this study will for that reason establish the influence of domestic policy on the country's foreign policy during the reign of every political party that has ever ruled Zambia.

1.10. Methodology.

1.10.1. Type of Research

This study is undertaken from three perspectives, the first is the purpose of the study, the second is the case study and the third is the time frame. For the purpose of study, the study is explorative in nature, because it explores the role of domestic policy on Zambia's foreign policy. It explains how domestic policy has played a role in shaping the country's external behaviour. This is one of the under-researched topics in Zambia, hence the need to explore more knowledge on it. According to Stebbins (2011:5) exploratory inquiry is a type of inquiry undertaken when there is little or no scientific knowledge known on the topic, issues, or situation of interest to the researcher. Therefore, this type of approach is applicable to the study being undertaken, because there is less literature on the role of domestic politics in influencing Zambia's foreign policy, especially in the third republic.

The second perspective the study applied was the number of cases applied. This study applied one case, which is Zambia. According to Sililo (2021:30) a case study is a type of study that involves an empirical inquiry into a certain phenomenon. This type of study is important because it allows in-depth investigation of a given object or phenomenon under study. Moreover, it helps to narrow down a broad topic into a specific topic that is more and easily reachable. In addition, a case study is useful where little information about a certain unit, phenomenon, or object is known. A case study is also less costly in terms of finances and time. Hence, it helped to grasp more in-depth information on domestic and foreign policy in Zambia. It also helped the researcher to focus on Zambia as a case which saved resources and time.

The third perspective applied in this study is the time frame. The study was one-time research because it was only taken once. It is confined to the rules of a master's degree study period at the Social Sciences University of Ankara. Hence, in order to obtain the master's degree, the researcher was allowed to undertake the study once.

1.10.2. Research Approach

This study adopts a qualitative method of research. This is because a qualitative method is the most applicable mode of study when dealing with social sciences and human behaviour as it answers how, who, what, and why questions. Moreover, Lin and Loftus (2005) recommend the use of the qualitative method where little work has been conducted on a certain topic in social sciences. They explain that one method of study is preferred when dealing with a topic that has been under-researched. For this reason, the topic under study has less literature, as there is less existing research on the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia from 1964 to 2022. Hence this method of study is applicable to the study taken. Moreover, Creswell (2007) explains that qualitative inquiry of research allows the application of theoretical frameworks that inform the research problem undertaken by the researcher. It also helps in exploring many factors in relation to the case under study by using more than one source of information or data. Further, this method has been applied because it allows the researcher to undertake an in-depth search of knowledge by using multiple sources of information. Also, it applies a theoretical framework, which makes it suitable for the use of the qualitative method of research as explained by Creswell (2007). Therefore, the use of a theoretical framework led to the researcher adopting a qualitative method of study.

1.10.3. Research Design

According to Thyer (1993) a research design is defined as a detailed or blueprint plan that shows how the research will be conducted. It helps the research to answer the study objectives objectively and accurately. This study applies a non-experimental study design because it had no control over the condition it took place under. The participants participated from their natural environment settings. The researcher had no control over the study conditions.

1.10.4. Data Collection Tools

In this study, primary and secondary data are considered. Primary data is first-hand information while secondary data is data already made available. Primary data are important because they are not distorted (PAS, 2014). While secondary data is also vital for this study because it makes data on event occurrence of foreign relations available. In collecting primary data, semi-structured interviews were used as a tool for data collection. According to Alamri (2019:65) the interview as a qualitative method of study is used

because it is flexible as it allows the researcher and the interviewee to elaborate more on the topic under the researcher's investigation. Hence it provides more detailed and depth information. Therefore, in this study, a semi-structured interview is used because it helps the researcher to ask questions related to the topic under study. Hence, it helps in defining the areas of the researcher's interest.

Moreover, Döneyi (2007:136) states that semi-structured interviews help in elaborating more on issues under investigation. The flexibility which allows one to pause, probe, and ask is vital in providing more information. It is one of the reasons that the research used semi-structured interviews because it provides flexibility in asking questions in relation to the interaction of domestic and foreign policy in Zambia. Further, the use of the semi-structured interviews helped to gain more insights on the topic of study as the interviewer was able to clarify and ask for more explanations on the asked questions and the provided answers. Thus, it helped to provide quality and accurate data relating to the scope of the study. This is what Alamri (2019:66) states that semi-structured interviews provide the interviewer with an opportunity to ask and ask for clarification on certain responses. This later helps in collecting quality and accurate information in relation to the researcher's area of interest. Further, the interview provided the researcher with an opportunity to record the interview which was later reviewed to ensure the correct information was transcribed. The interviews took place on WhatsApp video calls and Zoom Meetings this was due to the ability to record the interview and also apply the Covid-19 rules. The interview lasted for one-hour minimum and one and a half an hour maximum. The language used was English. This is because English is the Zambian official language and both the researcher and study participants have a good command of English. The questions outlined were opened ended questions, because these type of questions makes the participant freely express themselves.

Regarding the collection of secondary data, information was collected through desk research and the data sources included media houses, books, articles, journals, government official documents, speeches, historical events, internet sources and other available studies. The secondary data was used because it was readily available and it came from trusted sources. The use of both primary and secondary data was important because it helped to enrich the study. The collection of data took place between February

10th, 2022 and 8th July 2022 because the researcher continued to add relevant information that was made available by the government.

1.10.5. Sample Size

This study comprises six (6) key informants, of which four are from The University of Zambia, Department of Government and Management Studies and the other two are government officials from the Ministry of Foreign and International Corporation. The reason for choosing this sample size is to have an enriched perspective from the key informants who are well informed on the topic of foreign policy in Zambia. The key informants from the University of Zambia are academicians while those from MoFIC are policymakers.

1.10.6. Sampling Method

In selecting the study's key informants, a purposive sampling method was used. The purpose sampling technique is a type of technique used to select study participants in qualitative research. It involves the identification and selection of key informants for the most effective use. In simple terms, it is about the researcher identifying and selecting individuals, groups, or institutions that have the needed knowledge on a certain topic of the researcher's interest or the identification and selection of those groups of individuals, or individuals or institutions with the needed experience of a certain phenomenon of the researcher's interest (Palinkas et al, 2015:2). Therefore, it is for this reason that purposive sampling method was used because it allowed for the collection of data from the foreign policy expertise in Zambia. The criteria used in selecting the expertise are one (1) having knowledge of Zambia's first foreign policy from 1964 to the current foreign policy, two (2) someone who has been involved in foreign policy-making or teaching foreign policy at the university level for more than two years and has knowledge on Zambian politics from the first republic to the third republic. Hence, it focused on those who specialized in the field of foreign policy and Zambian politics. The researcher reached out to the University of Zambia Department of Government and Management Studies and the Ministry of Foreign and International Cooperation through a phone call. After accepting to participate in this study, the key informants were engaged through WhatsApp Video calls and Zoom Meetings.

1.10.7. Data Reliability

In ensuring reliability, the study employed internal reliability. The questions asked focused on the topic. The answers were checked more than twice to confirm their relatedness to the topic under study. Furthermore, the interview data were cross-checked against the secondary data. This was done more than once in order to ensure study consistency and to add authentication to the available information. Further, the transcribed interview data were sent to the participants to confirm their responses.

1.10.8. Data Validity

In ensuring data validity, the interview guide was first sent to the study supervisor to ensure that the formulated questions are in line with the topic under study. Moreover, proper assessment of the secondary data by focusing on the content similarity to the study was applied. Only informed participants were involved in this study.

1.10.9. Data Analysis

This study used a content analysis of the qualitative research method. In analysing primary information gathered, the data collected from the interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded and themes were established using Excel and Microsoft Word. Later, the data were analysed. Furthermore, secondary data were reviewed, coded and analysed simultaneously. Lastly, the study findings were compared to the existing literature and reported honestly with consideration of research ethics. When citing APA referencing style was used.

1.11.1. Research Ethics

This research observed ethical principles. The researcher ensured that informed consent was provided during data collection. Study participants were allowed to withdraw their participation if they chose to. Confidentiality was provided by not publishing participants' real names. In ensuring confidentiality, pseudo names are used to present the participants. The recorded data were deleted after data transcription.

1.11.2. Structure of the Study

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter of the study is the background of the study. The aim of this chapter is to provide background information on the state's foreign policy and its interaction with domestic factors and to give an introduction to Zambia's foreign policy which has been emboldened in the introduction

section. Further, the first chapter presents the statement of the problem, objectives, main objective and specific study objectives, research questions, the significance of the study, definitions of study concepts, the theoretical framework, literature review and study methodology. Under the literature review, the concept of foreign policy will be explained, and thereafter empirical review is done in relation to domestic and foreign policy. Empirical review is done from a global perspective, narrow to a Zambian perspective. Under methodology, the type of research, research approach, research design, data collection tools, sample size, sampling method, reliability of data, study validity, data analysis techniques, study ethics applied and the referencing style used in the study is presented. Later, this chapter ends with the dissertation structure. Chapter two of the study is a presentation of the study findings. It examines the actors involved in the foreign policy-making process in Zambia. from independence to date (1964-2022). Chapter three examines the role of domestic policy on foreign policy in Zambia. This is done in a sequence by first presenting the domestic policy and foreign policy. Thereafter, the role of domestic policy on foreign policy is discussed. Further, the chapter explains whether domestic policy change affects the country's foreign policy. Finally, chapter four presents a conclusion, implication and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

ACTORS INVOLVED IN THE FOREIGN POLICY-MAKING PROCESS IN ZAMBIA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings in relation to the first specific objective of the study which reads: To investigate actors involved in the foreign policy-making process in Zambia. In achieving this objective, the chapter looks at foreign policy actors under the government of UNIP, MMD, PF and the UPND respectively. In ending this chapter, a summary is presented.

2.2.1. Actors in Foreign Policy Making under the UNIP Government (1964-1991)

After gaining independence from Britain on 24 October 1964, Zambia became active in establishing external relations with other countries. Participant Kaumba explained that; *In Southern Africa, the country became active in supporting liberation movements within the region. The UNIP government also put support on the Organization of African Union by promoting the organization's goals of liberating Africa from colonial masters.*

It is important to note that during this period Zambia's foreign policy was mainly influenced by the President who in this case was Kaunda. As both the state and UNIP President, he was the main actor in foreign policy making. However, he considered careful deliberation with top government officials and his political advisors. Although theoretically the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was created to handle foreign relations of the country, the President was still the main foreign policy actor and policy influencer. Furthermore, field data explains that Zambia's foreign policy formation and its diplomatic actors under the UNIP government took place on a very high political level. The foreign policy making had little input from the general public and professionals. This is because at independence Zambia had only about a total of 99 graduates who were Zambians (Chan, 1987).

Stabler (1968:32) adds that Zambia achieved its independence with a small ratio of graduates compared to the country's total population. Thus, the country had a few professionals to deal with foreign policy concerns. Only a few individuals who had close relations with President Kaunda offered foreign policy advice. These individuals included 'big' names like Mark Chona who by then was the President's Foreign Affairs Special Assistant. Chona preached unity between Lisbon and Frelimo in Mozambique through shuttle diplomacy of calling for peaceful political power transition in that country. Although these individuals offered advice to the President, it is important to note that Zambia's foreign policy was closely identified with Kaunda and mostly the President alone. From the time of independence in 1964 up to the second republic of 1973, Zambia did not have expert graduates/diplomats in the country's core of foreign relations or service (Chan 1987, 223).

Furthermore, Kaunda was Zambia's primary symbol just like other nationalist leaders in other African states. He was the first and only Zambian President who changed Zambia's political system from multi-party system at independence to one-party state in 1973. During this year, Zambia became a one-party state. Political parties were banned, the only political party that was allowed to exist was UNIP, which was the party in power. During this period, Kaunda was both the party and state President. He had too much political power which the one-party state constitution granted him. Just like the first Republic, the President continued to dominate the foreign policy formation process of Zambia. As the party (UNIP) President, Commander-in-Chief of the Country's Armed Forces and the head of government, these responsibilities made him to take many state responsibilities within his own capacity (Martin, 1975:156).

The other reason that made the President during the one-party state become the dominator in Zambia's foreign policy-making making is because he had an active role as a mediator among conflicting sections and groups, especially in Southern Africa. This is similar to the view by Kaplan (1974:237, Pettman 1974:37-44) that Kaunda being the representative of his country, he had stood out to be seen as the dominator in the country's foreign policy formation. These findings contradict Rosenau's (1966) assumption that the ranking of foreign policy actors differs in small, underdeveloped and open polities. In Zambia, Kaunda still dominated the foreign policy making during the period of an open

polity from 1964 to 1972. Also, when the political system changed to a closed system during the one-party state, he still remained the main actor in foreign policy formation. Therefore, Rosenau's assumptions differ from the Zambian reality during the UNIP government.

Mostly, it is important to note that Kaunda was highly involved in high politics which included issues to deal with state security, military, guerrilla warfare, socio-cultural as well as regional cooperation in Southern Africa and international organizations. However, at times, he allowed some responsibilities to be carried out by ministries and parastatals when dealing with trade and investment. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was at times more involved in military questions and regional and international organizations. Moreover, at times the party (UNIP) was allowed the responsibility to strengthen its relations with other political parties in other countries. Regardless of the involvement of other actors, it was important that Kaunda as the state and party President still remained dominant in Zambia's foreign policy making as he was at the centre of every action (Shaw 1978:187-191). Also noted from the field data, *Kaunda was the main policy maker during the days of UNIP but sometimes he involved those who surrounded him*". This is similar to Chan's (1987, 229-231) findings that Zambia's foreign policy during the 1980s was influenced by the Head of Government who was Kaunda by then. Only a few elites who worked closely with the President contributed to foreign policy-related issues.

2.2.2. Actors in Foreign Policy Making under the MMD Government (1991-2011)

After its political victory against the UNIP government during the 1991 general elections that took place in Zambia, the MMD government was led by Dr Fredrick Titus Chiluba who was both the party President and Head of State. The MMD government was domestically elected to power. Then it started to embark on both domestic and foreign policy changes. In making changes to its international or external relations, the new government's foreign policy attracted attention on the international scene. This was due to the shock as well as excitement it presented to the international community because some leaders feared the spread of democracy while others were in support of democratic changes that were taking place during the third wave of democracy. During this period, the President was the main policy maker and the main actor involved in the country's external relations. Like the UNIP, the MMD government also constitutionally considered

the President as Chief Diplomat making him the main actor on which the Foreign Affairs Ministry worked to supplement his goal and vision. However, the study findings also reveal that the President engaged his cabinet when making foreign policy decisions and at times, the Ministers issued statements directed at other states. However, the involvement of cabinet ministers led to contradicted foreign relations statements of the country. For example, in 1997, the Vice President of Zambia Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda issued a statement against the South African Government, that the South African Defence Minister by then Joe Modise was aiding the Zambian former President (Kenneth Kaunda) with arms and mercenaries. However, the South African Government dismissed this accusation as rubbish and false (Taylor, 1997:1-2).

Furthermore, in September 1997, the Zambian Foreign Minister by then Lawrence Shimba issued what was later perceived as pointless controversy. He accused the British High Commissioner of sending negative sentiments to London as a way of undermining Zambia on the international scene. Following this incident, the Zambian Press reported that Ronald Penza the then Finance Minister issued an appeal statement to the British Government to ignore the earlier statement by the Zambian Foreign Affairs Minister. After this event, the Minister of Foreign Affairs did not conduct the President's visit to Indonesia and Singapore instead, this responsibility was undertaken by the Minister of Presidential Affairs Eric Silwamba. Silwamba was later criticized by the Zambian Press that he was a sycophant who attempted to muscle the formation of the country's foreign policy. Although ill-informed due to the advisors, President Chiluba was still considered the chief diplomat and cabinet ministers worked to comprehend and support his policies. When interacting with countries in Southern Africa, the President made it clear in his statements that he was not selling democracy to them (Taylor, 1997:1-2).

However, issues to deal with high politics were handled by the President. Sashi stated that;

Chiluba was an active figure in high politics. For example, in 1996 the President warned other countries and international organizations not to interfere in Zambian politics. Further, the President was involved in conflict resolution in neighbouring countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 1990s. The President acted as a mediator in conducting the peace process in that country through what was referred to as the Lusaka Peace Accord.

Also, when President Chiluba's government was advised by President Nelson Mandela of South Africa to allow Zambia's former President (Kaunda) to participate in national politics, Chiluba agreed but later prevented Kaunda's active political participation and ignored Mandela's advice. He requested South Africa not to interfere in Zambia's politics. Therefore, it is clearly seen that the government's involvement in political confrontation with other state leaders from Southern Africa was mainly handled by the President (Taylor, 1997:1-2).

In 2002, the MMD government changed its leadership from Chiluba to Levy Patrick Mwanawasa who served from 2002 to 2008. Although he worked with his advisors closely, Mwanawasa was the dominant figure in the country's foreign policy agenda setting and formation. The President was the role model in which his ministers were to follow suit. For example, in 2002 following the national food shortage crisis, President Mwanawasa stated that Zambia will not accept any Genetic Modified foods (GM) from developed countries (United States of America) despite the hunger the nation was experiencing where he cited that only food considered scientifically safe for consumption would be imported into the country (Xinhua News Agency, 2002: para. 1-2). After the President's stance on GM foods, Zambian diplomats followed his political decision on modified foods. For instance, Zambian diplomat Silumelume Mubukwanu when asked by the BBC Radio if the Zambian government would accept GMOs, he told BBC Radio that Zambia was not going to allow its people to accept such foods. He further added that, just because the people are starving, it does not mean that they should eat anything. Later he made a request to countries like Japan, the USA, Britain and Germany to provide aid in form of the food for the people of Zambia usually eat (Reuters, 2002: para. 1-6).

On August 3, 2005, President Mwanawasa stated in a brief meeting that Zambia was going to deport a terror suspect caught in that country. The suspect was wanted in Britain and the USA because he was linked to the London bombing that took place on 7 July 2005. When caught in Zambia, the President made the migration officials deport the suspect to Britain (IOL, 2005: para.1-5). Therefore, this shows that the President had a final say on external interaction that dealt with security issues with other actors.

In 2007, following the anti-Chinese protest in Zambia due to the opposition political party (PF) and some labour unions influence that Chinese firms pay low wages and did not care about the working conditions of the Zambian people. To deal with such allegations, Mwanawasa defended China by stating that it brought much development in Zambia and he encouraged citizens to embrace the Chinese people. He also signed economic agreements with the Chinese government amid of these events (Aljazera, 2007).

Another incidence showing the President as the main foreign policy maker and influencer is the 2008 occurrence when China was shipping its arms to Zimbabwe. Mwanawasa worked in opposition to this as he supported the South African government prohibition of China to use its Durban port. This was because civil society mounted pressure on the government's refusal to ship arms due to the fear of Zimbabwe's brutal regime. Mugabe was being accused of planning to use these arms against his own citizens especially those who had opposed his regime during the elections period. He also requested the Zimbabweans to come together in solidarity and stop China's delivery of about 77 tonnes of ammunition to that country. Moreover, the Zambian President mentioned that such action can deepen the crisis in Zimbabwe and later he called on China to take up more useful roles in Zimbabwe unlike selling arms (The Guardian, 2008: para.8). In 2008, President Mwanawasa died whilst in office, and he was replaced by Rupiah Banda who became the state President through by-elections. President Banda just like Mwanawasa continued to dominate the country's foreign policy making and directives. President Banda promised to continue with the MMD's vision and policy (Shacinda, 2008; para.8).

Furthermore, it is important to state that Banda was the main actor of foreign policy in Zambia. He made more trips abroad to look for investors and promote the country's relations with other actors. For example, on 29 April 2009, he visited Zimbabwe to continue the mending of Zambia-Zimbabwe relations that were falling apart due to undemocratic practices that were being reported in Zimbabwe. The undemocratic behaviour of Mugabe made Banda's predecessor to criticize that country and be in bad books with its President. It took President Banda's visit to Zimbabwe as a President to amend the two countries relations to which he requested for a unified approach to development (Lusaka Times, 2009; para.1-2). Hence, President Banda got engaged in maintaining state relations through increased state visits to other countries. Some opposition members criticized him of taking too many trips to other countries. They

criticized the President by stating that Banda was making the President's Office a Tourism Ministry due to the increased movements he undertook. However, the President was defended by his government by stating that the trips were aimed at promoting trade relations with other countries (Lusaka Times, 2010:1-9). Also, the MMD government stated that the Presidential state visits were necessary to attract foreign investment, job creation and poverty reduction in the country (Times of Zambia, 2010: para.1). Banda spent about K39.7 billion on his foreign trips within his three-year governance period (Lusaka Times, 2011: para.1).

Therefore, the above incidence of events shows that there was involvement of top ministry officials in the country's external interactions during the MMD government. The advisors took an active role in the country's foreign policy too in the first years of the MMD government's leadership. This is because Chiluba was perceived to be unversed on issues that dealt with diplomatic relations. However, the President still remained the main actor of the country's foreign policy agenda setting, formulation and implementation. In all leadership changes that took place under the MMD government, the President set the trend and acted as the overall boss of foreign policy. This is because the constitution vested more powers in the executive. The President was the head of state and government as well as the Chief Diplomat of the country. These positions and political power made the President the main policy decider and handler, especially when dealing with high politics.

2.2.3. Actors in Foreign Policy Making under the PF Government (2011-2021)

In 2011, the MMD government leader lost elections to PF's incumbent Michael Chilufya Sata. This victory led to the formation of the PF government (BBC, 2011: para.1-3), which then took over power within the already existing state political structures that existed under the MMD government. A few ministries like Ministry of Higher Education, Fisheries and Livestock among others were created. However, with a few months in power, the PF government started to call on domestic policy alteration in terms of the constitution (referred to as the People's Driven Constitution) and electoral system changes were called for. The President was vocal in calling for these changes as he was the one setting the trend for domestic policy change within the country. Externally, the President became active in setting the foreign policy trend in Zambia which was later follow suited

by his ministers. The President's dominance on issues to deal with foreign policy started when the PF government was in opposition. Whilst in opposition Sata promised to cut Zambia-China relations and replace it with Taiwan-Zambia diplomatic relations. The President argued that Chinese people were paying low wages to Zambians and they took advantage of the local cheap labour. This became the foreign policy driving political campaign. However, after gaining political power in 2011, the President twisted his populist political campaign of changing Zambia's relations with China. He stated that the Chinese were going to sort him out and that Zambia will also use China to develop the nation. The President went further to explain that the PF government will strengthen the relationship between the two countries. Sata later added that his political party policy is the same as China's. In strengthening the friendship between the two countries, the incumbent President sent Zambia's first President (Kaunda) to China which he quoted to date back to the 1990s. Furthermore, the PF government leader had even invited the Chinese Community to State House (Lusaka Times, 2011: para.1-12).

Although the President was dominant in setting the foreign policy directives of the country, his cabinet also offered him advice. The cabinet was mainly involved in supporting the trends the President set. For example, with the need to develop the Zambian populist campaign set by the President, the country's Foreign Affairs Minister in 2014, stated that Zambia was focusing on economic development through trade and investment. Later on, the newly elected Minister of Foreign Affairs Harry Kalaba with influence by the President's remarks to engage China protected Sino-Zambia relations by issuing a statement that China holds and will continue to hold a special status in Zambia's foreign relations. This government official statement was issued in the presence of China's Vice President Li Yuachao during his official visit to Zambia (Sanches, 2014).

However, the field data collected indicates that President Sata unlike other Presidents was less diplomatic when dealing with international events. Therefore, he relied on his ministers for advice too, especially the Minister of Foreign Affairs. For example, in 2014, it was the Minister of Foreign Affairs Wylbur Simuusa who addressed the nations' diplomatic corps accredited to Zambia. The diplomatic corps were informed that the government completed the revising of the foreign policy and it was awaiting approval from the cabinet (Manchishi, 2014: para.1-2).

However, in 2014, when he was the country's President Sata got ill and later died in France where he was taken for treatment. With this incidence, there were by-elections in the country. These by-elections saw Edgar Chagwa Lungu of the PF emerge as the victor. In February 2015 after becoming President, Lungu addressed the diplomatic corps accredited to Zambia, where he outlined the PF's foreign policy. Lungu explained that he was continuing with the already existing PF foreign policy of economic diplomacy which aimed at enhancing economic cooperation and investment, peace and security, regional integration and membership in international organizations. This vision is directed by 2014 Zambia's revised foreign policy, he stated (Lusaka Times, 2015: para. 1-8).

The President had advisors in foreign policy formation however, it should be noted that under the PF government, there was an expansion of foreign policy implementors. The policy implementation and suggestions were at times open to general public submission, for example, in 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a National Consultative Forum in relation to diaspora policy formulation. Here, the Civil society was consulted on how best to involve Zambian citizens abroad in national development (Government of Zambia, 2019).

Regardless of the President working along with Ministers and involving the civil society on diaspora issues and including the new foreign actors (diaspora) in foreign policy making and implementation, the President still remained the main actor in both formulation and implementation of the policy because the constitution considered the President as the Chief diplomat. As a result, he acted as the main policy maker and implementor. The ministries acted as supporters of the President's foreign vision. For example, in 2019, President Lungu directed all the Zambian missions abroad to consider inclusiveness in promoting trade and investment for the country. He emphasized that all the Zambians abroad should be included in government action plans as a way of promoting state bilateral relations with other countries and also promoting socio-economic activities of all Zambians abroad (Embassy of the Republic of Zambia, 2019: 1).

From the findings above, it is clearly seen that the President was the main actor of Zambia's foreign policy under the PF government. This is because, like any other government, the President of Zambia continued to be the Chief Diplomat as directed by the country's constitution, making the cabinet ministers assume supporting roles to the

President's foreign relations vision. The President was the trendsetter in foreign relations and as such set the path for his ministers to focus on.

2.2.4. Actors in Foreign Policy Making under the UPND Government (2021-to date).

On 12 August, Zambia held its general elections in which the PF lost power to the UPND. The UPND's candidate was Hakainde Hichilema who is currently both the UPND and Zambia's President. Hichilema is the seventh national President of Zambia. Without change in the country's constitution, the President under the current leadership of the UPND is considered both head of the state and chief diplomat. Hence, he is the main actor of the policy as he sets directives and trends which the ministries responsible for the country's foreign relations should focus on. For example, during his inauguration as the country's President, Hichilema through his speech stated that the UPND government will work to pursue an economic diplomacy as the country's foreign policy and peaceful conflict resolution (National Assembly of Zambia, 2021:50). Thus, the President sets the agenda which his cabinet emulates and support. For instance, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation has been issuing foreign relations statements that are in line with the President's foreign policy statements and vision. On 30 August 2021 Stanley K. Kakubo the Minister for the MFAIC addressed foreign missions accredited to Zambia. In his statement, Kakubo emphasised that the UPND government will pursue economic diplomacy which will be achieved through the establishment of a credible, stable and environment characterised in predictability. The Minister proceeded to state that this foreign policy has been importantly issued by the President on a high notice (Government of Zambia, 2021: para.1-6).

Moreover, when asked why the President is the main actor of foreign policy Kaumba stated;

You know ever since Zambia got independence the President has continued to act as the main foreign policy decider. This is because the constitution has considered the head of state as the chief diplomat. Cabinet ministers look up to the President for foreign relations actions. It is for this reason that the President is all powerful in the country's foreign policy making.

Therefore, it can be arguably said that foreign policy making under the UPND government is influenced by the top executive leadership which is mainly the President who sets the directives and the trends which later gets followed by the cabinet members and the ministries. The President still holds the Chief Diplomat power in policy making and implementation as called for by the Zambian constitution. Also, he is the head of his political party and government. From that perspective, the President is the main foreign policy decider in Zambia. Moreover, all the study key informants explained that the President in Zambia is a Chief Diplomat so he takes up the main role. This has been the case since the 1964 constitution, they stated.

This is similar to Mitna's (2018: 23-26) view that foreign policy making process in developing countries is different from developed countries. Especially in post-colonial states which he argues that these states are not well built-in to function like the modern state as they got their political independence without having strong political institutions. Hence, their formal state institutions are usually weak when compared to that of modern states. The rules as well as regulations on which the institutions are supposed to follow are usually ignored in practice. Politics in post-colonial states is generally organized on traditional structural lines that exist in these societies. The political cultures still exhibit parochial features weakening formal institutions which later affects the decision-making process in most of developing countries. Further, he highlights that in developing countries authority and power distribution is mostly personalized and it is concentrated in the hands of one individual or a few people or leaders. Hence, foreign policy is usually monopolised or it is taken as a highly executive offer. Therefore, this reflects the Zambian experience under all the four political parties that have been in government. The President has too much executive powers that makes him the main foreign policy decision maker regardless of the existence of the Foreign Affairs institution. Hence, foreign policy is executive centred.

2.3. Summary

This chapter examined the actors involved in foreign policy-making in Zambia from the UNIP, MMD, PF and the current government under the leadership of the UPND. The study has revealed that the main actor in foreign policy making under these different governments has been the President. During the UNIP government which lasted from 1964 to 1991, Zambia was under a state of emergency and both the country's constitution

in both the first and second republic which was all led by the UNIP government, the President had too much powers as he was the Chief Diplomat, Head of State and Government as well as the party President. With these positions came more political powers which made the President more powerful in foreign relations. At independence, it has been found that Zambia had few graduates hence there was lack of expertise in foreign relations. However, the President also involved a few advisors in foreign policy making and implementation. Moreover, when Zambia became a one-party state in 1972, the President still functioned as the Chief Diplomat in foreign policy making. Kaunda's authoritative nature also made him take charge of the country's foreign policy.

Also, during the MMD government the above findings show that there was the involvement of top ministry officials in the country's external interactions. The advisors took an active role in the country's foreign policy too in the first years of ruling. This is because Chiluba was perceived unversed in issues that dealt with diplomatic relations. However, the President still remained the main actor of in country's foreign policy agenda setting, formulation and implementation. In all leadership changes that took place under the MMD government, the President set the trend and acted as the overall boss of foreign policy. This is because the constitution gave the executive more powers. The President was the head of state and government as well as the Chief Diplomat of the country. These positions and the political power made the President to be the main policy decider.

Under PF, the findings above have clearly shown that the President was the main actor of Zambia's foreign policy. This is because, like any other government, the President of Zambia continued to be the Chief Diplomat as directed by the country's constitution making the ministries to hold supporting roles to the President's foreign relations vision. The President was hence the one setting the trend in foreign relations and setting the path for what his ministers were to focus on.

Currently, foreign policy making under the UPND government is influenced by the top executive leadership which is mainly the President and his cabinet. The President sets the directives and the trends which later get followed by the cabinet members and the ministries. The President still holds the Chief Diplomat power in policy making and implementation as called for by the Zambian constitution. Also, he is the head of the party and government. From that perspective, the President is the main foreign policy maker in Zambia.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF DOMESTIC POLICY IN SHAPING THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POLICY

3.1.Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the role of domestic policy in shaping Zambia's foreign policy. To provide answers to this, the study first presents domestic policy under the UNIP, MMD, PF and UPND governments respectively. Thereafter, a presentation of Zambia's foreign policy under these four governments is provided. Then it proceeds to discuss the role of domestic policy in shaping foreign policy in Zambia under the four different governments mentioned. This chapter ends with the presentation of the summary in relation to the mentioned objective.

3.2.1 Domestic Policy under the UNIP Government (1964-1991)

After gaining its independence in 1964 from Britain, Zambia was ruled by UNIP under the leadership of Dr Kenneth.D. Kaunda who was at the same time the President of UNIP. The UNIP government inherited an economic system that was based on capitalism and heavily depended on copper exportation and foreign exchange. Rural areas lacked education, health facilities and other social basic facilities. Some countries that surrounded Zambia were hostile towards it because they were still controlled by colonial masters which Zambia was against. This made colonial regimes like Northern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) exhibit negative behaviour towards Zambia. The other countries include South Africa, Mozambique and Angola among them. As a way of solving these problems, the UNIP government embarked on a journey of new policies and reforms within the country (POL, 2014).

According to Sashi (Interview, 8th July) *Politically, Zambia inherited a multi-party-political system which allowed the existence and formation of numerous political parties. This is one of the main reasons for the existence of UNIP and ANC among others during that time.*

After a few years in power, the UNIP government adopted the philosophy of humanism and declared it a national ideology. This declaration of Zambian humanism as

the national philosophy took place on 27 April 1967. Humanism was enacted as a way of enhancing economic, political and social development in Zambia as the UNIP government was interested in solving the economic and development challenges caused by the colonial government. Humanism replaced the colonial system of capitalism. The UNIP government perceived Marxism as a dehumanizing approach to man while capitalism was money centred and viewed as individualistic which was against Zambia's cultural heritage and morality (Sekwaat, 2000).

Kaunda's government blamed the colonial economic system of capitalism as the cause of the socio-economic inequalities Zambia was facing. To deal with such, humanism was adopted in the Zambian cultural context. It aimed to replace social and economic classes in society that were created by capitalism. The UNIP government wanted to establish an African society that existed prior to colonialism. As a national ideology in Zambia, humanism's central feature was the call for UNIP's government involvement in providing social services to the citizens and also get involved in ensuring rapid development of the country which was perceived not to exist during the colonial era and post-independence (Sekwaat, 2000).

Humanism objectives included the provision of social security, end of human exploitation and victimization, fair taxation system and wealth distribution, increase in local economic activity control, access to free education and medical services to every citizen in the country, infrastructure expansion, ensuring rural and agriculture development, transform the armed forces into a tool for service provision of the citizens, reduce political abuse of power, fight corruption and injustice, ensure a peaceful and just Zambian future and also to ensure an increase in the control of the economy by the state (Sekwaat, 2000).

To achieve the above objectives, the government banned the multi-party system of politics that it inherited from the colonial government. This led to constitutional and political system changes in 1972. Led to what was referred to as the Second Republic. The introduced political system was a one-party participatory state. UNIP was the only legally recognised political party in the country. There was a call for state control of the economy and directives of mixed cooperation, and public and private ownership (Sekwaat, 2000:522-525). Also, during an interview with Alex, he explains that “the *one-party state* was introduced as a way of avoiding tribal politics and conflict that may arise

due to multi-party politics. Also, UNIP called it one way of ensuring national unity as it used the mantra of One Zambia One Nation”.

The principles of humanism included the re-establishment of the African social behaviour norms, the creation of Kaunda's religious conception concerning human nature and the promotion of Christian values and morality. UNIP held the belief that preaching Christian love would erase man's animal nature in him which Kaunda considered as the source of greediness, envy and self-centred behaviour. To the government, this religious view was considered the source of the political organization when promoting human relations, economic structure, political activities and the country's national development (Sekwaat, 2000).

The tenets of humanism were the following; inclusiveness, egalitarianism, acceptance, man-centred, kindness, hospitality, hard work, self-reliance, communalism, mutual aid, human dignity, cooperativism, respect for the aged and authority and trusteeship in political leadership (Meebelo, 1977:11). Egalitarian referred to the creation of equal opportunities among Zambian citizens. It basically aimed at promoting equality in all areas of Zambian society. These areas included politics, socio-economic activities and other areas among them. The tenet of inclusiveness together with mutual aid and cooperation aimed at an extended system of a family in Zambia by caring for those in need and the aged ones in society. The goal was to promote cooperation and a Zambian society characterised by community-mindedness. The man-centredness principle on the other hand aimed at putting man at the centre of every activity. Man was not defined by colour, religious belonging, political affiliation, or any other social, political or economic factors. The ideology further called for human dignity and the protection of man from the exploitation of any form in society (Sekwaat, 2000:225-227).

Furthermore, the two principles of cooperativism and communalism were against capitalism in Zambia as they promoted communal means of production unlike capitalism where there is private control of the economy and the means of production are in the hands of the few owners. The UNIP government stated that the country's developmental drive was to include a communal approach in all its development plans and programs (Mwaipaya 1981:4-7). Further, the principle of self-reliance and handwork were taken as vital in ensuring an egalitarian society while the principles of hospitality, extended family and dignity, respect for the aged and political leadership

focused on creating a society in which there was respect for everyone. The aged were to be taken care of by families and not by old peoples' homes. The political leaders were not to be disrespectful of the ordinary citizens and in return, ordinary citizens were to show respect for the country's political leadership (Sekwaat, 2000:227).

UNIP government went further to establish economic reforms. In 1968, the government announced the Mulungushi reform. Subsequently, the Matero reform was developed in 1969. The goal was to remove and end the domination of foreign influence on the Zambian economy. This was done as a way of ensuring state economic control and allowing private citizens to run businesses within the stipulated humanism framework. Moreover, these reforms worked on ending the perceived domestic economic exploitation, promoting rural development and making sure that there is private and public sector indigenization (Tordoff 1980, 26). The collected field data also explains *that indigenization of the Zambian economy was commonly referred to as Zambianization. These reforms led to state nationalization as the UNIP government took control of the companies and industries, Janet.*

On state control of the economy, the President stated that it was only through the economic independence of Zambia that can bring about cultural, social and scientific progress that man needed. He continued to explain that without such, political independence was to be viewed as meaningless. The government and not the citizens had the material set setup so its intervention was necessary, UNIP argued. The foreign investors were criticized for impoverishing Zambia because most of them made profits which they later transferred back to their countries of origin in form of capital. Therefore, the government started to brace the nationalization of privately owned companies and industries (Ihonvbere 1996:51).

Towards the end of 1970, the Zambian government became the major holder of shares in many strategic companies especially in the mining sector, retail, manufacturing and agriculture. Moreover, full and partial state control of financial institutions, transportation, and wholesaling among others was reported. The state created Parastatals, for example, the Mining Development Corporation (MINDECO) was created with the responsibility to oversee the mining sector while Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO) was created for administering the nationalized enterprises within the commercial and industrial sectors in the country. In 1975, UNIP controlled almost every

sector of the economy. Due to this, Zambia's economy was listed as one of the most state-controlled economies in Africa (Ibonvebere, 1996:55).

Further, the embraced indigenization policy of Zambianization focused on administrative changes and transformation from the one which was colonially cadre induced to a nationally induced policy. The government replaced foreign personnel in the country's parastatal sector and the civil service with Zambians. The word "Zambianization," which was used to characterize the difficulties and talks surrounding the lifting of the colour bar, was typically interpreted as the continuation of a colonial-era goal known as "African advancement." During the colonial period, most of the skilled work positions were for the white minority while the majority of Africans were allowed to take up unskilled work positions. Although this indigenization process was taking place, Zambia had fewer qualified citizens to take up professional work, as a result, it was difficult to implement. By the end of 1970 and in the early 1980s parastatals dominated the economy. However, these parastatals practised corruption, mismanagement, misapplication of funds, low level of production, poor goods and service delivery, poor plan implementation and overdependence on state subsidies (Sekwaat, 2000:550).

Furthermore, in order to deal with domestic exploitation, the UNIP government embarked on different measures in 1971. The curbing of domestic exploitation was aimed at dealing with the exploitation among Zambians themselves. The government abolished school fees in all schools and also hospital medical fees were obliterated. In 1975, the UNIP government nationalized private nursing homes that existed in the country (Tordoff 1980, 24).

The UNIP mismanagement of resources, corruption and the world oil crisis led to an economic recession in the country. In the 1970s, the Zambian economy started to shrink due to other factors as well. These included the falling of copper prices in 1975 and poor policy implementation by the government. The economic hardship made local citizens and some International Organizations lose interest in the UNIP government. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) started to put pressure on the ruling party to re-introduce liberal reforms in Zambia. However, with the fear of local political unrest, Kaunda's government entered into three IMF Standby Agreements. The three loans were accrued between 1973 and 1976. However, these loans did not bring the desired change in the country. The loans had Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) as

conditions attached to them including Kwacha devaluation (Zambian Currency), public wage freeze, increase in agriculture produce price and also removal of subsidies on customer goods. However, the removal of these subsidies on maize led to riots in Lusaka and Copperbelt Province of Zambia in 1986 (Mukela, 1988: para.1-6). The riots made the UNIP government abandon the IMF program in 1987 as Kaunda blamed the happenings on IMF (Sekwaat, 2000).

As a way of handling the economy after he abandoned the IMF package, Kaunda and his government introduced a new economic program called the New Economic Recovery Programme (NERP) with the motto “Growth from our Own Resources”. The new reform aimed at the use of local resources in promoting self-reliance and getting rid of the IMF conditions. UNIP government further reintroduced price control on goods and services, target subsidies and fixed exchange rates. However, NERP was considered politically popular but it did not fully achieve its goals. The partial fulfilment of this program was attributed to the increase in copper price on the international market and the increased agriculture production which was a result of a good weather pattern. However, in 1988, this reform brought about new challenges and distortions because some wholesalers were holding on to goods illegally, there was price control evasion by the retailers and, some members who were ineligible for target subsidies started to live under hardship and the external creditors froze their financial assistance to Zambia. Due to this, Zambia experienced a depressed economy (Sekwaat, 2000).

With a depressed economy, Kaunda was left with no choice but to re-engage the IMF and WB in discussions in relation to financial relief. Later in 1989, the IMF, WB and the UNIP government came up with a policy framework paper based on a market-oriented economy with the further devaluation of the Kwacha, subsidies removal and reduction in the workforce of the country. However, the UNIP government later rejected this proposal. Later, the continued economic crisis led to increased demand by the citizens and social groups in the country to oppose the continuity of the one-party state. This led to increasing public opposition to a one-party state and nationalization. In 1990, the Civil Society pressured Kaunda to change the constitution and allow multi-party politics. This left Kaunda with no choice but to lift the ban on multi-party politics. This led to the emergence of new political parties in the country to which one of which was the MMD which emerged victor during the 1991 general elections taking over power from the UNIP government (Sekwaat, 2000:531-537).

3.2.2. Domestic Policy under the MMD Government (1991-2011)

After gaining political power in 1991, the MMD government was led by Chiluba who served as both the head of state and government. At the same time, Chiluba was the party's President. The MMD government embarked on ending UNIP's humanistic approach to development. It came up with new reforms as a way of building the declining Zambian economy and regaining donor confidence which the country had lost due to the nationalization policies that were introduced by the previous regime. As a way of achieving economic recovery and growth, the MMD government introduced economic reforms aimed at advancing Zambia's prosperity. The main elements of these reforms included reduced government control in the economic affairs of the country, replacing nationalization with the privatization of enterprises once owned by the state during the second republic, economic expansion and diversity, reduced government spending, debt reduction, to balance the national budget, reduce public service sector size and also promote transparency and state accountability (Sekwaat, 2000:537).

Unlike the UNIP, MMD decided to accept the IMF laid conditions which were first proposed to the UNIP government in order to implement its proposed liberal market reforms. It introduced market economy policies including balance of payments and price stabilization, removal of subsidies, privatization of state companies and adjustment in the exchange rates (World Bank, 1996:562-570). Therefore, the government liberalized the economy.

With the above policies, the majority of parastatals were privatized and sold out to both local and foreign investors. However, some companies like Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), and Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO) still remained under government control (Sekwaat, 2000:538). Furthermore, the MMD government worked on increasing the role of private investment in the country and also reducing government spending and stimulating capital market development (Panagaea Partners, 1997).

In spearheading the privatization process, the government established an agency called Zambia Privatization Agency (ZIPA). The established institution was provided with the responsibility to privatize government-owned enterprises. Both medium and small companies were put on sale. However, some privatized companies started to close down due to foreign competition that was brought by liberal policies which opened the

Zambian economy to foreign traders and Mult-National Corporations (MNCs). The neighbouring countries whose economy was subsidised affected the Zambian economy as business traders from these countries took advantage of the situation. To deal with such, the MMD government embarked on a tariff increase on every imported product and service by half a percentage of the already existing tariffs. This was also done as a way of halting further layoff of workers and protecting the local companies from shutting down. On the other hand, amidst these economic changes, the areas of transparency and state accountability stalled. There was also an increase in corruption, mismanagement of state resources, abuse of resources and finances, and drug trafficking (Sekwaat, 2000:532-539).

Although the MMD government pledged to fight corruption, such cases increased under their rule. There was an abuse of state resources by cabinet members and other government officials. Between 1992 to 1995 about seven ministers faced corruption and resource mismanagement charges. Some of the cabinet members were dismissed on the same charges while others were linked to drug trafficking. This behaviour of government officials reflected a lack of respect for rule of law in the country (Pangaea, 1996: 190). In 2002, the MMD government changed its leadership from Chiluba to Levy Patrick Mwanawasa who was later voted as the country's President by the electorates during the 2001 general elections (POL, 2014).

In solving economic challenges, President Mwanawasa embarked on economic diversification and poverty reduction programmes. The government abolished the school education fees at the primary level. Further, privatization programs continued to take place. The MMD government called for a Public-Private sector-driven economy as the President invited the private sector to participate in the country's developmental agenda. Furthermore, President Mwanawasa embarked on an anti-corruption campaign in the country. This was done as a way of ensuring investor confidence, accountability and transparency. The President brought to book the leaders involved in corruption including his predecessor. He further dismissed his two cabinet members (then the finance minister and the Vice President) due to corruption evidence against them (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), 2021: para.1-4).

Furthermore, Mwanawasa's corruption policy focused on three levels of handling corruption. The levels included political, administrative as well as financial and budgetary accountability. Political accountability focused on politicians being held accountable and

responsible by the general public in relation to failure and success in initiating economic programs. On the other hand, administrative accountability was focused on the country's administrative structures (civil service). It meant having clear rules, responsibilities, and roles and offering checks and balances to administrative performance. Lastly, financial and budgetary accountability involved transparency in resource allocation among the citizens in the country (EISA, 2002: para. 38-44).

In 2006, the MMD government developed the Country's development policy called Vision 2030 which aims at making Zambia a middle-income country by 2030. This policy calls for the energy and infrastructure development of the country as one way of achieving development in Zambia. The plan also calls for a Public-Private Partnership (Republic of Zambia, 2006). Another domestic agenda the MMD had put in place during Mwanawasa's tenure was the focus on the promotion of human rights and democratic values in Zambia. Opposition political parties were more open to criticising the government and assembling as opposed to during the UNIP government era. The MMD government stated that the observation of individual human rights is a key to ensuring and achieving good governance in the country (Zambian Embassy, 2007: para.37). Infrastructure policy was another plan which aimed at improving the country's infrastructure network. This was taken as a high priority (Zambian Embassy, 2007, para.13). In 2008, Mwanawasa died whilst in power and Zambia held by-elections to which his Vice President Rupiah Banda was elected as the country's President. Banda continued to implement the party's domestic policies of infrastructure, economic prosperity and the fight against corruption. However, Banda became reluctant in handling corruption matters and later faced corruption accusations after losing elections to the PF in 2011 (Voice of Africa, 2011: para.11).

3.2.3. Domestic Policy under the PF Government (2011-2021)

In 2011, the MMD government was defeated by the PF under the leadership of Michael.C. Sata who won elections by using a populist strategy of more money in people's pockets and ending Zambia-China relations. This strategy won many hearts of the poor urban workers from informal sectors. Sata had put their concern into the realm of national politics. During his campaign period, the PF government promised to be pro-poor and ensure state intervention in the market and that people are able to earn more money. Sata promised to cut Sino-Zambia relations when voted into power because he accused the Chinese of promoting cheap labour under the MMD government. The

incumbent further made an accusation against the MMD for promoting corruption and the interest of foreigners. He promised to end MMD's promotion of foreigners' interest in the country. The PF also promised to ensure a 'Zambia for Zambians' (Larmer & Fraser, 2007:627).

PF used populism as a strategy in implementing their campaign promises (Siachiwena, 2021:3). Unlike the MMD's neoliberal policy approach, the PF government took a different policy approach to the economy by being more interventionist. The previous government focused on creating a neo-liberal environment which Sata criticized. He argued that the PF will focus on a pro-poor economic policy as the neo-liberal policy was only benefiting foreigners at the expense of local citizens. This was contributing to poverty in a developing country like Zambia (PF, 2011:33-34). Through the interventionist approach, Sata's government in the early years of power revised some of the privatization sale decisions that were made by the MMD. In 2012, the President reversed the government sale of the state telecommunication company called ZAMTEL which was sold to a Libyan LAP Greenn Company in 2010. The PF government issued a statement that there was corruption in the privatization of ZAMTEL which led to LAP Greenn owning the majority of the shares (BBC, 2012, para. 1-4).

The PF government later established an Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) chaired by the President. The established corporation shared the same old name with one of UNIP's institutions. The aim of IDC was to act as an active shareholder in government-owned companies and as an investor. The PF government also took full control of the Road Development Agency (RDA), and the President took the chairmanship of RDA and transferred the Public-Private Partnership programs to the State House (Hinfelaar & Sichone, 2019:17-18).

The above actions resonated with the statist approach of intervention, unlike the MMD government's liberal approach. In ensuring the 'more money' campaign promise, PF embarked on various socio-economic actions. These include; a reduced tax rate, revised Pay As You Earn (PAYE), increase in the country's retirement age from 55 to 65 years, an increase in civil servants recruitment between 2013 and 2014 as well as an increment of their salary to earn twice as much. The government introduced a work shift allowance policy for medical workers. The taken considerations were done as a way of

fulfilling the political campaigns that were made in relation to more money in people's pockets. However, it should be noted that the change in wages had negatively affected the cost of living and transport fares as business owners were affected by the minimum wage for workers of not less than K1500. Hence, business owners increased the cost of goods and services to raise enough profit which can in return be used to pay the workers (Siachiwena, 2021:3-13).

Furthermore, the PF government embarked on a social protection policy. Unlike the MMD regime, the PF government showed increased support for Social Cash Transfer (SCT) program which was supported by donors. This program involved support to vulnerable people in society especially those who do not meet basic needs. PF also aimed at ensuring increased access to social services. To achieve this, the government included the use of domestic resources to expand SCT capacity in the country (Sata, 2011). In the 2014 budget presentation, the government called for an increase in SCT resource allocation (Chikwanda, 2013). The PF regime also introduced a Food Security Pack (FSP) which was aimed to help the small-scale farmers considered poor but viable. Also, by revising the MMD Sixth National Development Plan, PF increased the SCT capacity for the party's unpopular constituencies. However, the government failed to fully fund this program. This macro-economic populism negatively affected the SCT sustainability in the long run as the government went months without reaching out to everyone listed on the program (Siachiwena, 2021:18-20).

Furthermore, like the MMD government, PF continued to promote infrastructure development in the country. It was the main element of the PF's public policy. The government believed that a country's physical infrastructure is the best way to ensure development in the country (Scott, 2019:150). Despite PF criticizing President Banda's infrastructure agenda when it was in opposition. Banda's agenda was viewed as a political strategy. However, when PF formed the government, they set infrastructure as a priority. It took this initiative as a statist development program just like Kaunda did in the second republic. Moreover, to ensure the promised job creation and more money in people's pockets, PF believed that infrastructure development was key. The government started a Link 8000 Infrastructure Project and PAVE Zambia Program. The two initiatives are aimed at constructing infrastructure and improving the road network in the country. New districts and a province were also established. In addition, universities, hospitals, energy

infrastructure and schools were built. However, this approach to development affected the economy's stability negatively as it was too costly for the government (Siachiwena, 2021).

In agriculture, the PF government announced the removal of subsidies alongside the Farmer Input Support Program (FISP) and was committed to introducing e-FISP in 2014. In the Revised Sixth National Development Plan (RSNDP) agriculture was considered vital for national development. FISP was considered too expensive on government ends (Sichiwena, 2000;18-25). When Sata died in 2014, he was replaced by Edgar Chagwa Lungu who later became the Zambian President through a by-election in 2015 and he continued to embrace the Party's infrastructure developmental agenda. He focused on infrastructure development, SCT and economic diversity, agriculture and support of private-public investment (Lusaka, 2014, para.1-5, Lusaka Times, 2020, para.1). In 2015, the PF government established 18th October as the National Day of Prayer in Zambia, the aim was to unite Zambians and as a way of praying against economic decline the country was facing (Anyday Guide, 2022: para.1-3).

The study also established that the PF government called for strong economic diversification and Private-Public Partnerships (PPP) in ensuring state development. The government also took an active role in the implementation of Vision 2030 as a drive to national development. However, in midst of these policies corruption under the PF government increased and there was mismanagement of public resources. Some government officials like former Minister of Health Chitalu Chilufya were involved in corruption scandals and there was an increase in the breakdown of the rule of law by intimidating political opponents (Shakemba, 2021).

3.2.4. Domestic Policy under the UPND Government (2021-to Date)

The UPND government came into power in 2021 after winning the general elections against the PF and other political parties. This made the UPND leader Hakainde Hichilema the current and 7th Zambian President. Due to the PF legacy of economic challenges, corruption, poverty, broken rule of law and mismanagement of public resources, the UPND government has taken action for political and economic recovery in order to ensure rule of law, political freedoms, economic stability, reduce inflation which was high under the PF government, deal with the unsustainable debt of about 12 billion

US dollars accumulated by the previous government and employ more civil servants with a 12% salary increment. The government has abolished school fees by introducing free education from primary to high school. Furthermore, UPND is working on promoting a free corrupt political system and a green economy (CHATHAM House, 2021. Para1-3). *One of the key campaign messages for the UPND was that they would come and resolve this debt crisis created by the PF. To resolve this, the UPND pursued a political and economic recovery program which focused on creating a more conducive business environment, political environment, job creation, free education and debt restructuring.*

3.3.1. Zambia's Foreign Policy under the UNIP Government (1964-1991)

After Zambia got independence in 1964, the UNIP government began to establish diplomatic relations with other countries. For example, the government established diplomatic relations with China and USA to mention among a few. Kaunda as the UNIP government President embarked on the liberalization of Southern Africa by supporting liberalization struggles in other African countries. The government engaged the West in seeking liberation support for Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Angola and South Africa among others. Kaunda personally approached the US government in solving the Angolan conflict (DeRoche, 2016:307). Further, he made a lot of international trips to the USA to meet President Nixon in discussing ways of decolonizing Southern Africa. However, President Nixon showed little interest in decolonization, Kaunda stated. Kaunda also discussed independence issues in Southern Africa with Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan. He also called on the USA to help end the white rule minority in South Africa. In Angola, Kaunda rallied behind the USA's efforts in solving the conflict (Saunders, 2017:241).

Through his foreign policy of liberation of Southern Africa, Kaunda supported guerrilla groups in Southern Africa as a way of fighting the white minority rule in Southern Africa. The groups were provided with training space in Zambia. Furthermore, UNIP worked towards uniting two guerrilla groups in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These groups were Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) under Joshua Nkoma. These groups had power struggles and conflicts. Kaunda also tried to unite conflicting political groups in Angola, these were the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FLNA) but no final avail came out (Anglin, 1979:199-201).

Furthermore, UNIP preached and called for unity in its foreign policy. It encouraged African freedom fighters to be engaged in peaceful co-existence and peaceful means of conflict resolution amongst themselves and also when dealing with conflicting parties. Kaunda stated, “that peace is a necessary condition for success in every country”. Further, the UNIP government worked on ensuring regional peace in Southern Africa by getting those who were involved in conflict dialogue in diplomatic peaceful ways. Mark Chona who happened to be the President’s Foreign Affairs Special Assistant was involved in shuttle diplomacy between The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and Lisbon. The Zambian government was working on ensuring a peaceful power transition in Mozambique between these two groups. Kaunda’s Special Assistant of Foreign Affairs attempted to bring Pretoria, London, ZANU, Lusaka, Salisbury and ZAPU into a common negotiation in establishing peaceful settlements. It should be noted that the UNIP government especially after independence in the early 1980s was in line with the peaceful provision of regional solutions to ending existing problems in the region by then (Chan, 1987).

Moreover, the UNIP government engaged in trade link negotiations with Rhodesia to allow Zambia access to the Southern border which was the main route Zambia traded on before independence. After being against the White minority rule UNIP faced challenges as the Southern border link got closed by Rhodesia in the 1970s. Zambia opted to look for other options, Kaunda approached the West for aid to have a railway built linking Tanzania and Zambia, but they denied his request that Zambia had no capacity to pay back. This made Kaunda to approach China, to which his request was accepted. Tanzania and Zambia agreed to have a railway linking the two countries. This railway has been called TAZARA Railways. In 1978 when confronted Ian Smith the former leader of Southern Rhodesia re-opened the border. The government of Zambia also considered Lusaka as the centre for international peace negotiations in the region, as it hosted liberation movements like ZAPU, ZANU, ANC and Frelimo. Additionally, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) execution plan was born from Lusaka’s influence of having a regional bloc that supported the interest of Southern African countries (Chan 1987:231). Data collected established that:

After independence, the UNIP government showed support to other African countries that were still being colonized, for example, South Africa and Zimbabwe. To paint a picture, Kaunda’s foreign policy after independence focused on the liberation of

Southern Africa. The government had also hosted different African political leaders in Zambia. Kaunda was a nationalist who wanted to make sure that Zambia's neighbouring countries lived to see a free day in which every African was free from colonial masters. Basically, his policy believed in being a good neighbour who makes sure that his friends are safe and free from exploitation.

Further, the UNIP government through their leader criticized the Middle Eastern countries that were making economic investments in Western countries. In the 1980s, Kaunda stated that the Middle Eastern countries should ensure that they spend their oil income locally and not in Europe or America, for the local people to benefit from such investments. Among these countries criticized, Iraq was one of them. These criticisms led to Kaunda being invited by the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to witness what Iraq was doing with oil money. After the invitation, Kaunda was pleased by the development that was taking place in Iraq. Later, President Kaunda visited Iraq again on a mission to propose peace to Saddam's intentions of invading Kuwait. The UNIP government leader spent three days in Iraq during this mission of persuading Iraq not to go to war with Kuwait. However, Saddam could not adhere to Kaunda's advice. To Kaunda, Saddam's action was wrong, as he stated that although the world thought I was supporting the war when Saddam held and raised my hand in the presence of the international media, my mission was to stop the war and I never supported the invasion (Zizzo, 2003: para1-9).

In the 1980s, UNIP refocused its foreign policy on economic development. Zambia approached international organizations like the IMF and WB for economic aid. During this period the government focused much of its interest on the economic development of the country. It engaged in discussions with Bretton Woods Institutions for aid packages. However, before 1980, Kaunda's government entered into three IMF Standby Agreements. The three loans were accumulated between 1973 and 1976. However, these loans did not bring the desired change in the country due to the conditions attached to them. However, some conditions such as the removal of subsidies led to riots in Lusaka and Copperbelt Province over the maize price increase in 1986. The riots led the UNIP government to abandon the IMF program in 1987. However, in 1989, UNIP reapproached the IMF for aid but the same liberal conditions were called upon. Kaunda later abandoned this IMF discussion deal (Sekwaat, 2000:531-537).

3.3.2. Zambia's Foreign Policy under the MMD Government (1991-2011)

Unlike UNIP, MMD focused on a liberal economic policy and maintenance of international benevolence. The government worked on gaining donor support from institutions like the IMF and WB that were lost during the UNIP government. It also strived to maintain its economic relations with Pretoria (Taylor 1997:1). Government made certain changes to the country's foreign policy. With a few changes, the MMD government made effort in dealing with the economy as it first aimed to deal with the domestic economic problems caused by the nationalization policies of UNIP. Later, the MMD government worked on ensuring that the country gains the lost donor aid and foreign investment opportunities. To do this, it sought foreign investment and opened up the economy to foreign investors and privatized parastatals (POL, 2014:42).

Just like the UNIP government, the MMD government worked on establishing state relations with other countries especially those whose relations with Zambia were weak during the UNIP regime. In 1993, Chiluba visited Israel whose relations with Zambia were bad at that moment because of Arab-Israel Crisis in which UNIP supported Arabic countries. However, the MMD government mended the Zambia-Israel relations (Zambia Daily Mail Limited, 2015: para.8). As a new government in power, MMD highlighted that the government had an open-door policy which aimed at encouraging the Israel-Palestine relationship by engaging in conflict resolution talks (SARDC, 1992:para 4-5). Sashi adds; that *Chiluba was incorporating Christianity in foreign policy governance*.

In 1996, President Chiluba denounced countries that were getting involved in Zambian politics. This occurred after Chiluba restricted Kaunda from active political participation by claiming that he was not Zambian by lineage. President Mandela advised the MMD government to allow Kaunda to participate freely in Zambian politics. Later Kaunda boycotted the elections. Chiluba made a clear statement to the international community that leaders of other countries should not get involved in Zambian politics (Taylor, 1997).

Moreover, on foreign policy MMD government ensured that the economy was open for business to foreign investors. Therefore, it opened the once closed economy under UNIP. This led countries like China to open up its bank of China in Zambia (Taylor, 1997:2). The MMD government through its leader Chiluba when he was SADC Chairman

was involved in chairing the cease-fire conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between the Kabila government and the rebels in 1999. Cease-fire accord happened following the Lusaka Accord of 1999 (PANA, 1999: para.1-8).

Just like UNIP, MMD also continued to be part of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). It also showed support to SADC by continued membership. Further, during the year 1994, Zambia became a member of the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) a regional economic community aimed at removing tariffs and trade barriers among member states (News 24, 2000: para.1-3).

The motivation for engaging Pretoria in a trade mission was to ensure economic benefits from South Africa because Zambia was working on improving the economy that was struggling due to UNIP's nationalist policies. However, UNIP also kept trading links with South Africa but Kaunda had political engagement and opposed the apartheid regime in that country. The difference between the two was that MMD's attachment to Pretoria was purely economic while UNIP was both political and economic (SARDC, 1992. para 4-5).

In 1992, the MMD government agreed with South Africa to enhance the balance of trade between the two countries. Further, they entered into an economic and technical cooperation agreement as they agreed to have a joint Chamber of Commerce established. It was referred to as the Zambia-South Africa Chamber of Commerce. There was a promotion of South African private companies to invest in Zambia. The government of Zambia went further to call for the involvement of South Africa's private companies in implementing the domestic Zambian projects that were funded by international donors. The two countries also encouraged the need for Zambia's expansion of its exports to Pretoria (SARDC, 1992, para.4-9).

In political relations with other states, Zambia allowed its learned people to teach democracy to foreigners who fled their countries due to dictatorship. For example, in 1992, the government allowed some Zambians to offer lessons on democracy to the Malawian exiles in Zambia, this happened when Malawi was under the repressive regime of Hastings Kamuzu Banda (SARDC, 1992: para.22-25).

In 2001, there was a leadership change from Chiluba to Mwanawasa. The new leader banned some imports from Zimbabwe. These included alcohol, cigarettes and

agricultural products. This was considered protectionism of the Zambian economy by some critics. The President also banned the practice of the black market influenced by Zimbabweans (World Leaders, 2003). Furthermore, the MMD government embarked on economic and infrastructure cooperation with other countries in Southern Africa. Field data from Kaumba adds that: *Mwanawasa entered into an agreement with the Tswana government to construct a bridge that connects the two countries at Kazungula border. This agreement became fruitful and led to the construction of the Kazungula bridge which is now promoting interstate trade between the two countries.*

Furthermore, on 27th October 2006, the MMD government through the Presidential opening speech by President Mwanawasa briefed the country on its foreign policy focus. Foreign policy focus laid on the need of promoting and maintaining the country's external relations by safeguarding its sovereignty, protecting its territorial integrity, promoting Zambia's socio-economic development and ensuring the promotion of issues that arise from national interest. The President further emphasised that the government of Zambia will continue to focus on its foreign relations which first and foremost advance the state's economic wellbeing and development (Zambian Embassy, 2007: para.52).

When Rupiah Banda became President of Zambia, he continued with the party's foreign policy agenda. Banda promoted trade with other countries through economic cooperation and call for foreign investment in Zambia. He promoted the 'good neighbour' policy with other countries especially those that had conflicting interests with Zambia at that time. For example, Mwanawasa's call for democracy in Zimbabwe led to a sour relationship between the two countries as he called it a 'Sinking Titanic'. When Mwanawasa died in office, he was the leader of SADC and he was supposed to present a road map for the organization. As a result of this Zambia and Zimbabwe did not mend their relationships at that time. Later, it was Rupiah Banda who made a visit to Zimbabwe to promote good neighbour relationships. Banda explained that Zambia and Zimbabwe were one and they needed to develop and fight poverty together. The two countries also embarked on One-Boarder Post as a way of promoting trade (Lusaka Times, 2009: para. 2-7).

Banda also promoted Sino-Zambia relations. During this period, the MMD government involved the Chinese government more in economic development and

investment. Banda made trips to China as a way of promoting the two countries relations; the country relied much on Chinese aid. The period between 2008-2011 witnessed more Presidential diplomatic trips, as MMD believed this was one way of attracting foreign investors (Matambo, 2019). Also, according to Alex:

It was during this period that Zambia and Turkey opened more bilateral trade relations. Banda made visitation trips to Turkey. These trips were aimed at promoting the two countries' relations economically. President Banda further stated that he was interested in attracting investors from Turkey and Brazil because these countries were emerging economies. Banda's approach to foreign relations focused more on diplomatic trips.

3.3.3. Zambia's Foreign Policy under the PF Government (2011-2021)

In 2014, the Zambian Foreign Minister by then Harry Kalaba stated in parliament that the country was working on a foreign policy whose interest and focus was only on economic diplomacy. He indicated that Zambia's focus on external affairs was not political cooperation oriented but economical of which the core interest will be the promotion of Zambia's national interest. Furthermore, the minister stated that the country was projecting a pragmatic and forward policy which focused on attracting trade, and foreign investment and also presenting Zambia as a peaceful and stable nation. In addition, it was stated that the country's foreign policy will observe the principles of respect and mutuality when interacting with other actors (Business Standard, 2014: para.1-4).

In 2014, a revised Zambian foreign policy document was made available. It was actually a 1996 policy developed by the MMD government. It was revised as a way of conforming to the global economic trends and promoting national development. The key objectives of this foreign policy included the promotion of trade and investment in the country, the promotion of Zambia as a country of choice for Foreign Direct Investment as well as a preferred tourist destination, to defend Zambia's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Additionally, it endeavoured to support the rights and interests of Zambians while encouraging all its citizens in the diaspora to participate in the economic development of the country, promote regional and international peace and security as well as the promotion of bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation and integration. And

lastly, promoting Zambia's membership in international organizations (Mataka, 2020: 3-4).

According to Sashi: *In contrast with its political campaign, the PF government promoted Zambia-China relations. China was considered a good friend and the PF shared certain principles with the Chinese Communist Party. Also, the government borrowed money from European Union. PF also behaved in the same way the MMD government did, it sought IMF loans too.*

In 2014, Sata died and was replaced by Lungu, who won a by-election in January 2015. Upon becoming President, Lungu met with diplomatic missions accredited to Zambia. He promised that he will continue to pursue a foreign policy which promotes economic cooperation, trade and investment, and cooperation with international organizations to ensure international peace and security. Further, he stated that the country will be active in promoting regional economic trade blocks because they "encourage intra-Africa trade" (Lusaka Times, 2015a: para. 1-9). Supplementary, Lungu promised to continue supporting international organizations in fighting terrorism and combating climate change as a way of ensuring international peace and security (Lusaka Times, 2015a: 9). Through the Minister of Commerce, Lungu promoted free trade with other countries. On 6th August 2015, Zambia signed a Bilateral Trade Agreement with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The two countries agreed on duty-free importations and exportation of goods and services. The Bilateral Trade agreement encouraged the maximization of value-added products and promotion of fair trade and called for active participation of the private business sector. The duty-free agreement between the two countries reduced trade barriers (Zambia National Broadcast Cooperation (ZNBC), 2015). In 2016, Zambia also signed a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, Eastern Africa Community and Southern Africa Development Community Tripartite Free Trade Area in order to boost trade, find an export market and improve economic interdependence (Tralac, 2016: para.1).

Likewise, President Lungu's 7th National Development Plan of 2017 states that in order to make Zambia a prosperous country by 2030, economic diplomacy through international trade cooperation and agreements and mediation programs through missions abroad must be implemented. Economic diplomacy was a tool that the President used to promote international trade and cooperation and regional economic cooperation. The

development plan cited the need for having an external economic market and preferential trade agreements (Government of Republic of Zambia, 2017: 74-76). Further, in 2018 Zambia and Zimbabwe signed a trade agreement in line with a one-stop border post at Victoria Falls in Livingstone. The aim of this agreement was to ease and expedite the movement of goods and services and also to ensure the facilitation of trade within SADC (Lusaka Times, 2018c: para.2).

In support of economic integration, President Lungu signed the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement on 19th February 2019 facilitated by AU. The main objective of this agreement is to promote regional integration and free trade among states in Africa. President Lungu's action stated committed to ensuring free trade of both goods and services in Africa (Mukumba, 2019: para.1-2). The President continued to seek support from international organizations like the IMF. PF's government had many attempts to hold meetings with the IMF on an aid package in 2016 (Agri Business Zambia, 2016: para.4).

In addition, the PF also supported a private-driven economy. On 21st March 2018, Lungu commissioned the Chinese private investment firm called Kingphar Zambia Limited at Lusaka East Multi-Facility-Economic Zone. The President stated that industrialization must be private sector driven and that he was continuing to ensure a conducive business environment for both the local and foreign investors in Zambia (Lusaka Times, 2018a). Furthermore, under the PF regime, Zambia considered individuals and business groups as important actors in international politics. In 2019, Zambia introduced a Diaspora Policy to ensure that private business groups and individuals abroad contributed to the economic development of the country. The Diaspora Policy also aims to promote the human rights of Zambian citizens abroad. According to this policy, it is important that the citizens abroad become active in the country's development interests (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019: 1-15).

In 2015, President Lungu embarked on interstate cooperation by strengthening bilateral relations with Rwanda through security cooperation. Zambia signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Rwanda's police service. This Memorandum of Understanding enhanced interstate security cooperation in relation to crime-related information, the fight against terrorism, drug and human trafficking, fight against the organized transnational crimes and also focused on skills development training

of the police service in both countries. Zambia sent its police officers to Rwanda for training (KT Press Reporter, 2020: para. 3-4).

The increased Zambia-China (FOCAC) bilateral cooperation under PF is another indication of Zambia's foreign policy. Zambia-China relations span a long time. However, during the PF era cooperation between the two countries augmented. Through the use of economic diplomacy, Zambia was seeking aid from China. Also, the two countries opened a partnership in Economic Multiplicity Zones to promote private-public investment in Zambia. Lungu worked on maximizing the country's comparative advantage in trade by increasing its copper supply to China. Since the time he became President, the country signed about 12 bilateral agreements with China with a focus on trade, agriculture, technology, energy, infrastructure, health, tourism and education (Mataka, 2020: 5-6). Moreover, in 2018, President Lungu stated that Zambia was continuing to promote its relations with China and no amount of propaganda was going to stop it (Lusaka Times, 2018b: para.1-2).

Furthermore, when interacting with other countries on topics that involved Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgenders and Queer (LGBTQ) rights, PF took a religious perspective to repudiate such rights in Zambia. For example, one of the participants stated that: *President Lungu was not going to accept LGBTQ rights because he considered Zambia a Christian nation and that it was not biblical. At some point in 2019 Lungu publicly denounced the Western call for the promotion of LGBTQ rights. He even said that they can keep their aid if it came with promoting homosexuality.*

Similarly, Lungu requested a Persona Non-Grata to have the USA ambassador to Zambia recalled for supporting homosexuality. He openly engaged in a peaceful resolution by writing to the then USA President Donald Trump which led to the recalling of the American ambassador (Conte and Atwood, 2019; para.7-9).

3.3.4. Zambia's Foreign Policy under the UPND Government (2021-to Date)

The UPND government achieved its political victory on 12 August 2021 under its candidate Hakainde Hichilema who currently happens to be the country's President. Just after forming a government, the UPND made it clear to the general public and international community that the government was focusing on economic diplomacy as its foreign policy with regional economic integration and conflict resolution in conflict-affected countries will be prioritized (Presidential Speech, 2021).

Moreover, the UPND government invited regional political opposition leaders to attend the Presidential inauguration. Both opposition and ruling political parties of the same countries like Zimbabwe, Tanzania and South Africa were invited (Nyathi, 2021: para.1-3). Likewise, the UPND government considers China-Zambia relations as important in the development of the country but with less interaction compared to the previous administration. In May, President Hichilema called for more enhanced cooperation between Zambia and China in different economic sectors. There was a call to cooperate on the production of finished goods from Zambia and not only promote the engagement of raw materials. There is a need to ensure that the two countries produce finished products collectively, he stated (Jere, 2022).

Furthermore, the field data indicate that *the UPND government has been focusing on promoting Zambia-West relations. President Hichilema has made visits to the USA where he was hosted by the USA Vice President.* Also, Hichilema visited the European Parliament upon invitation. He presented a speech in which he highlighted Zambia's openness for business and that it resurfaced in the 'Champions League' referring to a good political and economic environment in which the rule of law, people's interests, promotion of youth interests and education, as well as freedom of the media, was at hand. The government called for EU-Africa enhanced cooperation on trade and exchange of knowledge. President Hichilema also condemned the Russia-Ukraine War (Zambia Observer, 2022). The government is working on improving Zambia-IMF relations ever since it came into power. UPND government has been having closed meetings with IMF in seeking aid (Money FM Radia, 2022).

Furthermore, the New Dawn (UPND) administration has embarked on regional cooperation with neighbouring countries. This has been seen in the promotion of DRC-Zambia cooperation on the production of electric car battery production, an agreement entered in 2022 between the two countries. Moreover, on April 22, 2022, Zambia announced its interest in owning shares in the Angolan Lonito Refinery leading to a partnership agreement (Energy Capital and Power, 2022).

3.4. The Role of Domestic Policy on a Country's Foreign Policy (1964-2022)

In considering the role of domestic policy on a country's foreign policy it has been found that Zambia's foreign policy has been shaped by different domestic factors since independence. As observed, UNIP's philosophy of humanism adopted as a national ideology in the 1960s was also enshrined in the country's external policy coupled with the need to have external links to the outside world in order to engage in international trade. Zambia wanted to ensure that neighbouring countries were liberated from colonial rule. Hence, the government embarked on the liberation of Southern Africa, to which nationalist movements from neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe, and Angola to mention but a few were supported with accommodation in Zambia (Chan, 1986).

When asked about the domestic factors that shaped Kaunda's foreign policy after 1964, Kaumba stated that:

The country wanted to expand its economic activities. However, it did not have sea ports due to its geographical location. As a landlocked country, it was difficult to engage in international trade because Kaunda was against colonialism and he was not in good books with colonial regimes. Kaumba added that: disadvantaged by its geographical location, Zambia started to support the guerrilla warfare from the neighbouring countries so that they can achieve independence which can later accord an opportunity to Zambia of having access to the external world of trade. For Kaunda, it was difficult to have the needed economic growth in the country because its geographical location made it rely on neighbouring countries for trade links. Hence, the active involvement in liberating Southern Africa.

Furthermore, the field data below indicates participants' views on domestic factors that led to UNIP's liberalization of Southern Africa;

You know when Zambia got independence, it wanted to expand its economy but it was difficult for Kaunda to achieve this because most of the countries to supply goods to were still colonized and Kaunda was not in good relations with the White minorities. And when looking at the geographical location, it is a landlocked country so for it to expand its economy there was no doubt that it needed the neighbouring countries to achieve their political independence. This is why Kaunda was supporting national movements in Zimbabwe, South Africa and other African countries (Sashi).

Peter: Well.... after independence Kaunda and his government mainly focused on the liberation of Southern Africa, this is because he wanted to ensure economic growth and stability in Zambia, and for this, he wanted to liberate other countries in order to engage in trade since the Southern border route was closed by colonizers. Kaunda also stated that there is no independence without economic development of a country, so he needed to make Zambia active in trade activities.

Therefore, the above findings clearly indicate that the geographical location and the desire to expand the country's economy required Zambia to trade with other countries. Hence, this served as a motive for liberating other countries in the region because there was a need of having access to trade links in other countries as a way of expanding Zambia's economy. This event hence clearly demonstrates the interaction of domestic and foreign policy, as the country's external behaviour was rooted and arose from the domestic policy objective. This is similar to the view held by Owegi, Tolometi and Kwambai (2014:1-6) that although foreign policy is at times affected by international attributes, a state's foreign policy can be primarily made from within. The country's domestic policy is vital in providing the state with a foreign policy strategic basis. In as much as domestic policy aims to deal with the issues within the state, foreign policy is targeted toward the external environment with the aim to achieve the planned domestic objectives in a country.

Furthermore, in 1968 the UNIP government introduced humanism as a way of having a fair African society in which cooperation, collectivism justice and co-existence were observed by the members of society. Humanism was domestically considered a solution to the problems of a capitalist society. Furthermore, humanism was considered an idea for solving individual conflicts because it called for respect for man and co-existence in society. Externally, Zambia applied humanism in solving the conflicts that it was surrounded by. For example, the government of Zambia encouraged the ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo of Zimbabwe into peaceful negotiations with the colonizers in 1975 (Chan, 1987:227). Negotiations were viewed as peaceful means of achieving political independence. Domestically, Kaunda called for co-existence through national unity in the country. According to field data below:

Kaunda's national ideology was not only important to domestic politics but also shaped Zambia's political stance on the international scene. Kaunda who once supported guerrilla warfare as a way to help the colonized countries have their independence

achieved changed to call for peaceful negotiations after introducing his ideology of humanism. Although KK called it a national ideology, it guided his foreign policy too because he encouraged freedom fighters from Zimbabwe and South Africa to engage the white regime in peaceful negotiations to achieve political freedoms for Africans.

The above findings are similar to Chan's (1987) findings which narrate that UNIP's humanism was also embodied in the country's external relations as Kaunda encouraged peaceful solutions to conflicts in other countries like Zimbabwe, and South Africa among others. Therefore, it is arguable, that the domestic ideology adopted by the UNIP government guided Zambia's foreign policy as its principles of cooperation and co-existence in society got extended in the country's external behaviour as observed from the Zimbabwean call of negotiations.

Moreover, with fear of internal conflicts in Zambia due to Multi-Party Politics, Kaunda called for the disengagement of the Western Style of democracy as a way to national unity. Western democracy was replaced with a one-party state. Through the one-party state, Kaunda united all different political leaders to join UNIP because it was the only party that was allowed to function. This incident took place in 1972, and it led to the introduction of the second republic as the constitution and political system of government were changed. Harry Mwanga Nkumbula and others of the African National Congress (ANC) were made to join UNIP. Kaunda brought opposition political leaders to UNIP; this was considered a way of promoting feared ethnic conflicts in Zambia. UNIP's home-grown approach of uniting different political groups extended externally. When ZANU and ZAPU of Southern Rhodesia had a leadership conflict, UNIP called for the co-existence of these two groups. He considered unity among leaders a necessity to achieving independence.

Also, these findings are similar to Chan's (1987:227) view that UNIP's humanistic reform approach to unity was also observed in Kaunda's call in solving regional conflicts through the call for uniting conflicting African nationalists and calling for peaceful diplomatic negotiations. Hence, it can be argued from the findings that UNIP's approach to nationalist groups in Southern Africa was a true moderation within the domestic environment approach to national unity. The domestic policy resonated with its foreign policy call for unity.

Moreover, the solution to conflicting parties in other countries offered by Kaunda was a reflection and a copy cut of the domestic solutions of tribal balancing. Tribal

balancing was a policy that the UNIP government introduced in avoiding internal ethnic conflicts and tribal politics three years after 1964. With this policy, government positions were shared and regionally balanced. He advocated for a unified Zambia through the motto 'One Zambia, One Nation' (Lusaka Times, 2010: para 3-5). This action was also reflected in Kaunda's call to unite Nkoma of ZAPU a Ndebele and Mugabe of ZANU a Shona.

Further, UNIP's motivation for the Middle East Countries' criticism of not making enough domestic investment in their countries was a result of Kaunda's nationalist policies which supported domestic investment. The nationalist policy of Mulungushi reform and Matero reforms introduced in the 1960s promoted Zambianization as an approach to development in which the state and Zambians controlled most and major economic activities of the country. With these reforms, the UNIP government owned most shares in foreign companies through IDC. This national behaviour of supporting a local dominated economic investment by UNIP was reflected in Kaunda's economic criticism of Middle Eastern countries like Iraq. Kaunda's call for the Middle Eastern countries in the 1980s to invest their oil money in their countries and not in the Western world (Zizzo, 2003), was clearly guided by the domestic policy of Mulungushi and Matero reforms at home. Kaunda believed that without local investment countries cannot be free from external influence, therefore it was necessary that countries ensure domestic investment.

Also, the study findings from the interview with Political Scientist Janet from UNZA indicates that:

UNIP's nationalist policy of Mulungushi reforms where the government replaced capitalism with nationalism made Kaunda interact more with countries that exhibited nationalism as seen from the Zambia-Cuba relations and the Zambia-Chinese relations, Kaunda looked up to these countries for aid too. Take for example the period between 1970 and 1974 when the Western World refused to offer help to the UNIP government in order to construct a trading route, Zambia approached China and agreed with Tanzania to cooperate and establish a railway linking the two countries. China agreed to offer aid to Zambia. This aid led to the construction of TAZARA RAILWAYS which is still in force and very active.

Moreover, Kaunda returned to Iraq for a peace discussion with Saddam Hussein in the 1980s with the goal of persuading Iraq not to invade Kuwait. Kaunda's action was motivated by his national ideology of humanism which called for diplomatic peace

settlement of the conflict. As unity was called upon internally, the UNIP government's leader was at the same time calling for a peaceful diplomatic settlement of conflicts in other countries. When interviewed; Kaunda stated that "I am a man of peace" hence his trip to Iraq was to engage Saddam not to attack or invade Kuwait. Back home, he was referred to as the Gandhi of Africa and as Zambia's George Washington due to his national unity efforts enshrined in the country's ideology of humanism. Although Saddam did not accept Kaunda's advice, the Zambia-Iraq interaction case shows that the domestic policy of Zambia was a guide in the country's external relations as the President preached peace to other world leaders too (Zizzo, 2003).

Additionally, the field data from Alex adds that; *Kaunda's visit to Iraq in negotiating peace was an attempt to support the Zambian economy by looking for a source of cheap oil from the Middle East. This is also the reason Kaunda was active in engaging Saddam because he believed that if war was to erupt achieving this goal was going to be difficult as his country was going through an economic crisis.*

Arguably, all the above themes point to domestic policy as Kaunda wanted to ensure economic growth in Zambia by searching for cheap oil sources as the country needed cheap oil to support its economic activities.

Further, in understanding the motivation that made Kaunda get involved in the international political economy during the UNIP era as the party in government, Kreisler (2006: para.1-4) in an interview asked Kaunda why Zambia was involved in liberating other countries. Kaunda responded that Zambia did not want to achieve its independence alone but make sure that its neighbouring countries became independent too. The former President stated that this was to be done because God says 'Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself' and do unto others as you would have them do unto you'. Kaunda went on to explain that if one understood this verse there was a need to accept it and work together. Further, God's children must be free from any kind of oppression, Kaunda narrated.

Therefore, the above interview data demonstrates that Zambia's foreign policy during the UNIP government was also shaped by religion, as Kaunda stated that the need to liberate the neighbouring states because God did not want his children to go through oppression of any kind. As seen in the national ideology of humanism the African Christian values which called for non-violence were included. To Kaunda God

commanded everyone to love their neighbours as they would like to be loved too. This Biblical scripture was important to Kaunda as he cited it as one of the reasons for helping other countries' liberation movements in Africa. From that perspective, religion was another domestic policy that guided Zambia's foreign policy under the UNIP government. This is similar to Evans' (2016) explanation that domestically the role of religion is prominent in influencing a state's foreign policy, especially in developing countries. Evans explains that from time-to-time religion has proved vital or pivotal in influencing a state's behaviour both locally and externally. To conclude, religion just like other domestic policies shaped UNIP's external action.

Unlike the focus on liberalization of Southern Africa that took place after independence, the late 1970s and early 1980s saw the UNIP government adjusting its foreign policy. It worked towards acquiring aid from international organizations, making its economic policy more focused on economic growth and development. The focus was on building relations with the IMF and WB. This was caused by the need to eradicate poverty and build an already struggling economy. Due to its nationalistic policies, Zambia experienced mismanagement of public resources, corruption and failure of efficient production of goods and services. The corruption and mismanagement that was being experienced coupled with the external effects of the world oil crisis and colonial impact, the government needed to ensure that the economy overcomes economic pressure. To do this UNIP approached the IMF to which three standby Agreements were provided. The loan came with conditions of currency devaluation, public wage freeze, and removal of subsidies on customers' goods. However, the loans did not bring about the desired change. The economy was still declining as food prices increased (Sekwaat, 2000).

Moreover, the removal of these subsidies in 1986 led to riots in Lusaka and Copperbelt Provinces of Zambia. This event of riots led the government to change its ways of interacting with the Bretton Woods Institutions. It abandoned the IMF program in 1987 because the general public showered disinterest in the UNIP's action of removing subsidies on goods. However, just like the IMF loan, abandoning the IMF program did not bring about economic development in the country as the economy continued decline. Hence, in 1989, UNIP reapproached the IMF for aid but the same liberal conditions were called upon. Kaunda later abandoned the IMF program because his government was not a supporter of liberal economic and political policies (Sekwaat, 2000).

Therefore, the focus on economic development and IMF-Zambia relations was shaped domestically by the need to ensure economic growth due to the country's economic challenges at that time. However, the implemented decisions that were advised by IMF and WB led to unrest in the country which made the government abandon the IMF program. Hence, the domestic need for economic development played a pivotal role in the government's external behaviour. Later in 1989, the nationalist policies of the country were influential in not accepting the IMF package as government relied on nationalist policies and did not believe in a liberal economy because it was considered exploitative in nature.

Furthermore, the interaction of domestic and foreign policy was witnessed under the MMD government. After gaining political power, the MMD government embraced domestic neo-liberal policies as a way of ensuring economic development because it inherited a struggling economy from UNIP. The government introduced a liberal economic policy of free economy and privatization. At the same time, the government worked on improving relations with International Organizations the WB and IMF. The MMD's need to win donor confidence can be argued to be influenced by the domestic need of improving the economy. MMD government wanted aid as a tool for national development, however, in order to do this, there was a need of building donor confidence which was lost under the UNIP government. Introducing a liberal economy was one of the ways in which the government intended to revamp the economy and later win donor confidence (Sekwaat, 2000).

Also, field data indicate that: *After Chiluba became President of the country, MMD wanted to deal with the economic crisis which the country was experiencing at the time. As a Unionist those days Chiluba opposed the nationalist policies because they dragged back the country's economy. He believed in capitalism as a better system as seen in his opposition to the socialist policy. The MMD government hence introduced domestic policies which mainly were a feature of a liberal economy. Parastatals were privatized and individual political freedoms were called upon. The formation of political parties by interested citizens gained momentum (Peter).*

Therefore, the above clearly indicates that MMD's desire to win donor confidence was motivated by the need to overcome domestic economic challenges inherited from UNIP. Also, the introduced liberal economic policy made Zambia search for aid from

institutions that supported free trade, private market policy and political freedoms. This then shows that domestic policy shapes the country's foreign policy as the need for economic development led to the engagement of the IMF in solving domestic economic hardships.

In addition, the MMD government between 2002 and 2003 banned certain goods like alcohol, cigarettes and agricultural products from Zimbabwe. This act of economic protection by Mwanawasa was motivated by the domestic policy of shoring up the Zambian economy that was failing due to a lack of support from the government during Chiluba's governance. The MMD government took action on promoting locally grown market products and supporting local farmers through the provision of agricultural subsidies and a suitable domestic market with external competition. Furthermore, the government of Zambia wanted to revamp the agriculture sector with the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP) providing agricultural support by distributing cheap farming inputs like fertilizer to the farmers. Furthermore, the Zimbabwean-influenced black market in Zambia was banned. Therefore, MMD's desire to promote local farmers and have a stable domestic market for the supply of local agriculture products coupled with a black free market led to the government's act of protectionism. Hence, goods from Zimbabwe were restricted on the market (World Leaders, 2003).

Also, the interview with a Political Scientist (Janet) points out that;

The act to ban certain products from Zimbabwe was done as a way of improving the domestic market because Zimbabwean produce flooded the Zambian market making it difficult for local farmers to compete. Hence, the coming of Mwanawasa as President made the MMD embark on improving the local market by first supporting farmers through farming inputs and creating a market free from unfair competition.

As a way of supporting and growing the domestic market as well as expanding sources of income, the country needed in order to ensure economic growth, The government supported Non-Tariff Barriers through COMESA. This was seen as an opportunity to supply subsidised agricultural products to countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Hence, there was increased support for regional integration through COMESA (ZNBC, 2015).

Moreover, field data from Sashi explains that: *The need to have an expanded Zambian economy and supply more goods coupled with the country's demographical location made MMD enter into cooperation with Botswana in constructing the Kazungula bridge linking the two country's borders.*

From that perspective, the study reveals that the need to expand the economy and the country's geographical location played a major role in Zambia-Botswana cooperation and its support for Non-Tariff Barriers. Kaumba also adds that *MMD was working towards economic diversification hence the need to broaden all sectors through international cooperation.* Therefore, it is clearly seen that the diversification policy also led to cooperation with other countries.

Moreover, an interview with Janet explains that; *In ensuring economic growth, Mwanawasa started the Anti-Corruption Campaign in Zambia to which the Anti-Corruption Commission was established. Both democratic and human rights were put at the centre of the MMD governance during Mwanawasa's reign. MMD's fight against corruption and the call for democratic space was extended to Zimbabwe. He took the former President of Zambia to court over corruption allegations. This in itself was evidence of good governance.*

Further, the study highlighted Mwanawasa's refusal of quiet diplomacy as it was not helping Southern Africa. This was motivated by the domestic call of good governance which now he exhibited when interacting with other countries in the region. For example, his government criticized Mugabe of Zimbabwe for not embracing democracy and opposition political parties in that country (Hoas, 2007: para.1-7).

Therefore, it can be argued that the domestic call for embracing democracy in Zambia was at the same time upheld when interacting with oppressive regimes like Zimbabwe. MMD also sought domestic population control through family planning to help deal with economic issues as it feared that a rapid population increase can constrain resources. This also made MMD sensitive to the immigrants from Zimbabwe as they were feared to have a negative effect on the economy. In order to avoid such consequences, the MMD government wanted to ensure that the rule of law and democracy is embraced in Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, in 2006, the MMD government through the Presidential opening speech by Mwanawasa stated that Zambia was focusing on a foreign policy that emphasised the need to promote and maintain territorial integrity, sovereignty, national interest and socio-economic development of the country. The President stated that it was important to have foreign relations that put Zambia's economic wellbeing first, and the need for economic development was to be prioritized (Zambian Embassy, 2007: para.52). This led to Zambia-China increased economic cooperation which focused on trade between the two and aid from China to Zambia. From this period in time Chinese firms increased in number due to various opportunities Zambia presented. In 2007, when asked why the MMD government was focusing much on the Look East Policy, Mwanawasa responded by stating that Zambia like any other countries wanted to develop too. It did not matter who was helping as long as they are willing to help us achieve our Vision 2030 (Mwanawasa 2007, September 27: Interview).

Moreover, Zambia introduced free education and started an economic diversification and infrastructure development program. Therefore, the need for rapid socio-economic development led to Zambia considering the Look East Policy which led to more Chinese presence in the country. This approach resulted in Zambia's protection of China from the Western negative sentiments on Sino-Africa relations. The domestic policy of free education and infrastructure development needed more funding hence, the need to cooperate more with countries like China that were willing to assist without political interference. For example, most of the Zambian roads and buildings during the MMD government were constructed by Chinese State Firms without political interference. Zambia accepted Chinese Economic Zones and entered into joint ventures on ginneries. Mwanawasa alluded that this action was important because it was aimed at benefiting Zambia since China was going to invest millions in the Zambian economy which would later bring about economic growth, job creation and development for the country as alluded in the national development policy (Shacinda, 2007: para.1-7).

Further, an interview with Banda indicates that: *the MMD government struggled to win the 2001 and 2006 elections. The party won with fewer majority seats in parliament when compared to the opposition political parties. Therefore, this made the MMD government look for more investments in the country as a way of gaining support from the general public. The government engaged both developed and emerging economies in search of aid.*

These findings are similar to Neack's (2008) view that the head of government in any type of political system gets motivated or influenced by two related goals. These are to build and return political power, and maintain policy coalitions at the same time.

In 2008, Mwanawasa died before completing his political term, this led to a change of leadership from Mwanawasa to Rupiah Banda who also served as President from 2008-2011. When Banda became President of Zambia, the MMD government continued to promote Sino-Zambia relations because the party still embraced Mwanawasa's vision of infrastructure development. Banda also made a lot of diplomatic trips to different countries. When criticised by the opposition in regard to his trips, the government stated that he was looking for investors and promoting trade relations with other countries (Lusaka Times, 2010). Hence, increased diplomatic state visits to other countries were motivated by economic factors of developing Zambia by the year 2030.

After gaining power in 2011, the PF government embarked on a foreign policy that aimed at achieving domestic made populist policies. The infrastructure development, Social Cash Transfer (SCT), more money in people's pockets and job creation campaign needed to be implemented (Siachiwena, 2021). The PF introduced economic diplomacy as the new country's foreign policy. PF stated that its focus was not political but rather economic. Economic diplomacy was used in achieving domestic objectives the PF was implementing (Business Standard, 2014: para.1-4). In order to achieve infrastructure development, the Head of State embarked on a search for aid (Siachiwena, 2021).

Field data further explains that in 2012, the government got a 750-million-dollar Eurobond from the European Union. This money was channelled to infrastructure development called Link-Zambia 8000 in which the country's 8000 km road network was to be improved. Furthermore, Zambia looked for help from China to fund its other infrastructure projects like stadiums, hospitals, roads and shopping malls to mention but a few. An estimated 3 billion US dollars or above was provided by China although the actual figure was not revealed by the PF government. Pressure to increase the salaries for civil servants and SCT for vulnerable community members also contributed to the government's search for loans from China, the IMF and European Union (Siachiwena, 2021).

In addition, Sata changed his political stance of severing Zambia-China relations as promised when in opposition. The President stated that Zambia needed China to develop because the Chinese have a strong work ethic and they were going to sort him out as he was going to sort them out too (Siachiwena, 2021). Therefore, it can be argued that the populist domestic policies of more money in the pocket and infrastructure development led to a foreign policy that put economic benefits before political benefits. The goal was to use foreign policy in achieving domestic populist policies.

In 2014, President Sata died while in power and he was replaced by Edgar. C. Lungu. The latter continued with the PF agenda of implementing populist policies. Hence, he promoted more of Zambia-China relations. President Lungu involved China in almost every economic sector of the country. Under the PF, Zambia experienced more of Chinese direct enterprises than ever. On the factors motivating the government in diaspora engagement, the study findings reveal that governance diaspora engagement is driven by multiple factors. These factors include; economic interest, diaspora investment and national development. The policy also aims at achieving Vision 2030 the country's developmental goal of becoming prosperous and industrialized (Republic of Zambia, 2019). Similarly, the government official stated that *basically, we want to harness the potential of the diaspora. The government wants the diaspora to participate and contribute towards the country's development*. Therefore, from that perspective, it can be argued that the government wants to tap diaspora resources. This reflects Gamlen's (2014) view that governments engage in diaspora governance as a way of tapping into diasporas' resources.

Likewise, President Lungu's 7th National Development Plan of 2017 indicates that in order to make Zambia a prosperous country by 2030, economic diplomacy through international trade cooperation and agreements and mediation programs through missions abroad must be implemented. As such President Lungu used Economic diplomacy to promote both international and regional economic cooperation. The development plan cited the need for having an external economic market and preferential trade agreements (Government of Republic of Zambia, 2017: 74-76). Hence, in 2018, Zambia and Turkey signed 12 Memorandum of Understandings (MoUs) in strengthening bilateral relations between the two countries in areas of tourism, fishery, stock-breeding, investment, agriculture, sports and diplomacy. These agreements led to Turkish Airline Flights

operating directly from Istanbul to Lusaka (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) WORLD, 2018).

Additionally, religion played a vital role in directing Zambia's external behaviour. When confronted by other states and non-state actors on issues of homosexuality, the government took a hostile stance towards it. In 2019, President Lungu made it clear that Zambia was not going to adopt gay rights even in exchange for international donor aid. Lungu added that if the international community insisted on gay rights to be introduced in Zambia, then they can withhold their aid. It can be argued that the PF's hostile stance toward homosexuality when interacting with West is moulded in domestic politics. Domestically, the constitution of Zambia forbids homosexuality. Correspondingly, Zambia being a Christian nation considers it sin. Churches and other individuals advocate and lobby their interest to government against LGBTQ rights. When interviewed by the British Sky News (2019) Lungu called homosexuality un-Christian and un-biblical. For example, the USA ambassador to Zambia Daniel Foote who criticized Zambia's stance on homosexuality as a serious offence was requested to leave the country after opposing government's ruling on a gay couple (African News, 2019:1-3).

Lungu openly engaged in a peaceful resolution by writing to the then American President Donald Trump requesting a Persona Non Grata. This led to the recalling of the American ambassador (Conte and Atwood, 2019: para.7-9). This is similar to Adnan's (2014: 657-661) view that state diplomats or leaders may respond to international situations or events based on how their country is expected to react due to the political style reflected in domestic government policies. Domestically, Zambia does not allow homosexuality and leaders who support such acts lose popularity in the country, hence government's political behaviour towards homosexuality.

To add more, Zambia's involvement in high-level COMESA, SADC and AU peace and security meetings was influenced by its need for an export market and economic development. This is because when addressing Parliament in 2016 following Lungu's meetings with other African leaders on peace and security in DRC, Angola, South Sudan and Burundi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Harry Kalaba emphasised parliament's need to know that International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and COMESA high-level meetings are an effective platform for achieving sustainable development, security, stability and peace in the country. The regions provide an opportunity for a viable market

to which Zambia exports her goods and services, especially to the DRC. Therefore, it was Zambia's strategy to ensure peace and political stability while presenting its national interest internationally as well as on the global level. To this, the minister stated that it was necessary for Zambia to take an active role in ensuring peace and security as it has demonstrated its peacefulness domestically (Republic of Zambia, 2016:2-8). This is why Zambia has been entering military cooperation with different countries like Rwanda to ensure stability and fight transnational crime that can affect economic development in the region. Therefore, from the findings, it is seen that Zambia's interest in the political stability of other countries in the region was attributed to its economic development agenda (KT Press Reporter, 2020: para. 3-4).

Data from participant Kaumba explains that *the Private-Public Partnership of 2006 enshrined in Vision 2030 led to Zambia's call for international investors to partner with the Zambian government. To this, the PF government allowed the establishment of foreign Shopping Centres in Lusaka and the Copperbelt.* Therefore, it can be argued that the need to make Zambia a prosperous country by 2030 made the government accommodate private foreign direct investors.

Like the previous governments, UPND's foreign policy is dictated by a domestic policy with a focus on economic diplomacy influenced by the economic and political recovery program as a need to manage the Zambian shrinking economy. Prior to UPND's political victory, Zambia's inflation rate was more than 10% accompanied by unclear huge debt due to corruption, cadreism and public resource mismanagement by the PF regime. To solve this, UPND has focused on the Economic Recovery Program, free education, and employment of more health personnel and teachers for nearly months of being in office. The government is at the same time seeking private foreign investment as Hichilema clearly stated that a private envelope is needed to develop and achieve the Political and Economic Recovery Program. Thus, he emphasised the need for the private sector during the United Nations General Assembly meeting (CHATHAM HOUSE, 2021). To achieve these programs, the government has approached the IMF for funds having assured Zambia of US\$1.4 billion (Voice of Africa, 2022). The findings are similar to Neack's (2008) view that leaders may want to achieve planned domestic goals and policies by using their foreign policy.

With the motivation to achieve domestic goals of economic recovery, the government entered into a bilateral oil engagement with Angola to own stakes in Lobito an Angolan Refinery Company. This has been driven by the need to provide affordable oil to the Zambian market. This was done as a way of having access to energy which will later promote economic stability in Zambia and bring about cheap energy prices in the country (Nhede, 2022: para.1-4).

From another perspective, UPND's invitation of political opposition leaders together with the heads of states from the SADC region was influenced by the domestic need of promoting human rights and political freedoms under the 'New Dawn' government. This was an extension of the politics of co-existence portrayed domestically. After gaining political power, the co-existence of and free criticism from the opposition political parties was called for (Nyathi, 2021: para.1-6).

Another domestic factor that guides the UPND's response to the international community on homosexuality is religion. When the opposition political parties accused UPND of promoting homosexuality, President Hichilema stated that Zambia will not obey other countries or international organizations in adopting LGBTQ rights because such action is un-Christian (Chayinda, 2022). From that perspective, the study concluded that religion is one of the major domestic policies determining Zambia's external relations.

As observed above, one key campaign message of the UPND was debt restructuring once in office. To resolve this, the government is pursuing a political and economic recovery program which focuses on creating a more conducive business and political environment, job creation, free education and debt restructuring. With the focus on economic recovery, the UPND pursued an IMF program as soon as they settled in government administration. Upon election, Hichilema's first foreign trip was to the US. He has since made more than 10 trips abroad but none of those has been to China except for a phone conversation he had with the Chinese President. This appears to be a paradigm shift to resolve the debt crisis which requires debt restructuring help from the West. Therefore, it is clearly seen that focus on the political and economic recovery plan has moulded the UPND government as Pro-West. In all this, it can be argued that domestic policy is dictating Zambia's foreign relations. From the findings above, it can be argued that liberalism's view of domestic policy influence on foreign relations of a state resonates

with Zambia hence, it has shaped Zambia's foreign policy from 1964 when Zambia became independent under UNIP to date.

3.5. Impact of Domestic Policy Change on the Country's Foreign Policy

According to the field data collected from Alex; *The domestic policy change has at some point led to change in the country's foreign approach. During UNIP, the change from capitalism to humanism in 1968 led to changes in the country's foreign policy. The UNIP government paid less attention to foreign investment. It focused more on state development making the government interact less with foreign investors. Companies in Zambia were nationalized following the change in national policy supported by the Mulungushi and Matero economic reforms of 1968 and 1969.*

Therefore, from the data above it is clearly seen that Zambia's foreign policy change was caused by domestic ideological shifts and national economic policy reforms the country underwent. Kaunda's less attention to foreign investment in the first republic was influenced by the nationalist ideology of humanism which viewed capitalism and foreign companies as exploitative in nature. Thus, the ideology promoted more state-led development in Zambia as government-controlled parastatals.

When the MMD government came into power, they changed some aspects of Zambia's foreign policy focus. As noted by Sashi: *The change of regime from UNIP to MMD also led to changes in some aspects of the country's foreign policy. The MMD government focused on market policies and building donor confidence whilst still maintaining national security and good relations with neighbouring countries. This made Zambia strengthen relations with the West.*

Therefore, it can be argued that the change in domestic policies from humanism to liberal policies also led to more interaction with the West than it was during the UNIP government. There was a change in some foreign policy objectives and ways of achieving the intended objectives. The MMD wanted to have foreign investment in the country as a way of bringing economic development and also building donor confidence. To do this, Chiluba interacted more with liberal economies and not socialist states.

The declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation by the MMD government led to Zambia's change in foreign relations with Israel. When declared Zambia a Christian nation, a lot of government positions were given to born-again Christians. This declaration led to revived relations between Zambia and Israel that were lost during UNIP. Israel has always been considered a chosen land for Christians. In contrast, UNIP had supported Arabs in the Israel-Palestinian conflict because it considered them a part of Africa. In 1996, clergymen were invited to State House to offer prayers for Israel. Following this action, the President stated that "one who causes a curse on Abraham will be cursed but if one blesses Abraham then he will be blessed". To add on, Chiluba was quoted saying "unlike UNIP's humanism which focused on man, MMD will focus on God's Divine Truth" (Gifford, 2001:199-201).

Arguably, the introduction of Christianity (Christianization) in the governance of the country also led to foreign policy change when interacting with Israel. This, thus clearly indicates that domestic policy change also led to foreign policy change. Moreover, the introduction of Christianity in governance by the MMD government led to the ban of music T.V program shows from DRC that were considered obscene in nature by the Ministry of Information headed by Reverend Kristafor. The show was considered unchristian. However, when the economy was liberalized the ban was lifted. Hence, this shows a twist of events when dealing with Congolese due to the changes in domestic policy Zambia went through (Gifford, 2001:201).

Alex when asked whether domestic policy change brings about foreign policy change, he stated that: *The change from a non-subsidised to a subsidised Agricultural sector by Mwanawasa also led to some changes in foreign policy as goods from Zimbabwe were in order to protect the supported local economy. Hence, this shows that at times market domestic policy change leads to foreign policy changes when interacting with other countries.*

Arguably, the data above clearly indicates that the change in domestic policy by the MMD government in promoting the local agriculture sector also led to changes in foreign policy regarding how Zambia traded with Zimbabwe. The banning of agricultural products on the Zambian market was clearly influenced by the change in domestic policy as the government aimed at achieving its Farmer Input Support.

However, when PF came into power the government vowed not to focus on politics when interacting with other countries. It did not engage in discussing Zimbabwean politics. Instead, the PF embraced economic diplomacy. The government introduced the first ever diaspora policy of the country to allow contribution to national development and considered the diaspora as actors in state foreign policy (Republic of Zambia, 2019). This was done as a way of achieving domestic populist policies the government introduced. Domestic policies included more money in people's pockets, economic and infrastructure development, and job creation among others (Siachiwena, 2021). These changes led to policy change externally as the country looked to the East for more aid.

However, when PF lost power to UPND, there was a continuous call for economic diplomacy and regional integration by the 'New Dawn' (UPND) government but with little difference in the approach (Presidential Speech, 2021). According to the field data collected from Kaumba *The government is interacting less with China and more with Western countries. Adding that; UPND is calling for political recovery by curbing cadres and promoting human rights, hence it is interacting more with countries that promote democracy and upholds human rights.* Also, it embraces opposition political parties as seen from the invitation of opposition political party leaders of Southern African countries to attend the official Presidential inauguration of the President of Zambia in 2021. The 'New Dawn' government strongly believes in democracy by preaching for more political co-existence (Nyathi, 2021). Therefore, political and economic domestic change is allowing changes in the country's foreign relations objectives and ways of achieving the intended objective of economic development.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has shown the role of domestic policy on the country's foreign policy. It has been observed that under UNIP the national ideology of humanism, nationalization, religion, trade, national security, the Mulungushi and Matero reforms, the one-party political system and the need for economic development shaped Zambia's foreign policy of liberalization of Southern Africa as well as its economic development. Under the MMD, foreign relations were guided by the domestic need for economic development, Vision 2030, national security, protection of the local market, religion, the need to maintain political power and good governance. On the other hand, the PF government's

domestic policies that shaped their external behaviour include the populist policies of infrastructure and economic development, vision 2030, religion, more money in people's pockets, SCT, job creation and national security. The current government of UPND is portraying a foreign policy that responds to domestic programs. Its economic diplomacy of seeking aid, promoting regional integration and cooperation and interacting more with the West is shaped by domestic economic and political recovery programs. In addition, religion is influencing the country's stance on homosexuality when interacting with other actors within the international community.

This chapter has also shown that domestic policy change does not completely bring about foreign policy change except for a few policy objectives of the country. The study has revealed that the change of certain policy directions by the government led to some changes in the foreign policy focus of the country. The domestic policy that has contributed to some of these changes includes shifts in the government system, ideology, governance and economic policy strategies.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. Conclusion, Implications and Suggestions

The study conclusion is presented in line with the specific study objectives. The first objective was to examine the actors involved in foreign policy-making in Zambia. It has been revealed that under the UNIP government the President was the main foreign policy actor. He set the policy agenda and directives. Kaunda was also actively involved in foreign policy implementation. On certain issues, he led the advisors and ministries to implement the country's foreign policy. However, it has been found that he still remained the main policy maker and the ministries worked to support his vision. This is because the constitution considered the President as the country's chief diplomat. Also, at the time of independence the country had few graduates hence, the President assumed many responsibilities. Moreover, being the head of state and government during the one-party state, the President had many powers making him the superior boss in every political decision. Being the party President, Kaunda also assumed the chairmanship role in making decisions which also translated to foreign policy decisions.

During the MMD government, it has been revealed that the President was still the main foreign policy maker. However, at times the President allowed his ministers to issue foreign relations statements. The President set the policy trends to which the ministers adhered. Although the MMD government existed in a democratic environment, the President still held more constitutional powers as a head of state, government, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and chief diplomat among others. At the same time, he was the party's President. Therefore, this made the President the main policy maker. Similarly, the study has revealed that during the PF government, the President although with few consultations from his ministers, set the policy agenda to which the ministers adhered to. The president was the main actor due to the constitutionally assigned role of chief diplomat. Also, just like the other previous leaders the President still held the party president position making him top decision maker within the party. This also translated to foreign policy decision-making. Similarly, the presented and discussed data has shown that, under the current UPND government, the President is still the main foreign policy maker. He sets the policy agenda to which his ministers follow suit. This is because the constitution of Zambia since independence continues to give the President more powers. He acts as the country's main chief

diplomat. However, it should be noted that at times the ministries as well as ministers and Presidential advisors provide advice to the President on issues to deal with foreign relations, especially on low politics.

The second objective was to examine the role of domestic policy in shaping the country's foreign policy. From the presented and discussed data, it has been found that domestic policy has shaped Zambian foreign policy. During the UNIP government humanism, nationalization reforms and religion played an active role in undertaking external relations. When the MMD took over power from UNIP in 1991, they embarked on a different foreign policy approach and objectives. However, the government was still influenced by economic domestic policies like the economic diversification policy, National Development Plans, protection of the local farmers, and religion among others. Also, under the PF government, domestic populist policies of infrastructure and economic development, private-public partnership, more money in people's pockets, job creation, statist developmental approach, constitutional changes, and vision 2030 among others. Currently, the UPND government's foreign relations are influenced by the domestic political and economic recovery program to mention but a few. Thus, in all the governments, Zambian foreign policy has been economically oriented as it focused on achieving economic domestic objectives.

The last object was to find out whether domestic policy change affects the country's foreign policy. It has been concluded that a change in domestic policy also brings about certain changes in the country's foreign policy. As noted, the empowering of local farmers through the Farmer Input Support policy led to the ban of Zimbabwean agricultural products on the Zambian market.

4.2. Theoretical Implication

This study adds to the body of knowledge that domestic policy influences a country's foreign policy in different ways. Firstly, it adds to the existing literature that the nature of the political system affects foreign policymaking. When Zambia got independence, it had few graduates in the field of foreign policy, hence the President was the main actor in the foreign policy of the country. Sometimes those close to the Head of State advised on the country's external relations. Further, the findings add that the constitutional powers of the President as chief diplomat, Head of State, and Head of

Government, as well as political party chairman, make the Presidents in main actors in foreign policy. However, at times they engage the cabinet for advice.

Furthermore, the findings support the view that domestic policy shapes a country's foreign policy. As observed from the findings, Zambia under UNIP undertook a foreign policy that reflected the domestic policy of nationalization, humanism, economic trade and development. Also, public demands made the government reflect on a new domestic action plan which later shaped the country's external relations with other actors. Similarly, under the MMD and PF governments, domestic policy was influenced by the government's external behaviour. The domestic policy included those of politics, diversification of the economy, social policy, infrastructure and economic development, education, national development plan, private-public partnership policy, religion and governance. The government in all these regimes used foreign policy as a tool to achieve their intended domestic objectives. Currently, UPND's political and economic recovery program is shaping the country's interactions in the international community. These findings hence, add to the theoretical view of liberalism that domestic policy is expressed in a country's foreign policy. The country uses its foreign policy to achieve its domestic goals.

Finally, the findings of this study have pointed out that domestic policy change brings about certain changes in the country's foreign policy. In all the regimes, the change in domestic policy also exhibited certain changes in foreign policy in Zambia. As seen from the change from capitalism to socialism under the UNIP government, also the change from nationalization to the introduction of domestic liberal policies and Christianization of Zambia during the MMD government and the PF's populist policies portrayed a change in foreign policy. Currently, changes in the domestic political and economic policy of the country are leading to foreign policy change.

4.3. Managerial Implications

Practically, this study provides knowledge and insights on how domestic policy has contributed to dictating Zambia's foreign policy since independence. It shows the domestic policies that have taken active influence in influencing the country's foreign policy. Therefore, when analysing the country's foreign policy, it is important to consider domestic policy analysis too.

4.4. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The findings of this study cannot be entirely perceived as the only influencers of Zambia's foreign policy. This is because other domestic and external factors have not been put into consideration. The study focused on domestic policy's role in determining the country's foreign policy. To this, other researchers should consider undertaking research on the role of international politics in the domestic policy of Zambia. The role of history, leadership personality and size of the state's role in Zambia's foreign policy should be investigated. These will help in acquiring different perspectives on domestic influence on a country's foreign policy.



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Appendix A: Cover Letter

Social Sciences University of Ankara

Institute for Area Studies

Dear Participant,

My name is Amon Shakemba, a postgraduate student of African Studies at the Social Sciences University of Ankara - Institute for Area Studies. I am conducting research on the Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy: A Case of Zambia. You have been selected in this study due to your knowledge on Zambian politics and foreign policy and the experience you have in this field of study.

Aim of the Study

This study focuses on the interaction between domestic and foreign policy from 1946 to date. The findings of this study will be used for academic purposes only, as this study is a requirement for the completion of a Masters Study programme of the author.

Supervisor

The supervisor of this study is Doç Dr Mürsel Bayram, the Head of Department for Area Studies at the School of Social Sciences of Ankara University.

Interview Date

The interview date of this study depends on your availability.

Contact

In case of any inquiries, you can reach the author on via email: amonshakemba@gmail.com or through Whatsapp on +905525167533

Note: This study is for academic purposes only, therefore your name will not be published and you can withdraw from the study at any time if you choose to do so. The study involves zero incentives and it will take place through Zoom meeting. The study will take one hour thirty minutes. English will be used during the interview and the session will be recorded for transcription purposes and later it will be destroyed. The transcribed data will be sent back to you to confirm your response.

Appendix B: Consent

If you agree please confirm your voluntary participation by signing here.....

Below are the consent conditions you are asked to sign if you opt to take part in the study.

Conditions	Please sign the appropriate box
I affirm that I read and understand the aim of the study.	

I agree to participate in the interview and allow it to be recorded.	
I consent to remain anonymous for my recitations.	
I understand that my participation in this is optional, and I am allowed to withdraw at any point in time.	

Appendix C: INTERVIEW GUIDE

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Introductory Remarks

Questions

1. What is your job position?
2. For how long have been working in the said position?

UNIP GOVERNMENT-1964-1991

This section relates to Zambia's domestic and foreign policy under the UNIP government.

3. What was Zambia's foreign policy after gaining its independence from Britain?
4. Who was involved in foreign policy making under the UNIP government?
5. Would you kindly explain the domestic political and economic policies introduced by the UNIP government after Zambia's political independence in 1964?
6. Did these policies shape Zambia's foreign policy under the UNIP government?
If so which ones and how?
7. What caused the introduction of one-party state under the UNIP government?
8. What domestic policies were introduced under one-party state?

9. Did the change in political system bring about changes in Zambia's foreign policy? If so, how?

10. Why did UNIP change its foreign policy from Liberation of Southern Africa to an Economic trajectory during the second republic?

Under MMD Government

This section relates to Zambia's domestic and foreign policy under the MMD Government.

1. Under the MMD government, who was involved in foreign policy making? And why?

2. Did the change of government from MMD to UNIP bring about domestic policy change? If so, which ones changed?

3. Would you kindly explain the foreign policy change that took place under the MMD government?

4. Which domestic policies guided Zambia's foreign policy under the MMD government?

5. How did the above-mentioned domestic policies shape Zambia's foreign policy under the MMD government?

6. Which aspects of foreign policy changed under the MMD government?

7. What other domestic factors led to foreign policy change under the MMD government?

Under the PF Government-2011-2021

This section relates to Zambia's domestic and foreign policy under the PF Government.

1.Under the PF government, who was involved in foreign policy making? And why?

2.Did the change of government from MMD to PF bring about domestic policy change? If so, which ones changed?

3.Would you kindly explain the foreign policy change that took place under the PF government and why did the PF focus on economic diplomacy as the new foreign policy path?

4.Which domestic policies guided Zambia's foreign policy under the PF government?

5.How did the above-mentioned domestic policies shape Zambia's foreign policy under the PF government?

6.What other domestic factors led to foreign policy change under the PF government?

UPND GOVERNMENT 2021-TO-DATE

This section relations to Zambia's domestic and foreign policy under the UPND Government.

1.Following its victory in 2021, what has been the UPND new domestic policies?

2.Has there been change of foreign policy from the PF government?

3.What domestic factors are shaping the UPND government's foreign policy?

4.Who is in charge of making foreign policy in Zambia under the UPND government?

Do you have any additional comments?

Closing Remarks

Thank you for your participation.



CURRICULUM VITAE

Names: Amon Shakemba

Date of Birth: 23/01/1994

Nationality: Zambian

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EDUCATION

2020-(Currently) Social Sciences University of Ankara, Ankara, Turkey

Masters in African Studies)

2013-2017- The University of Zambia (B.A. Political Science with Psychology).

Work Experience

2021-2022: Intern (Afrika Vakfi)

2018-2019- Tutor (The University of Zambia)

Publications

- Shakemba. A, (2021). *An Analysis of Factors that led to a Political Downfall: The Case of Zambia's Patriotic Front Government-2021*. https://www.academia.edu/61213084/An_analysis_of_factors_that_led_to_a_political_downfall_The_Case_of_Zambias_Patriotic_Front_Government_2021?source=swp_share
- Shakemba. A. (2021). Challenges of Democracy in Zambia Under the Patriotic Front Government, *Research Gate*

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Geniř Özet

Zambiya 1964 yılında siyasi bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra Kenneth D. Kaunda liderliğindeki Birleşik Ulusal Bağımsızlık Partisi (UNIP) tarafından yönetilmiştir. Ancak UNIP siyasi gücünü 1991 yılında, ülkeyi 2011 yılına kadar yöneten Çok Partili Demokrasi Hareketi'ne (MMD) kaptırmıştır. 2011 yılında ise Yurtsever Cephe (PF) siyasi otoriteyi MMD'den devralarak Zambiya'yı 2021'e kadar yönetmiş ve iktidara gelen üçüncü siyasi parti olmuştur. Şu anda Zambiya, Birleşik Ulusal Kalkınma Partisi'nin (UPND) yönetimi altındadır. UPND, PF hükümetine karşı siyasi bir zaferin ardından 2021'de göreve başlamıştır. Zambiya'nın geçirdiği farklı siyasi liderliklerden bağımsız olarak, ülke uluslararası sistemdeki diğer aktörlerle etkileşim halindeyken dış politikasını oluşturmada aktif olmuştur.

Bir ülkenin dış politikası hem iç hem de dış faktörlerden etkilenebilse de, mevcut literatürün çoğu Zambiya'nın dış politikasını etkileyen dış faktörlere daha fazla odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, UNIP hükümetinden mevcut UPND rejimine kadar iç politikanın ülkenin dış politikasında oynadığı rolü vurgulayan çalışmaların sayısı oldukça azdır. Bir ülkenin iç politikalarının dış politikası üzerindeki etkisi hakkında literatürde yeterli sayıda çalışmanın olmaması ve mevcut literatürdeki eksikliği kapatmaya çalışmak bu araştırmanın temel motivasyonudur. Zambiya'yı vaka çalışması olarak ele alan keşfedici nitelikteki bu çalışmanın amacı ise Zambiya'da iç ve dış politika etkileşimini analiz etmektir. Araştırma kapsamında toplanan hem birincil hem de ikincil veriler için nitel bir yöntem kullanılmıştır. Birincil veriler, altı kilit bilgi sahibi kişi ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar aracılığıyla elde edilmiştir. Bu altı kilit bilgi sağlayıcılarından dördü Zambiya Üniversitesi'ndeki akademisyenler, diğer ikisi ise Dışişleri ve Uluslararası İşbirliği Bakanlığı'ndan yetkililerdir. Derinlemesine mülakatlar Zoom Meetings ve WhatsApp görüntülü görüşmeleri aracılığıyla yapılırken, ikincil veriler kitap, resmi hükümet açıklamaları, Youtube, araştırma makaleleri, dergi ve gazete gibi ikincil kaynaklardan elde edilmiştir.

Çalışma, UNIP hükümeti sırasında Cumhurbaşkanı'nın politika gündemini ve direktiflerini belirlediğini ve dış politika yapımında ana aktör olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca dış politika uygulamasında da aktif olarak yer almış; zaman zaman danışmanların ve kabinenin ülkenin dış politikasını uygulamasına izin vermiştir. Bunun nedeni, Zambiya anayasasına göre ülkenin başkanı aynı zamanda ülkenin baş

diplomattır. Buna ek olarak, bağımsızlık zamanında ülkede az sayıda mezun/yetmiş insan olması nedeniyle Cumhurbaşkanı birçok sorumluluk üstlenmiştir. Tek parti döneminde devlet ve hükümet başkanı olan Cumhurbaşkanı, her siyasi kararda kendisini üstün kılan birçok yetkiye sahipti. Parti başkanı olan Kaunda, bir ülkenin dış politika kararlarına da yansıyan iç kararların alınmasında da başkanlık görevini üstlenmiştir.

MMD hükümeti sırasında, cumhurbaşkanı diğer görevlerinin yanı sıra devlet başkanı, hükümet başkanı, silahlı kuvvetler başkomutanı ve baş diplomat olarak daha fazla anayasal yetkiye sahipti. Aynı zamanda parti başkanı olarak da görev yapmaktaydı. Bu durum cumhurbaşkanını ana politika yapıcısı konumuna getirmiştir. Bununla birlikte, zaman zaman Cumhurbaşkanı, kabinesinin ülkenin dış politika kararlarına dâhil olmasına müsaade etmiştir. Kabine, zaman zaman belirli konularda farklı görüşlere sahip olmasına rağmen, uluslararası toplumun diğer aktörlerine yönelik dış açıklamalar da yapmıştır. Bu nedenle, kabine üyelerinin çelişen dış açıklamalarındaki ampirik kanıtlar, diğer hükümet yetkililerinin ülkenin dış politika karar alma sürecine dâhil olduğunu açıkça göstermektedir.

Benzer şekilde, KM hükümeti sırasında, cumhurbaşkanının bakanları ile çok az istişare yapmasına rağmen, bakanların bağlı olduğu politika gündemini belirlediğini çalışmanın bulgularındandır. Cumhurbaşkanı anayasal olarak atanan “baş diplomat” unvanı nedeniyle dış politikadaki baş aktördü. Ayrıca, önceki diğer liderler gibi, parti başkanlığı pozisyonunu elinde bulundurmaya devam ediyor ve bu da onu parti içinde en üst düzey karar verici yapıyordu. Bu aynı zamanda dış politika karar verme sürecine de yansıdır. Bununla birlikte, özellikle Zambiya diasporası ile ilgili olan bazı konularda kabineye ve sivil topluma danıştığı bilinmektedir. Aynı şekilde, sunulan ve tartışılan veriler, mevcut UPND hükümeti altında Cumhurbaşkanı'nın asıl dış politika yapıcı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bakanlarının uyduğu politika gündemini de o belirlemiştir. Bunun nedeni, Zambiya anayasasının bağımsızlıktan bu yana Cumhurbaşkanı'na daha fazla yetki vermesidir. Ülkenin baş diplomatı olarak görev yapmakta ve önceki hükümetlerdekiyle aynı pozisyonda bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca kabineyi ülkenin karar alma sürecine dâhil etme yetkisi elindedir.

Bu çalışmanın ikinci amacı, ülkenin dış politikasını şekillendirmede iç politikanın rolünü incelemektir. Sunulan ve tartışılan verilerden Zambiya dış politikasını iç politikanın şekillendirdiği tespit edilmiştir. UNIP hükümeti döneminde, hümanizm, millileştirme, ekonomik reformlar ve dini içeren bir iç politika, dış ilişkilerin

yürütülmesinde aktif rol oynamıştır. Ayrıca 1991 yılında MMD, UNIP'ten iktidarı devraldığında, farklı bir dış politika yaklaşımı ve hedefleri belirlemiştir. Bununla birlikte, hükümet hâlâ ekonomik politika ve ekonomik kalkınma ihtiyacı, kapitalizm, Özel-Kamu Ortaklığı Yasası, ekonomik çeşitlendirme politikası, Ulusal Kalkınma Planları, yerli çiftçilerin korunması, devletin Hristiyanlaştırılması ve siyasi özgürlükten etkilenmekteydi. Ayrıca, PF hükümeti altında, yerel popülist altyapı ve ekonomik kalkınma politikaları, özel-kamu ortaklığı, insanların cebinde daha fazla para, iş yaratma, devletçi kalkınma yaklaşımı, anayasa değişiklikleri, MMD hükümetinin Vizyon 2030, devlet güvenliği, din ve Sosyal Nakit Transferi gibi iç politikaları Zambiya'nın uluslararası ilişkilerdeki davranışını etkilemiştir. Şu anda, UPND hükümetinin dış ilişkileri, Zambiya'nın küçülen ekonomisini ve siyasi alanını istikrara kavuşturmayı amaçlayan iç siyasi ve ekonomik toparlanma politikasından etkileniyor. Genel olarak, ekonomik iç politika, Zambiya'nın dış politika gündemini ilerletmede daha etkili olmuştur. Hükümetler çoğunlukla iç politika hedeflerine ulaşmak için dış politikayı kullandılar. Bu nedenle, tüm hükümetlerde Zambiya dış politikası çoğunlukla iç politika hedeflerine ulaşmaya yönelik olmuş ve olmaya devam etmektedir.

Üçüncü ve son amaç ise, iç politika değişikliğinin ülkenin dış politikasını etkileyip etkilemediğini bulmaktır. Çalışma, saptanan ulusal siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik sorunların çözümünde iç politikadaki değişikliğin dış politikada da değişikliğe yol açtığını göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla, iç politikadaki bir değişikliğin, bir ülkenin dış politikasında da belirli değişiklikleri beraberinde getirdiği sonucuna varılmıştır. Örneğin MMD hükümeti altında ülke yönetimine Hristiyanlığın dâhil edilmesi, Zambiya-İsrail ilişkilerinde de değişikliğe yol açmıştır. Zambiya'nın Hristiyanlaştırılması, Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti'nden Hristiyanlığa aykırı olarak kabul edilen medya programlarının yasaklanmasına da sebep olmuştur. Öte yandan Çiftçi Girdi Destek Politikası aracılığıyla yerel çiftçilerin güçlendirilmesi, Zambiya'da Zimbabve tarım ürünlerinin yasaklanmasına yol açmıştır. Ayrıca, UPND hükümetinin odaklandığı ekonomik sorunlara mevcut çözüm, yerel ekonomik toparlanma planında bir değişikliğe yol açarak ülkenin dış politikasında da değişikliğe yol açmıştır. UPND, Batı ile ilişkilerine odaklanmış ve Hichilema şimdiye kadar, Çin Devlet Başkanı ile bir telefon görüşmesi dışında hiçbirinin Çin'e olmadığı 10'dan fazla uluslararası seyahat gerçekleştirmiştir.

Bu araştırma, tespit edilen bulgularla Zambiya'daki iç ve dış politika etkileşimi hakkında bilgi sağlamıştır. Bu nedenle, Zambiya'nın dış politika direktifleri ve ülkenin uluslararası toplumdaki diğer aktörlerle dış ilişkilerinde ulaşmayı amaçladığı hedeflerin bir analizini yaparken, politika yapıcılarının ülkenin iç politikasını analiz etmeleri önem arz etmektedir. Bu sebeple diğer araştırmacılar, Zambiya'nın iç politikasında uluslararası politikanın rolü üzerine araştırma yapmayı düşünmelidir. Yapılan çalışma, dış politika aktörleri, iç politikanın dış politika ve iç politika değişikliği üzerindeki rolü ve dış politikanın uluslararası politikanın rolünün dışında bırakılması ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Uluslararası politika ve ülkedeki iç politikayı nasıl etkilediği ile ilgili başka çalışmalara ihtiyaç vardır. Bunun yanı sıra, liderlerin kişiliğinin Zambiya'nın dış politikası üzerindeki rolü de gelecekte incelenecek konular arasında yer alabilir.

