A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY ON THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC AND NIGERIA SINCE 1994.

By

Rejoyce Hlengiwe Phetha

Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Political Science) in the Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

Supervisor: Prof. Bheki R. Mngomezulu

DECEMBER 2018

DECLARATION

I, **Rejoyce Hlengiwe Phetha** hereby declare that the study titled: "**A comparative analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on the Central African Republic and Nigeria since 1994**" is my own work which has never been submitted anywhere else in any form and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete referencing.

30 July 2019

....

STUDENT SIGNATURE   **DATE**

30 July 2019

……………………….   ………………………..

SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE   **DATE**

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my loving family. I would also like to dedicate this thesis

my one and only son, Siyathokoza Phetha.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

AA   Africa Agenda

ACCORD   African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes

ACHPR   African Court of Human and People's Rights

ANC   African National Congress

APRM   African Peer Review Mechanism

AR   African Renaissance

ARICF   African Renaissance and International Co-operation Fund

ASF   African Standby Force

AU   African Union

AUC   African Union Commission

BLNS   Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland

BRICS   Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa

CAR   Central African Republic

COMESA   Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CW   Cold War

CWP   Community Working Programme

DFA   Department of Foreign Affairs

DIRCO	Department of International Relations
DoD	Department of Defence
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EAC	Executive Associate Commissioner
ECOSOC	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of Western African States
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
IADB	Inter-American Development Bank
IGOS	International Government Organizations
IMF	International Money Fund
IR	International Relations
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NCAA	National Committee Against Apartheid
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NNCAA	Nigeria's National Committee Against Apartheid
OAU	Organization for African Unity
PAP	Pan African Parliament
PSC	Peace and Security Council
SA	South Africa
SACU	Southern Africa, Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SANDF	South African National Defense Force
SARF	South Africa's Relief
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	Unites States

ABSTRACT

Since ridding itself of apartheid in 1994, South Arica (SA) has been portrayed as an important regional power in Africa, as opposed to being dubbed a pariah state prior to 1994. Importantly, South Africa is increasingly being seen as a significant global player in the debates about reforming the global governance architecture to create a fairer international order. As the global balance of power changes, new and old powers are investing more in terms of cultivating new and deeper relationships. During the first two decades of democracy, South Africa positioned itself internationally through bilateral and multilateral engagements. However, the policy contents and realities of the foreign policies of South Africa, Nigeria and the Central African Republic (CAR) have not been systematically and adequately studied. The aim of the study was to carry out a comparative study on South Africa's foreign policy towards CAR and Nigeria. The objectives of the study were to investigate the nature of South Africa's foreign policy towards Nigeria and CAR and the factors which determined the country's foreign policy agenda.

The use of two international relations theories, i.e. realism and neo-functionalism assisted in understanding the complex foreign policy issues. The study used a mixed-methods approach where five key informant interviews were conducted and one hundred and fifty survey questionnaires were distributed to the respondents. The study found that South Africa has been visible in its foreign policy footprints by being involved in the African peace mediation efforts. The increasing importance of soft power in the global politics is recognised both in the literature and among scholars and practitioners of international relations. Although South Africa faces a number of challenges in constructing its new democratic institutions, it has emerged as one of the most important countries which has imbedded the 'Ubuntu' philosophy in its foreign policy posture. The idea of Africanization has become entrenched in South Africa's identity which has over-

stretched the state that is striving to meet the idealistic demands placed upon its fragile democracy. The study revealed South Africa's policy influence on the global policy and policy innovation. Moreover, it concluded that the presence of South Africa in Nigeria has resulted in increased trade and restored peace in CAR, but also created a number of opportunities in both CAR and Nigeria. Furthermore, the study established the strategic relevance of Nigeria and Central African Republic to South Africa. This has contributed to a broader understanding of the factors that shape South Africa's foreign policy agenda. However, further research should be conducted on the role of South Africa's foreign policy in enhancing continental integration.

Key words: Foreign policy, realism, neofunctionalism, integration, cooperation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s and the early 1990s led to a conspicuous retreat of the West from Africa, evidenced particularly in the economic sphere (Tseng, 2008). Since ridding itself of apartheid in 1994, South Arica has been portrayed as an important regional power in Africa, as opposed to being dubbed a pariah state prior to 1994 due to the country's political orientation at that time. Importantly, South Africa is increasingly being seen as a significant global player in the debates about reforming the global governance architecture to create a fairer international order. As the global balance of power changes, new and old powers are investing more in terms of cultivating new and deeper relationships. During the first two decades of democracy, policy decision makers sought to reposition South Africa on the international scene through bilateral and multilateral engagements. According to Ogunnubi (2013) and Ade-Ibijola (2014), the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa changed the country's politics tremendously. This change reverberated South Africa's foreign policy imperatives.

Given South Africa's status as the second leading African country in terms of economic prosperity after Nigeria in 2014 (a situation which changed in August 2016 when South Africa reclaimed the number one spot), political stability and military strength, African states have placed considerable hope on South Africa's contribution to the socio-economic and political betterment of the African continent. Furthermore, South Africa has consequently become a more attractive partner to a number of African states than ever before. South Africa's foreign policy plays a pivotal role in assisting and resolving issues of other countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC],

Central African Republic [CAR], Sudan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, and Rwanda among others. Moreover, South Africa and Nigeria have been widely known as Africa's hegemonic leaders on the strength of their Afrocentric foreign policy aspirations and material as well as ideational capabilities (Ogunnubi and Isike, 2013).

In 1994, after the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first democratically elected black president on the 10th of May, in contrast with the new previous regime, the president asserted that South Africa would engage with a principled and highly moral foreign policy (Youla, 2009). The country has since demonstrated a strong commitment to promoting the interests of Africa by being the voice of the continent internationally. South Africa and Nigeria have the capacity to help address each other's domestic challenges. However, South Africa, arguably, has a strong state security cluster on the continent. It demonstrated this through its training of Central African Republic soldiers to withstand and manage insurgency within its borders (Saga and Lekaba, 2014; Phetha, 2015). Saga and Lekaba (2014:3) assert that "the relations between the countries reached new heights when Nigeria became South Africa's largest trading partner on the continent, and were further strengthened by their joint work on policies and continental politics". The implementation of South Africa's foreign policy as guided by Presidents Mandela, Mbeki, Motlanthe (as interim President) and Zuma has seen elements of both continuity and change informed by prevailing circumstances.

However, some authors argue that there are legitimate concerns that this capital, agency, and stature are fast depreciating because of recent missteps and strategic blunders in the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy, especially under President Zuma's watch (Le Pere, 2013). While obviously subject to debate and contestation, reference is often made to South Africa's

controversial tenure at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the Dalai Lama visa debacles, the disputably misguided and evidently divisive campaign to win the chair of the AU's Commission and the tragic military misadventure in the CAR. Moreover, the broader historical and contemporary narrative of South Africa's foreign policy over the last two decades as articulated in the general domain has been shaped by a complex mix of normative, substantive, circumstantial and managerial imperatives.

In response to the above-mentioned problems, the researcher aimed to assess and conduct an analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on Nigeria and the Central African Republic since 1994. This decision was premised on the fact that South Africa and Nigeria are competitors on different fronts, while the CAR has been reliant on South Africa for its political stability. It was therefore important to establish the extent to which South Africa's foreign policy agenda to these two countries is similar or different based on these relations. It was envisaged that this would assist in understanding what informs South Africa's foreign policy on the two countries. While it is true that the theme has been discussed by other authors in different contexts (Mabuda, 2008; Ogunnubi, 2013, Ade-Ibijola, 2014), none of these authors has taken the angle proposed in this study.

1.2 Brief overview of South Africa's foreign policy

There is general consensus in academic circles that at the same time of democracy in Africa, the end of the Cold War has resulted in a new miscellany of political systems. In the South African context, the handover of power by the Nationalist Party (NP) to a democratically elected government in April 1994 was one of the greatest triumphs of global democracy in the late 20th century (Mkalipi, 2002). After many decades of struggle, a broad international movement

reinforced the domestic struggle for non-racial democracy and the elimination of the notorious and inhumane apartheid system. This goal was achieved in April 1994.

Soon after dismantling apartheid, formal relations were entered into by South Africa with a diversity of states across Africa and beyond. Nelson Mandela's declaration on the eve of the elections that human rights would be the light that would guide the country's foreign policy set the tone for South Africa (Alden and Pere, 2004). Thus, previously neglected countries due to their support of the liberation movement became a part of South Africa's foreign policy (Tetenyi, 2014). This took different forms, which included bilateral relations, regional relations as well as international relations. South Africa started participating in discussions on broader issues that did not necessarily affect its national security in any way (Nathan, 2013). Commentators began arguing that, "South Africa's foreign relations should be understood in the context of an international move away from geopolitics of conflict and war to that of peace and cooperation" (Mkalipi 2002:4). In tandem with the political change, South African international relations thinking took a drastic turn in the immediate aftermath of the 1994 elections – a move which negated what obtained under apartheid.

As the ANC leadership proclaimed, this country would soon become a catalyst for the rapid development of not only the Southern African region but the rest of the continent (Mkalipi, 2002). Domestic liberal voices too demanded a proactive and value driven agenda (Verhoeven, Murthy and Oliveira, 2014). Critics have often been cited saying that, in practise, South Africa's foreign policy has been at odds with the principles enunciated in the process of foreign policy formulation (Mathebula, 2016). This can best be seen in the manner in which South Africa's assumption of a place in the international system has been accompanied by policy choices that emphasise human rights and development, its preference for pursuing its foreign policy through multilateral channels

and implicitly, the enduring notion of South Africa's presumed status as one of the de facto leaders of the African continent (Alden and Pere, 2004). It was now argued that South African foreign policy could be fully situated within the approaches that share a global rather than a state-centric conceptualisation which characterised the country when it was still viewed as the pariah state by both the African and global communities. The policy defines Ubuntu in this particular context as the recognition of the interconnectedness and interdependency of humanity (Bohler-Muller, 2015). The concept of Ubuntu is an Afro-centric, people's philosophy that seeks to achieve its global agenda and other agendas determined in multilateral forums where diplomats remain accountable to South Africa for decisions taken in the global arena. Hence, South Africa's dramatic rehabilitation from being a pariah state during apartheid to a bastion of African democracy is itself the product of a carefully crafted transition (Alden and Pere, 2004).

The emergence of a "rainbow nation" under President Nelson Mandela and his successors did not translate into active support for democratic progress in the continent (Ogunnubi, 2013). Neither was South Africa's foreign policy direction acceptable to other African countries. For example, when President Mandela resolved to support the struggle against Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha, he was pulled back from doing so by his ANC colleagues, including his vice-president Thabo Mbeki. The low point came when the country failed in its attempt to isolate Nigeria for the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his compatriots, the Ogoni 9. In fact, President Mandela was accused by his fellow African leaders of not understanding that Africans cannot turn against each other. Since then, Thabo Mbeki took charge slowly but surely by crafting South Africa's foreign policy credentials and evolving its strategic thrusts into its present form (Naidoo, 2010). South Africa has steadily assumed a more nationalist than pro-democratic posture vis-à-vis several African conflict situations, from Côte d'Ivoire to Sudan. Nigeria and South Africa could provide the region with a

more coherent vision of the future and a creative surge of political, economic, and cultural activity. There are many instances in which South Africa has pursued a foreign policy agenda that was fuelled by the notion of putting people at the centre with a specific focus on Africa. South Africa put emphasis on the need for solidarity and for seeing peace, stability and security as the pillars of the country's policy (Landsberg and Smith, 2015; Mathebula, 2016).

After decades of white minority rule, domestic as well as foreign policy could not change overnight. Pfister (2000:2) asserts that "the new government had to be careful not to try to effect change in one arena to the detriment of the other. South Africa was rightly described as a "middle power" with limited capacities". During the Mandela era (1994-1999), South Africa's foreign policy was often criticised for lacking a clear structure (Chhabra, 1997). Given its domestic experience, issues of human rights became central to South Africa's foreign policy (Alden and Pere, 2004).

Simply put, South Africa's foreign policy analysts concede that the country's official position is to work towards greater African integration, to give Africa a voice in the world affairs through the AU and to become actively involved in South multilateralism (Bohler-Muller, 2012). The ANC leadership's nationalistic impulse has led it to prioritise Africa. They believe that the African Renaissance idea will amount to nothing if Africans do not involve themselves in other sister countries' situations to address violent political crises and other challenges (Verhoeven, Murthy and Oliveira, 2014; Mathebula, 2016). This prioritisation involves four distinct elements. First, an enormous amount of South Africa's diplomatic and military energy is deployed in stabilising the continent. Furthermore, this involves peace building initiatives directed at facilitating negotiations between political and military adversaries (Habib, 2009). In the last 14 years South Africa has been involved in initiatives aimed at brokering peace in many African countries including Angola,

Burundi, Lesotho, Kenya, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Sudan and Zimbabwe. Moreover, Pfister (2000: 4) illustrates that "South Africa's troops have been stationed in peace missions in multiple countries including among others Burundi, DRC, Comoros, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Central African Republic and Sudan".

While many of these initiatives have yielded positive gains, there is a view shared by some authors (Ogunnubi, 2013, Ade-Ibijola, 2014) that South Africa sometimes overstretches itself, resulting in its efforts not always being appreciated. Despite the opportunities for development and growth, on the African continent, African states tend to be reluctant to commit their limited resources to support regional organizations than they should (Bohler-Muller, 2015). This is triggered by fear. A case in point is South Africa's involvement in the CAR where several South African soldiers lost their lives. The forces deployed by South Africa to CAR were inadequate to attack and defeat the estimated five thousand Seleka rebel army (Dudley, 2013). Although difficult to prove, the literature seems to argue that there are inconsistencies in the application of South Africa's foreign policy in Africa (Dudley, 2013; Ogunnubi, 2013).

The shifting forms of conflict raise particular challenges for regional and continental efforts to build effective peace and security architecture initiated by the African Union Commission (Landsberg and Smith, 2015). In this regard, South Africa has partnered with Nigeria in reconstructing Africa's institutional architecture. It has played a leading role with Nigeria in establishing the African Union in 2002, and has been the host of the Pan African Parliament (Habib, 2009). Historically, bilateral political relations between South Africa and Nigeria date back to the 1960s (Sega and Lekaba, 2014). Over the years, these relations have had their ups and downs. For example, an independent Nigeria lobbied other countries to put pressure on apartheid South Africa to end black oppression. Since 1994, the two countries' relations have been generally

good, except when Nigerians were returned home at OR International Airport for not having yellow fever certificates. But even this episode too did not last long. To-date, Nigeria is considered as South Africa's important partner on the continent in advancing the vision of political and economic renewal (Ebegbulem, 2013; Umezurike and Lucky, 2015).

When Nigeria passed South Africa as Africa's largest economy in 2014, it was unable to provide those services which are needed for being a regional hegemon (Tetenyi, 2014; Agbu, Okereke, Wapmuk and Adeniy, 2013). In any case, this lead was short-lived as South Africa reclaimed the number one spot in 2016. Presidents Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo, together with Senegal's President Abdoulaye Wade, were the architects of NEPAD, including its African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (Ebegbulem, 2013). The former two played a central role in selling the continental mechanism to the international community, including the G8, the World Bank and the IMF. South Africa has also played a leading role in revitalising the SADC. Within the context of South Africa's regional engagements, the emphasis on the use of economic resources as 'rewards' or 'sanctions' in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives provides an inlet through which the country's regional policy can be understood.

The reception and/or resentment received by South Africa soon after becoming a democratic state forced the country to do self-introspection. It is as a result of this attempt to find an identity that forced the country to constantly review its foreign policy. Using Ubuntu as the premise of its diplomacy, South Africa's foreign policy direction focuses on respect for humanity and national sovereignty. The country believes in using this approach to shape the evolving global order (Bohler-Muller, 2012). The African Renaissance comprises a philosophy which makes African people to overcome the current challenges confronting the continent (Umezurike and Lucky, 2015).

What is clear from the literature discussed thus far is that South Africa has been trying hard to reposition itself on the African continent and beyond with a view to changing the way in which the country was perceived prior to 1994. Foreign policy formulation has been the vehicle used to achieve this goal. The selected two cases will therefore provide practical examples on how South Africa's foreign policy has metamorphosed since 1994. These two cases were cogently thought through due to the fact that the manner in which South Africa has related to these two countries has not been the same. It is for this reason, therefore, that such a comparison becomes important. It will provide different perspectives in understanding what shapes South Africa's foreign policy. While some sources have been reviewed in this study, the discussion has been succinct. In this dissertation, more authors who have expressed their views and assessed South Africa's foreign policy on other countries shall be discussed in detail in the literature review chapter. The sources cited thus far were meant to satisfy one of the requirements for an introduction, which is to give pointers to divergent opinions on the theme of the study to be expounded later.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

From a general perspective, no discussion about South Africa and the kind of role it might play in a rapidly changing world provokes more heated reactions than the question of its legitimate intervention in Africa (Murthy and Oliveira, 2014). Hence, the exact nature of the relationship between South Africa and African countries such as the Central African Republic has not been examined in the existing literature in a comparative perspective. Ogunnubi (2013) and Ade-Ibijola (2014) compared South Africa and Nigeria in different contexts but did not touch the CAR. Since the early1990s, South Africa has been at pains trying to reconfigure its foreign policy so that it could portray the country differently from the posture it took prior to 1994 (Alden and Pere, 2014). President Mandela's rebuke of Nigeria's Sani Abacha following the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa

and the Ogoni 9, and South Africa's intervention in the CAR in 2013 should be understood within the context of foreign policy review.

While President Jacob Zuma stated that the troops were deployed to the CAR in fulfilment of the capacity building agreement with the Bozize administration, International Relations and Cooperation Minister Maite Nkoana Mashabane characterized the mission more broadly. She interpreted it as epitomising wider effort to safeguard democracy and respect for international law (Dudley, 2013). In that sense, South Africa's foreign policy is portrayed by the political leadership as being informed by international conventions which promote democracy. Discrepancies in the application of South Africa's foreign policy raise speculation on South Africa's involvement in the CAR. The question whether South Africa was safeguarding commercial and national interests as opposed to being empathetic was raised after the death of South African soldiers who had been deployed to the CAR.

In Nigeria, South African companies have been made to pay hefty controversial fines as evidenced in the case of MTN which had to pay $5, 2 billion for failing to register sim cards. These incidents have significantly fanned misperceptions about Nigeria's profile in Africa (Dudley, 2013). The trend in the Nigeria-South Africa engagement at continental level has become pronounced in the different approaches adopted by Presidents Goodluck Jonathan and Jacob Zuma's administrations to addressing African affairs (Agbu, Okereke, Wapmukand Adeniyi, 2013). Considering South Africa's role in the integration of Africa, this topic was chosen to address the realities surrounding the application of South Africa's foreign policy to those countries perceived to be competitors (in the case of Nigeria) or beneficiaries (in the case of CAR). There have been several debates on South Africa's role in Nigeria and the CAR, as well as the reasons for such involvement. This debate has also found its way into parliament (Parker, 2013). A point that has been picked up by

some authors is that the confused explanation reflects a general pattern of inconsistency of South Africa's foreign policy that threatens to erode the country's reputation as a regional power whose foreign policy influences events across the continent (Dudley, 2013).

As stated earlier, the majority of the studies on South Africa's foreign policy have not investigated the dynamics of the relationship between South Africa and the two countries (Clark and White, 1989). In fact, even the policy contents and realities of the foreign policies of the three countries toward each other have not been systematically studied. Therefore, by analysing South Africa's foreign policy towards Nigeria and the CAR, this study will give pointers on what future studies should consider in terms of understanding how and why countries forge relations (Nussbaum, 2003). Within this context, the study has done a cogent analysis of South Africa's foreign policy direction on Africa since 1994, using the two selected countries as examples to demonstrate the dynamics involved in policy formulation. This is the context of the research problem which forms the thrust of the present study.

1.4 Study objectives and key research questions

The aim of the study was to understand South Africa's foreign policy agenda towards the African continent using two countries whose relations with South Africa are different, i.e. Nigeria and the CAR.

Based on the purpose of the study, the specific objectives of the dissertation were:

- To establish how South Africa's foreign policy on Africa has evolved over time since 1994;

- To investigate the nature of South Africa's foreign policy towards Nigeria and Central African Republic and the factors which determined the country's (South Africa) foreign policy agenda;

- To establish the strategic relevance of Nigeria and Central African Republic to South Africa; and

- To contribute to a broader understanding of the factors that shape South Africa's foreign policy agenda.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions which this study hoped to find answers to were the following:

- What determines South Africa's foreign policy agenda?

- How has South Africa's foreign policy on the CAR and Nigeria evolved since 1994?

- To what extent do historical factors have a bearing on South Africa's post 1994 foreign policy direction and the country's relations with the CAR and Nigeria?

- What have been the challenges faced by South Africa in terms of its foreign policy imperatives, which can be discerned from the country's relations with the CAR and Nigeria?

- In general, what are the foreign policy goals of South Africa on Africa and what informs South Africa's foreign policy, which can be gauged from the country's relations with Nigeria and the CAR?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

Since 1994, South Africa has, through its foreign policy agenda, demonstrated a strong commitment to promoting the interests of Africa and being the voice of the continent internationally while also being guided by its national interests.

1.7 Theoretical framework

It is common practice within the research community to ground research projects within a particular theory to give those projects a broader context within which they should be understood. According to Nassal (1998), "theory helps us make sense of the world, shaping assumptions and thereby helping us understand complex phenomena by simplifying it. The way one perceives South Africa's foreign policy towards the rest of Africa largely depends on one's theoretical positioning". This section will provide a brief explanation of international relations theories and how they assist in the comprehension of South Africa's foreign policy on Africa. Importantly, selected theories will be introduced and justification for their choice in the study provided.

Lenc and Higsnon (1995: 31) have argued that "theories follow reality in the sense that they are shaped by the world of experience. But they also precede the making of reality in that they orient the minds of those who by their actions reproduce or change that reality." In this regard, theories are useful constructs for understanding the shifting dynamics of international relations. International relations theories such as realism and neofunctionalism were used in this study. The intention here was to provide an alternative, more nuanced theoretical understanding of South Africa's foreign policy in Southern Africa.

As far as international relations are concerned, some authors (for instance, Danziger, 1997) have argued that these theories are inadequate in helping us understand African international relations by extension foreign policies. This thesis, however, draws from international relations theories to help in the analysis of South Africa's relations with Central African Republic and Nigeria since 1994 specifically, but also to reflect on relations with Africa in general. The thesis shall thus show what international relations theories can and cannot explain with regard to South Africa's relations with other African countries. In this study, the researcher focused on using two international relations theories that is realism and neofunctionalism.

1.7.1 Realism

Sabine and Thorson (1973) elucidate that realism distinguishes international relations as being comprised of contending national states and that antagonistic competition between states can lead to war. However, realists argue that issues of national interests and competition for regional markets have been the cause for 'lukewarm' relations between South Africa and other countries. Nassal (1998) asserts that realism portrays the world realistically where each state pursues its own interests and should always be on guard against other self-interested (state) actors in international relations. Consequently, realism views cooperation and international institutions as unlikely because it strongly believes that states are interested in relative gains. International organizations are also seen as tools to be manipulated by states as they please in their power-maximizing quest. Some of the criticism by other scholars such as Jackson and Sorensen (2003) argue that this is a pessimistic view of international relations, wherein national security and state survival are the most important foreign policy considerations. However, South Africa's commitment to the promotion of human rights has been largely questioned due to its involvement in the arms trade with countries

like Central African Republic. While this is a legitimate concern, looking at the issue from a realism perspective, it makes sense because under realism each state thinks in an egocentric manner as opposed to being empathetic.

Jackson and Sorensen (2003) suggest that for realists, power is very important, and the state is a central player in world politics, hence the view that realism is state-centric. It should be noted however that African states are weak, especially with regards to global politics (Dunn and Shaw, 2001). Regional 'powers' like South Africa and Kenya are, however, important actors in the continent, especially with the rise of rhetoric on the African century (Dunn and Shaw, 2001). The focal aim of foreign policy is to "project and defend the interests of the state in world politics" (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003: 68). Landsberg explains that the realist interpretation of South Africa's Africa foreign policy shows that South Africa is in pursuit for a regional hegemonic position (Landsberg, 2006). Nel and van der Westhuizen (2004) view South Africa's national interests as contradicting its commitment to peaceful conflict resolution. But when using realism as the lens through which to look at South Africa's actions the context becomes easy to understand. It seems at this point that claims to 'morality' tend to immediately fall off when national interests are at stake – only to be invoked once national interests have been satisfied. Realists in this sense have concluded that South Africa is a normal state whose primary concern is the security of its national interest. This is not an anomaly. It is for this reason, therefore, that realism is proposed as one of the theories to guide the study. As can be gauged from the discussion above, most countries foreign policies are informed by its domestic policy. Both types of policies are informed by national interests which constitute the core of realism as an international relations theory.

1.7.2Neofunctionalism

Another theory on which the present study is anchored is neofunctionalism. According to Niemann (2012), neofunctionalism is a theory of regional integration. The theory holds that state integration is brought about by the entrepreneurship of supranational agents who engage the states in the pooling of sovereignty on issues of common interest by creating continuous "spillovers" to related policy areas. Roughly speaking, this concept describes how international cooperation in one field stimulates cooperation in other fields through different ways. However, neofunctionalism theory shows some major differences to functionalism. Looking at South Africa's foreign policy against any emerging international organization, it is being considered to be greater than initially thought of about where it primarily serves as an actor in future integration processes. The role of public support in terms of foreign policy is considered to be limited whereas the importance of national elites in international cooperation is deemed big (Niemann, 2012).

As Schmitter (2009: 46) correctly argues, the purpose of this theory is not merely to describe, explain, and predict. In the contrary, it is also meant to prescribe both explanatory and normative issues. Criticism has been levelled against this theory. For example, scholars argue that neofunctionalism cannot provide explanations for any form of setbacks in the integration process. However, despite such criticism, this theory will be useful in enabling an understanding of South Africa's foreign policy engagements in the world. The reason for choosing this theory is because it deals with state interaction, which includes integration and cooperation. Importantly, this theory goes beyond just describing or explaining phenomena but deals with normative issues which paint a much bigger picture. The theoretical framework will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

1.8 Research methodology

This section discusses the research methods used in the study in terms of data collection and analysis with respect to the research population, sources and methods of data collection and technique for data analysis. This study adopted a mixed methods approach. As such, it used both quantitative and qualitative research designs. While the study largely relied on qualitative data sets, quantitative data were also be used where necessary, i.e., when dealing with the number of troops, number of countries falling under a certain category, etc. The significance of qualitative research is that it focuses on describing and understanding complex phenomena (Maree, 2007). Such an approach is useful in investigating the relationships and patterns among factors or the context in which the activity happens. Its concentration on understanding the many-dimensional picture of the subject of investigation made qualitative research an appropriate choice of research method for this particular study. Quantitative research on the other hand assisted the researcher to gather quantifiable data, albeit in minute form. Such data were presented in the form of tables and pie charts. A detailed methodology applied is discussed in chapter 4.

1.9 Limitations of the study

One of the constraints of this study was that the researcher had limited time and resources and therefore most of the data collection took place in between other activities. For example, the researcher was not able to visit the two countries used as case studies. Ideally, this would enrich the study. The issue of decision-makers' recollection is problematic in that different decision makers often have differing views of the same policy process, either due to differences of perspectives, memory lapses, or desires to save face. The researcher needed to examine a great

deal of the source material and conduct large number of interviews to get a balanced picture. For the reasons stated above, this was not possible with this study. Access to information was also problematic at times. This was due to gatekeepers or poor record keeping by some institutions. The researcher needed to be strategic in terms of collecting the data. While these issues were taken into consideration, there was no guarantee that the project would be without glitches. But the fact that the researcher was mindful of all these potential challenges meant that attempts were made to keep the limitations minimal. This was done by taking precautionary measures in advance and comparing empirical and secondary data sets.

1.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Schwartz (1991) in Struwig and Stead (2001:66) refers to ethics as "a system of morals, rules of behaviour which provide researchers with a code of moral guidelines on how to conduct research in a morally acceptable way". Participants were given the opportunity to voluntarily take part in the research. The participants were ensured that the information gathered would be kept confidential and would only be used for the purpose of the research. Importantly, they were all told at the beginning that should they decide to opt out at any stage they could do so without any victimisation. To ensure anonymity of the informants, they were told that their names would not be used.

1.11 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

Chapter 1: Introduction and background to the study

Chapter one discussed the background of the study. It entailed a statement of the problem, objectives and aims of the study, research questions, the scope and limitations of the study as well

as its ethical consideration. The chapter gave an account of the background of South Africa's foreign policy in general, and then on Nigeria and Central African Republic since 1994.

Chapter 2: Historical context of South Africa's foreign policy

After a quick overview of South Africa's foreign policy direction under apartheid, in this chapter, the genesis of South Africa's foreign policy since 1994 until the present day will be unpacked below. The historical connection between Nigeria and South Africa is brought to light in order to reveal the issues related to foreign policy. Relations between Central African Republic and South Africa before and after the crisis are discussed. In general, other authors' views on how South Africa's foreign policy has evolved over the years are discussed too. Any gaps in the literature are highlighted and pointers given as to how the present study filled those gaps as a contribution to knowledge.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter introduces and discusses the theories which guided the study. Justification for the choice of the theories is provided once any criticism levelled against the theory have been addressed with the view to demonstrate that no theory is perfect.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

Chapter three addresses the research design and methodology of the study. It includes a discussion on the procedures followed when conducting the study and the techniques employed in collecting information from the participants. These includes the primary data sources comprising interviews, questionnaires and observations. The sampling techniques used in the study are explained. In the

event some challenges were experienced during the data collection process, such challenges are discussed in this chapter and an explanation provided as to how the challenges were either resolved or minimised.

Chapter 5: The role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system

Chapter five discusses the South African foreign policy philosophy as reflected on the concept of Ubuntu. It assesses the extent to which South Africa contributed towards human rights and poverty eradication. The chapter assesses South Africa's unique approach to global issues and how this has shaped the country's vision for a better world for all. Moreover, the chapter discusses ways in which South Africa puts its people first in building partnerships over conflict.

Chapter 6: A comparative analysis of South Africa's interventions in CAR and Nigeria and foreign policy challenges

This chapter analyses the extent to which South Africa had played a role in mitigating conflict in CAR and promoting economic ties in Nigeria. It assesses the South African foreign policy impact on CAR and Nigeria. Furthermore, it analyses the inconsistencies in the South African policy application in both countries. Issues on completion, collaboration and trend are explored. It further assesses the mechanisms and structures put in place by South Africa in achieving its foreign policy objectives. Furthermore, the chapter also analyses South Africa's strategies for managing partnerships and cooperation between Nigeria and CAR.

Chapter 7: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter seven evaluates the challenges shaping South Africa's foreign policy in responding to drivers and trends in the global system. It assesses the extent to which South Africa's foreign policy prompted interdependency, collaboration and cooperation in Nigeria and CAR. It also discusses the challenges faced by South Africa in implementing its foreign policy on Nigeria and CAR and the benefits of diversification and continental integration thereof.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed South Africa's bilateral relations, regional relations as well as international relations since 1994. South Africa's foreign policy relations were examined in the context of an international move away from geopolitics of conflicts and war to that of peace and cooperation and how the ANC leadership have become a catalyst for the rapid development of not only Southern Africa but the rest of the continent. The chapter examined the extent to which the emergence of a 'rainbow nation' under Nelson Mandela and his successors translated into active support for democratic process in the continent. Furthermore, this chapter traced the historical, bilateral political relations between South Africa and Nigeria and the role of South Africa in CAR. The chapter examined how the idea of renaissance could prioritise Africa's needs and assist Africa to address its challenges. The chapter discussed a brief theoretical framework to put the study into context. Thus, the neofunctionalism and realism theories were explained, and the brief methodology was discussed, followed by the limitations of the study which were followed by ethical considerations and conclusion. This concluded chapter one of the study. The next chapter will discuss the historical context of South Africa's foreign policy.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Since 1994, South Africa has demonstrated a strong commitment to promote the interests of Africa and in being the "voice" of the continent. Through its foreign policy posture, South Africa has played a pivotal role in the African continent and the world over. For instance, Le Pere (2004)

notes that since 1994, South Africa has endeavored to cut the powers of colonizers in Africa, particularly the new powers whose motives fail to promote the African agenda. From 1994, South Africa had to promote a strategy of Africans speaking with one voice while still building coalitions amongst themselves. Hence, the South African government has focused its African Agenda strategies on a review and understanding of the African geopolitics in the 21st Century (Le Pere and Alden, 2014). The dominance of the civil society has also been questioned on the grounds that partnering with these organizations has extended an external dominance on the African continent through the media and other forums (Ayom Dor, 2011). In a nutshell, South Africa's approach to global issues has largely been focused on addressing the challenges of underdevelopment, the restructured global division of labour, the increasing iniquitous distribution of global wealth, global poverty, the growing power of trans-nationals and the implications for progressive governance and administration (Dudley, 2013).

But even though Africa has campaigned against Western influence, it has been strongly infiltrated by Western ideas. Hence, South Africa's foreign policy has been clear that Africa must not accept globalization in the era of neoliberalism as hegemonic and thus needs to position itself in a new economic paradigm that incorporates both democratic governance and an accountable and responsible market place beyond the anti-globalization stance (Dudley, ibid 2013:1). As noted by Spence (2013), South Africa has made a paradigm shift on the way it handles regional issues. For instance, the destructive and ruffian-like role which South Africa used to play in the region during the apartheid era has since changed. The current policy is on the constructing now focused on the principles of equity and mutual benefit, a denunciation of domineering and bossy postures towards the region and the belief that an emphasis on partnership and fairness would more effectively realize foreign policy goals (Spense, 2013). As can be seen in the above discussion, South Africa's

foreign policy has been influenced by a number of developments which have taken place within the developing countries. This chapter provides a literature review of South Africa's foreign policy in relations to the country and the continent. It will present the historical outlook of South Africa's foreign policy orientation before and during the democratic era, focusing particularly on the role of South Africa in the global political arena, diplomatic foreign engagements, African continent integration and its approaches to foreign diplomacy in the specific countries that are subjects of the research.

2.2 SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN RELATION BEFORE AND AFTER 1994

South Africa's foreign policy has come a long way from what it used to be during the apartheid period, when the Pretoria regime was considered an international pariah. During this time, the apartheid government carried out an aggressive foreign policy that was mostly focused on protecting white minority rule in an increasingly hostile regional and international environment (Marthoz, 2014). Considering the human rights abuses and other factors bedeviling the African continent such as war, hunger and poverty, South Africa sought to address both domestic and continental issues through an integrative policy. This is evidenced by Spence (2001) who notes that South Africa's foreign policy addresses the critical policy issues including human rights, peace and security. The idea of establishing a free South Africa was envisioned by Nelson Mandela who announced an ethical foreign policy that was meant to establish South Africa as a global model whereby citizens were encouraged to influence the country's new foreign policy in order to transform it from the preserve of the racist, unjust and authoritarian regime into a non- racial, prosperous and democratic nation (Marthoz, 2014). The status quo, the world over, is such that the powerful dominate the powerless. Therefore, South Africa through its foreign policy has rejected the international system of structured power that reinforces the dominance of hegemonic states.

From a general perspective, the purpose of internationalism is to create conditions of shared values and collective security among members of the global community. So, from its inception, the purpose of international relations was to examine the causes of war and the circumstances of peace in a systematic manner (Groom and Light, 1994:3). Historically, during the Roman Empire, the Catholic Church generally acted as an imperial central power in what was known as Christendom. As discussed above, before one can examine how South Africa has sought to maintain or enhance its standing in the international order, one has to firstly understand South Africa's historical context and its location within the Southern African region. It is of cardinal importance to look at the historical context of South Africa's relations before and after 1994. The historical context of South Africa started in the early 1910, which marked the end of direct involvement of the British Empire in the affairs of South Africa. It was during this time that the country found itself in a peculiar situation of being owned by the white minority population (van Heerden, 2017). Currently, South Africa can be described as a multi-racial, majority Black Southern African country of over fifty million. It held its first universal suffrage elections in April 1994. This was after a transition from white minority rule under apartheid, a system of state-enforced racial segregation and socio-economic discrimination which had resulted into the country being ostracized by the global community.

South Africa introduced apartheid as a government policy in 1948, as a systematic extension of pre-existing racial discrimination in the country. As a result, the country became increasingly isolated internationally until apartheid was ended and racial equality introduced in 1993 following political discussions between 1990 and 1992. The South African government needed to rely on the

international community for certain products while also ensuring that the country served as a market for foreign products. South Africa did not want complete isolation, although sometimes this seemed to be the easier option for the Prime Ministers. Therefore, as the new political dispensation was ushered in, South Africa's foreign policy was reviewed so that the country could once again become a member of the international community.

As these changes took place, South Africa was heralded as the "beacon of hope" in Africa, more especially after Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president of South Africa (Inglis, 2009). The election of Nelson Mandela as the president of South Africa was a huge success. Furthermore, following his selection as the first black president in South Africa he introduced a new foreign policy direction which was going to guide the new South Africa. In the post 1994 period, Mandela's foreign policy was consecrated on the principles of human rights and democracy which was largely driven by an idealist paradigm (Ogunnubi, 2013). According to Le Pere and Alden (2003) Mandela's foreign policy was rooted in an idealist principle. His foreign policy was immersed by controversies and largely inconsistent in the execution of its foreign policy during his period (Alden and Le Pere, ibid).

In April 1999, Thabo Mbeki succeeded Mandela and became the second democratically elected President of South Africa. This followed another ANC's convincing victory in the 1999 general election. Mbeki's leadership was faced with the major challenges of aligning South Africa's foreign policy formulation with its implementation while also seeking ways to reinvigorate and reconfigure the country's foreign policy priorities to reflect the domestic dynamics and preferences (Ogunnubi, 2013: 227). Being in power, Mbeki brought an ideological framework to South

Africa's foreign policy making by bringing a sense of direction and purpose. He emphasised in his foreign policy posture the general structure of diplomacy and the concept of Ubuntu. He planned to use these in the restructuring of SADC so that the focus could be more on cooperation as opposed to competition. By doing this, his emphasis was on the multilateral institutions. South Africa continued to play a pivotal role in terms of peacekeeping, conflict resolution and prevention. It also continued to show its evident willingness to constructively engage with the rest of Africa on a number of multilateral issues (Landsberg, 2006).

Over the years, South Africa has demonstrated its commitment to democratic governance and peaceful political change to become the most advanced democracy on the African continent (Inglis, 2009). Compared to other African states which had acquired their freedom much earlier, South Africa's industrial and economic development, along with its military capabilities, managed to break down the economic and political barriers which isolated the country from the rest of the African continent and the world at large which was the country's characteristic feature during apartheid. This has also encouraged the new government to aspire to occupy a position of regional political leadership and one of influence in international organisations.

The shift of powers within South Africa occurred concurrently with the shift of power in the global system (Le Pere and van Nieuwkerk, 1999:198). The South African government required a new foreign policy and had to re-engage with all actors concerned, as well as adapt to the new synergies of a globalised world. This was required if the ANC's strategy for development and social progress were to be successful (Van Wyk, 2004: 103). The key element of the foreign policy of President Nelson Mandela's administration was the reconstruction of the country's foreign policy but also

establishing itself internationally (ANC Foreign Policy Document, 1996). The acceptance of South Africa back into the global community of states necessitated increasing regionalisation in world politics, and the increasing the importance of multilateralism in world affairs. The removal of President Thabo Mbeki from office in September 2008 did not drastically change South Africa's foreign policy focus. Kgalema Motlanthe who became the caretaker president for the remaining few months of Mbeki's second and last terms did not introduce any new chances. When President Zuma assumed office in 2009, he continued to implement the ANC and the country's foreign policy decisions.

South Africa entered a period of mourning in late 2013, following the passing of its first post-apartheid president, Nelson Mandela, who is viewed as the founding father of today's non-racial South African democratic system. This, however, did not have any impact on South Africa's foreign policy direction. If anything, Mandela's demise consolidated South Africa's relations with other countries across Africa and the globe. They converged in Johannesburg to attend his memorial service, and others were also there at Qunu where Mandela was laid to rest.

Due to its political, trade, and investment ties across Africa and its active role within the African Union, South Africa is influential regionally. The country has played an essential role as one of the founding members of both the League of Nations which was formed after WWI and the United Nations (UN), the latter, which came into existence in 1945. South Africa has contributed significant resources in promoting peace and stability in other African countries facing conflict situations. This includes countries such as Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the

Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire), Zimbabwe, Sudan (Southern Sudan and Darfur) and in the Ethiopia – Eritrea border dispute.

2.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1994

It is fair to note that South Africa's foreign policy agenda has undergone metamorphosis over the years. In a clear rupture with the militaristic and aggressive policy followed by the predecessor apartheid regime towards its African neighbors and with an acute awareness of the negative impact of conflicts on the country's economic and social development, the "new South Africa" has been keen to play a positive role on the African continent as a mediator, peacemaker and peacekeeper (Marthoz, 2014). South Africa's multilateral credentials were certainly enhanced by a demonstration of its principled commitment and activism as a "norm entrepreneur" (Geldenhuys, 2006). The global and regional conference circuit where South Africa's popularity ranked 22nd has contributed to building South Africa's reserves of soft power (Van der Westhuizen, 2006). This has proved to be more beneficial than the hard power displayed by the erstwhile apartheid regime.

Based on its nature of diplomacy, there is general consensus that South Africa can be regarded as a middle power in terms of both its position in a hierarchy of power and influence in world affairs and the specific nature of its diplomacy. Since 1994, the country has earned a reputation for being an accomplished mediator with successive presidents from Mandela to Zuma playing key roles in negotiating settlements elsewhere in Africa (Spies, 2009). The engagements of South Africa on the African continent are premised on the question of spillover effect if political and economic stability goes unchecked. As can be seen, the design of the South African policy posture has undertones of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki who talked about contributing to a stronger African Union (AU), supporting efforts to build a more stable and peaceful continent, building the

pillars of South-South cooperation through BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), and strengthening North-South relations, particularly with the United States (US), Europe, and Japan (Zuma, 2013). Since 1994, the South African government has displayed a substantial degree of continuity in its leadership role beyond Africa.

In its effort to build ties with other strong developing economies, South Africa has been visible on the international forum such as the BRICS, despite the fact that each BRICS member country has its own regional agenda and economic and geo-political interests to protect. Some scholars have rightly or wrongly argued that the establishment of BRICS is a result of the new scramble for Africa. This has resulted in intense competition amongst BRICS members for natural resources in Africa. Others have also argued that such competition has resulted in negative impact on the Africans. On the other hand, if governed well by Africans, it is a good opportunity for development on the continent (ACCORD, 2007).

 In promoting its African Agenda, South Africa has proclaimed itself both as the leader and bridge-builder on the continent and, through its membership of BRICS the primary 'gateway' to Africa (ACCORD, 2007). However, South Africa has found itself responding to increasing numbers of calls for intervention to help assist in the resolution of these conflicts. For example, in the mid-1990s President Mandela became briefly involved in peace talks between the Sudanese government and its opposition (Alden and le Pere, 2003). President Mbeki's role in Zimbabwe, Cote d'Ivoire and Sudan, as well as President Zuma's involvement in Burundi, Zimbabwe, Central African Republic (CAR), etc. buttress the view that South Africa has been deeply involved in peace initiatives across Africa.

After 1994, South Africa inherited numerous challenges; namely, battered sanctions, negative rates of growth, high unemployment and an ever-increasing large burden of public debt (Lucey, 2015). The new government needed innovative strategies to align the country to its envisaged goals. Hence, South Africa's need to cooperate with its neighbors and other African countries was motivated by its desire to further its economic interests (Kodjo, 1999). From 1994, the ANC government promoted a people-centered foreign policy – linking it with international organizations to reform foreign affairs bureaucracy (Sooliman, 2014). The foreign policy was created in order to redefine the relations with countries that have been complicit with South Africa's international economic relations that have been constrained by the United Nations (Le Pere, 2014). For instance, in his address to the ANC, Nelson Mandela unequivocally stressed the importance of creating a peaceful and prosperous country through the creation of a humane foreign policy. In his view, for South Africa to participate and meaningfully contribute to world affairs, attention had to be focused on various multinational platforms such as governance and improvement of structures that support international relations.

Since the advent of democracy in 1994, South Africa has pursued a sober statecraft as it attempted to cajole fellow African states into living by commonly defined rules aimed at executing the project with the objectives of strengthening the African Union (AU) and its structures in line with the AU's Constitutive Act. Moreover, since its establishment in 2002, the AU has endeavored to strengthen its capacities and action in conflict prevention, management and resolution and governance with South Africa's influence. The AU's wishes are to strengthen its apparatus. These include but are not limited to institutions such as Economic, Social and Cultural Council

(ECOSOCC), the African Union Commission (AUC), and the African Court of Human and People's Rights (ACHPR). The assessment of South Africa's foreign policy leads to the conclusion that it appears contradictory, torn between ethics and interests, between liberal internationalist and human rights values, on the one hand, and the attachment to a doctrine of national sovereignty that tolerates authoritarian regimes, on the other (Marthoz, 2014).

Considering the expectations enshrined in the South African policy, the outcomes seem more complex to achieve. While South Africa's foreign policy mirrors the shift of alliances and relations of power among the diverse groups that form and shape its society's foreign policy doctrines, it reflects a complicated quest for identity. As noted by Marthoz (2014), South Africa has evolved through decades of wrenching apartheid policies and centuries of Western colonisation and therefore expresses the evident tensions between major ingredients of the anti-apartheid struggle: democracy, human rights and anti-imperialism and South-South solidarity. After the fall of apartheid South Africa took a liberal tradition that primarily focused on anti-apartheid struggle and human rights-inspired diplomacy

On the domestic front the South African policy sought to redress decades of social injustice by enforcing the capacity to reach its development goals and quickly improve social and economic situation of the poor black majority. The approach was confirmed by the adoption of a foreign policy transformation that is meant to prioritise development issues of poverty and inequality in the country. The aim was to redistribute both power and resources at the global level while also being mindful of the country's domestic policy imperative. At the continental level, Africa has confronted its own economic challenges and political paralysis stemming from decades of misrule,

resource wastage and corruption, civil wars, and environmental degradation (Le Pere and Ikome, 2012). Since 1995, South Africa has established many resident missions abroad, and continental focus with a view to created full diplomatic relations with over 46 African countries and all around the world. By the end of 1994, the number of representatives of each country in South Africa had increased significantly with some joining while others were readmitted to 16 multilateral organisations. Moreover, 86 bilateral agreements were concluded and acceded to 21 multilateral treaties (Muller 1997:3). This confirmed the changed political environment in the country.

In a nutshell, the South African foreign policy rests on five main pillars, namely: the issue of human rights, the just and lasting solution to the problems of humankind, justice and respect, peace and African continental integration. After 1994, South Africa repositioned itself in the region, on the continent and in the world with a shared interest in peace, stability, and prosperity. The country's foreign policy agenda is premised on the new Constitution aimed at building a united and democratic South Africa. As enshrined in the Constitution, South Africa has to take its rightful place as an independent sovereign state which respects other states political sovereignty.

2.4 THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE GLOBAL POLITICAL ARENA

As part of the global economy, South Africa has been intensely affected by the worldwide economic shutdown that began in the late 1980s. The South African statistics shows that poverty in the country is very high due to the high level of unemployment, especially those living in rural areas as well as the youth. Given the challenges faced by South Africa at home, there is a need to expand its horizons and realize the possibilities that are out there. The role of South Africa in the global political arena has become visible. South Africa as an emerging power makes itself the greatest international player and is contributing through its participation in the work of developing

the global governance through multilateral forums and organizations (Draper, 2006). South Africa's commitment to ending Africa's international marginalization is evidenced in the country's involvement in many conflict situations across the African continent with a view to having them resolved amicably.

Furthermore, South Africa had the capacity to participate effectively in the global debate. The African agenda that was built by President Nelson Mandela's government showed a step-by-step regional integration approach. This was further expounded by President Mbeki's administration that openly supported the strengthening of various goals that promote regional integration, democratization, peace, security, and accelerated economic growth. South Africa's reintegration into the global community has been seen through its diplomatic, political and economic relations with a number of countries across the African continent and beyond. The country expanded rapidly to countries which it had no previous relations with. According to Habib (2003), South Africa's democratic transition is being characterized by political democratization and economic liberalization. Although it is difficult to conceptualize the full picture of South Africa's role in the African continent, the country's investment is relatively small. However, the effects are significantly huge. Hence, assessing the impact of South Africa's investments and economic performance in the continent is no easy task. South African companies have argued that their entry into the African market has challenged and broken up preexisting monopolies thereby bringing down prices in the countries where they operate. As such, the new South Africa has made its mark in the region, moving outward in concentric circles from Southern Africa to the whole continent, thereby strengthening SADC. Of note, South Africa has acted to transform the discredited organisation of African Unity into what was hoped would be an energised AU endowed with a new philosophy, new prerogatives, and new institutions and agencies. Under Mbeki's

administration, the birth of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) signified a powerful lever whose aim was to bring the African continent out of poverty and backwardness in part by promoting good governance. South Africa has gone from being an international pariah state because of its notorious apartheid policies to an influential player in world affairs and a powerful advocate for global political and economic reform even beyond the African borders (Heerden, 2017).

Noticeably, South Africa's policies and actions since 1994 have significantly helped the country to enhance its benefits for its population, while domestic challenges and weaknesses in its conduct have at times had a weakening effect on this stature. South Africa pushed for rules-bound international political and economic order so as to promote the interest of developing countries to transform north–south relations through dialogue while consolidating South-South collaboration by participating in Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the UN Conference on Trade and Development (www.brandsouthafrica.com). The African focus has been backed by a series of initiatives (peace building, humanitarian assistance, election support, etc.) backed by the African Renaissance and International Co-operation Fund. The core idea was to foster an African Renaissance that would turn the "forgotten continent" into a vibrant actor on the international arena and above all break free from foreign exploitation and intervention under the mantra of "African solutions to African problems" (Lucey, 2015).

Consequently, South Africa cannot be decoupled from the rest of the African continent, its fate is directly linked to the continent. Hence, the South African foreign policy is influenced by African conditions. With the backdrop of being the producer of raw materials, South Africa's ambitions to be a global player are enhanced. However, several factors are bedevilling the continent and are reducing its prospects and potential. These include but are not limited to: armed conflicts, arbitrary

rule and poverty – to name just a few. These have a spill-over effect into South Africa. Other factors that undermine South Africa's own external security include inter alia clandestine migration, illegal trade and transnational crime. One of the preconditions of setting up the ambitious foreign policy is to demonstrate to its own people and to the world at large that its democracy would be durable; that it would work to uplift the poor and redress past injustices at homeland that it would be a responsible member of the international community (Accord, 2007).These are some of the many factors that make South Africa one of the important role-players on the global scene, not just in Africa per se.

2.5 COMPETING INTERESTS FOR DOMINANCE IN THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Since the political transformation in South Africa in 1994 there has been a steady growth of expectations in Africa regarding South Africa's role as a peacekeeper in African conflicts. Over the past few years now, South Africa has been participating in peace missions of the United Nations (UN) in Africa (Neethling, 2002). Consultations between government and civil society have yielded positive results. For example, in the past two decades, the South African foreign policy has focused on South African national development, Africa and the global South (Alden and le Pere, 2003). Important deals have been sealed such as the one between the established nuclear power and the developing countries. Through the African Renaissance, South Africa has been involved in peace and security issues under the umbrella of UN peacekeeping missions. It is estimated that South Africa contributes approximately 2020 troops in peacekeeping missions in Africa.

There is a mismatch between South Africa's effort in promoting peace and fulfilling its domestic challenges. Despite significant progress on the global front, South Africa still remains one of the highest in the world in terms of income inequality (World Bank Report, 2006). Even though the South African government has developed policies which have focused on poverty alleviation, inequality has regrettably remained rampant. Amongst other factors, the situation is exacerbated by lack of access to natural resources, as well as political and institutional challenges (Alden and le Pere, 2003). Furthermore, political variables influence state priorities. Hence adopting certain economic policies is in line with advancements in certain political as well as economic interest. It should also be noted that political instability across Africa has placed more burden on South Africa and has compounded the country's endemic challenges. The soaring population is not met by increased resources as these are shared with the global community.

Due to its strategic position, South Africa has a competitive advantage on mineral wealth, developed infrastructure and a strong economic base. As such, it can attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which is a key ingredient in the economic development of other countries. It is worth noting that FDI has brought valuable foreign exchange earnings into the country that are necessary for increasing inter-alia, industrialization and capitalization. Although there are significant imports of goods and services, South Africa has offset a portion of import costs, thereby reducing its balance of payment deficiency. The pressure on the low price of minerals has impacted negatively on the country's export earnings. Climate change too has had a serious impact on agriculture. For example, severe drought in some parts of the country has resulted in the country importing maize from other countries (Alden and le Pere, 2003). This situation was not foreseen and thus took the country by surprise forcing government to revise its budget in order to meet the urgent need to deal with the drought effects.

2.6 SOUTH AFRICA'S DIPLOMATIC FOREIGN ENGAGEMENTS

In terms of its external thrust, South Africa's engagements are framed by four concentric circles: within the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU), SADC, Africa, and the WTO. It is an irrefutable fact that SACU is the oldest customs union in the world, established in 1910. After 1994 South Africa's priorities were to negotiate a regional trade agenda which sought to benefit smaller and fragile economies through revenue sharing formula. The idea was to negotiate an arrangement that would benefit fragile economies of smaller countries such Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, and Swaziland (BLNS) (Landsberg, 2010). The inclusion of these countries as a regional trade block sought to meaningfully contribute to economic development of the member states. At an international level, as part of its continental initiatives, South Africa engaged the G8 leaders who gave unprecedented attention to President Mbeki's messianic idea of an 'African Renaissance' (Landsberg, 2010). Furthermore, President Mbeki also forged bilateral agreements which sought to link South Africa closer to the US and the European Union (EU).

Further links and bi-national commissions were established with China, Brazil and India with a view to forging a diplomatic interface with these emerging powers. As it might be noted, South Africa closed links with India and Brazil and established a forum which served to save the South African cause of action deemed crucial in the establishment of investment amongst the countries. To further pursue its international links, South Africa joined the G20 which was crucial in shaping the global balance of power. With a broad context of initiatives South Africa established itself and steered global issues and concerns unilaterally without being dictated to by the developed countries (Le Pere, 2014). As can be seen from the discussion thus far, South Africa through its trade and

economic policy consciously sought to address the legacies of apartheid such as poverty and black marginalisation.

Flowing from the literature discussed thus far, it can be seen that South Africa's ambition for the future is that human rights are the core concern of international relations, hence the country continues to contribute meaningfully to peace and prosperity initiatives around the world with a view to fostering tranquillity with other community of nations. The success of South Africa in furthering its interest among the African countries has been noted by other countries. In the global arena, South Africa has served more than two terms as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The country used the opportunity to elevate Africa's interests, especially regarding peace, security and development and to advance closer cooperation between the United Nations and continental organizations such as the AU (Bohler-Muller, 2012). At the dawn of democracy, South Africa took a firm decision to deploy the majority of its diplomatic efforts on the African continent hence the bulk of its diplomatic missions are located in Africa as opposed to them being spread abroad.

However, this statement should not be misconstrued mean that South Africa has no interest in the international community. In fact, while it is true that South Africa has increased its diplomatic presence across Africa, the number of embassies abroad has also increased significantly since 1994. These efforts are supported by the strides the country has made in deploying peacekeeping forces. For instance, major peacekeeping deployments started in 2002 with 650 troops sent to Burundi and 1, 270 to the DRC in 2003. By the end of 2003, there were 2 300 South African peacekeepers variously deployed across the African continent. In 2005 an infantry company of

200 soldiers were sent to Sudan (Le Pere, 2014). All these initiatives have subsequently been followed by other deployments across the African continent where there was no political stability.

2.7 PURSUING THE AFRICAN AGENDA WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON BRICS

Over the past several years, the most talked about trend in the global economy has been the so-called 'rise of the rest', which saw the economies of many developing countries swiftly converging with those that are considered to be more developed peers. According to Gosh (2013) the primary engines behind this phenomenon were the five major emerging market countries known as the BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Beausang (2012:4) argues that during the turn of the century, the 'Third World' "started to conjure positive associations as the focus shifted to a celebration of the emerging market where Third World countries have the greatest economic potential". Moreover, there was an extreme change in the perceptions which was partially triggered by the financial crisis experienced by the West, which was based on the genuine increase in the emerging markets' economic significance, particularly the BRICS. The BRICS grouping was not a natural, historical, cultural, political or linguistic concept but an economic concept popularized in the economics from Goldman Sachs (Beausang, 2012). According to Sharma (2012) the forecast took the developing world's high growth rates from the middle of the last decade and extended them straight into the future. According to Gosh (2013), in spite of its eccentric origins and some serious challenge confronting the unions of countries there has emerged into the international arena structures such as BRICS which has the undisputed potential of being a positive force in the world affairs.

Furthermore, Pedro (2012) illustrates that BRICS countries have augmented their financial as well as technical assistance and recognized discrete ways and means of economic support with developing countries. However, BRICS is at the lead of using its economic weight to bring change which challenges the traditional Western donors and the EU. As these countries emerge, South Africa's role was different because of its small economy compared to the other four countries. Africa is peddled by some as the final economic border due to its vast collection of available mineral resources; it represents a great investment opportunity. China's economic ventures into the continent are particularly well-known (Pedro, 2012). For African nations, the BRICS countries offer beautiful and competitive alternatives to their former colonial powers. The positive narrative around BRICS countries is simple. BRICS is a grouping which aims to incline the global economic balance in favor of developing economies and to also surpass geographical and conceptual divisions in an increasingly complex and globalized world. Although this has been set as a platform for dialogue and cooperation, BRICS represents an impressive 43% of the world's population (Yang, 2012). Yang further avers that these five countries have come together to work towards removing trade and customs barriers and vowed to develop partnerships with relevant international organizations to combat illegal trade and fraud (Yang, 2012).

According to Yang (2012), the creation of a global economic alternative is clearly the key factor of optimism around BRICS. Key stakeholders see the basis of BRICS rooted in the long-term common economic interests of the member states, which include reforming outdated global financial and economic architecture, strengthening the principles and standards of international law and supporting the complementarity of many sectors of their economies. Indeed, there is a shared view among several commentators that the BRICS partnership has diversified the growth

of the world's economy and has become a driving force for the democratization of international economic relations.

According to Mwase and Yang (2012:1) the future for BRICS-Africa cooperation is not as uncomplicated as it first seems. In their view, grouping the five countries together in examining their relationships with Africa may not be as conceptually useful as the simple acronym implies. To begin with, these five nations may be the economic powerhouses of their respective regions, but they also generate growth in very different and often competing ways. For example, Brazil and Russia are major energy producers and benefit from high energy prices, whereas India and China are major energy consumers, and therefore suffer from them. According to Tosh (2013), BRICS countries contain a great deal of diversity of political systems. India, Brazil and South Africa are democracies of varying shades, while Russia and China on the other hand are seen as autocracies. Meanwhile, outside the BRICS framework, their foreign policy goals do not tend to converge. Tosh (2013) illustrates that the BRICS countries are gearing themselves towards preparing for a greater role in the international market. The drive is being supported by a number of initiatives in different BRICS countries to increase their global competitiveness, and to facilitate ease of doing business and promoting increased movement of people. However, while these are all good intentions, putting these ideas into practice is not that simple.

Moving further, South Africa joined the group of BRIC and it became BRICS (Gosh, 2013). To proportionate with their growing economic strength, the BRIC nations are quickly modernizing their military competencies to catch up on much delayed technological upgrades that are vital in safeguarding their territorial and economic interests. Besides helping to minimize dependence on the U.S. and possibly to constrain American unilateralism, BRICS cooperation serves several other functions. China benefits from this cooperation by stabilizing its international environment,

helping other developing countries, strengthening its identity as a developing country, coordinating its position with other BRICS member states to maximize leverage, and hiding in a group to avoid negative attention.

Gosh (2013) espouses the view that recent cooperation and interaction with BRICS has been important, but the space for future BRICS cooperation is limited by fundamental differences among the BRICS countries, the continued importance of the U.S. for each of the BRICS member states, and intra-BRICS competition. According to Schmitz (2006:3) "there is little evidence that China and the BRICS are trying to overthrow the existing international order. Instead, China has accepted and joined the existing order, and has been working together with other powers to reform its shortcomings". Goldstein (2013) persuasively argues that in response to a rising power, the unipolar system has strong incentives to remain vigilant against this possibility of the rise of a potential peer competitor. South Africa enters the group not as a middle-income country but as the most powerful economy on a fast-growing continent.

In recent years, there have been delays and difficult bargaining over Chinese imports of weapons and Russian plans to establish an oil pipeline to serve China. The Russians are also concerned that as China continues to develop economically, Russia will be left as nothing but a provider of raw materials to the regional economic juggernaut. For Schmitz (2006:1), "Major power shifts between societies, countries, regions or empires are nothing new in world affairs. The only certainty about any given balance of power is that it will change". The invitation of South Africa into the BRIC group as engineered by China was hardly a surprise to many African countries (Asuelime and Jethro, 2013). Furthermore, optimists recommend that South Africa within BRICS presents more opportunities and that the country will be able to push well the African interests in international

politics and construct more stable diplomatic relations with the rest of the world, provided the South African leadership implements effective policies across the state (Asuelime, 2013).

According to Cooper (2006:7), "South Africa was now accepted to form part of the group, it does not meet all the characteristics mentioned above, as its economy is much smaller than that of the other four countries". Its GDP is only a third of Brazil's or Russia's GDP and a much smaller fraction of China's or India's GDP. Nonetheless, South Africa is Africa's leading economy together with Nigeria and Botswana and has become one of the most important political actors on the continent. It is one of the few African countries ranked as an upper-middle income country and is the only African nation with a G20 seat. The country also enjoys relative political stability, having held five successful free elections since the end of apartheid. The quest for higher representation and political say in global governance might be the most important aspect highlighting the relevance of the BRICS group (Keukeleire, et.al., 2011: 16). According to Asuelime and Jethro (2013: 5), "the difference in economic composition and domestic environment of South Africa and other BRICS members bring to forefront the challenges to a possible fair environment for furthering South African agenda in this multilateral grouping".

According to Chidaushe (2010), South Africa can play a prominent role in BRICS by helping to facilitate deeper integration of relations between African states and other BRICS member countries where it focuses on the niche advantages. The country has numerous strengths that can be used both when negotiating within BRICS and in broader global negotiations between BRICS and the world where they have to consider natural resources as South Africa is the leading country in that area. South Africa's foreign relations must reflect its role as an equal member and strategic African partner in the BRICS group and in world affairs (www.ibsa-trilateral.org). Yong (2012:7) argues that "South Africa has a long- term advantage as one of the major suppliers of precious metals and

strategic minerals in the world market". However, these attributes give the country a huge potential for economic entity. South Africa has made important contributions to peace and development in Africa and is widely recognized as a leading force in promoting regional peace and development (Yong, 2012). On the other hand, South Africa advocates the unity of developing countries and reform of global governance to safeguard the interests of the developing world. This highlights South Africa's image as the 'reformer' and 'fighter' in the pursuit of a new international political and economic order.

Moving further in looking at South Africa and its African agenda, we can argue that the country has the potential to play a leading role in setting the agenda for the continent. By playing a pivotal role in global affairs South Africa can make use of the BRICS forum to better signify the voice of Africa (Beausang, 2012). Moreover, the BRICS countries can listen well to African voices. With a leading role being played by South Africa, BRICS can extend more support to the advocacy of African countries on issues like reforms of the UN, global financial and development institutions, the global trade system and Africa's sustainable development programmes (Kappal, 2010). Some experts emphasize that the existing co-operation programmes should be implemented, with more medium- and long-term goals. Furthermore, co-operation plans are also needed. According to Kappal (2010:70), "future co-operation plans may include agriculture, infrastructure and manufacturing platforms and deepening financial cooperation between the BRICS countries and endorsing co-operation in science technology and new energy". These prospects bring optimism about the future of these relations.

China is willing to continue to contribute to the development of the BRICS countries and African countries in general. Chinese analysts suggest that the BRICS countries should deepen dialogue and sign agreements on trade facilitation and investment liberalization, and, within the group,

establish multilateral consultative mechanisms on these matters. Each of the BRICS countries will be closely looked into below.

BRAZIL

Brazil's articulation of its role in the international policy arena in BRICS is well documented. According to Lloyd (2012), in relation to the balance of power in the international system, Brazil's position is described by stating that the United States remains the only superpower in the international system but today one can no longer say that the world order can be fitted into a strictly 'unipolar' mode. Moreover, the political and military resources that the United States government and society have at their disposal, though virtually unmatchable, do not necessarily ensure their capacity to define outcomes on a global scale. Brazil seems to be much better placed than the other BRICS countries to influence global affairs. For example, Brazil had the highest return on equities of any country in the world in 2007 and became a large positive currency that translated into higher incomes and growth rates. The factors driving global trade are all linked directly or indirectly to changes in financial regulation and competition in the United States. Brazil's financial system has been relatively untouched by the economic crisis.

According to DeJonge (2004), Brazil successfully implemented import substitution models, which increased economic growth and allowed its industrial sector to develop and diversify, since it did not have to deal with foreign competition with greater market power. This strategy also helped the country to reduce its reliance on coffee as its main export. Therefore, it succeeded in moving from an agricultural economy to a manufacturing one. Foreign direct investment has been slow to enter the country, and export growth has not been nearly as high as the other countries. Real interest

rates are still high because the public sector continues to borrow heavily (Kappal, 2010). However, there is great potential for Brazil to be a significant player in the global sphere.

According to John de Sousa (2010: 2), "Brazil receives an astonishing eighty three percent of its energy from hydroelectric power, although it imports both petroleum and natural gas". Brazil is also perceived as the world's main manufacturer of both sugar and ethanol. However, its comparative efficiency in biofuel production recommends major expansion possibilities for biofuel exports. Brazil's foreign aid is concentrating on the social sector, education, and health and poverty reduction. Above that, the country has experiences in emergency aid and is being perceived to be one of the largest exporters of agricultural goods where it provides technical assistance and agricultural development (Cooper, 2006). Here, the country has comparative advantages in comparison to other donors. In general, technical cooperation is much more accentuated than financial aid.

Moreover, multilateral aid is projected to amount to USD 248 million, of which 50 percent went to Mercosur and the Inter-American Development Bank (World Bank ,2011: 20). Brazil's total development aid budget has been continuously increasing in recent years. However, Brazil is categorized by high economic difference and therefore social tensions and underdevelopment remain internal problems in the country itself. Brazil's regional commitment and foreign investments in infrastructure and the mining sector are not only to be seen as development cooperation but also as outcomes of economic self-interest. John de Sousa (2010:1) argues that "on a political level, Brazil wants to increase its visibility on the international floor, for instance, by using partnerships to lobby for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council". These sentiments lead to the conclusion that as much as Brazil seems to be performing well on several fronts, there is still room for improvement in each of these areas.

RUSSIA

Russia's position among the BRICS countries differs markedly from that of the other countries due to its 20th century history. Russia is not a traditionally development country but belongs to the so-called transitional countries. Today's self-perception is still very much influenced by the former world power status of which large military spending and personnel are still prevailing burdens. The country's economy is not very diversified but the service sector is somewhat underdeveloped and demography is predicting an ageing society. Russian politics at present do not assure macroeconomic stability but include puzzling state involvement and security practices (Cooper, 2006:7). These are some of the concerns raised about Russia.

Furthermore, Russia is a very significant energy exporter – accounting for twelve percent of the world's crude oil production and twenty two percent of natural gas production. The export energy from all sources is equivalent to 80 percent of its home consumption. Russia's energy challenges have to do with avoiding the classic institutional problems of natural resource management (www.globalsherpa.org). These challenges range from exchange rate overvaluation leading to deindustrialization via a scenario known as the "Dutch disease," to incentives for corruption and unsustainable economic populism. Some portion of Russia's energy consumption is related to its large-scale production of energy related exports, but its overall energy profile suggests that engaging Russia in future energy conservation efforts could be problematic because of nuclear energy. Therefore, Russia has growth prospects but needs to have a re-look at some of the potential growth areas in order to maximize the benefits that might accrue.

INDIA

India is now irrefutably one of the fastest-growing economies in the world, with strong economic growth since the 1980s. This has been accompanied by a rapid increase in India's integration with the world economy and has been driven mostly by the total factor productivity growth rather than capital accumulation (Bosworth and Collins, 2008). However, what is noticeable is that the economic growth of India has not been accompanied by job creation. Inflation in India has been a persistent problem in further weakening the currency and this challenge makes imports more expensive thus causing a rise of domestic prices. Importantly, India does not easily welcome foreign investment but it typically enters the country in the form of minority partnerships with other Indian companies.

Bosworth and Collins (2008:48) advance the view that "control stays in Indian hands. India rigidly controls how its citizens and companies can invest outside the country, but inflation worries and the weakening currency have created a cycle of further encouraging some wealth to move outside India where possible for capital preservation purposes". All in all, India has a potential but there are also several factors that the country needs to attend to in order to be a global player of note.

CHINA

According to the theorists, China challenged the US's Global economy. In the 21st century China entered into political, military, and commercial deals with countries such as ASEAN. In 2006, China then made partnership with Africa. Furthermore, China built up a network of relations through five countries, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Zimbabwe and Congo to counter US influence. According to Sousa (2010) China's main reason to approach Africa was to increase the focus on trade at the possible expense of development. Moreover, to understand the change of China's approach it is important to consider the fast-changing realities of its relation with Africa.

According to Azzarello (2012:7), "the main objective /goal for China in Africa was to harness the countries strengths such as infrastructure development. Hence, China is well known as major big investors in the world particularly in the natural resources and infrastructure". As China looks to move up the value chain to a rather more consumption-driven economy, it is evidently becoming ever more interested in consumer brands and in the service sector. China's manipulation of its currency has resulted in significant problems for the manufacturing sectors of other emerging powers. India, Brazil, and South Africa all have expressed their disenchantment with Beijing's economic policies at various times.

All in all, the scale of the development path that China has undertaken both domestically and internationally has positioned the country as a major strategic player in the global economic arena. The formation of the BRICS forum has been positioned as a critical platform for China to push for reforms of other major existing international institutions. This practical diplomatic positioning is premised on the assumption that cooperation among BRICS countries is possible because they have many common positions and interests in international relations, in particular in the economic arena (Mingjiang & Chan, 2010). Furthermore, China understands the dynamics of shifting the global economy. China's strategic goal is to consolidate and persuade its fellow BRICS member states to adopt common positions in respect of the transformation of the international economic system.

Commentators and observers argue that success in China requires a strong understanding of one's business capabilities, development of long-term relationships, and an in-depth knowledge of this challenging market. Before planning to enter China, potential exporters should consider their own resources, past exporting experience, and willingness to commit a significant amount of time assessing and cultivating opportunities. Successful market entry strategies typically demonstrate

regionally targeted efforts, application of specific product positioning, well-qualified partners, measures to minimize non-payment risk, and a game plan for intellectual property protection. Therefore, like all the other three BRICS member states discussed thus far, China has an important role to play within the BRICS group. But for China to operate at its maximum level it needs to cogently think through its present policies and growth areas.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's entry into BRICS has created many opportunities for the country in spite of the criticism that the country faces. According to Creamer Media (2011,) South Africa's relationship with emerging economies is being characterized by its foreign direct investment inflows. Furthermore, South Africa is a major investor in Africa and it has served as a springboard into the African continent. However, its investment footprint in Africa enhances its position and allows it to push the African agenda within the BRICS organization. According to Besada and Winter (2013:1), South Africa was granted an invitation to join Brazil, Russia, India and China for strategic reasons given the country's position and role in Africa. Furthermore, South Africa's per capital income is larger than that of both China and India and it has one of the highest ratios of market capitalization in the world. South Africa entered the group not only as a middle-income country but as the most powerful economy on a fast-growing continent. South Africa's participation in the group means that the entire continent of Africa, with a population of over one billion, is now represented (Wong, 2010). This means that when economic and political decisions are made South Africa would serve as the eyes and ears of the African continent within the BRICS group. Therefore, such representation is critical.

At the other level, South Africa is a country plagued with severe inequalities, pervasive poverty and high unemployment. South Africa was given an opportunity in the restructuring of global, political, economic and financial structures to produce a more equitable and inclusive system. According to the theorists, South Africa joined the group because its members wanted to allow the country the opportunity to promote economic development through enhanced trade and investment, and expand sectors in which the country holds a comparative advantage and provides overseas investment opportunities for South African enterprises (Asuelime, 2013). The main goal of each of these institutions has found relevance unique to each of them. However, the disparity in economic composition and domestic environment of South Africa and other BRICS members bring to the forefront the challenges to a possible fair environment for furthering the South African agenda in this multilateral grouping.

According to Qobo (2011:21), "the IMF projections provide the justification for the many critic that argues that South Africa does not belong to the BRIC. South Africa is a comparatively small state with a small economy that does not possess the capacity to absorb all of its available labour hence, the debilitating rate of unemployment". Furthermore, South Africa has improved in certain areas and has also improved in many preventions to economic growth to remain within the structure of the state that highlights 'troubling weaknesses' like labour market inefficiency with its inflexible hiring and firing regulations. One of the most economically debilitating features of South African labour markets is the propensity to engage in strike action that involves lockdowns and even violent protests (Qobo, 2011:22). These are as a result of low productivity, low standards of education and skills and a lack of diversification (Sally, 2011:29).

Moreover, South Africa also adopts tariffs that are far too high. This increases the price of products, making them less competitive in the global market. The BRICS forum presents an

52

opportunity for South Africa to be the true gateway to Africa. According to Asuelime (2013), South Africa is positioned very well to act as a facilitator on behalf of the member states because it is the only state that possesses the administrative, infrastructural and diplomatic ability to do so on a prolonged and long-term basis. The onus is on the South African political leadership to make use of the opportunities presented by the country's BRICS membership to its own advantage.

2.8 THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE INTEGRATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

Available evidence shows that South Africa has played a pivotal role in global politics in many respects. The country's integration efforts have been seen as a rational response to the difficulties faced by the African continent with many small national markets and landlocked countries (Buhler-Muller, 2012). Furthermore, South Africa as a middle-income country has overstretched itself diplomatically as it has been involved all around the world (Zondi, 2012). However, it has enjoyed significant permutations of power and influence in international relations that have not been associated with diplomatic representation. This "peace diplomacy" was also a direct corollary of South Africa's desire to create international conditions for the development of the country based on the conviction that 'there could not be development without peace nor peace without development'.

South Africa has for a long time been undoubtedly the leading continental economic power until recently when its economy started showing signs of slow growth. But even then, South Africa continues to produce one third of Sub-Saharan Africa's gross domestic product (GDP). It is also considered or hailed as the natural and strongest voice for the continent, more so than Nigeria

which is its competitor and which joined the global community when it obtained its political independence from Britain on 1 October 1960. Moreover, South Africa benefits from considerable goodwill due to the symbolism of the anti-apartheid struggle and the country's relatively smooth political transition to democracy (Andreasson, 2011). The idea of Africa becoming a global economic player should start by allowing the continent to respond to and transform its economic base.

To be able to achieve continental integration countries need greater cooperation, reshaping trading networks and spreading their economic potential. Although at one stage South Africa's relations with these SADC neighbours were fragile under the apartheid regime, the country has managed to significantly strengthen its bilateral relations with almost all African countries. Through pursuance of the African Agenda, South Africa's markets exports have changed considerably over the years. While developing its traditional markets the country has managed to create new markets and share of its exports. One of the notable contributions South Africa has made is its contribution towards the improvement of AU structures. Through the African Union Commission (AUC) subsequent secondment of Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as chairperson of the AU strengthened South Africa as a regional power. Within SADC, South Africa has assisted in strengthening the regional blocks agenda. By so doing, it has succeeded in strengthening the governance, coordination and decision-making processes of SADC. As discussed earlier, South Africa has played a pivotal role in maintaining peace, security and conflict resolution in Africa.

Over the years, South Africa has made huge investments in peace and security. As indicated earlier, the Mandela administration was preoccupied by pushing the African agenda that stressed neighborliness and "non-hegemonic" relations with fellow African states. This approach was further supported by Mbeki's presidency. In fact, Mbeki's presidency was even over ambitious

and made huge sacrifices economically and militarily in pursuing its non-hegemonic posture. One of the major outstanding contributions of Mbeki's government was the establishment of strategic partnership with the African states that sought to promote development, peace and stability. Essentially, South Africa uses its diplomatic means to achieve its African agenda objectives. In that context, its military intervention in Lesotho in September 1998 was a slight deviation occasioned by various factors which included lack of the political will from the Basotho political leaders to engage in dialogue and spilling of the blood in that Mountain Kingdom. Moreover, South Africa did not take a unilateral decision in this regard. On the contrary, the country acted under the auspices of SADC.

It should be noted that this was an exception from the policy position the emphasis was on peace keeping and peacemaking. The same cannot be said on the role South Africa played in Burundi, Sudan, Ethiopia-Eritrea, DRC, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe and other African countries. The country's involvement in these Africa countries was not similar to what happened in 1998. Through its intractable apartheid conflict situation, South Africa sought to use its vast experience to progressively create democratic states in similar situations as hers. The negotiated settlement solution has yielded tangible results in a number of countries where South Africa was involved. These include countries such as Burundi, Sudan, Mozambique, etc.

Even in fellow giant Nigeria, South Africa opted for quiet diplomacy and negotiations as its leaders engaged the General Sani Abacha regime for the release of jailed leader, Olusegun Obasanjo (who subsequently became president in May 1999), as well as the lives of the Ogoni leader, Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine others. However, at times the quiet diplomacy approach failed to yield the anticipated results. As mentioned earlier, during apartheid Nigeria had no bilateral relations with the government of South Africa, as the country was a pariah state in the international community

because of its apartheid posture (Bond, 2012). However, at the dawn of democracy in 1994, the attitude changed. Currently both countries have strategically repositioned themselves as the two giants of the African continent fighting long-term development reduction in marginalization and dominance in international economic relations. Of late, Nigeria has emerged as a dominant player in the Western part of Africa under the ECOWAS grouping while South Africa enjoys the same status in the Southern part of Africa. Politically, both countries share a history of cooperation with and involvement in continental projects such as NEPAD.

For instance, both countries are dominant states in their sub regions and they have over the years added a new commitment to African development programmes. South Africa enjoys cordial relations with the Central African Republic (CAR). Over the years South Africa has contributed a number of troops to African peace missions in supporting peace processes in the CAR. Political interventions were made by South Africa on the CAR to ensure political and economic stability. However, contentious issues regarding South Africa's involvement in CAR have emerged with questions being asked on the benefits which would accrue for South Africa in its involvement in CAR. Some of the contentious points regarding this issue shall be expounded later in this dissertation. I will end this chapter by looking at some of the challenges South Africa is confronted within her resolve to be a great player on the world stage.

2.9 CHALLENGES FACED BY SOUTH AFRICA IN ITS POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

While the issues discussed above are lofty ideals for South Africa articulated by policy makers, the reality on the ground is that the South African government has often found it difficult to implement the African Agenda doctrine successfully. There are arguments and counter arguments

regarding the foreign policy position whilst the government views its domestic and foreign economic policies as a challenge to its neoliberalism. Critics have labelled the strategy as neo-imperialism. With Nigeria and South Africa playing the dominant roles in Africa, perceptions are that smaller African states may perceive them as the model for setting the African agenda. Hence, many AU member states are often behind with their contributions thereby constraining the AU institutions. Since most of the states are poor, the AU will continue to grapple with serious human resources challenges and under-staffing. The increasing drive for continental integration has made South Africa invincible in the SADC multilateralism.

There are other challenges that the government faces whereby the private sector pursues its business in a manner that is consistent with its African agenda goals. Therefore, there is a mammoth task to influence the private sector to play the developmental role, regionally, continentally and nationally. For instances, in the north the multi nationals respond to continental issues better than what happens in South Africa. Another challenge is to do with the alignment of the country's economic roles with the political foreign policy. The economic forces are still dominated by the inequality with most South African businesses remaining primarily dominated by the white population. The question is: to what extent is the economic model that South Africa is promoting appropriate? Whilst there are structural changes in the global economy, South Africa has a critical role to play in supporting the economic growth and the structural transformation in the continent.

As can be gleaned from the foregoing discussion, the African continent is poised to benefit from its abundant natural resources, particularly in emerging economies such as East Asia. But a lot needs to be done in order to maximize the benefits. Other challenges affecting South Africa's role in African continental integration is the issue of stifling growth, limited access to basic

fundamental resources and poor history on democracy and human rights abuses for African countries. The issue of transport links, infrastructure networks, trade barriers and governance and climate change and its impact on development all remain huge challenges to Africa in general and South Africa in particular. As long as these challenges exist, any foreign policy posture is bound to move at a snail's pace more than anticipated.

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the historical context of South Africa's foreign policy since 1994. South Africa had to promote a strategy of Africans speaking with one voice while still building coalitions amongst the African states. It further attempts to engage and explore the role of South Africa in the African context in the region. Regional and global interests lie at the heart of South African's foreign policy resulting in the need to create compromises that may disadvantage the SADC block. The aim of the chapter was to examine the complexity of interaction between South Africa and other countries around the globe. The country's involvement in the BRICS has shown or proven that it has created its bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries. The country is also the gateway to foreign direct investment to the developing world. When the new government came into power through a democratic process, its role in international affairs broadened immensely within a very short space of time. The new government never disappointed in this regard and responded positively to world expectations by quickly restructuring its institution of foreign policy administration to fully coordinate and implement its new foreign policy.

Furthermore, the new government responded to the challenge by increasing its representation abroad, by transforming its foreign affairs structures, by opening new missions or embassies and by appointing foreign relations public administrators (diplomats) to fulfil this function in many

countries. In addition, the ever-increasing complexities of foreign policies have resulted with different ministries in government having differing stakes, interests and perspectives from those of the ministry of foreign affairs. Moreover, these fragmented responsibilities result in drawn-out bureaucratic disputes and divisions within cabinet, which leads to poor ministerial coordination and implementation. This chapter also has looked at the challenges that South Africa has faced in the administration of its foreign policy to coordinate its position and influence among its treaties around the African region. The following chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of the study and link it to South Africa's foreign policy in relation to the regional integration efforts of developing countries and in bilateral relations.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the focus on the historical context of South Africa's foreign policy was placed within the context of the dominant understanding of global politics as encapsulated in the works of various authors. Realism, neo-functionalism and constructivism have challenged this dominant conceptualization of foreign policy in numerous ways. These theories are worth delineating. The study of foreign policy is a combination of diverse means and activities, which are dedicated to understanding and explaining foreign policy processes and the behaviour of significant actors in the international system (Neack et al., 1995). This chapter examines some of the theoretical frameworks used in international relations and juxtaposes them with the theoretical framework chosen for the present study. The chapter will review the opportunities and challenges of South Africa's foreign policy from a theoretical perspective with a view to illuminating the reader's understanding. In a nutshell, the objective of this chapter is to present a theoretical discussion in relation to what relevance these theories hold in the regional integration efforts of developing countries and in bilateral relations which are at the core of the international relations discipline.

Theoretical analysis is critical since in the academic discourse theory because it is used for guiding research in various disciplines, especially in the international relations discipline where the study is seeking to explain the underlying reasons for South Africa's foreign policy direction using a case study approach. In recent years, research on international politics has produced important findings aimed at assisting in understanding how South Africa has played a significant role in peacekeeping, conflict resolution and security within SADC in particular and across Africa in general. Among the different alternative explanations to soft power, neo-functionalists have been able to shed light with regards to some of the root causes of South Africa's interventions in Africa. Although effort will be made in the present chapter to discuss realism and neo-functionalism, it will not be possible to exhaust the insights provided by these two theories. It is worth noting at the outset that the applicability of theories of political integration such as neo-functionalism in developing countries was questioned already during the 1960s (see Haas 1961: 375). In most studies very, studies little has been applied on theories of political integration in developing countries. For instance, the integration processes in Africa are not well advanced – partly due to the remnants of colonialism. Therefore, the use of these theories will assist in the analysis of regional integration politics and provide the context within which South Africa's foreign policy in Africa can best be understood. This chapter will also review concepts such as the spill-over effect which is relevant in the African political context.

3.2 TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy is a concept that is usually misunderstood and sometimes misinterpreted. Usually it is not different from the national policies but it relates specifically to international politics. One of the views held by scholars of foreign policy is that "foreign policy is an extension of its domestic

policy" (Mhanda, 2002:157). In a number of cases foreign policy operates within the presence of the countries' approach to international relations. That is why it is very difficult to separate national policy from foreign policy. In essence, foreign policy drives national policy. It is often associated with the interest of the country vis-a-vis other countries. Each and every country decides on how it will relate with other countries, bearing in mind its own needs, interests and values. The approach to international relations is influenced by the strengths and weaknesses, threads, and opportunities within the external environments. The limits within the external environments determine the reality and the extent as well as the scope of its foreign policy. The *Penguin Dictionary of International Relations* defines foreign policy as an activity which entails actions, reactions, and interactions of state actors. It is a "liminal" activity in the sense that policy-makers exist on a frontier between two worlds – the domestic politics of state and its external environment (Hill, 2003:3). There is an assumption that foreign policy involves the interaction of state actors and how these react to certain actions between and among different countries. There is no agreement amongst international relations scholars regarding the above view but there is concurrence that foreign policy involves the behavior of a state towards others. Such behavior could either be friendly or hostile.

Thus, Mills (2002) offers a more comprehensive definition of the foreign policy concept which is seen as a system of activities in which communities are involved with a view to changing the behavior of the state and adjusting their own activities of international interest. As can be seen from the foregoing, there is general consensus within the academy that foreign policy is concerned with the state's national interest projected to the international space. The national interests refer to those sets of priorities that are shared with regard to national sovereignty. Other scholars such

as Zartman view national interest as the search for security for the national self, which is "*national--not class, regional or party, and is *interests*--not whims, sentiments or accidents*" (Zartman, 1966:47). Theories of foreign policy are different from theories of international relations in that the former seek to explain the behaviour of individual states as opposed to the pattern of outcomes of state interactions (Rose, 1998:145).

Therefore, foreign policy is seen as a deliberate ploy by the state to pursue its national objectives reflected in specific actions, steps, and roles that define the behaviour of the state. It sets the rational relations for achieving certain intended outcomes of its external relations. So, the policy is the means of achieving the ends. Holsti (1967) argues that foreign policy constitutes the intended and direct actions of a state toward its external environment and the domestic conditions under which such actions are constructed. Interestingly the above notion emphasises the domestic conditions that are conducive in achieving the international relations outcomes. Simply put, the domestic environment has a direct impact on how foreign policy is constructed.

As Goldstein (2001) explains, foreign policy is similar to a wedding ring with which the domestic context of a nation solemnizes its union with the international community. Foreign policy is like a marriage between two parties, it is an agreement that is meant to fulfil certain actions. Like any marriage, foreign policy is both the latent and manifest actions which influence the political marriage. The latent and manifest actions are the ambitions and desires of a state. As indicated above, foreign policy can be regarded as a means of achieving the end of state objectives (Folarin, 2010:29). The analysis of the foreign policy concept exhibits the following: (i) it is a set of goals and objectives; (ii) it is a proposal which a nation state seeks to achieve; (iii) it is a set of outcomes

that the state or nation seeks to realise; and (iv) it is a set of carefully planned outcomes which the state seeks to actualise in its relationship with other states. To substantiate the above notion, Henderson (2005) submits that foreign policy is a pattern of behaviour that one state adopts in relation to other states.

Waltz (2005) looks at foreign policy slightly differently from other scholars. In his analysis, he looks at foreign policy as the strategy and tactics employed by the state in its relation with other states in the international system. Based on his observations foreign policy applies the decisions and actions taken by the state in realising and actualising its intended outcomes. As noted above, like any marriage, each party going into a political marriage has its own demands that it makes to other nation states in the international system. In line with Waltz's observation, Idang (1973) sees it as a plan or programme of action of a state. The plan that a nation-state develops in the form of foreign policy varies depending on the domestic scene. Nation states are expected to act based on domestic interests, the sum-total of which determines its role in the international arena. As the domestic interest changes so does the international policy. Therefore, it is important to consider the state capability and power when discussing a country's foreign policy direction.

3.2.1 Foreign Policy in Context

In the academic literature, South Africa's foreign policy has been criticized as being too ambitious while others have viewed it as being extremely inspirational. The country sought to position itself as the most influential in the region (SADC), Africa and the world over. Some scholars have under-scored the South African policy as better suited to a developed country than a developing country. South Africa's strategic approach has dominated large players on the world stage thereby playing

an influential role on the world politics. The country has positioned itself as a middle player in international politics which is exhibited through its international involvement in keeping with other well-to-do countries.

3.2.2 Foreign Policy Goals

The world over, there is no consensus on what constitutes foreign policy issues. For instance, during World War II countries like America were clear on their foreign policy goals. Later, colonialism was dismantled and democratic institutions were created. Subsequently, the political and economic power of some states has been reduced measurably due to a confluence of factors. However, today's world's problems have become increasingly difficult to deal with as issues such as terrorism and natural disasters continue to ravage the globe. Things like peace, health, open opportunities and end to poverty are easy to list but very difficult to tackle even when public policies that that are meant to address these are in place. The major problem is to choose between two or more results that are desirable and how to sacrifice others. Therefore, the issue of foreign policy raises a number of questions on who has a stake on the outcome and the extent to which the policy is conceived within the nation state. Sometimes it is not readily feasible to understand the various domestic groups. In developing the goals, one has to wonder whether there is a balance between the short and long-term interests of the state. Presumably, the interests, risks and actions to be taken should be embedded within the policy. In developing the foreign policy goals one of the most important points to consider would be the costs and priorities.

A nation has to consider the related costs in achieving the desired results. Sometimes nation-states do not take time to compare desired results with the desired objectives and how the desired outcomes will be achieved and the importance thereof. Thus, nations give-up; others pursue or

postpone certain interests in order to achieve other priorities. There is no nation that can pursue certain foreign policy objectives without considering its own needs and resources. In achieving a particular objective, a nation commits its limited economic, military and political capital depending on the intensity of the desired outcome. A review of foreign policy documents of different countries shows that national foreign policy objectives can present very difficult generalizations when considering the matrix of questions and disputes. In South Africa, the development of the foreign policy objective goes through a pluralistic process whereby all stakeholders are given an opportunity to contest the process and or invoke certain arguments in support of their own position in line with the national goals. However, scholars have often argued that such a process provides a stimulating and exuberating experience for public policy debate but very little is achieved in solving real policy problems.

So, in international relations theory political outcomes and patterns are systematic. However, sometimes intentions differ with the precincts of the foreign policy as a result of the system effect. Waltz (2005) explains that the balances of power may form even though no state deliberately seeks this result in choosing its foreign policies. To understand this argument, one has to appreciate the foreign policy theory which explains why particular desires or goals in the realm of foreign policy are projected. Supposedly if people in a country could agree on a certain perspective, they would united in achieving that theme making it easier for the country to conduct its foreign affairs. As such, that action can attract some support and admiration from other countries around the world. It should be noted that foreign policies suffer from a number of defects due to high ideological intensity. Foreign policy decisions are made by individuals with their own underlining philosophic preferences. Hence, it is inevitable for the South African policy outcomes to reflect to some degree on ideological preferences of the public and of the government officials. For example, events such

as peacekeeping mission in CAR, intervention in disputed elections in Zimbabwe, military intervention in South Sudan and others have all generated intense debates on either side of the argument for and against intervention.

In recognition of South Africa's democracy, security, and defence posture, other countries will inextricably embrace the state's initiative. The behaviour of a country is influenced by its response to certain attitudes exhibited by another nation state. For example, the attitude of South Africa towards poverty, climate change and other problems will nevertheless influence its foreign policy positions that are compatible with its ideological predispositions. African National Congress (ANC) allied with intellectuals and activists portrayed South African foreign engagements as progressive and reflective of a human rights agenda. On the other, Liberal and Marxist critiques concluded that South African foreign policy reflected realist calculations and sub-imperialist ambitions, respectively (Magwanda, 2015). So, it is unquestionable whether the ideological component should exist in the foreign policy document. However, the second generation of studies is less ideologically oriented and more useful in enabling an understanding of South Africa's foreign policy engagements.

Following some of the works on middle powers undertaken on other parts of the world these scholars advanced the thesis that South Africa's middle power status predisposed it to multilateralism and partnerships at global and continental levels (Youla, 2009). Some studies have positioned South Africa as a pivotal state that is distinct from a regional or hegemonic power. As can be noted from the foregoing, the ideological content in the foreign policy does not necessarily produce consensus, neither does it eliminate debate or even the provision of answers to foreign

policy problems. If we embrace the above notion as positive, we come to understand that South Africa's foreign policy reinforces partnership impulses that are driven by the elite and concluded that the balance of power has been performed admirably on the continent despite its shortcomings. Nevertheless, some scholars have isolated Zimbabwe as the only black spot on the South African foreign policy with some arguing and recommending a robust and aggressive approach by South Africa to the Zimbabwean crisis – including calls for South Africa to use hard power against Zimbabwe. Regardless of the ideological target, pragmatically there is a shared view that new policy decisions must be worded anew with each objective decided on its own footing.

3. 3 THE LINK BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY

There is a morale responsibility for each nation state to play in the world affairs. As the old adage says, a nation state that excludes military power attracts fear and awe from other nation states. Where a state exhibits peace, democracy and tolerance it is expected to attract admiration and excitement. The same applies with the richest nations which attract esteem and envy. It is a given that for a nation to inspire others it should offer leadership. South Africa has its deficiencies i.e. blind spots and shortcomings that still mar its social landscape. A lot has to be done to propel it back to its commitment. Undoubtedly South Africa has progressed, and has significantly changed its stance to represent individual freedoms on the international scale. This takes us to the broader international realm. The field of International Relations can be defined as the study of how authority and/or power is used to organize and manage trans-border relations between actors, and how this contributes to the establishment, maintenance and transformation of order in the world system (McGowan, Cornelissen, and Nel, 2006:12). As can be seen above, international relations as a phenomenon is primarily concerned with global interstate systems. It also attempts to explain

the interactions and behaviors of others in other states. International relations attempts to explain broader relationships and behavior that occur across state boundaries.

These relations may involve states, in any combination of two or more, or may exclude states, or may involve states and actors that are not states such as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multinational cooperation (Langsberg, 2005). Thus, the goal of international relations is to understand what happens at the international level, the dynamics amongst national states and to provide tools necessary to regulate the behavior of states. There are different actors involved in international relations, namely, nation state, non- state actors, international organization and other states that are not fully recognized.

Compared to international relations, foreign policy is the sum of official decision that are actionable in the external relations conducted by an independent actor in international relations (Hill, 2003:3). Thus, a policy that is designed by a nation to deal with other nations in order to achieve its national objective falls under the realm of foreign policy. Consecutively, international relations focus on broader comprehensive issues at the international scale whilst the term foreign policy is specific and refers to actions made by a country with regard to other states. It is worth noting that foreign policy also deals with international bodies with its actions varying based on economic, socio economic and its political agendas. Hill (2003) explains that the phrase 'an independent actor' enables the inclusion of phenomena such as the European Union; external relations are 'official' to allow the inclusion of output from all parts of the governing mechanisms of the state or enterprise while also maintaining parsimony with respect to the vast number of international transactions now being conducted. Policy is the 'sum' of these official relations because otherwise every particular action could be seen as a separate foreign policy. The policy is 'foreign' because the world is still more separated into distinctive communities than it is a single,

homogenizing entity. For instance, foreign policy shapes the international landscape and is used in analyzing international relations. In fact, international affairs theories are adapted to suit the landscape within a country.

3.4 FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY: A CONCEPTUALISATION

The country approaches foreign policy in two folds; if the country intends to focus on issues outside its borders that is usually referred to foreign policy whereas if the target lies within its borders it is referred to as domestic policy. Consequently, there is a close relationship between a country's foreign policy and its domestic policy. Foreign policy relates closely to the country's foreign policy, e.g. policies that touch on its balance of payment, imports and exports and international trade. When nations participate in international trade, they use the market system of import and exports with other countries and in some cases, they impose trade barriers to protect their own industries. Prohibitive tariffs and taxes are imposed where governments think that foreign products have an effect on the domestic economy. All these issues are covered in the country's foreign policy. So, foreign policy is seen as a comprehensive plan that is used by government to conduct business with its international partners.

Put differently, foreign policy is seen as a document that is intended to protect the country's interest, stimulate trade and engender its philosophy so as to expand its opportunities. The values encapsulated in the foreign policy govern the behaviour of other states that they relate with. Another tool that is used in international relations is diplomacy which is used in negotiating peace treaties. In this case, government from one country engages with another government of a different country in order to enhance state to state relations. In some cases, governments use their military force in order to achieve their foreign policy goals. This is referred to as the hard power approach.

Diplomacy is a very important tool when a country's security relations with another state become sour. With no possibility of mending relations, the country closes its embassy as a last resort. Therefore, diplomacy is a process that seeks to bring about an understanding of the countries' ideas and interests and communicates their values, beliefs, culture and policies. Diplomacy seeks to position the nation-state as a pluralistic institution participating in the international system. For one nation state to enter into diplomatic relations with another state there has to be a shared understanding for each state to achieve its political ends. To achieve this there has to be pro-engagement, the foreign policy must not be isolationist in nature but it should be concerned with the aspirations and aims of what the country wants to achieve. One of the most important issues about foreign policy is about addressing inequalities, continental and domestic disparities. Sometimes diplomacy is necessary when states cannot fully reconcile their differences. Clearly negotiated explicit bargain is agreed to between the aggrieved parties. At times there is a convergence resulting from either a shift in the country's national interests or as a result of realised new opportunities. South Africa's approach has been influenced by issues of legitimacy and peaceful transformation in achieving international order.

3.5 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO FOREIGN POLICY

There are a number of theoretical approaches to explain international relations and foreign policy of a country. For instance, the classical neo-realist perspective views foreign policy as a product of national interest. This theory locates foreign policy in the international system with its strength leaning on the conditioning effects in the systematic constraints. Some scholars have argued that this approach ignores the behavior of foreign policy in transitional societies. Others have also questioned the role of foreign policy in changing domestic values. The approach does not consider

the emergence of new players in the political arena. The profound South African history has chanted and transformed the country socially, economically and politically. The ANC government has brought about new political actors, social actors and institutional actors.

The other theory is liberal institutionalism which looks at a number of variables such as business and political actors that need to be considered in order to achieve the foreign policy agenda. Liberal institutionalism demonstrates a systematic condition of the elite focusing particularly on the behavior of the elite. For ease of reference, each theory will be discussed separately below so as to be able to delineate its characteristic features.

3.5.1 Realism

Realism was given prominence due to its understanding of the world. Both international relations scholars and political scientists argue that anarchy in the international system is a result of lack of world government. The theory argues that politics at international level is completely different from what happens domestically. At domestic level the policy argues that governments and other actors are controlled by rules and there are rules governing behavior, government can enforce those rules. At international level there is a likelihood of a conflict since there is no overall system of a law to be enforced. Realists propose certain policies in order to realize the state's interest, gains and balance of power. Therefore, foreign policies are meant to safeguard the interest and power of the state and to ensure responsibility of each actor.

The essential tenets of the realist philosophy can be divided into three folds. Firstly, it argues that history is a sequence of causes and effects. It holds the view that course can be analyzed and understood by intellectual effort, but not directed by imagination. Secondly, theory does not (as

the utopians assume) create practice, but practice theory. Thirdly, politics are not (as the utopians pretend) a function of ethics, but ethics of politics (Marang, 2011:45). According to Jumarang (2011), one supposes then that with its dark assumption and premises with its antagonistic condition, realism is tight to some of the fundamental questions of what constitutes human nature with an emphasis on the limit of humanity altruism, well expressed by Heinrich von Treistchike when saying that it is above all important not to make greater demands of human nature that its fragility can satisfy. Marang (2011) further claims that realism places man as a creature whose greatest instinct is self- preservation. From a realist perspective there is a collective human nature projection which is manifested in the anarchy of the global stage. Man's self- preservation and gain is premised on amassing resources and gaining prestige within and across state borders. Marang (2011) claims that states act on their own interest, a concept not too far from human choices in the self-advancement and accrual of resources, firstly for survival and eventually as whims of luxury.

The realists believe that states are naturally selfish and egoistic entities that strive for supremacy. They believe that for peace to exist, there has to be a superpower that detects the rules. For instance, anarchy is the result of the international system where there is no such a superior board. Therefore, if there are no super power realists believe that the potential of a conflict is always present. Realism provides the most appropriate analysis to understanding power and hence the notions of 'soft power'. Foreign policy decisions are in line with the national interest (Van Nieuwkerk, 2003). Realism theory is referred to as political realism which identifies power, national interest and state survival as crucial in the analysis of interstate relations (Hoffman, 1999: 241). This theory avers that nation-states break the law of war for the purpose of safeguarding their national interests (Krasner, 1978). Scholars of realism argue that national security can best achieve its national

interest application. Furthermore, the exercise of power can be defined in terms of military capabilities which play a pivotal role in the realist approach. According to Robert and Pfaltzgraff (2000:85), the theory of realism asserts that a nation-state 's military is vital to the achievement of its national interests.

Realism will exist as long as armed conflict and differences in ideology and aggression against one another exist which can be used as means to interpret international politics. One of its core measurements is power through the use of military force in solving anarchic global systems. As can be seen from a realist perspective, as long as there are conflict or antagonism, possibilities for peace and cooperation are limited. However, accurately realism can account for aggression, conflict and militaristic expansionist policies, its assumptions prevent it from possessing effective explanatory capacity when it comes to the concept of transnational cooperation; free trade; the relative peacefulness of international system; the prevalence of democratic governance; and the growing emphasizes on economic linkage and globalization (Marang, 2011).

Neoclassical realism has compensating advantages, particularly in the opportunities it offers for building satisfying comprehensive explanations of foreign policy without abandoning the theory's core assumptions. Its very looseness, in other words, makes it a useful framework for carrying out the kind of midrange theorizing that so often is the best social science can hope to achieve. Much of the criticism is based on the false assumption that neo-realism would assume that states always react rationally to the constraints and incentives of the international system. The treating of states as black boxes is driven by the need for theory-building, but this does not imply that the domestic level is ignored or even denied in the realist paradigm (ibid.: 56; and Sterling-Folker 1997: 16). In contrast, Waltz (1996: 56) point out that the difference between his theory of international politics and foreign policy analysis is that a theory includes little, while an analysis includes much. He

strongly advised examining the national and personal levels in order to find an explanation for foreign policy.

Sabine and Thorson (1973) elucidate that realism distinguishes international relations as being comprised of contending national states and that antagonistic competition between states can lead to war. However, realists argue that issues of national interests and competition for regional markets have been the cause for 'lukewarm' relations between South Africa and other countries. Nassal (1998) asserts that realism portrays the world realistically where each state pursues its own interests and should always be on guard against other self-interested (state) actors in international relations. Consequently, realism views cooperation and international institutions as unlikely because it strongly believes that states are interested in relative gains. International organizations are also seen as tools to be manipulated by states as they please in their quest to maximize power. Some of the critics include scholars such as Jackson and Sorensen (2003) who argue that this is a pessimistic view of international relations, wherein national security and state survival are the most important foreign policy considerations. However, South Africa's commitment to the promotion of human rights has been largely questioned due to its involvement in the arms trade with countries like Central African Republic. While this is a legitimate concern, looking at the issue from a realism perspective, it makes sense because under realism each state thinks in an egocentric manner as opposed to being empathetic.

Jackson and Sorensen (2003) suggest that for realists, power is very important and the state is a central player in world politics, hence the view that realism is state-centric. It should be noted however that African states are generally weak, especially when it comes to global politics (Dunn and Shaw, 2001). Regional 'powers' like South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya are, however, important

actors in the continent, especially with the rise of rhetoric on the African century. The focal aim of foreign policy is to "project and defend the interests of the state in world politics" (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003: 68). Landsberg explains that the realist interpretation of South Africa's African foreign policy shows that South Africa is in pursuit for a regional hegemonic position (Landsberg, 2006). Nel and van der Westhuizen (2004) view South Africa's national interests as contradicting its commitment to peaceful conflict resolution. But when using realism as the lens through which to look at South Africa's actions the context becomes easy to understand. It seems at this point that claims to 'morality' tend to immediately fall off when national interests are at stake – only to be invoked once national interests have been satisfied.

Realists in this sense have concluded that South Africa is a normal state whose primary concern is the security of its own national interests first and foremost. This is not an anomaly. It is for this reason, therefore, that realism was proposed as one of the theories to guide the study. As can be gauged from the discussion above, any countries foreign policy is informed by its domestic policy. Both types of policies are informed by national interests, which constitute the core of realism as an international relations theory. Against this backdrop, South Africa's involvement in the CAR is best explained by realism theory. Therefore, any analysis of South Africa's foreign policy towards the CAR should be interpreted within the context of realism as a guiding theory.

3.5.2 Constructivism and the role of norms and legitimacy in international relations

As a social theory, constructivism views reality as a social construction. It is for this reason that at times other theorists advance the view that constructivism should be seen as more of a method than a theory as such. International relations are essentially thought of in terms of ideas basically

of material conditions. The philosophy underlying the constructivists is that the world is not a give; it does not exist independent of ideas and the thoughts of people are involved in it. Neither is it an external reality whose laws can be discovered by scientific research and explained by scientific theory as positivists and behaviourists argue (Robert and George, 2006). Instead, the world is what we, as a human race, make it to be; we construct the world for our purposes. Robert and George further argue that there are no natural laws of society or economics or politics. For them, the social and political world is not part of nature. Therefore, studying political science will not give objective positive answers to everything. They further argue that the social world is an inter-subjective domain; it is meaningful to people who made it and live in it, and who understand it precisely because they made it and they are at home in it. Therefore, the social world is constructed of physical entities made up of security and defence, i.e., territories, weapons and other physical asserts.

Thus, the ideas define the meaning of material power. These ideas can be mental constructs held by individuals, beliefs, principles and attitudes which are not the same all the time and everywhere. The ideas can be in the form of ideologies, beliefs and policies. Constructivists focus on inter-subjective ideas that define international relations. According to Robert and George (2006), it is the very interaction with others that creates an instantiate one structure of identities and interest rather than another structure. It has no existence or causal powers apart from process. Therefore, every state wants security and survival of citizens. Whilst there is agreement between neo-realists and constructivists, the latter argue that anarchy must not lead to self-help and propose three major ideal types of anarchy.

Firstly, states view one another as enemies. In this case, states are adversaries and conflicts are inevitable as a way of survival. Secondly, states consider each other as rivals. In this case there is

some form of restraint with states recognizing one another's rights to exist without necessarily the need to eliminate one another. Finally, states view one another as friends where disputes are settled peacefully, supporting each other in case of a third-party threat. Therefore, constructivism is concerned about material power and state interest. The ideas and social interaction are formed, the state as an anarchic system may possess military capabilities that are potentially threatening to others but enormity is not always an inevitable outcome.

As can be seen from the discussion above, constructivists focus on interaction between states in the international system without considering the domestic factors. Others have looked at the norms of international society and how they affect the identities and interests of the state. In their definition, constructivists define state behaviour in the form of interest and identity and these interests and identities define international forces which are embedded in the norms of behaviour in the international society. The national policies are then shaped by international organizations that shape states on what their interests should be.

The literature on the role of ideas and identity in international relations is quite vast and varied. Some proponents of mainstream IR theories (namely neoliberal institutionalists) may concede that ideas and/or beliefs do play some part in IR theory. However, ideas and the construction of identities are at the heart of the constructivist theory. There are two main forms of constructivism: conventional and critical. The main difference between the two is that conventional constructivism seeks to uncover identities in order to ascertain how they will translate into certain actions, while critical constructivism seeks to discover identities in order to go back and determine how those identities were formed in the first instance and why (Hopf, 1998:183). Constructivists, such as Alexander Wendt, share some of the same assumptions of realism mentioned above. Wendt (1995) states that the notions of self-help and power are institutions created through intersubjective

understandings. Whereas realism sees the international system, or structure, as being composed of the distribution of material capabilities, constructivists believe that it is also made up of social relationships and are therefore social structures.

According to Wendt, "social structures consist of shared knowledge, practices and material resources" and are partially defined by "shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge" (Wendt, 1995:74). A structure can be one of trust or distrust depending on the intersubjective understandings of the states. To constructivists, anarchy is what states make of it. To say that the international system is anarchic says nothing. What matters are the identities and interests that states have when they interact with each other and the resultant impacts of the latter on the former (Wendt, 1994:388). Constructivists believe that realism's emphasis on material capabilities as power, mean and explain nothing. It is only the shared understanding of states that give material capabilities meaning. Therefore, while differing on emphasis, both realism and constructivism shed enough light on why states act in a particular manner. Therefore, when trying to understand the logic behind South Africa's involvement in the CAR, one can derive clear answers from these two theories.

3.5.3 Neo-functionalism

Another theory on which the present study is anchored is neo-functionalism. According to Niemann (2012), neo-functionalism is a theory of regional integration. The theory holds that state integration is brought about by the entrepreneurship of supranational agents who engage the states in the pooling of sovereignty on issues of common interest by creating continuous "spillovers" to related policy areas. Roughly speaking, this concept describes how international cooperation in one field stimulates cooperation in other fields through different ways. However, neo-functionalist theory shows some major differences to functionalism. Looking at South Africa's foreign policy

against any emerging international organization, it is being considered to be greater than initially thought where it primarily serves as an actor in future integration processes. The role of public support in terms of foreign policy is considered to be limited whereas the importance of national elites in international cooperation is deemed big (Niemann, 2012). As Niemann and Schmitter (2009: 46) correctly argue, the purpose of this theory is not merely to describe, explain, and predict. On the contrary, it is also meant to prescribe both explanatory and normative issues.

Criticism has been levelled against this theory by certain authors. For example, scholars argue that neo-functionalism cannot provide explanations for any form of setbacks in the integration process. Neo-functionalism has been criticised for attributing too much sovereignty to multinational organizations that govern the integrative scheme. This criticism is the result of a misunderstanding of the neo-functionalists view and role of the state in each country. This theory is useful in enabling an understanding of South Africa's foreign policy engagements in Africa and the world. The reason for choosing this theory is because it deals with state interaction, which includes integration and cooperation. Importantly, this theory goes beyond just describing or explaining phenomena but deals with normative issues which paint a much bigger picture. This is what this study is about.

3.6 SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

The concept of national interest may sound vague but it remains significant in any scholarly analysis to make description, explanations and predictions to actions of nation-states in the international political systems (Krasner, 1978:99). There is general agreement among scholars and practitioners of international relations and security studies that the primary justification of a state's action is premised on national interest (Maeresera, 2012).

The concept of national interest is elusive for the following reasons:

- National interest needs to be differentiated from group, class, elite establishment or foreign policy inspired interest (Couloumbis and Wolfers, 1990:104). The national interest is a compromise of conflicting political interest of constant internal political competition and national interest-oriented policies are defined by the government through its national interest defined by the government through its various agencies.

- The obscurity of national interest revolves around the fact that a country's national interest must be in proportion to the scope and range of its capabilities (Couloumbis and Wolfers, 1990:104).

- According to Roskin (1994:76) asserts that a country's national interest should be related to the interest of other countries.

The participation of a state in an alliance is driven by national interests. Usually, the benefits are reciprocal. Having analysed the advantages of participating in a regional alliance, the nation state usually considers the usefulness than its ideological orientation. However, alliances that do not favour the state's interest are not likely to survive or be effective in the long run. National interest varies from core, important and ordinary national interest. Usually the core interests of a nation are non-negotiable and they deal with the existence of a nation, whilst the important national interest concerns those factors for survival.

National interest can be short-term, mid-term and long-term. These are viewed in terms of foreign policy and international relations. As can be seen in the previous discussion the, Realists define national interest in terms of power and security. It is viewed from a domestic perspective. Other factors that need to be considered when discussing national interest are: territorial integrity, sovereignty and cultural integrity. However, the issue of national existence has always come under

scrutiny when discussing national interests. Hence, some scholars have viewed it from an economic sense and believe that nation states have a common interest. In this case national interest is seen as being threefold: existence, independence and economic wealth. Whilst liberals see national interest in the form of materialistic ontology, constructivists believe that national interest is decided by national identity.

The above discussion shows that the issue of national interest constitutes the bulk of the foreign policy concept. National interest depicts what the state aspires to achieve through its respective foreign policy. Hence, national interest dominates all discussions regarding bilateral and multilateral agreements. Any relationship is never permanent in foreign policy, it is the national interests that influence the state's position on its foreign policy. As a role of thumb, the interests of one state must not necessarily be opposed in the interest of another state. Therefore, in understanding the national interest of a state one has to consider the universal ideals of internal national law and morality such as peace, justice, keeping the nation's word, the sanctity of treaties and non-intervention in other nation's affairs, freedom and a decent standard of living for all men (Nathan, 2005).

3.7 NATIONAL SECURITY

The primary driving force behind foreign policy making is national security. Agreements, convention, treaties and other bilateral and multilateral agreements have been entered into between and or among states in order to achieve one objective-national security. For instance, in his campaign Donald Trump explicitly proclaimed that he would put America first- "America for Americans". In one of his speeches, Trump emphasised the issue of putting the American people first by focussing on the American national security. Every country seeks to strengthen its peace and security and these issues are at the heart of the national foreign policy. The issue of national

security goes beyond the issues of territorial integrity and national borders. It also talks to the understanding of workers and business when it comes to trade. By negotiating fair international agreements countries seek to grow their economy, increase their GDP and revitalise their nation states. For instance, America as part of their national foreign policy strategy started to withdraw from the trans-pacific and made sure that new trade deals favour American interests. Furthermore, Donald Trump promised to crack down on those nations that violate trade agreements with America. Here, Trump is an epitome of a realist and constructivist fanatic. The actions of South Africa too in terms of the country's foreign policy posture should be understood within this context and should not be seen as an anomaly.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed foreign policy from a theoretical perspective. Moreover, it has discussed foreign policy as a concept that is usually misunderstood and sometimes misinterpreted. The general argument is that foreign policy is not different from the national policies except that it relates to international politics. The chapter also examined the foreign policy context and discussed the goals thereof. The morale responsibility for each nation state to play a significant role in the world affairs was analysed. The chapter further discussed the issue of military power and how it attracts fear and awe from other nation states. The chapter discussed various theories deemed relevant to the present study. Realism was discussed as an international relations theory. It was mentioned that realists argue that power is very important and the state is a central player in world politics. Hence the view that realism is state-centric argues that politics at international level is completely different from what happens domestically. Furthermore, the chapter examined constructivism which argues that at domestic level governments and other actors are controlled by

rules and that there are rules governing behaviour. The fact that the world is what states make it to be loomed large in the discussion of constructivism.

Another theory that was examined is neo-functionalism. It was mentioned that neo-functionalism is a theory of regional integration. The theory holds that state integration is brought about by the entrepreneurship of supranational agents who engage the states in the pooling of sovereignty on issues of common interest by creating continuous "spill-overs" to related policy areas. The concept of national interest may sound vague but it remains significant in any scholarly review to make description, explanations and predictions to actions of nation states in the international political systems. There is general agreement among scholars and practitioners of international relations and security studies that the primary justification of a state's action is premised on national interest. The chapter concludes that the primary driving force behind foreign policy is national security. Agreements, conventions, treaties and other bilateral and multilateral agreements have been entered into between and or among states in order to achieve one objective-national security. Now that the theoretical grounding of this dissertation has been explicated in this chapter, the next chapter will look at the methodology that was followed to carry out this project so that the reader could appreciate the results that will be presented in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the theoretical grounding of this dissertation. The dual purpose was to locate the study in the broader theoretical context and to demonstrate to the reader that the present dissertation subscribes to conventional practice within the research community. With this goal already achieved in Chapter 3, the present chapter presents a brief overview of the research methodology that was applied to this study in addressing the research problem and the research

questions presented in Chapter 1. This will assist the reader in understanding and interpreting the results that will be presented in the subsequent chapter.

Briefly, a mixed methods approach was used to compare and analyse the South African policy on Central African Republic and Nigeria. This included both the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The use of qualitative approach was motivated by the determination to understand the concepts and the phenomena they represent. Secondly, another aim was to develop general and valid theories that would assist in explicating the issues discussed in the dissertation. On one hand, the qualitative research approach gave the researcher the flexibility in the design and implementation of the data collection strategies in order to ensure congruence between question formulation, literature, data collection strategies and data analysis required for the phenomenon being investigated (Smaling, 2002:3). On the other hand, the quantitative data assisted in collecting and analysing closed ended information whereby the researcher utilised quantifiable data sets which were deemed valuable in terms of painting a clear picture on some of the activities carried out by South Africa.

The chapter clarifies the researcher's approach to interviews and the collection and interpretation of data sets obtained from other sources. Included in the discussion below is the description of the interview processes and how the selection of interviewees was done. The chapter closes with a list of major foreign policy decisions, the core questions relating to Allison's models that guided the interviews and a chronology of crises in Africa and South Africa's role therein. This chapter will discuss the mixed method approach to data collection, different data collection methods, explain the questionnaire design, discuss data analyses and ethical issues and then end with a conclusion which pulls the present chapter together and introduces the next one where the findings are presented.

4.2 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

It has been noted by various authors that most writers tend to erroneously use the terms 'methodology' and 'method' interchangeably as though these concepts mean the same thing (Hussey & Hussey, 1997). The reality is that methodology refers to the overall approach taken, as well as the theoretical basis from which the researcher comes; while method refers to the various means by which data is collected and analysed (Hussey & Hussey, 1997). Similarly, Mason (2002) separates "the concept of methodological strategy" (2002: 30) from the method, while noting that a particular method will be a part of the strategy. In line with these authors, the approach taken here was to include all facets of the research process under the overall heading of methodology. However, underpinning the methodology, by necessity, is a philosophical stance in relation to the purpose and place of research in general, and this research in particular.

A distinction that is frequently made regarding research philosophies is between the positivist and the interpretivist (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Hughes & Sharrock, 1997; Travers, 2001). A central tenet of positivism is that researchers can take a 'scientific' perspective when observing social behaviour, with an objective analysis possible (Travers, 2001). Bryman and Bell (2007) caution against assuming that positivism and science are synonymous concepts, noting that there are some differences between a positivist philosophy and a scientific approach. They also note that there are circumstances where an inductive strategy is apparent within positivist research, with "knowledge arrived at through the gathering of facts that provide the basis of laws" (Bryman & Bell, 2007:16).

Nonetheless, research based on a positivist philosophy tends to be based on deductive theorising, where a number of propositions were generated for testing, with empirical verification then sought (Babbie, 2005). Considerable data are often required, as a positivist study would favour the use of quantitative methods to analyse large-scale phenomena (Travers, 2001). Inherent in this overall

approach to research is the view that it is possible to measure social behaviour independent of context and that social phenomena are 'things' that can be viewed objectively (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). This distinction is necessary if any researcher is determined to produce credible and unambiguous research outputs.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is critical in any research project. This study adopted a mixed-methods approach. As such, it used both quantitative and qualitative research designs. While the study largely relied on qualitative data sets, quantitative data were used where necessary, i.e., when dealing with the number of troops, number of countries falling under a certain category, etc. The significance of qualitative research is that it focuses on describing and understanding complete phenomena (Maree, 2007). Such an approach is useful in investigating the relationships and patterns among factors or the context in which the activity happens. Its concentration on understanding the many-dimensional picture of the subject of investigation makes qualitative research an appropriate choice of research method for this particular study.

The quantitative approach assisted the researcher to gather quantifiable data, albeit in minute form. Such data shall be presented in the form of tables and pie charts in the relevant chapter below. As a basic principle, primary data consists of some unpublished works, including books, conference papers, speeches, and some published interviews with various stakeholders. They also tackle the workings of the global economic system and cooperation amongst nations. The information covers the African continent and the rest of the world. In terms of internet sources, the SACU official website, the South African Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), Department of International Relations and Co-operation (DIRCO) and other relevant websites were central to the writing of this study.

A Mixed-methods research is a research design with a philosophical assumption as well as methods of inquiry (Creswell, 2006). Academics and researchers have seen the use of the mixed methods approach as one of the tools that guide the direction of the collection and analyses of data with a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in different phases of the research processes. The choice of mixed-method approach was influenced by the variation in data collection believed to have the potential to lead to greater validity. The responses from surveys and interviews were given from different perspectives that insured that all the gaps to the information or data collected were closed and the pre-existing assumptions from the researcher were less likely to influence the results. Research has shown that one methodology alone cannot provide all the required information to assist in answering the study's research questions or in meeting the guiding objectives. Other scholars refer to the mixed-method approach as a multi-methodology. The multi-methodology enables the researcher to integrate quantitative and qualitative approaches to generate new knowledge either concurrently or sequentially. The use of the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods happens in one single study. From the above analysis the issues of how, what, where, and why, are raised.

4.4 THE SCOPE OF THE MIXED-METHODS APPROACH

The mixed methodology allows for information seeking through dialogue or interview, in which the researcher has the goal of finding information by deciding when to continue, stop or modify the research process in order to achieve the desired reliability and validity to ensure rigour (Smaling, 2002:3). Since human beings in any situation are unique, there is a high likelihood that existing theory generated by qualitative research may be inadequate for investigation (Gummesson, 1991). Morse and Mitchan (2002), in support of Smaling's submission (2002:2), argue that the qualitative inquiry begins at its inductive phase by deconstructing all the implicit

assumptions, building from a carefully inspected base by an informed researcher. McCotter (2001) adds that research that aims to deconstruct has some emancipatory elements in it that resist existing labels and structures and seek, instead, alternatives that do not currently exist. They do this by reconstructing or recommending the creation of new structures. Therefore, such an approach in research is political, potentially transformative and profoundly hopeful (Edelsky, 1994:12).

In the present study, a triangulative model was used to gather data at the same time. All the data were then integrated in order to clarify the nature of the problem. In this case, both qualitative and quantitative approaches were given equal priority although reported in separate sections of this research report, which is in the form of an academic dissertation.

4.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

This study drew its data from both primary and secondary sources in the manner outlined below.

4.5.1 Primary sources

The primary sources that were used in the study included oral interviews with key informants from the Embassies/Consulates of both Nigeria and the CAR that are based in South Africa, informants from South Africa's Department of International Relations and Cooperation [DIRCO] as well as the Department of Defence. This was done in order to understand their role in South Africa's foreign policy making in general, and with specific reference to the two countries (CAR and Nigeria) in particular. Academic experts and commentators on the three countries and those who focus on international relations and foreign policy formulation were interviewed with a view to soliciting their views on the subject of the study. Since these informants were purposively selected based on their knowledge of the subject, the approach of conducting interviews until the researcher

reaches a saturation point was used in this study. The selected informants were able to provide the information required to address the study's research questions.

In anticipation of the fact that some of the informants were not available for one-on-one or face-to-face interviews, both the interview schedule and a questionnaire were prepared as research instruments. The researcher read questions from the research schedule in the case of live interviews. Where the informants were not available to answer questions in person, these were sent to them via email with a request that the responses will be emailed back to the researcher by a certain date. To increase the sample and get diversified opinions, ordinary people from the three countries (who reside in South Africa) were either interviewed or served with questionnaires. These were randomly selected based on the researcher's prior interaction with them as students and seminar/conference delegates. Other primary data were obtained through consulting government archival documents in Pretoria and Cape Town.

4.6 RESEARCH POPULATION

In this study, the research population is underscored by the number of relevant stakeholders that are connected in many ways to the cycle of foreign policy making, implementation and evaluation. The study took advantage of personal, oral and semi-structured in-depth interviews, which were conducted, with a carefully selected group of "strategic informants" directly related to the thematic issues of the research. Through purposive sampling, samples were taken from individuals within the network of foreign policy decision making of both countries who constituted the research population. These included the Executive and Legislative arms of governments, research institutes, intelligentsia, diplomatic and the fifth estate (civil society). In all, four clusters/groups of

interviewees were interviewed (see appendix A). The first cluster-targeted scholars, that is, analysts/academics from both Nigeria and South Africa who have a firm grasp and understanding of the issues under study. The second cluster of interviewees consisted of diplomats/bureaucrats/officials/Policy makers/politicians of the governments of Nigeria and South Africa. The third cluster was drawn from non-governmental organizations, editors, opinion leaders and other stakeholders from both Nigeria and South Africa. The fourth and final cluster consisted of diplomats/envoys/officials of the African Union and SADC. In most cases, the selection of the most productive sample to answer the research question was ensured. The motivation for this cross-section of samples was driven by the fact that the complexity of foreign policy making and implementation is situated within both traditional institutional frameworks as well as non-official or non-institutional platforms.

4.7 SAMPLE

In simple terms, the word 'sample' refers to 'part of the whole'. It is derived from a research population. According to Monette, et. al. (1990:131), sampling allows a researcher to study a workable number of cases from a large group, in order to arrive at the results that are relevant to all the members of the group. They further argue that the quality of information drawn carefully from the sampled group can even be more reliable than information that could be obtained from the entire group (ibid). It is therefore important that this requirement is taken into consideration to ensure that the validity and accuracy of research results are not compromised (Monette et al., 1990:131). In drawing the sample, recommendations by Monette, et. al. (ibid) which aimed at ensuring representatively, were taken into consideration. The authors argue that the sample will be regarded as a representativeness sample if it reflects the distribution of relevant variables of the targeted group (ibid). A proportionate stratified sample was used to ensure that the sample used

was proportionate to the strata present in the given population. Individuals with all the requisite elements were invited to form part of the sample, either verbally or through written communication.

According to Monette, et. al. (ibid) the availability sample or convenience sample is normally used when it is very difficult or impossible to develop a complete sampling frame. Monette, et. al.(ibid), in support of the utilization of availability samples, argue that an availability sample is one of the common forms of sample used in public service research, because it is less expensive and also because it is sometimes difficult to develop an exhaustive sampling frame. Availability of respondents who had all the required variables was used as a measure to draw the sample. Annexure 1 is the covering letter sent to potential respondents inviting them to participate in the study and explaining what the study seeks to achieve.

As can be gauged from the discussion above, the population of this study comprised people living in South Africa, Nigeria and the CAR. Ordinarily, it would have been ideal to have a specific sample purposively selected from the three countries based on their knowledge of the subject matter addressed in the present study. However, given the anticipated challenges in accessing officials in these countries and cost implications, most of the data sets were collected through document analysis. Also, it would have been ideal to visit both Nigeria and CAR. But this was not possible due to financial constraints. Nonetheless, convenient and purposive sampling methods (as alluded above) were used to select interviewees or informants who responded to questionnaires or availed themselves for oral interviews. Fortunately, all three countries are represented in South

Africa. The sample size was made up of 212 participants selected purposively comprising of the categories listed in the table below.

Table 4.1 The sample used to collect data for the study

Country	Variables	Frequency	Total
CAR	Official Civil servants Ordinary people	1 1 50	75
Nigeria	Official Civil servants Ordinary people	1 1 75	77
South Africa	Dpt. of Defence DIRCO Academic experts Political commentators Ordinary people	2 2 2 2 2 75	83
GRAND TOTAL		**212 Participants**	

Source: Compiled by the author

Ordinary informants were randomly selected and were approached in their individual capacity. For that reason, the informed consent letter was sufficient. As for the officials and civil servants from the embassies and government departments, a gatekeeper's letter was obtained from each embassy/department as protocol dictates and as per the prescription set by the University of KwaZulu-Natal under whose auspices this study was carried out.

4.8 PRIMARY SOURCES AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

As mentioned earlier, a combination of research methods or techniques was employed for data collection. As pointed out by Marshall (1996:522), "the choice between quantitative and qualitative research methods should be determined by the research question, not by the preference of the researcher". For this reason, and in line with the inductive and holistic philosophical foundation of the study, the primary sources for this research were drawn from the purposive sampling method also known as judgmental research method. The choice of qualitative sampling methods adopted for this research therefore considered the "spatial, temporal and situational influences and context" of the study (Marshall 1996:524). These factors were important elements in ensuring the trustworthiness of the conclusions of the research. As remarked by Alagoa (1985) and Afigbo (1990), primary sources are seen as reliable because the data generated present direct information from the participants or key witnesses thus limiting the possibility of distortion or exaggeration.

4.9 INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

4.9.1 Interviews

As mentioned above, interviews were carried out both orally using an interview schedule and in writing using a questionnaire. Both closed and open-ended questions were used in the study in order to solicit certain kinds of responses from the informants. In support of the utilization of open-ended questions rather than closed questions, Monette, et. al. (1990:169) argue that the former is relevant in an exploratory study in which the lack of theoretical development proposes that limited restrictions should be imposed on respondents' answers. The questionnaire was structured along a number of key themes informed by the research question, respondents' preliminary views and the

literature review. As recommended by May (1997:111) the thematic structure and the terms of the researcher allowed respondents to answer questions on their own terms rather than on the terms of the researcher. The open-ended questionnaire is considered an appropriate data-gathering tool because it allows the researcher to get more information that relates to participants' personal beliefs, considered opinions and insights unhindered (May, ibid). Schein (1983:112) supports this approach arguing that only a joint effort by insider and outsider can decipher the essential assumptions and their patterns of interrelationships

The open-ended questionnaire used in this study is attached as Annexure 2. The questions asked were simple and direct, and expressed only one idea. Those individuals targeted for the sample who responded positively to the invitation, were contacted telephonically to confirm their preparedness to complete the questionnaire once it was emailed or faxed to them. According to Monette et al. (1990:182), structuring of questions in interviews is relevant in ethnographic studies because it provides a degree of freedom for the interviewer and respondents in conducting the interview and the answering of questions.

Two sequences of interviews were undertaken with twelve individuals. The first sequence of interviews was conducted through a non-structured questionnaire and was conducted either face-to-face or telephonically with the twelve respondents. The first sequence of interviews served three purposes. The first purpose was to introduce the researcher and the subject of the research to a section of the targeted sample. The second purpose was to gain an understanding of the practices and policies that inform and guide the development of the diplomatic training programme of what was the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), now DIRCO. The third purpose was to

preliminarily establish whether the data collection tool (questionnaire) provided the depth, range and quality of information required, and whether the respondents shared this view (Monette et al., 1990:182). The structure of the dialogue allowed for in-depth conversation between the researcher and the respondents, probing, rephrasing of questions and allowed for varying the order of questions to fit a particular interview. The respondents were able to trust the researcher and did not feel threatened in anyway during dialogue. This built the much-needed rapport between both parties.

The second sequence of interviews included in-depth interviews conducted through a structured questionnaire. Marshall and Rossman (1989:82) argue that qualitative in-depth interviews are much more like conversations than formal structured interviews because they allow the researcher space to explore and uncover the participant's meaning and for perspective. In support of this approach, May (1997:111) argues that the thematic structure of the questionnaire should allow people to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits. Questionnaires were emailed to the respondents; some were completed through either telephonic or face-to-face interviews. Where the environment permitted, telephonic or face-to-face interviews were recorded. After the completed emailed questionnaires were received, telephonic follow-ups were made to clarify some of the responses to the questions. The telephonic follow-ups with the respondents are essential in order to correct misinterpretations of responses by the researcher (Schein, ibid). Through the follow-up, internal validity checks are immediately undertaken (Schein, 1983:112). Walsh (1998:223) supports Schein's (ibid) argument and points out that the follow-ups add to the strengths of ethnography because of the open-ended nature of the process when compared with other research methodologies.

As inferred above, a questionnaire was administered to the informants via email in order to solicit information. Some were researcher administered to increase the return rate. However, this was used in cases where one-on-one interviews were not possible for various reasons. An interview guide was used. The questions that were asked were guided by the objectives of the study as well as the research questions listed above. In essence, the content covered in both the interview schedule and the questionnaire were the same so that only relevant information was collected. Questionnaires were administered by the researcher and collected later, where possible. Some were emailed to the informants where there was a need. The process followed in this study was discussed by various authors (Maree, 2007) as valid mechanisms.

4.9.2 Participant Observations

Potter (1996:98) defines the participant observer approach as a technique of gathering data through direct contact with an object, usually another human being. Monette, Sullivan and De Jong (1990:234), in support of the participant observation approach, point out that public service professionals should seek out opportunities to undertake this type of study as a way of fully understanding a particular group culture and/or subculture. Proponents of this approach also argue that it is the only system that provides a researcher with access to a particular type of data referred to as 'subjective experiences of those under study' (Monette, et. al., 1990:234). Weber (ibid), in illustrating the importance of the participant observer, argues that in order to understand human behaviour, a researcher must study not only what people do or say, but also how they think and feel and their subjective experiences. In concluding his argument on this approach, Weber (ibid) proposes the method verstehen, which refers to subjective understanding or the participant

observer's effort to view and understand a situation from the perspective of the people being observed. In guarding against the positivist questioning of whether the subjective interpretations of the verstehen method have any scientific validity in a study of this nature Monette et al. (1990:240-2) support the utilization of this approach in a study of this nature. Monette, et.al. (ibid) argues that the participant observation approach is suitable to supplement interviews and informal discussions.

Monette, et.al. (ibid) further argue that a participant observer is able to gain comprehensive understanding of the values, perceptions, and other subjective elements of a particular group. Before embarking on participant observation as an approach to gather primary data, four steps proposed by Monette et al. (1990:240-2) are used as a reference to determine its applicability. The first step is to decide which group is to be studied and whether such a group would be accessible to the researcher as a participant observer. The second step is to establish whether the researcher will be granted entry to the target group as a participant observer. The third step is to establish whether the researcher, as a participant observer, will be able to develop a rapport and trust with the target group to ensure that they serve as useful and accurate sources of information. The final step requires the participant observer to determine whether the target group to be studied will provide the necessary environment for observation and the recording thereof (Monette, et.al. ibid). All the observations that were made were recorded and filed as supplementary data for analysis purposes.

4.9.3 Informal discussions

Given the challenges that South Africa is experiencing in implementing its foreign policy and its foreign obligations, the target group was keen to participate in discussions that relate to their work and training, they saw the research as a means of making an input to policy makers on the development of capacity for the DFA/DIRCO. The researcher routinely informed the participating individuals about the objectives of the study and guaranteed them anonymity on any views that they might have expressed that could be relevant to this study. There was also a sense of eagerness from participating individuals to share their understanding of the issue under study and at the same time, make recommendations that they felt would improve the relevance of the country's foreign policy.

4.10 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The questionnaire designed for the study was subjected to a validation process for face and content validity. McBurney (1994:123) defined face and content validity as follows: Face validity is the idea that a test should appear superficially to test what it is supposed to test; and content validity is the notion that a test should sample the range of behaviour represented by the theoretical concept being tested. In the validation process of this study, copies of the questionnaire and copies of the research questions were given to some of the countries to carry the research on musicologists and ethnomusicologists. These experts went through the research questions and the questionnaire carefully to ascertain the appropriateness and adequacy of the instrument. They suggested structuring the questionnaire in the Likert fashion, on a five-point scale instead of modified 4-point Likert fashion (Nworgu, 1991:117). The modified Likert scale was used. Many researchers and educationists feel that there is no logical enough reason to assign the weight of 3 points to somebody who is undecided on a given issue. Therefore, the modified four Likert scale was

preferred. However, the other useful observations and suggestions by the experts were modified and the corrections were made.

Having validated the questionnaire, pilot testing was carried out on the instrument using 30 lecturers and policy makers in KwaZulu-Natal. This was done in order to see:

- How the subjects would react to the questionnaire;

- Whether the items were clear enough and easily understood;

- Whether there was a need to include more items in certain areas; or

- Whether there were some items to which they would not like to respond

  as well as

- To determine the workability of the proposed method of data analysis for the study.

From the pilot test, the researcher was able to understand the ambiguity of some items and so had to modify them to the level of the questionnaire. That is, the researcher resorted to using simple English because English is the medium of instruction.

4.11 SECONDARY SOURCES

The secondary information for this study was derived from books, journal articles, magazines and newspaper articles, government gazettes, legislations, constitutions, official government reports, policy statements, reliable and verifiable internet materials, related audio and video collections and other relevant internet sources. These sources of data are particularly crucial in their ability to strengthen and complement the quality of the primary data gathered. Aside the rich and extensive information that these secondary sources provided, they shaded more light on, and validated, the substance of the primary data gathered. According to Walsh (1998:223), in order to start any research, process an ethnographer needs to review relevant secondary sources on the problems and

issues under consideration for the proposed research. The secondary sources may include allied research monographs and articles from journalistic materials, autobiographies, diaries, novels, and so on (Walsh, ibid). According to Potter (1996:88), documents are important to researchers who have to also interview respondents because such documents may provide confirmatory evidence and strengthen the credibility of interviews, informal discussions and participant observations. The criterion recommended by May (1997:190) was used in evaluating the quality of the evidence available through analysis of documentary sources. The criteria include authenticity, credibility, representativeness and importantly the establishment of the meaning of the document and its contribution to the issues a researcher is hoping to illuminate.

4.12 DATA ANALYSIS

Conventionally, after the process of data gathering has been completed, the collected data needs to be analysed and conclusions drawn that answer the research questions. The present study subscribed to this notion. The data collected from the field were analysed accordingly. Statistically weighted mean was used in answering the research questions. As a general norm, the response options in the instrument were weighted as shown below. Monette et al. (1990:216) point out that data analysis was referred to as 'content analysis. The authors argue that the content or the data analysis process is a form of measurement broadly defined as a measurement of aspects of data gathered during interviews (Monette et al., 1990:216). According to Monette et al. (1990:217) validity of data analysis refers to whether the categories the researcher develops and the aspects of the content coded are meaningful indicators of what is measured. They define reliability of data analysis as the ability of the developed measure used in a study to yield the same results each time

it is used (Monette et al., 1990:218). In analysing data this researcher ensured that, important elements that fulfil the requirements of validity and reliability were implemented.

Hancock (1998:9) points out that ethnographic analysis of data concentrates on understanding and describing the situation from the perspective of the culture or subgroup under study. In this context, data analysis means the description and presentation of the responses. The process of data analysis that was applied to this research followed the following steps, as recommended by Lacey and Luff (1998:3-4): familiarization of data through review, reading, and listening.

Furthermore, the transcription of tape-recorded material; organization and indexing of data for easy retrieval and identification also became necessary for this study; development of theory and incorporation of pre-existing knowledge; testing of theory against data; and finally report writing were all considered and used. Qualitative data were analysed thematically using Thematic Analysis [TA]. Descriptive analysis was done to make interpretation of data easy. Interpretive analysis was done to make data meaningful to readers. Empirical were analysed numerically and will be presented in the form of tables and pie charts under the results in the following chapter.

4.13 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the constraints of this study was that the researcher had limited time and resources and therefore most of the data collection took place in between other activities. For example, the researcher was not able to visit the two countries used as case studies. Ideally, this would have enriched the study even further. The issue of decision maker recollection is problematic in that different decision makers often have differing views of the same policy process. This either is due

to differences of perspectives, memory lapses, or desires to save face. The present study was not immune to this reality.

However, everything was done to minimise the negative impact of these limitations. For example, the researcher had to examine a great deal of the source material and conduct large numbers of interviews to get a balanced picture. For the reasons stated above, this had its own limitations in the present study. Access to information was also problematic at times. This was due to gatekeepers or poor record keeping by some institutions. The researcher needed to be strategic in terms of collecting the data. While these issues were taken into consideration, there was no guarantee that the project was going to proceed without glitches. However, the fact that the researcher was mindful of all these potential challenges even before the project started meant that attempts were made to keep the limitations minimal. This was done by taking precautionary measures in advance and comparing empirical and secondary data sets.

4.14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Schwartz (1991) in Struwig and Stead (2001:66) refers to ethics as "a system of morals, rules of behaviour which provide researchers with a code of moral guidelines on how to conduct research in a morally acceptable way". Participants were given the opportunity to voluntarily take part in the research. The participants were assured that the information gathered would be kept confidential, and that it was only going to be used for the purpose of the research and for no other reason. Importantly, they were all told at the beginning that should they decide to opt out of the study at any stage they could do so without any victimisation. To ensure anonymity of the informants, they were assured that their names would not be divulged. Instead, their pseudonyms

would be used in order to protect their identity. This gave the informants assurance that they would not be negatively affected by the study in any way and then agreed to participate fully in it.

4.15 CONCLUSION

This chapter concentrated on the methodology used to collect data for the study that sought to understand the impact of South Africa's foreign policy on the Central African Republic and Nigeria since 1994. Furthermore, the methods of collecting information or data using the methods such as observation, interviews, literature review that helped the researcher to fulfil the requirements for the study were discussed. This chapter discussed the research methods that were believed to enable the study to reveal the criticisms levelled against South Africa's foreign policy. The chapter spelt out how information was collected to establish South Africa's intervention strategies in the two countries. Moreover, the challenges encountered during the data collection process were outlined in this chapter. It was also spelt out what the researcher did in order to keep the potential negative impact of the challenges to a bare minimum.

This was done in order to give the reader assurance that everything was done to ensure that the research results are credible. Having discussed the methodology and research methods at length in the present chapter, the following chapter presents the results by outlining the role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system as deciphered from the collected data sets. The next chapter will also discuss the political path of South Africa regarding Central African Republic and Nigeria since 1994.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the study by focusing on the role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system. From a general perspective, the foreign policy document is a very important tool for any country that seeks to advance its interest on politics and international relations. A country's foreign policy is concerned with a government's activities and shows the relationships that exist between the different actors such as the state and other stakeholders in the international systems. In South Africa, foreign policy seeks to involve intensively and extensively the affairs of the African region. Within the region, South Africa faces a dilemma of timeously adjusting its strategic compass within the world of foreign policy. It has been observed that the country's foreign policy has an ambitious foreign policy agenda hence the country is always confronted by an array of problems. Notably, South Africa has been visible in its foreign policy

footprint where it has been involved in the African continent's peace and mediation efforts. This chapter seeks to examine South Africa's foreign policy and to understand its position in world affairs. Specifically, it will discuss South Africa's foreign policy influence on the global policy and policy innovations with a particular focus on CAR and Nigeria. The chapter will explore South Africa's foreign policy, the country's economic imperatives and its historical legacy. Furthermore, bilateral and multi-lateral relations between South Africa, CAR and Nigeria will be discussed and contextualised in line with the title of this dissertation.

5.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The demographic profiles of the respondents were mainly males - although females also formed part of the study. These came from different race groups; organizations and they are holding different positions in their organizations. Table 5.1 below provides the details.

Variable	Female %	Male %
Age intervals (in years)		
--25 and under	10.34%	0.00%
--26-34	43.10%	38.81%
--35-44	29.31%	35.82%
--45-54	15.52%	19.40%
--55-64	1.72%	5.97%
TOTAL	**99.99%**	**100%**
Race		
--African	63.79%	62.69%
--Coloured	1.72%	7.46%
--Indian	3.45%	17.91%
--White	31.03%	11.94%
TOTAL	**99.99%**	**100%**

Type of organization		
--Government	24.14%	40.30%
--University	48.28%	52.24%
--NGO	20.69%	2.99%
--Other	6.90%	4.48%
TOTAL	**100.01%**	**100.01%**
Position in organization		
--Deputy director/Manager	15.52%	17.91%
--Student	44.83%	28.36%
--Lecturer	3.45%	23.88%
--Government official	15.52%	25.37%
--Other	20.69%	4.48%
TOTAL	**100.01%**	**100.01%**
n=58	**n=67**	

Source: Own calculations from the South Africa Foreign Policy (SAFP) data (2018)

Based on the above table, the age range of the respondents was comprised of those who were 25 and below and they constituted 10.3%, with the majority of respondents aged between 26 and 34 (43.10%) females and 38.81% males. This was followed by the age range of 35 to 44, which comprised 29% females and 35.2% males. The age groups from 45 to 54 were 15.2% females and 19.40% males. The age group of 55 to 64 consisted of 7.2% females and 5.97 f males. Most of the respondents were from the African race group, with 63.97 % females and 62.9 % males. As can be seen from the above table most of the respondents were from the university with 48.2 % females and 52.4% males. The above table shows that the majority of the respondents were students with 44.83% females and 26.3% males. The informants were asked to choose their level of agreement with the statements about South Africa's foreign policy in the global context.

5.3 UNDERSTANDING SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The increasing importance of soft power in global politics is recognised both in the literature and amongst scholars and practitioners of international relations (Ogunnubi and Uzodike, 2015). For

decades, South Africa was isolated from the international world as a result of its discriminatory policies. Hence, its international relations strategy was affected by apartheid which made it difficult for the country to progress (Pfister, 2000). During the 1980's it was observed that South Africa had become one of the most isolated states the world over (Laverty, 2007). Consequently, South Africa faced a number of challenges in constructing its new democratic institutions. The following table shows responses on the role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system (table above). Even though South Africa is one of the most important African countries, it was very difficult for the country to forge an inclusive civic culture as a result of its bitter past clouded by decades of racial segregation and ideological differences. The South African foreign philosophy is reflected on the concept of Ubuntu. The results are presented in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: The role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Chi-Statistic (4-Degrees of Freedom)	p-value
The South African foreign philosophy is reflected on the concept of Ubuntu	28.80 (n=36)	44.80 (n=56)	13.60 (n=15)	1.6 (n=2)	11.20 (n=14)	0.47	0.98
South Africa has played a middle role in human rights and poverty eradication	12.70 (n=16)	46.83 (n=59)	20.63 (n=26)	7.94 (n=10)	11.11 (n=14)	33.8	0.00***
The concept of Ubuntu has expressed south Africa's unique approach in global issues	21.25 (n=17)	57.5 (n=46)	22.5 (n=18)	11.25 (n=9)	12.5 (n=10)	19.41	0.00***
South Africa's has shaped the country's vision for a better world for all	13.60 (n=17)	38.40 (n=48)	28.80 (n=36)	9.60 (n=12)	9.60 (n=12)	40.3	0.00***
South Africa's approach to diplomacy is guided by Ubuntu philosophy in translating international relations that respect all nations, peoples, and cultures	24.00 (n=30)	36.80 (n=46)	21.60 (n=27)	8.80 (n=11)	8.80 (n=11)	15.54	0.00***

By putting people first, south Africa uses its international policy for cooperation in building partnerships over conflict	24.80 (n=31)	40.80 (n=51)	18.40 (n=23)	4.80 (n=6)	11.20 (n=14)	5.4	0.25

Source: Own calculations from the South Africa Foreign Policy (SAFP) data (2018)

So, since 1994 South Africa's foreign policy has made development one of its top priorities. This view was shared by one of the respondents, who stated that,

> *The aim was to get out of apartheid movement and therefore going to 1994, now the whole idea is to dismantle the political issues of apartheid and also how do you deal with those issues* (Respondent 1).

As can be seen from the above narrative, South Africa's foreign policy sought to position South Africa distinctively in the world's affairs. For instance, another respondent said,

> *I think there are two things to consider there. One is that our own foreign policy should be focusing on consolidating democracy and stability in the SADC region. In particular countries like Swaziland and Zimbabwe being the classical examples. Two, we need to be saying what are the challenges facing our region and how bad are we addressing those challenges, because South Africa alone cannot provide answers to the people of other countries but those people* (Respondent2).

South Africa sought to consolidate its democracy by ensuring that there is peace and stability within the SADC region, particularly problematic countries such as Swaziland and Zimbabwe. Within the region, South Africa was to address challenges that had a potential to destabilize the region. However, the country has been cautious not to interfere with other sovereign states. Hence, other critiques have been particularly hard on South Africa's

approach to the Zimbabwean situation. South Africa's approach to the continental problems was more geared towards economic liberation. South Africa has played a middle role in human rights and poverty eradication.

With regard to Nigeria, there have been concerns regarding security threats resulting from Boko Haram incidents. One respondent commented that:

> *The main challenge of national security emanates from the Boko Haram incidents which affect most of the North East part of Nigeria but it has its original implications because it overflows the whole country like Chad and Cameroon (Respondent 3).*

South Africa's ideals embrace a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic state. This position which was adopted after the end of apartheid has enabled the country to forge linkages with other countries globally. The cconcept of Ubuntu has expressed South Africa's unique approach to global issues (57.5%). Driven by its democratic principles, South Africa's foreign policy has been influenced by the need to serve its people diligently and to propagate domestic policies and objectives that will drive the right vision for the country. So, the end of apartheid and the emergency of democracy have taken a new direction in shaping South Africa's interest in the global world and in Africa in particular. South Africa's has shaped the country's vision for a better world for all. South Africa's approach to its foreign policy is to legitimize its intention in directing and serving its people. On the question regarding the role of South Africa in multilateralism as an approach to solving challenges confronting CAR and Nigeria, one respondent said the following:

If you look this is a country which was born in 1994 and made strides that

countries that had been there or nations that has been there before 1994 and

we usually say we punch above our weight all because the kind of things

South Africa has done after 1994 where by multilateralism or bilateralism

even other arrangement have tremendous achievements if you look at our

involvement first of all on the continent in terms of mediation, peace keeping

and peace building in many countries, capacity building sustainability of

peace (Respondent 1).

There was agreement amongst the respondents that South Africa's foreign policy reflects the concept of Ubuntu. This is evident in the role South Africa has played in poverty eradication. So, the concept of Ubuntu has been expressed in the country's unique approach to global issues. For instance, respondent 3 had the following to say:

As I was saying that since 1994 our foreign policy has always located the continent as the

centre Africa. That is not a merely for it say but it forms a particular historical context. As

you know before 1994, the continent in particular was a biggest source in political source

in the continent and solidarity when we were engaged on our own solidarity liberation

study against apartheid colonialism.

The above statement represents an acknowledgement that the African continent played a significant role in dismantling apartheid in South Africa through political support, solidarity and other assistance. Hence, South Africa has been motivated to shape the country's vision for a better world. South Africa's approach to diplomacy is guided by Ubuntu philosophy in translating international relations that respect all nations, peoples, and cultures (36.80%). The Ubuntu

philosophy has shaped South Africa's approach to diplomacy by translating international relations to be guided by respect for all nations, people's and cultures. Another respondent explained that,

> *It's largely been inspired by our desire to have a stable and prosperous Africa that is united, non-racial, non- sexiest that continues to the better world. If you were to look at our constitution, our foreign policy is myriad in the constitution. You know it's not something that you know it's just created or crafted for its sake because foreign policy in itself is anywhere you go its extension of domestic policy that is why the values inspires us when we do our work on the continent. It's inspired by our own vision and the type of the world we want to see (Respondent 4).*

In putting people first, South Africa has changed its domestic setting. Therefore, South Africa has used its international relations policy for corporation and for building partnerships over conflict. The new dispensation had to develop an African policy with pre-conditions for transformation. So, the new democratic government was aware of the internal demands but it was ambitious to reconfigure a new strategy towards the development of the African continent. It is an irrefutable fact that the continent is faced with a number of challenges due to undemocratic governance structures and the peripheral global context setting. South Africa's foreign policy sought to redirect the democratic fundamentals and transition from apartheid to the new era with minimal disruptions. To date, this proclamation that the national interest would be the beam that will guide the country's foreign policy has remained little more than a statement of intent and much conjecture (Landsberg, 2010). For instance, during the early years of democracy in 1990-1994, there was a deliberate attempt to negotiate the foreign policy principles between the ANC and other actors. Another respondent emphasised this view by saying:

Oh okay, but I'm also sure that you also do know that neocolonialism for us it is typical and those are contestant concept. You know, you also know that colonialism and neo colonialism are contextual content but for us I mean, typical for our nation like ours that in the past about colonialism and apartheid. After 1994 and before that and even look at the ANC itself liberation movement and not ANC alone but other political parties or liberation movements at that time. Now how do you deal with these legacies that we are dealing now? We want peace for everybody. Divorcing ourselves from those things we said never again shall this happen and shall not be done by our government. With neocolonialism, then I would say the South Africa's foreign policy is a maximum it's like that because of the past. People get that as derived from the Marxist legal document. So, if you look at the monopoly (Respondent 5).

As can be seen from the above, colonialism and neo-colonialism is still a contested concept. The ANC is cognisant of the fact that the liberation of South Africa was not an easy task, so many things happened, bad things for that matter. The new rulers would like to maintain a legacy of peace for everybody ensuring that people are not discriminated against by colour, creed or otherwise. So, there is a deliberate effort to distance the country's effort from the apartheid legacy. Thus, South Africa has used its foreign policy as a maxim to direct its effort on international relations issues and influence global policy and policy innovations. For instance, another respondent indicated that:

So there is that, but we also then in the context of pursuing this Africa agenda, the strategic intention for our foreign policy on the continent is the whole political issue and that is why continually advocated the strengthening of regional economic communities because we see them as a building blocks to a united continent as we envisaged by agenda 2063 of the

Africa union that by 2030 we have this united continent and one of the key pillars in which

we can do that achieving that is to strengthen the regional economic committees.

South Africa's policy has assisted in improving the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country. This can be exhibited by the new direction that has been taken by the new rulers. The current foreign policy differs dramatically from the apartheid government's foreign policies. While in the apartheid era the focus was on the interest of the ruling White minority, in the new dispensation the ideal is more on inclusivity. The role of South Africa in the African continent particularly in CAR and Nigeria is influenced by the prevailing inequalities in the country. There is an immediate need to embark on advanced physical infrastructure, ICT and Telecommunication networks that are comparable to the developed world. Therefore, these and other factors shaped and redirected South Africa's foreign policy.

To succeed in its international foreign policy position, the ANC-led government took advantage of its experiences in the liberation struggle and the international strategies to position South Africa competitively. As can be seen, South Africa is not new to the issues of peace building and conflict resolution, its experience in anti-apartheid struggles has helped to position the country competitively. It is suggested that the rise of an epistemic community, along with the liberation struggle history of the African Congress facilitated the internationalization of certain global human rights norms, but it is less clear the extent to which these norms were inhibited from becoming settled norms or solidified in the work of national liberation in South Africa (Moore, 2013).

The ANC led government has been instrumental in transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political party with immeasurable acumen. Even though the ANC had no experience in governing the country, its transition from a political party into government meant a lot of complex negotiations within the party itself and among other actors. Thus, from 1990 to1994, the country's future was discussed, analysed and transformed, the foreign policy is an exhibit to this effort. There are a number of advantages that the new government had despite its lack of experience in governing a state. So, in other people's mind South Africa brought hope for the future and the new government was willing to actively participate in the international affairs. For instance, one respondent said:

> *You also know that the blue print to Africa social economic development which at the last aim summit was formally able to form a decision that NEPAD will not be separated from the AU but it will be administered in one of the AU commissions so that has been South Africa's initiative.*

South Africa has contributed to African politics and has contributed significantly to the establishment of NEPAD and AU commissions. South Africa's foreign policy is guided by the respect for human rights both nationally and internationally. As can be seen from the foreign policy's Ubuntu philosophy, human rights issues are central to international relations. They extend beyond politics by embracing economy, social, environmental and economic issues. The South African foreign policy is first and foremost African focused in its identity and orientation. Hence, the ANC has made sure that its foreign policy does not take a Euro-centric approach which was the case with the National Party's foreign policy (Laverty, 2007). To achieve its vision, South Africa has established a worldwide diplomatic presence in international multilateral organisations to ensure that South Africa is brought back into the fold. For instance, South Africa's presence is

felt in the UN, EU, AU and other organizations. Looking back in 1999 during Mbeki's presidency, the South African foreign policy was in its formative phase. However, Mbeki capitalised and focused primarily on issues of identity and identification in Southern African.

So, the idea of 'Africanization' became entrenched in South Africa's identity and foreign policy. Under Mandela, it is portrayed in foreign policy terms as an overstretched state striving to meet the idealistic demands placed upon it by a fragile world. Mbeki's pragmatism and moderation has seen South Africa recast its role in a manner more commensurate with its size and resources (Alden & Le Pere, 2004). President Mbeki in particular, emphasised and gave instructions on how to relate back to Africa in everything particularly on foreign policy matters. An African nation was prescribed directed from the very top of government. Thus, issues to do with peace and security in Africa became evident on South African issues. Recently, there have been concerns regarding Boko Haram's extremism in Nigeria, instability caused by Al-Shabaab and Saher-Elbert in Somalia in particular and in Eastern Africa in general. These issues were raised by a respondent who said:

> *Particularly when we talk of issues like extremism, Boko Haram has been taking place in CAR and it has gone to the neighbouring countries pass the nature basin. You find them in Nigeria, Chad and in some other parts of Nigeria. You also find instability in the home of Al-Shabaab creating havoc in the region. Kenya has felt the impact, Ethiopia and Uganda also has felt the impact. You see, we also have challenges in what we called Saher-Elbert which started in Sudan up to North Mauretania. We also have arcadia linked to elements*

*there operating and it is very difficult for police to cross borders since the rebels are in the gates of borders (*Respondent 2*).*

As can be seen from the above responses, South Africa has been cognisant of the dilemma facing Africa. Hence, it has made significant strides to move away from total onslaught and the exclusive policies to African Renaissance that relate to inclusivity. In Southern Africa, South Africa has tried to proffer an acceptable niche for herself but remains unable to do so due to a number of mutually interested partners. For example, there is a growing suspicion in the SADC region about South Africa's intention and commitment. Critics argue that there is a feeling of non-complementariness between and among regional states. For instance, South Africa is perceived as having a comparative advantage due to its rapid globalising international environment. In addition, in the gradual move from Mbeki's presidency to Zuma, there was no change in policy per se but the emphases were more on propitious integration and economic diplomacy (Pfister, 2000).

It was after much anticipation that members of the new Jacob Zuma foreign policy executive announced that for the duration of their term South Africa's foreign policy would be based on the doctrine of advancing the national interest conceptualised simply as the most vital need of the country (Landsberg, 2010). One respondent (4) said that:

You like looking at the term of former President Zuma there was more emphasis on the policy and there wasn't much change on our foreign policy except emphasis and I think in these two terms the emphasis has been on economic diplomacy.

Furthermore, in its foreign policy South Africa seeks to bring on board all actors in order to achieve peace and stability. For instance, one respondent said:

So, in CAR we say where everybody was saying no or unable to participate and we South Africa came and say let's intervene in this country so that there can be peace in CAR. With Nigeria for example we were together at the city council in the last commission so we would work and make sure that the continent is at peace. About the details of South Africa's involvement in Nigeria someone who is dealing with the embassy of Nigeria will give you more details about South Africa and Nigeria (Respondent 3).

Academics and practitioners agree that any foreign policy starts from its domestic variables. In South Africa the main determinants of foreign policy include population, national interest, historic background and an experience, geographical location, military strength, national ideology, economic strength, interest of policy makers as well as regionality and the geographical size of the state. In most cases, the foreign policy is influenced by a country goals and ambitions. These can either be cultural, economic or military policies. So, national interests are very important to the state and they drive the country's policies. As mentioned above, national interests direct a nation-state's endeavours and these differ from one country to the other. The theory of neofunctionalism holds that state integration is brought about by the entrepreneurship of supranational agents who engage the states in the pooling of sovereignty on issues of common interest by creating continuous "spill overs" to related policy areas. Neofunctionalism theory shows some major differences to functionalism.

Looking at South Africa's foreign policy against any emerging international organization, it is being considered to be greater than initially thought where it primarily serves as an actor in future integration processes. In most cases national interest is reflected in a country's external and

domestic policies. Even though there is agreement on what constitutes national interest broadly, there is continuing debate among planners, leaders and analysts. Some argue that national interest is determined by the security and welfare of the state, its values and survival. Interestingly, there are emerging varying definitions of what constitutes national interest. Recently, issues of perception and personal interest of policy makers have dominated the discourse of the national interest. Critics have argued that different politicians and decision makers are influenced by their background on what constitutes national interest. However, the general consensus on national interest centres around national security core-values of state and survival. As a general norm, national interest depends on the state's potential and the resolve of the state's policy makers in perpetuating goals and objectives that form the state's long-term policy. Therefore, the country's foreign policy is, to a large extent guided by the state's basic principles. For instance, one respondent commented thus:

> *Now the DTI department will identify what are the business opportunities and investment opportunities and that was not elaborated on time but there was that consciousness that you can't be using our resources and get nothing in return (Respondent 2).*

Based on the comment above there is agreement that in executing a country's foreign policy one has to understand the opportunities that exist or the advantages that a country has over its competitors. For instance, the involvement of South Africa in the CAR and Nigeria has salient emerging issues which might have militarily become economic or socio-culture. These views were corroborated by one of the respondents who said:

> *And as a scholar of international relations you might agree with me or not that if you look what happened at the CAR, even someone who did not know about foreign policy or the efforts of our military sites on the continent at that time there was that consciousness that*

*our soldiers go there and what is it that they are doing? There was that thing that people go out and what do they do? You know! And of course, you know that there was ……whether it was personal or what I don't know but what I know is that we send forces to bring about peace to countries and then there was that deliberate effort to make sure that at least when we intervene in peace making we also benefit and now South Africa is not the same country. There aren't enough resources for all of us (*Respondent 3*).*

The above comment confirms that South Africa has been involved in regional and international corporation in order to achieve economic development for its people. Hence, the focus of its foreign policy in the post-apartheid era was on regional integration. This was important in achieving Africa's revival in political and economic development. Therefore, the problem facing Africa is that the continent tends to export a lot of raw materials and import many value-added goods resulting in balance of trade deficit. Exports to Africa have increased significantly. Fortunately, the balance of trade favours South Africa. South Africa's imports grew remarkably at a growth rate of 8, 6% between 1995 and 2008 (Thaver& Ekanayake, 2010). The major areas of corporation between South Africa and African countries include banking, insurance, retail, mining and others. Due to its geographical location and knowledge of conditions in Africa, South Africa has had a trading competitive advantage. Thus, interpreting South Africa's foreign policy makes it possible to diffuse and brag from the rigidity of the traditional dominant approaches. As can be seen from this discussion, the shadow of structural realism still hangs over much of the discussion which presents the embodied portrayal of foreign policy where international conditions are privileged at the expense of domestic factors. The presence of South Africa in the CAR and Nigeria confirms the centrality of human rights in South Africa's foreign policy.

The results show that by putting people first, South Africa uses its international policy for cooperation in building partnerships over conflict (40.80%). In all its aims and objectives, South Africa has declared and re-affirmed the domestic route of its foreign policy. For instance, Zuma has declared publicly that South Africans believe in democratic violence, fundamental rights and social justice. So, foreign policy has become an extension of South Africa's domestic policy and value systems. This comes in two folds; South Africa's foreign policy entails responsibility and accountability of the state sovereignty. Thus, the safety and well-being of the country's citizens is the responsibility of leaders and accountability to them and the international community for their contact at home.

5.4 SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY INFLUENCE ON THE GLOBAL POLICY AND POLICY INNOVATIONS IN CAR AND NIGERIA

There is general consensus in the academy that innovation is one of the key elements that drive productivity growth in industrial countries. This growth is influenced by a number of factors such as investment, capital, growth in human skills and technological change. The table below shows, the role of South African foreign policy in negating the historical legacy and economic disparities prevailing in Nigeria and CAR.

Table 5.3: The role of South African foreign policy in negating the historical legacy and economic desperatives? prevailing in Nigeria and CAR

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Chi-Statistic (4-Degrees of Freedom)	p-value
South African foreign policy has assisted in improving socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country	26.40 (n=33)	44.00 (n=55)	12.80 (n=16)	7.20 (n=9)	9.60 (n=12)	5.82	0.21
South Africa's role in the global socio-economic and political	24.00 (n=30)	44.00 (n=55)	16.00 (n=20)	10.40 (n=13)	5.60 (n=7)	16.12	0.01***

issues is influenced by the prevailing inequality							
The country has earmarked the advanced physical infrastructure ICT, telecommunication networks comparable to the developed world	24.00 (n=30)	52.00 (n=65)	17.60 (n=22)	3.20 (n=4)	3.20 (n=4)	32.62	0.00***
Advanced infrastructural development has influenced south Africa's dominion in Nigeria and CAR	21.60 (n=27)	46.40 (n=58)	21.60 (n=27)	5.60 (n=7)	4.80 (n=6)	20.32	0.00***
The foreign policy has contributed enormously in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor	27.20 (n=31)	36.00 (n=45)	16.00 (n=20)	11.20 (n=14)	9.60 (n=12)	13.51	0.01***
The opening up of the economy has reduced the importance of some sectors while boasting other less labour intensive sectors	28.00 (n=35)	39.20 (n=49)	19.20 (n=24)	9.60 (n=12)	4.00 (n=5)	28.05	0.00***

Source: Own calculations from the South Africa Foreign Policy (SAFP) data

To achieve growth a number of factors have to be considered. These factors are shaped by institutional policies. From the above table, respondents indicated that South African foreign policy has assisted in improving socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country and 44% of the respondents has agreed. So, to achieve investment government has to create incentives and mechanisms that encourages the transfer, adoption, adaptation and diffusion of knowledge in organisational systems. For instance, one responded commented as follows:

There are two things to consider. One is that you are able to increase or to explore foreign direct investment to those countries. You're able to increase our capacity in terms of exchanging of good and other services. I think it's quite noticeably. Two, you are able to learn from them and they learn from us in terms of how the policies are structured so that you are able to accommodate other points within. What is also important to note in terms of our relations is that you are able also to have your own investors going out to those particular countries and then you're extending your own market base but what is also difficult with that is what you get in return. I think it must go hand in hand if you

give, you must get and at the end what are you giving the country and I think it quite

important (Respondent 3).

As can be seen from the above, creating organisations, systems and incentives mechanism that foster systems of innovations is very important. South Africa's role in the global socio-economic and political issues is influenced by the prevailing inequality. A country may have a very good foreign policy but if this policy is not supported by a conducive environment for investment that creates a number of challenges. In developing countries, different countries face a number of challenges due to poor capacity ineffective coordination and urgency within the system resulting in underdevelopment. The country has earmarked the advanced physical infrastructure ICT and telecommunication networks comparable to the developed world. The capacity for innovation should be considered as one of the major roles of the state and this should be built into the structural transformation of the economic processes. Advanced infrastructural development has influenced South Africa's dominion in Nigeria and CAR where (46.40%) of the respondents indicated that the advanced infrastructural development has influenced South Africa's dominion in Nigeria and CAR.

Although most countries in Africa have broadly embraced innovation policy design capacity investment growth productivity, collaboration of economic and non-economic actors has not been incorporated as a key function. The foreign policy has contributed enormously in bridging the gap between the rich and the poor (36.00%). Attention has been focused mainly on skills transfer and capitalisation from industrialized countries without developing a proactive policy that promotes systemic interactions among the economic and non-economic actors. Therefore,

there is little that actors have promoted collaboration within enclaved institutions. A respondent indicated that,

> *Currently the policy, our own foreign policy, is too wide and unable to achieve its intended policies. One, it has come to be predictable and that it is too big for our young democracy. Hence, we have a very low capacity to execute this ambitious agenda that is going to take but I also believe that countries like Nigeria and CAR are better placed to provide solutions on their local problems other than expecting South Africa to play a big brother syndrome to those countries.*

The above comment shows that government has to be realistic in formulating their foreign policy objectives. Some governments develop very ambitious policies making it difficult to achieve the stated goals. For instance, the opening up of the economy has reduced the importance of some sectors while boasting other less labour-intensive sectors (39.20%). In some cases, countries may have a low capacity to execute their foreign policy agenda, so each country should be allowed to come up with solutions that are unique or appropriate novel to their own situations.

5.5 SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE HISTORICAL LEGACY AND ECONOMIC IMPERATIVES

As indicated in the previous discussions South Africa's foreign policy has been in part influenced by its historical influences. The years of the liberation struggle influenced its national interest resulting in the need to develop a foreign policy that is people-centred. Thus, its diplomatic relations ensure South Africa's commitment to continental, regional and national development. For instance, one responded comment that:

> *It is difficult to measure any impact that is done by our South African foreign policy, particularly on investment and trade. Why is the case? One, the policy is too open ended*

and we are a young democracy but measuring with other countries. We are then unable

to execute our own policy in terms of implementing our policy.

From an African perspective influenced by African values and African ideology that says your (or you neighbour's) problems are your own problems, South Africa has embraced other African countries in dealing with their own problems. For instance, a respondent indicated that

*The case should be we are all in Africa, if any country is able to deal with all economic situations we are then have to say can't we unite this economy whether in SADC or in the whole of Africa. You then ought to come up with one economic policy that seeks to accommodate all African states because without that you have a different on these countries (*Respondent 3*).*

As part of its strategy to the diplomacy of Ubuntu South Africa has attempted to address global challenges through employing the principles of human rights, democracy, reconciliation and eradication of poverty. But given the new South Africa's debt to a global human rights campaign, the emphasis on stalking out the moral high ground in the rhetoric of the country's new decision makers and of commentators is not surprising (Spence, 2009). There is emphasis on establishing international relations through collaboration and partnership. For instance, another respondent commented that:

South Africa had to do that in Nigeria. Us we believe in the supremacy of the law if you play by the same rules and not against so that side of the core of the argument we believe in the rule of law and everybody must live by it and the game must be equal and also must be fare. Yea, yea!!!

South Africa firmly believes in non-violent conflict resolution, in relation to the present and future predisposition. Thus, South Africa by and large has used its historic background to shape its influence and its actions. South Africa has also contributed significantly towards the global system of governance. The country's foreign policy has transformed from a power based to rules-based system, taking into cognisance the socio-economic realities prevailing in the country. Although the historical legacy remains deeply embedded in all spheres of life with a lot of prevailing economic disparities, capital intensive firms, modern and outward looking orientation have been best placed to take advantage of trade liberalization and macro-economic stability. Consequently, the country has witnessed a leap on advanced physical infrastructure, ICT and telecommunication networks as well as sophisticated financial sector comparable to the developed world. However, there are still some sections within the economy where the majority of people are largely skilled and disadvantaged. Thus, the section represents the general poverty associated with that of least developed countries. Even though there has been a steady GDP growth and spending in social services, social and structural challenges continue to persist. One of the respondents said,

> *Given that SA always believed that the challenges are facing Nigeria cannot be resolved through military action they can only be resolved through conflict resolution, where there is an all inclusion of negotiations of the parties that is involved in the conflict. You'll understand the dynamics of conflict in Nigeria in this session (Respondent 2).*

In trying to address domestic challenges on education, rural development, health, employment and crime prevention, South Africa has made linkages with countries like Nigeria which has become a significant trading partner. Due to its huge population Nigeria has become an attractive market for South African products and investment opportunities. Through its approach to international relations, South Africa has created linkages with Nigeria by easing business processes and creating

a conducive business environment. Not only has South Africa benefited from this deal, Nigeria exports 8% of its crude oil. Therefore, South Africa has become a voice in the global arena based on its history, its vision and its position in the global capitalist system. Based on its fairly advanced industrial base and its economic elite the country has been able to negotiate and influence its global peers with regards to the integration of the continent into the global markets.

In addition, global powers recognise South Africa as having a very important regional influence due to its capital state interactions, the power of the state and the size of the economy. So, trade between South Africa and Nigeria has increased significantly as confirmed by one responded who said, *"Besides the economic or the trade relations there is more and more people contact between Nigeria and South Africa. Currently, there are ten flights per week between the two countries and then it is always full trip"*.

Of course, South Africa remains an important economy in Africa and regional trading hub in Southern Africa. However, South Africa act as hub for company headquarters logistics, distribution and sourcing for regional markets and finances (Neethling, 2017).

5.6 BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA, CAR AND NIGERIA

Going back to history, there is enough evidence that supports the role of Nigeria in fighting apartheid. Back then there were no bilateral relations between the South African government and Nigeria since South Africa was placed on isolation by the international community as a result of its role in promoting apartheid. The birth of democracy in South Africa signified the new dawn as it paved a dramatic attitude change. As a result, the two countries have become trading giants championing and repositioning the continent on the path of long-term development. Borrowing

128

from realism the use of the theory provides the most appropriate analysis to understanding power and hence the notions of 'soft power.' Foreign policy decision is in line with the national interest (Van Nieuwkerk, 2003). Realism theory is referred to as political realism which identifies power, national interest and state survival as crucial in the analysis of interstate relations (Hoffman, 1999: 241). Therefore, the re-introduction of South Africa into the international space has helped in reducing her marginalisation. Nigeria has enjoyed dominance on the economic front particularly in West Africa while South Africa has dominated the economic space in Southern Africa. This view was reinforced by one of the respondents, who said that,

> *Now the history that we have in particular with the other two countries is that we move to those countries to look for skills and to attract those skills and imply to our own country so that we'll be able to do certain things. For us what is it that they getting you start saying/seeing the movement people from Nigeria and CAR to seek political asylum, two to look for greener pastures and so forth. Our then history tells us that you are obviously being in the political to the people of Nigeria. Two you're unable to control the numbers of people coming to South Africa so that you are to ensure that the economy is able to absorb a particular number of foreign international number and which than creates a problem for your own people. We are not creating a side that says we should not be providing political solutions to political problems to those areas because of our history. Our history suggest that we have to be providing those political answers but we also believe that those have not looked at the history of what we have and they should be able to provide local answers to their own local challenges so that they are in role of their current situations because now South Africa is a far from Nigeria which I think that will be a case.*

South Africa benefits from a symbolic hegemonic identity drawn from its enormous soft power resource (Ogunnubi and Amao, 2016). As can be seen from the discussion above, South Africa has played a significant role not only on the economic front but also on the social aspects. For instance, South Africa has embraced a number of Nigerian and CAR nationals seeking either political asylum or looking for greener pastures. Currently, South Africa is facing migration challenges with the huge numbers of people coming from Nigeria and CAR. Analysts have predicted that South Africa is unable to absorb all the foreign nationals seeking asylum. The country has been inundated with a lot of problems and will not be able to deal with them easily.

Comparatively, South Africa and Nigeria's economies are varied with Nigeria depending on the oil sector while South Africa's economy is diversified. There is enough evidence suggesting that Nigeria's foreign policy has always been on the forefront of Africa's development. Hence, from the 1960's Nigeria was committed to the decolonization of the African continent, poverty eradication and ending of racial discrimination and domination. Relations between Nigeria and the African continent go a long way back hence South Africa has been concerned about the terror developments emerging in Nigeria. For instance, one respondent said,

> *We believe that UN cooperating with AU and the regional organisation called ECOWAS might bring sort of resolution in that conflict that is on the go in part of the continent. So, goes for Central African Republic although the conflict there is not terror per se but it is an intra-state conflict where it's just one group not accommodating the other in terms of governance (Respondent 3).*

There are mutual benefits associated with international relations between Nigeria and South Africa. The two countries have managed to resolve trade barriers, they have assisted each other in

a number of initiatives and participated in providing technical assistance in other countries such as Liberia. Both countries have played a role in strengthening the AU and providing mediation and conflict-stricken countries. For instance, a responded said:

I think the foreign policy is more and more encouraging such economic trade relations between the two countries because we cannot talk of Africa intra-African trade until the two countries Nigeria and South Africa managed to score of any barrens that exist in the trade relations.

Both Nigeria and South Africa have cooperated and have been involved in a number of projects in the continent, for instance NEPAD. The aim was to add their voices in the commitment to African development programmes initiated by the developing world by ensuring that any engagement that seeks to extricate the continent from underdevelopment meets Africa's objective. One respondent commented and said,

Look at Zimbabwe the crisis in Zimbabwe shows that there should be some intervention from South Africa. Look at Nigeria, people are moving in big numbers to stay in SA for certain challenges and South Africa as a country we need Nigeria and to ask the government of Nigeria' what is it that you are doing to consolidate your economy and at the same time to say is that bearing fruits in creating your own sustainable economy and not only because you want Nigerian people in South Africa to leave South Africa and go back to their country.

The above statement shows that there is a lot of expectation from South Africa as a country to solve African problems without careful consideration of its own domestic challenges. For instance, one respondent commented and said

We still believe that people of CAR should have been brought together on the table to negotiate try to understand each other, accommodate each other like South Africa did in terms of a having a negotiated settlement where the government of international unity and try to accommodate all parties involved maybe peace can go back to CAR.

Furthermore, another respondent raised a critical question and said:

We need to agree in terms of what is going to be our priority issues for example what are the crisis in CAR? What is the situation in SA? How then best do we address those issues and prioritise so that we all say ley us monitor what Nigeria is doing, what CAR is doing and let us monitor what SA is doing because SA cannot act as a big brother syndrome in those countries. You will also know that issues of peace and conflict are not multilateral in the nation and we have two mergers in Nigeria, in Abuja and Lagos, which are on the ground. They are monitoring political, economic and social developments as they have, every minute every hour, every day and every month we are doing the monitoring to the principals according. So that's the extended of monitoring that we do as country.

Through its ambitious foreign policy South Africa has created certain expectations as a regional power within SADC. Whereas South Africa has been widely referenced to as a regional hegemonic power capable of using its soft power influence to deepen its global status, there are contradictions to Pretoria increasing the soft power claim (Ogunnubi and Amao, 2016). During the apartheid era South Africa's multilateral and bilateral relations were cut off in the form of sanctions. For instance, the UN, Commonwealth, European union along with other bilateral relations such as those in Britain, Germany took part in sanctioning South Africa. The power of sanctions has helped to cut relations with the country due to its oppressing policies (Pfister, 2000).

132

The term 'multilateral' can be described as an arrangement between multiple states. The concept of multilateralism came into being in 1928 after the First World War. Like any other international relations concept multilateralism remains contestable. Some scholars have simplified this concept to mean the interaction of many sovereign countries collaborating to reach common grounds on a given issue while others see multilateralism as a process of organising relations between groups of three or more states. Thus, the concept relates to government participation in a particular issue or in trying to resolve a particular problem. Multilateralism is used in contrast with unilateralism where unilateralism is a neologism which is already in common use that seeks to support one sided action. One respondent tried to explain multilateralism and said,

> *It was then elevated to a presidential level which then should be shared at the presidential level. That is the appreciation of the national level between the two countries. That is very important. You also note that the fact that Nigeria, South Africa has only two just kind of diplomatic structural bilateral relations with Nigeria and Algeria outside SADC region. All other structured bilateralism mechanisms below the level outside the SADC region that's very important (*Respondent 3*).*

The other contested concept is bilateralism. In short, bilateralism is concerned with political economic and cultural relations between two sovereign states. The use of bilateralism has both costs and benefits. There are current debates on the merits of unilateralism and multilateralism. The use of the three contested concepts demonstrates the extent to which South Africa has been involved in world affairs. As can be seen above, South Africa has exported its own model of conflict resolution strategies to other countries since 1994. The use of entering into the Government of National Unity (GNU) that led to constitutional reforms and national elections in the great lake's region and Thabo Mbeki's mediation in the DRC have assisted South Africa to

133

reinforce the idea of conflict resolution though peaceful means. South Africa's diplomacy in ending war in Burundi in 2005 shows the country's commitment to dealing with African issues. So, South Africa has continued to strengthen its strategic relationship with Nigeria. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

Nigeria outside South Africa is an African powerhouse. It should be the biggest economy in Africa and it is the most influential country when South Africa is not in the picture. So, South Africa's effort on the continental integration can only succeed if Nigeria supports that. Now even outside the African continent the belief of South Africa in the South-corporate where the developed countries corporate big and act as a block within the context of multilateral system. South Africa without Nigeria cannot survive.

Nigeria and South Africa have a historic opportunity to elaborate in the current period in order to promote a general interest of the African continent in the international system (Adebajo and Boye, 2017). Critics argue that the relationship between South Africa and Nigeria soured from 2009 during President Zuma's administration. During this period, it is claimed that South Africa identified Angola as its second key strategic ally after Nigeria. In 2014, Nigeria's economy was said to be worth $510 billion overtaking South Africa with an estimated GDP R340 billion. During the times of Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo as presidents of South Africa and Nigeria, respectively, the two presidents helped to transform the OAU into AU (Banjo, 2013). Through its security arm the AU has seconded and promoted peacekeeping on the continent. As a regional power house, South Africa has played an important role in the SADC in its effort to resolve the political crises in Zimbabwe and Madagascar between 1998 and 2013. However, they have been concerned about South Africa's drive to create a new tripartite free trade area comprising of SADC, COMESA and the EAC.

There is a current debate on global multilateralism with critics arguing that it is unable to deal with challenges facing an interdependent world in the 21st century. The world has become complex and global in nature thereby putting pressure on the global system of governance and threatening the collective well-being. Challenges such as human security, environmental sustainability, development poverty alleviation, human rights, political and economic crisis, proliferation of nuclear weapons and disarmament have made multilateral corporation more relevant than ever before. As a result, unilateralism is no longer an option in addressing these challenges because it has failed the states. The UN system through its universal membership and broad mandate has made the global system of governance central and in dispensable. Since Africa has a limited voice and participation in the decision and policy making in the global trend, economic and financial institutions, maximised the world is a response to the developmental of South Africa and the South.

The emphasis of South Africa's participation in the CAR's crisis has reshaped the world's opinion on issues of peace and security in Africa. It is well known that issues of conflict and war have an impact on poverty and underdevelopment. So, South Africa's presence in the CAR sought to address this imbalance by promoting an increased alignment between peace and security and the developmental agenda of CAR. In this case South Africa has worked in partnership with the CAR to forge a collective vision. Thus, South Africa's foreign policy continues to recognise the significance of multilateralism that is governed by international law. For instance, one respondent said:

> *That is why we have said that peace, security and stability on the continent is of a paramount interest for South Africa particular its immediate region which is SADC. Also,*

for South Africa to realise the potential that it has you need a certain condition that is peace, security and stability in order for economic development to take place and that is why in 1994 South Africa has been engaged in a number of peace security and peace stability initiative (Respondent 6).

Even though South Africa and Nigeria enjoy good relations, certain events have triggered a negative sentiment. For example, in 2012, a group of Nigerians were refused entry into South Africa due to their failure to produce genuine yellow fever certificates. Nigeria responded by deporting a number of South Africans back to South Africa from Lagos. These incidents seriously damaged bilateral relations between the two countries. South Africa's stance towards the CAR has been different. For instance, one respondent noted:

But in terms of CAR you will recall that South Africa didn't have the diplomatic relations until this year. The new diplomatic office has been established and a new embassy is being opened and we believe that this will go a long way in strengthening the relations between the two countries. Our influence in the resolution might also come handy in the SADC.

The above assertion shows that South Africa has not applied its foreign policy universally and consistently. Depending on the national interests, the country set its own priorities. For countries like the CAR, South Africa's intervention was a necessary intergovernmental response to managing globalisation and the deepening of interdependent national economies. The challenge is to move beyond rhetoric and intentions and to define the national interest and to articulate a coherent foreign policy going forward (Landsberg, 2010).

5.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system. It focused on how South Africa had emerged from decades of international isolation due to the apartheid policies. It argued that the ending of apartheid and the emergence of non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa enabled the country to establish legitimate links with other countries across the face of the globe. The chapter argued that South Africa's foreign policy had influenced global policy and policy innovations in Nigeria and the CAR. These innovations included deliberate investment in building up what is broadly referred to as systems innovation. The chapter also discussed the challenges faced by developing countries given that the condition of underdevelopment in itself signifies in part poor capacity to bring about effective coordination within the system. While African countries embrace the key elements of the innovation policy, including investment in productive and design capacity, the key function of promoting horizontal collaboration of economic and non-economic actors has not been taken on board.

The chapter observed that the South African foreign policy was inspired by its historical experiences and its national interest rooted in the long years of liberation struggle. Thus, South Africa's status as the soul of the African voice in certain global grouping has become significant as a result, of the country's history, the vision of its leaders and its positions in the global capitalist system. The chapter further discussed the multilateral and bilateral relations between South Africa, the CAR and Nigeria. Whilst Nigeria enjoys economic dominance in the western part of Africa, South Africa enjoys dominance in the southern part of the continent. The chapter would have to conclude by stating that South Africa did not apply its foreign policy universally and consistently. Depending on the national interests, South Africa set its own priorities. For countries like the CAR, South Africa's intervention was a necessary intergovernmental response to managing globalisation and the deepening of interdependence of national economies. The following chapter will be

discussing the comparative analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on CAR and Nigeria since 1994. It will further be looked at the challenges faced by South Africa in these two countries and also South Africa's role in CAR and Nigeria.

CHAPTER 6

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTIONS IN CAR AND NIGERIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, it was demonstrated that the South African defence force played a critical role in various countries to stabilize them and to maintain peace. This was the case in countries

such as Lesotho, Rwanda and the DRC. In Southern Africa, generally, South Africa has been recognised as one of the key players in maintaining peace, stability and security in the region. It has also promoted socio-economic development, particularly through its foreign policy direction. Since the end of apartheid, South Africa has upheld its commitment towards regional integration and maintaining good relations with the other regional organizations/region's states. As shown in the previous chapter, the South African government is committed to maintaining peace in Africa through democratization, conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building. To achieve this goal, South Africa preferred to use negotiated settlements, dialogue and consultation to achieve peace and stability as opposed to using hard power or military intervention. This chapter seeks to discuss the role of South Africa in CAR and Nigeria; examine South Africa's foreign policy towards the two countries; and demonstrate how the country has managed partnerships and cooperation agreements between CAR and Nigeria. The chapter will also critically evaluate the challenges and successes experienced by South Africa in trying to achieve this goal.

6.2 SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN CAR

Since 1960 when CAR gained its independence from France, it has been bedevilled by several crises ranging from economic, social to political issues or problems. From 2005 to 2015 the country witnessed approximately ten military coups (Sıradağ, 2017). As a result, the economic and political situation has never been stable. Even though there have been fights between Christians and Muslims a close analysis of the situation shows that the main driver of conflict in this country is not religion. On the contrary, there is clear evidence of power struggle among the

139

political elite in CAR. The country has failed to provide state institutions that are able to drive service provision with a focus on socio-economic and political development. The country has been viewed as a phantom state because of the failure of state institutions and the collapse of state security forces. This is the context which explains the intervention of South Africa on the CAR's political arena. South Africa has exerted its influence on CAR through the deployment of its soldiers. However, in March 2013, fifteen SANDF soldiers were captured and killed. Thereafter, South Africa decided to withdraw its army from the CAR. The killing of South African soldiers in CAR generated a lot of debates amongst politicians in parliament and the general public. Citizens argued against the deployment of the army in CAR. Those who disapproved South Africa's presence in CAR were of the view that South Africa was not benefiting anything from that country. For instance, one respondent said:

> *You see, it is true that there were perceptions that linked South Africa's intervention to CAR of which I cannot answer that because I don't know. What I know is that when there is a problem in a particular country, we intervene. For example, in Lesotho, there was much resources for everybody but South Africa was involved. Bantu Holomisa used to say there is no foreign policy but there is a Christmas foreign policy. So, we can't say we went to CAR because we want to get some diamonds. In Burundi, same thing happened and there's nothing much that we get in Burundi, but South Africa was there. In CAR, it's the same thing we did.*

As it can be seen above the reason for the involvement of South Africa in CAR is unclear, hence a number of questions have been raised regarding the deployment of two hundred South African defence force members into that country. The issue of involving the army in CAR has been a closely guarded secret. South Africans are not aware of South Africa's role in other countries. It

can be argued that the South African government views itself as a security net exporter in Africa. There is no doubt that South Africa has been instrumental in peace building, peacekeeping and conflict resolution within the continent. Notably, dialogue and consultation with parties has become South Africa's preference for negotiated settlements. It can be argued that South Africa has put its national defence upfront in achieving its diplomacy in Africa. So, the SANDF has been instrumental in implementing the 2007 MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) and protecting training teams that were already in that country with the mandate to normalise the security situation. While willing to protect and stabilise the security situation in CAR, the South African air force did not have a strategic air transport capacity to deal with the rebels. For instance, one of the respondents said that:

We might as well know that South Africa does have much resources and that's my opinion and I think Libya have been invited in the forum because we have many ideas. I think there have been a lot of ideas not just on peace sovereignty on development whether you are talking about the current issues and peace agreement on climate change but so we engage one another. CAR has been very fragile. I was involved in the review of CAR, there's something that is called peace-building commission in the United Nations. We did a five view of that. I don't want to think that there was a charity appointment because we could revise and bring new ideas in terms of how do you deal with a post conflict construction or post-conflict countries and I want to think that we did a sterling job that now the UN continued to be supporting and we did not bring money. So, it's not about money. We have money comparative to that I don't think South Africa is a country that can say we bring so much money in the union and sometimes they don't have any ideas all they have is the money so they bring the money. So contrary to that I think we bring ideas.

As can be seen above, the respondent was of the opinion that South Africa had adequate resources but its involvement in CAR was more in solidarity with the ruling party in CAR (UN) than for any financial gain for South Africa. Thus, when the SANDF was deployed in CAR the intelligence gathered was based on false information regarding the rebel force. Although there are contestations about the numbers of rebels and quality of leadership, training and command the same information was confirmed by the French force in CAR. Therefore, South Africa and SANDF showed no intention of withdrawing from CAR. However, the casualties were evacuated. There were reports that some people were looting minerals, hence the need to minimise the extent of plundering the resources through upholding law and order. The justification for the presence of SANDF was confirmed by one of the respondents who said:

> *Oh my God!!What I can say is that South Africa is one of the true contributing country in distributing troops for peacekeeping and peace operations in the continent. We will continue to do that and we are also playing a role to take responsibility in Africa through a standby force. South Africa plays a very crucial role in SADC to resolve conflict so that it can bring about peace because we believe they will be no social-economic development. We can advocate developments in SADC in the continent and across the world and we don't involve ourselves in the peacekeeping missions' operations. South Africa is very strong when it comes to peacekeeping. So, we are there, we're on the ground and we will continue to increase our forces through proper channels.*

So, the continued presence of the SANDF was meant to detour and protect the country and assist in reaching a political settlement. Even though South Africa had the capability to defeat the rebels such a move could have required considerable commitment and collaboration from the French forces which were already present in Bangui. So, South Africa's presence in CAR was more

political considering that France had no interest in accepting other military forces to access the international airport. To South Africa, CAR had no potential to supply substantial economic benefits and labour. Consequently, Pretoria did not have any active mining companies or consumer good suppliers in CAR. All the minerals available in CAR such as uranium, gold, diamonds were also available in South Africa. Comparing South Africa's strategic position in Southern Africa, the country had more established trade linkages with its neighbours than CAR. Presumably, the historical linkages between CAR and Pretoria were weak and there were no previous conceptions regarding the military involvement in CAR. As can be seen, South Africa's ruling party had no historical allergens to Bangui but it was involved in making peace in the country.

Moreover, from the national plan recovery in peace-building which took place in Bangui in 2015, it was resolved that power was to be decentralised to ensure that provincial and local governments were empowered, particularly the regions that were marginalised historically. Other initiatives of ensuring peace in CAR included deepening Muslim and Christians' religious cleavages by developing inclusive policies. Thus, empowering Muslim traditional leaders in the North and increasing Muslim central Africans representation in all government levels became necessary. The crisis in CAR has been mischaracterised and mismanaged for decades and it was even overlooked from the international community perspective. So, to create opportunities for peace and national reconciliation the international community had to commit considerable resources. Individual actors such as Michel Djotodia and François Bozize were to be controlled to ensure that their own political ambitions did not affect the on-going peace processes.

Thus, the international community had to act swiftly to ensure that CAR did not slide back into widespread violence. Seemingly, pre-conditions for the emergence and spread of violent extremist activity were present in CAR. These pre-conditions included the existence of marginalised

desperate youths, geographic safe havens, religious cleavages and elicit financial strings. Other threads included arcadia in the Islamic Maghreb, Boko Haram and the Islamic state infiltration. The subversion by these terrorist groups could have internationalised CAR's conflict and regionalised the war thereby enflaming the already strained Muslim/ Christian and intra-Muslim relations. It was feared that these groups could create additional complex layers of the multi-faceted conflict scene. Therefore, the dynamics and roots of conflict in CAR were necessary to understand the threats to peace and the need to prevent violent extremism in the country. On that basis, effective action was to be undertaken to ensure that the potential scenario did not materialise. The presence of Pretoria in CAR was supported by one of the respondents who said*:*

> *Definitely if I engage you on a particular issue it's either you influence me or I influence you. Whether I influence you positively or you influence me positively it's not important. Moving to those countries obviously there would be certain innovations or innovative programmes that we want to propose because you cannot propose investment without policy innovations that will assist a particular state. When we engage in these interventions we say let's stretch ourselves so that we achieve our strategies. We then look at CAR or as Nigeria on our own policy innovation we have not cover this and we said let's engage further in terms of our service so that will be able to extend ourselves in partnership with these countries. You now engage another country and say I have engage South Africa to that level. You then provide innovative ideas. I think that's quite important. It has been achieved a lot because if you say let's go to any country and influence them in terms of policy that must give rise to policy innovation so that you are able to attract even further but be in a position to drive it carefully and manage it properly so that your internal*

stakeholders are able to regulate the same rules to their government, whilst they are benefiting from that policy arrangement.

As can be seen above, South Africa's presence in CAR was meant to influence positive outcomes and move that country into the next level. Through its innovative policy approaches, South Africa sought to engage CAR, assist and position it for competitiveness. However, CAR's conflict was aggravated and fuelled by a lot of stakeholders with interest in that country and the involvement of internal actors, international organizations and foreign countries. Actors involved in the CAR conflict came from vast sociological backgrounds which meant that these groups differed in their financial interests. There were overlapping political ideologies and sometimes they presented entirely conflicting thoughts. The various actors could be classified based on their different activities including military and parliamentary actors, political and security actors and other political systems with resources in CAR. The political and security actors were from the ruling political elite and the opposition political actors who sought to promote instability in CAR.

On the one hand, there were the political elites who enjoyed full control and unlimited political power which brewed a culture of corruption, impunity and lack of transparency. The culture of corruption permeated throughout the entire political structure which rendered the system incapable of providing and carrying out its responsibilities fully to serve its citizens. Hence, the political leadership was unable to deal with political change and manage the crisis. In most cases, violence erupts whenever there is political change. Nepotism, corruption and hatred are all evident due to insecurity. Most of the intellectual elite are politicised in CAR hence they have seized to critically analyse the underlying challenges faced by CAR and enlighten government of the best possible options. They lack objectivity in exercising their duties, hence they have failed to provide

population, those in power and the political class with an objective critique of the country's challenges to enable them to appropriately resolve the problems.

In recent years, members of the US congress have demonstrated an interest in the crisis in CAR. For instance, South Sudan and DRC have been considered by the US administration and congress in allocating resources to address security concerns and human rights abuses. Furthermore, the US made effort countering the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and other cross-border criminal activities. For instance, the LRA is a militia which is active in CAR and other neighbouring states but is of Ugandan origin. The AU in collaboration with the Ugandan government have led a military operation against the LRA which has been supported by the United States. Since 2011, the US military advisors have been deployed in Africa including countries such as Mali. Considering the occurrence of crises on the African continent, the congress has weighed in on the potential trade-offs and opportunity costs.

As a result, the US has devoted attention to further provide resources to CAR to counter the terrorist groups. Some elements that have exacerbated violence were due to Seleka and Balaka factions which were noticeable in the North-West, which was Bozize's native region. These groups were located strategically near the Chadian border and in Bangui. These groups formed an ethnic melting pot. They caused large destruction of homes and large places of worship and widespread killing, looting and torture were reported. Religious leaders often took considerable risk where they sought to calm tensions. For instance, the Seleka and anti-Balaka groups engaged in various human rights abuses. These groups have no clearly defined membership and they do not have a chain of command. Hence, they are motivated by different factors ranging from desire for political protection, criminal intent and political ambitions. For instance, anti-Balaka groups were formed on ad-hoc basis and were led by the former military officers. These groups showed sophisticated

abilities in military prowess when they called the reinstatement of former President Bozize. The Seleka group was estimated to be 20,000 in 2013 (Ngoupana, 2014). The motivation was based on the belief that they would benefit from government patronages, access fertile land and profit from looting. It is understood that the Seleka elements have control over mining concessions and customs revenues. Although there is power struggle amongst the Seleka figures, there has been a defector of foreign occupation of CAR. It has been argued that most Seleka combatants are from Chad and Sudan.

However, the nationality of the Seleka members is contested given the inconsistence in the distribution of identity papers. Although CAR has vast natural recourses such uranium, diamonds, timber, oil and glass deposits, the standard of living in CAR is one of the lowest in Africa. Contrary to CAR's rich natural enrolments, the infrastructure, and the road network is poorly maintained and some communities suffer from severe water shortages. Given the decades of in-fighting, politically the country is unstable. Crime and corruption are rife and the economic situation is not conducive to foreign investments. Of note, is that the coupes route and zaraguinas have become a menace to travellers and traders in the northern part of the country. Given the collapse in governance CAR has no functioning state institutions. The population is impoverished and the economy has crumbled. There is also a complete disarray in the state apparatus. Cumulatively, CAR's problems have made the country vulnerable to instability and spreading into the Central African region. Chad, Sudan and DRC have often intervened and interfered to counter the gullible militant self-seeking groups. For instance, one of the respondents said:

> *I think our foreign policy has certain negotiate particular. Looking at the international*
>
> *trading we came to a situation where we have to identify what areas can we put ourselves*
>
> *in terms of trading and which countries are going to assist us, whether in Africa or*

international. Whilst we look at that then we can say each and every situation will warrant programme to monitor because you could not monitor everything at the same way. We are at the situation where now South Africa is onshore investment where money from South Africa is invested outside of South Africa and therefore you need to specifically engage on that level and that's why in our democracy we are able to use internet and know exactly the entire situation in the entire group. Further to that, is to establish proper relations with those countries and on the other side you understand their foreign policy and also understand what it that they expect from you. In most cases, the international united convention does things to evaluate if we are using our policies on right or wrong?

The comment from the above respondent shows that the applicability of South Africa's foreign policy is not universally feasible. Officials consider a number of factors in deciding whether to intervene or not in a crisis. Given South Africa's drive to lure investment and considering the challenges faced by CAR it was wise to intervene and save CAR from its predicament. Some people have argued that the crisis in CAR was a result of rivalry for political power within the country between various communities and the government. This suggests that the CAR government could not protect the northern part of the country effectively as a result armed groups like the Seleka which have penetrated the country and carried out violent undertakings in an attempt to over-throw the government. As can be seen in the above discussion the major driver of the crisis in CAR was political instability, rebel groups took advantage of the situation to murder civilians. In CAR there are economic disparities between the north and the south. Scholars have argued that the skewed economic returns were the main cause of the conflict in CAR, not religious factions as some have argued.

A quick observation of the African continent shows that the south is economically important as compared to the north. The north is usually marginalised, schools lack basic services, have no access to clean water, no tarred roads, no electricity in towns, poor medical facilities and poor sanitation. Moreover, hospitals are in poor condition. For instance, Vakaga province in the remote northern area of the CAR has no state structures. There is virtually the non-existence of police stations, no teachers, no administrative officers compared to the southern part of CAR. The assistance given to CAR by the donor community is skewed towards the south where the World Bank supports a number of development initiatives. South Africa's intervention in CAR was driven by bilateral military agreements signed between the two countries which were then renewed in 2012. Part of the agreement was for South Africa to assist in bringing peace and stability in CAR through the disarmament and re-integration of Seleka rebels (Ngoupana, 2014).

Furthermore, South Africa provided an opportunity for negotiations between the rebels and former President Bozize. Having been given the seventy-two-hour ultimatum by the rebels to address the country's untenable situation, CAR sought guidance from Pretoria. After the meeting between Presidents Bozize and Zuma it was agreed that South Africa would deploy two hundred troops in CAR to ensure peace and stability. However, the SANDF was not adequately prepared for this assignment, nor was it sufficiently equipped to deal with the experienced and armed rebels who had no intention to follow the rules of engagement in a battle. It was for these reasons that the SANDF severely suffered in the battle when it was attacked by the Seleka rebel coalition resulting in the death of fourteen South African soldiers – an incident which left twenty-seven more soldiers wounded (Christopher, 2013). It should be noted that Africa had played a significant role in shaping and defining South Africa's foreign policy in many ways. This included the fact that most of these African countries assisted the ANC while fighting the apartheid regime. Consequently,

the ANC has propagated that South Africa's foreign policy document is quite clear that Africa is the centre of South Africa's foreign policy. This is a way of reciprocating.

6.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE IN NIGERIA

The history and nature of South African and Nigerian relations has been explored by a lot of scholars. Of note, Adebajo (2007) has taken a key interest and reflected on this relationship which he refers to as Pax Nigeria. To understand this historical connection, one has to trace the political context, history and position in the international system. From a historical perspective, South African and Nigerian relations can conveniently be traced back to 1960 when Nigeria obtained her independence from Britain in October and declared its disapproval of the apartheid policy that was promulgated on Africans in South Africa. So, as early 1960, officials from South Africa's liberation movements sought support from Nigeria in order to sustain the struggle. For instance, in 1961 Nigeria was in the forefront leading a campaign for the suspension of South Africa from the Commonwealth. As friends of the front-line states, liberation movements were given refugee status and international travel documents in Nigeria. Furthermore, Nigeria was on the fore-front in mobilising people to march against apartheid through its national committee against apartheid which established branches at various universities in Nigeria. The aim of the National Committee Against Apartheid (NCAA) was to expose the evil deeds of apartheid. So, rallies and protests were organised by Nigerian students in solidarity with the liberation struggle. It would have been un-African for post-apartheid South Africa to forget this gesture, which was a huge sacrifice.

This was followed by the establishment of South Africa's Relief Fund (SARF) in 1976 which offered scholarships to students in exile at the Nigerian institutions. Furthermore, SARF assisted in providing material support for the liberation struggle. After the collapse of apartheid and

following the democratic elections in 1994, which were won by the ANC and the subsequent release from prison of President Mandela, Mandela was given a hero's welcome in Nigeria. Considering the role played by Nigeria in the freedom of South Africa there was an expectation that the ANC-led government would closely work and jointly promote Africa's interest in the African community. It was anticipated that South Africa would acknowledge Nigeria's contribution and form a strong coalition for enhancing Africa's development. Of note was is the role played by Nigeria in the African front where its powers have been reflected in its military capabilities. For instance, Nigeria deployed its army on peace-keeping operations around the continent and other United Nations extra- African engagements. Nigeria has provided the largest military contingent in the east community of the West African State (ECOWAS) under the auspices of the United Nations peace-keeping mission. The above position was supported by one of the respondents who noted that

> *Much has been written on the history and nature of South Africa–Nigeria relations. More recently, such reflections have taken place against the background of what Adebajo refers to as the 'Pax Nigerian. However, the prospects for relations between the two countries cannot be understood outside the context of their political economies, histories and positions in the international system. South Africa–Nigeria relations can be conveniently approached from a historical perspective. Shortly after it gained independence in 1960, Nigeria declared its opposition to the apartheid policy of the minority regime in South Africa. In the early 1960s, officials of South Africa's liberation movements visited Nigeria to seek support for their struggle. Nigeria led the campaign in 1961 to suspend the apartheid South African regime from the Commonwealth, chaired the UN Special Committee.*

Nigeria was against apartheid and was considered a front-line state. Some anti-apartheid activists of the liberation movements were given refuge and provided with (Nigerian) documents for international travel. The Nigerian people were mobilised to support the anti-apartheid struggle. Nigeria's National Committee Against Apartheid established branches in the country's universities to raise awareness of the evils of apartheid. Nigerian students organised rallies and protests in solidarity with the liberation struggle. Moreover, a South African Relief Fund (SARF) was established in 1976. This fund granted scholarships to South African students in exile in Nigerian institutions and provided material support for the liberation struggle in South Africa.

When apartheid collapsed and South Africa was ushered into the international community following the democratic elections in 1994, won by the ANC, Mandela visited Nigeria after his release from prison, where he received a hero's welcome. For many Nigerians, the expectation was that having contributed so much to freedom in South Africa, the ANC-led government would both acknowledge Nigeria's contributions and leadership and work closely with the country to jointly promote African interests in the international community. It is a known fact that Nigeria's powers and influence are reflected in its military capabilities. The country's soldiers have been deployed for peacekeeping operations around the continent and for extra-African engagements by the United Nations on many occasions. Locally, the Nigerian military is the largest military among the states in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). One of the respondents indicated that

> *So, however in 1994 South Africa so it fit to open its diplomatic relations in Nigeria and*
> *we always had those relations since that time and it's been growing and depending on for*

all those years. At diplomatically the two countries establish the structure bilateral mechanism through which by any consultations could be held. So, by then that bilateral structure was elevated and it was established in 1999. Only those two. It signifies the strategic importance of the two countries. Now at the multilateral level, South Africa's foreign policy appreciates the centrality of African agenda that has attracted the support of Nigeria amongst other countries in Africa. So, the support of Nigeria throughout is very important. Even at multilateral system at the United National Assembly the Security Council still in favour of Nigeria. Nigeria's council remains important and that is why we are demanding for the supreme council to serve us well so that the two countries can pull together and take the continent to somewhere.

Given the historical relations, South Africa opened up diplomatic ties with Nigeria and the two countries established bilateral mechanisms in 1999. The cordial relations between South Africa and Nigeria were enhanced through the inter-state relations which resulted in trade exhibitions, joint conferences and state visits between the two countries. For instance, in 1999 a three-day trade exhibition was hosted by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) for about forty-two South African companies in Ek Hotel in Lagos. At this event, the South African business community was able to consolidate business relations and interaction with Nigerian investors. During the conference the former South African Minister of Trade and Industry Mr Alec Erwin, called upon the establishment of business relationships that would foster interactions between both countries for the good of their citizens. This was reinforced by former President Thabo Mbeki who called for Nigeria and South Africa to forge alliance. The President expressed his determination to ensure the advancement of Africa. As a result, the Nigeria South Africa Bi-national Commission which acts as a platform for both countries to foster mutual beneficial economic partnerships was

established. Because of this development there has been an increase in trade relations between South Africa and Nigeria. Consequently, Mr Welile Nhlapo, former Deputy Director General observed that trade between South Africa and Nigeria has increased significantly from hundred million to $234 million in 2000. Presumably, crude oil imports from Nigeria constituted 90% of trade in 1994.

Since transition to democracy, South Africa has positioned itself firstly as an African country and it has reiterated that its foreign policy is centred on relations with other African countries, and it has proclaimed itself as one of the leading countries on the African continent to speak and act African. For this reason, both Nigeria and South Africa have become cornerstones in playing a prominent role that pushes the African agenda on international platforms. For instance, both countries have been active in their leadership in ECOWAS, SADC and NEPAD. Furthermore, the joint work on policies and continental politics have strengthened the relations between Nigeria and South Africa by ensuring that South Africa becomes the largest trading partner to Nigeria across the continent.

6.4 SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN NIGERIA

Cognisant of the need to grow its economy in Africa and Asia, a conscious decision was taken by South Africa to expand its diplomatic missions in both regions. The move saw South Africa increasing its presence on the African continent from seven in 1994 to 47 diplomatic and consular offices in 2015. As a result, South Africa's trade on the content grew 39 times, thus increasing from R11 billion in 1994 to R385 billion in 2015. It is anticipated that the trade with Africa will increase by half a trillion rand by 2019. Interestingly, 20% of South Africa's trade was conducted

within the continent by the end of 2015. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to state that there a significant relationship between the exponential growth and trade investment and the expansion in the diplomatic relations on both Asia and Middle East and Africa. South Africa continues to seek and establish new markets and explore opportunities. The country has also done a lot in maintaining economic ties with the industrialised economies of the north. Consequently, some of the industrialised economies have provided South Africa's exports preferential market access.

South Africa's presence and growing dominance across the African continent on the economic front has sparked scholarly and public debates with regard to its real intentions. Going beyond its own region, the ideal significant partner would be a leading African power house such as Nigeria, which has the power to compete effectively with other external partners. In this view, South Africa has become one of the leading foreign investors in Africa. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

> …. *yes in Africa it always interesting in our country if you see that they are certain challenges in an African state where our presidents and former president will then be mandated to go and preside and convene certain forum in those countries and be able to assist in developing strategies for those countries and resolving conflict but then you measure that against the factor that in those countries what is it that they are doing? In terms of diplomacy South Africa thoroughly accept that they are interested in political parties or rebel wanting power and who must lead the current in African state and hoping that the imperialist will provide answers to our economic problems which is the problem that is not the case issue is in 1997 amongst other discussions within SADC.*

We need to start a process of integrating so that we are able to provide a structured economic thinking for example in Europe they discuss the matter and came up with one European currency which was a euros and this means that those engagements gave rise to certain answers and far as we go back to Africa we can say it is fine how far did we take that discussion on as it did assisted the situation if not what are the challenges and I don't think it wise to come up with new things everyday but you're unable to implement one of those. We then need to be saying have we implemented that if not, what are the challenges so that you are able to start somewhere because as we look further it's important that we start somewhere and that will be able to say we have achieved this. We are not talking about Africa but we are talking in terms of what foreign policy is and what does it mean to our national policy.

The major challenge in Eastern and Western Africa has been the issue of conflicts which have exacerbated underdevelopment in Africa. So, any initiative undertaken by South Africa should bolster economic prosperity and sustainable development. Despite its economic strength and international profile, South Africa has not made any significant inroads into Africa in general. Whilst South Africa has a great influence in the south, it has not met any cloud elsewhere in Africa which reinforces the perception that the country regards itself as superior to other African countries. There is a perception that South Africa has failed to prioritise and forge partnerships with other states across the continent, thereby undermining its standing on the continent. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

It's important to note one that in terms of the population size Nigeria is bigger that South Africa. Two, we also need to note that we are developing country. Three, it's also important to note that we also have to increase our skills base. Our skills development programme need to be improving day to day so that we will be able to provide skills where necessary. I don't think as much as our history suggests that we work together but we should be able to control numbers.

As can be seen above, South Africa has deliberately joined forces with Nigeria due to a number of reasons, such as Nigeria's population size, its position in the African continent, level of skills and its historical legacy. South Africa has positioned itself on the international arena as a country that pushes the continent's agenda. However, this has been met with scepticism, although the thought of representing Africa on the international level is a noble idea, other African countries have not recognised South Africa as a leader in the African agenda due to its emphasis on economic dominance. Thus, South Africa's economic ascendance has painted a gloomy picture and has been seen by other African countries as a relative weakness. However, other governments in Africa have started to encourage modernization of their economies and to attract investments. This has changed the status quo. The new paradigm shift followed by African governments has brought about improved governance and created a business-friendly environment that is needed to attract investments, encourage private sector growth and ensure job creation.

Some countries such as Nigeria and Central African Republic have rehabilitated their ports, created new developments, established new corridors and created logistics hubs both in Southern and Central Africa thereby eroding South Africa's dominance. Nevertheless, South Africa has acted as a bridge builder between the Global North and the Global South by integrating itself into the global economy which is meant to benefit Africa in general. Despite poverty constraints and

unemployment in the domestic front South Africa has contributed significantly in regional development, and has been proactive in contributing to the development and construction of Africa's prosperity. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

Playing this big brother syndrome automatically suggest that you need to be expanding your economy so that you'll be able to accommodate other countries which are currently not working in our favour as we are a young democracy. Measuring those countries, our own capacity does not accommodate our own people. That is why I am saying it very difficult to achieve anything that is based on that.

The above comment shows that South Africa is still growing in its democracy but there is high expectation from other African countries. Studies have shown that economic diplomacy and commercial diplomacy are increasingly being used as a soft power mechanism to increase national economic goals and enhance economic relations between countries. So, governments used wide ranging economic and diplomatic tools to support their foreign policy goals or diplomacy. To realise the growth of bilateral trade one has to remove trade barriers and increase corporation in international organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO). Bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation are expanding across the globe. Hence, most countries are under increasing pressure to harvest soft, hard and smart power efforts to build relations. Respondent (3) indicated that:

I have answered this because when I talked about people to people that what I was referring to. You know there are some hiccups with public you know because they are negative perceptions that perpetuated in the implementation of the good of the bilateral relations between the two countries mostly by the medium and this has also made a

misunderstanding and unfortunate incident of the xenophobia that happened in South Africa. They are then blown out of proportion in Nigeria and they are also linked perception in South Africa to the extent that they don't trust Nigeria and they think they are drug miller, they are criminals such that is unfortunate to build confidence between the two countries. However, through public diplomacy efforts completed by our principals in every speech they say they make sure that they rectify the perceptions of doubtless among the two nations. South African government has shown Nigerian community the good side of Ubuntu. The diplomacy that we have has shown that Nigerians are welcome in South Africa as long as they contribute towards the economic growth and development of our country. It also applied for South Africans that are based in Nigeria doing business there and I think it is spearing a positive results or fruits because since our two ministerial, minister of Foreign Affairs addressed the nation in March this year that the accident of xenophobic attacks has brought misunderstandings to South Africa and Nigeria has been subside, and for me that's very important to note.

As can be seen from the above comment, whilst South Africa has made a mutual beneficial relationship with Nigeria there are still perception, challenges in the public domain. For laymen the relationship between South Africa and Nigeria is consequential; it is influenced by the image held by South Africans regarding Nigerians. To South Africans, Nigerians are perceived as drug dealers and criminals. So, the potential for economic gains for South Africa is overshadowed by the negative equity associated with Nigeria by the South African public. Nonetheless, the economic justification for economic diplomacy is based on: a) the existence of asymmetric information in the internationalization process, and b) externalities associated with the collection

and sharing of information about market conditions and business opportunities in international markets (Haussmann and Rodrik, 2003).

6.5 SOUTH AFRICA'S STRATEGIES FOR MANAGING PARTNERSHIPS AND COOPERATION BETWEEN CAR AND NIGERIA

Generally, Africa has faced a lot of challenges over the years. These range from civil wars, economic challenges to environmental degradation (Le Pere and Ikome, 2012). Hence, through its reconstruction and development programme South Africa's diplomacy sought to address such problems. However, in trying to deal with African challenges, South Africa faces a number of complications regarding partnerships and corporations. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

> *That glom is quite important but is even more in terms of managing the partnerships and cooperation to start exchanging your own people going to other countries vis a vis so that you also learn because services and goods they are not always supplier driven they should be demand driven at some point and you should understand particular things on the other side culture of the people and traditions, customs and behaviour and all of that so that you are able to talk direct to the people of that country.*

As can been seen from the above comment, the establishment of NEPAD was meant to address Africa's socio-economic challenges, hence, South Africa inspired a number of leaders of developed countries, particularly the G8, which gave attention to President Mbeki's African

Renaissance perspective (Landsberg, 2010). So, the whole strategy for South Africa was to be wholly involved in Africa's development. Another respondent indicated that:

> *Well as I said one of the priorities in foreign policy is to strengthening political agenda. One of the tools we have is that of bilateral structured economies, that is your commission in which the relationship is engulfed for example we have what is called bilateral commission which is shared at the presidential level with a number of countries in our region which is our anchor and other key countries on the continent, we have Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana Namibia, DRC and this year we have established one with Zambia and Angola so that's eight from the SADC region and outside SADC we have one with Nigeria as I have said earlier and then one in Algeria which comes as a very key strategic country called anchor-sate.*

This further shows that South Africa's global aspirations and global dominance is similar to the experiences that Nigeria has on the western part of the continent. Thus, the collaboration between the two countries has meant that they consolidate similar challenges in their democracies. For instance, one of South Africa's challenges is to address poverty gaps that were caused by the military rule in Nigeria and apartheid in South Africa. Similarly, their societies remain deeply divided along race and class for South Africa and ethnic and religious fault lines. For instance, one respondent indicated that:

> *It's because South Africa find itself in a situation where it has not provided answers not only to South Africans but to the SADC region and outside SADC region. At some point we were required to give Zimbabwe an answer how to run their political affairs. We entered into some mining deals with Democratic Republic of Congo which suggested we needed the rights into the DRC to establish the mining policy and unable to trading. At the very*

same time our mining programmes were going down where certain mines were closing

down and people were looped down on the mines and they were strikes demanding wages

as the standard of living was high. You go out and try to provide answers but you are not

able to deal with your local problems. That is a challenge. What is then we needed to do,

is to say whilst you are going out to provide solutions you must firstly ask ourselves that

what assistance do we need from our African brothers so that we can achieve that

particular goal or vision. We might not necessary whenever we have problems we have to

go the international but we must go to the imperialist go to America, Europe and so forth.

We must be able to say I have this particular problem and the neighbour is able to assist.

We need to close this tendency that we go outside and solve other people's challenges while

we are failing to resolve ours. I don't think SADC has the capacity to deal with our problem

here in South Africa. That is my own view. My own view is that SADC cannot be able to

deal with issues.

So, each country is interdependent on the other which means that both Nigeria and CAR have considerable power within their own regions. When South Africa won the chair of the African Union Commission the country enjoyed greater global prestige and presence. However, both countries share mutual benefit resulting from collaboration and partnership.

6.6 CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY   IN CAR AND NIGERIA

Given Africa's development challenges it is clear that one state cannot address them alone. As discussed earlier, Africa faces a number of challenges such as lack of adequate resources, lack of capacity and expertise to deal with most of the problems. African development has been attributed to a number of challenges such as poor development targets in equipped technocrats, lack of

technical and analytical capacity and in efficient bureaucracies. As a result, these challenges have a spill-over effect on South Africa's foreign policy implementation. The table below shows the challenges faced by South Africa in implementing its foreign policy in CAR and Nigeria.

Table 6.1: Challenges faced by South Africa in implementing foreign policy in Nigeria and CAR

Variable	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Chi-Statistic (4-Degrees of Freedom)	p-value
In balance in global trade and global finance	30.40 (n=38)	42.40 (n=53)	23.20 (n=29)	4.00 (n=5)	0.00 (n=0)	6.9	0.141
Global economic crisis	20.80 (n=26)	41.60 (n=52)	32.00 (n=40)	3.20 (n=4)	2.40 (n=3)	70.8	0.00***
Climate change	28.00 (n=35)	36.80 (n=46)	17.60 (n=22)	8.00 (n=10)	9.60 (n=12)	10.01	0.04***
Terrorist organizations and security	26.40 (n=33)	37.60 (n=47)	20.80 (n=26)	9.60 (n=12)	5.60 (n=7)	19.61	0.00***
Inequality and poverty	28.80 (n=36)	39.20 (n=49)	24.00 (n=30)	2.40 (n=3)	5.60 (n=7)	12.45	0.01***
Political instability	38.40 (n=48)	29.60 (n=37)	25.60 (n=32)	3.20 (n=4)	3.20 (n=4)	48.14	0.00***

Source: Own calculations from the South Africa Foreign Policy (SAFP) data (2018)

As can be seen from the above table unbalanced global trade and global finance 42.40% is one of the major challenges affecting the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy. Other challenges include the global economic crisis 41.6% and climate change 36.8%. The terrorist organization and security are 37.60%. The issue of poverty is 39.7% and political instability is 29.60%. This is where some of the notable challenges were pointed out by the respondents. The above results were supported by one of the respondents who indicated that:

When a country has resources, they use to chunk particular agenda and that becomes a problem. Now linked to that, the scarcity of resources in the continent including us, we do not have. If you are going to achieve a particular agenda you must have resources to push that particular agenda. If you don't have those resources you cannot be heard and they will not jump on what you want. The challenge is the scarcity of resources or if you don't want to call it that the dependence on others because we have a particular vision and the AU has got several beautiful ideas but cannot be implemented because we don't have the resources. You want to start a peacekeeping mission you don't have money. You want someone to come and fund your mission, suddenly there is no free money and there is no free lunch. You want the money they bring their influence. Unlike when you have your resource then you are able to challenge them. Another challenge for in particular is the emergence of other powers in the continent. Where I talked about Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Algeria you know that becomes a challenge because it's not easy for you to influence and pursue your agenda completely and that of course weakens your position and that of course it becomes a challenge.

Even though South Africa has been able to provide leadership in the African continent it has failed to address matters of social injustice on the continent and elsewhere. For example, its failure to deal with xenophobic instances is still puzzling to-date. The failure to explain the erosion of its own domestic democratic processes shows that the country may not be able to provide sufficient leadership the world over. Thus, xenophobic violence that has been publicised on television and

164

other forms of media has become a tool for discrediting South Africa's foreign policy which is embedded on the *Ubuntu* philosophy.

One of the respondents commented as follows:

SA is an important country and it is supposed to be leading on the continent but we cannot lead people that we do not want and brought them into want. So that affects immediately the role as a leading country of the continent. Secondly, the interference of others who have more influence on the continent particularly where other countries come and dictate the agenda of the continent and that becomes a challenge for us because we have a particular vision in the country or the continent. We have a vision but there are others who come and want to dictate.

In Africa, generally there are a lot of interested stakeholders with hidden agendas. For instance, in countries like CAR where the army has no capacity to defend its citizens and fails to protect civilians during violence and killings, there would be a plethora of challenges faced by South Africa in implementing its foreign policy. Countries like CAR are exposed to many forms of violence and are left to protect and fend for themselves. Again, using, in CAR, there were reports of serious human rights abuses. One respondent indicated that:

> *Men are generally more affected by arbitrary executions, arbitrary arrests and detentions, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment as well as extortion. Women and girls are more affected by kidnappings, accusations related to witchcraft and sexual violence. Armed groups have committed sexual violence not simply as a by-product of fighting, but in many cases, as a tactic of war. Survivors face a lack of access to healthcare, psychosocial and socioeconomic support, making it extremely difficult to recover from trauma or to resume a norm. What I call race to the bottom when everybody is competing for the very same*

thing and everybody wants to achieve something. For example, one will say I have achieved one, two and three whilst the other one will be benefiting from you to say how the completion is assisting you. I think that has been a problem but our own foreign policy has then failed us. Let us identified our own economic debts as South African.

We need intervention in shipping time industry, we need intervention on the mining sector, manufacturing etc. We need to be on the position on where we need to identify countries that are excelling on those particular fields so that we can engage them, not only to involve them but we want them to come and invest and develop ourselves on that particular field. At some point we got our own skills in terms of diplomacy of skills and resources. That will then create a sustainable country over competition. Those are particular issues and particular identified problems. Do we have answers from our African states? If we do have answers for our own African countries, what is it that we are doing wrong that we should not be doing? Or what is it that we need to be doing. What are the lessons we are learning from those countries that have certain skills so that we are able to minimise confrontation?

As can be seen from the above comment, African states do not provide answers to economic development issues but they are confronted by political challenges where resources are used to deal with the rebel's menace, civil wars and corruption. The main challenge in Africa in general and in South Africa in particular is that political parties are more concerned about themselves as individuals. Most of them are power hungry and selfish; they are not concerned about the development of the continent and South Africa as a country. With the emergence of competition with Nigeria South Africa needs to rise to the challenge in order to remain competitive. Another respondent indicated that:

My worry most of the time is that conflict in the African state does not provide answers in terms of economic development but it only deals with political confrontations. The rebels in the South, and political parties in the North, are also a challenge because nobody is taking care of investment in those areas. It is very difficult to say that we are able to manage completion, we are not managing competition. In fact, you are daring yourself toward ensuring that completion is dealt with but nobody is doing that.

Even though South Africa has been confronted by a number of challenges in implementing its foreign policy, there are notable successes. The following table shows the successes of South Africa's foreign policy on CAR and Nigeria.

Table 6.2: Successes of South Africa's foreign policy in Nigeria and CAR

Variable	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Chi-Statistic (4-Degrees of Freedom)	p-value
South Africa's foreign has prompted interdependency collaboration and cooperation in Nigeria and CAR	8.80 (n=11)	47.20 (n=59)	37.60 (n=47)	5.60 (n=7)	0.80 (n=1)	208.25	0.00***
South Africa has promoted national interest against global realities in its foreign policy prepositions.	12.00 (n=15)	52.00 (n=65)	26.40 (n=33)	8.80 (n=11)	0.80 (n=1)	172.69	0.00***
South Africa's foreign policy on Nigeria and CAR has increased its benefits through its diversification and continental integration	6.40 (n=8)	57.60 (n=72)	25.60 (n=32)	8.80 (n=11)	1.60 (n=2)	179.95	0.00***

Source: Own calculations from the South Africa Foreign Policy (SAFP) data (2018)

As can be seen from the above table, South Africa's foreign policy has prompted interdependence, collaboration and cooperation in CAR and Nigeria 47.2%. As a result, South Africa has promoted national interest against global realities in its foreign policy propositions 52%. Thus, the South

African foreign policy has increased its benefits through its diversification and continental integration particularly in CAR and Nigeria 57. 60%. It has been argued that the issue of xenophobia in the country is driven by economic struggles. So, what is viewed as xenophobia is in fact a way of sending a message to the government about the status quo of the working class. Foreign nationals who have immigrated to South Africa have increased competition for manual jobs literally taking over jobs that can be done by ordinary South Africans. For instance, these foreign nationals have established tuck shops around the townships. Whilst, the tuck shops are meant to sustain their livelihoods, the number of tuck shops is a testimony to the economic challenges and the scale of the unemployment in the country. Although South Africa has managed to position itself in the global world, the continued growth in the number of unemployed graduates is worrisome to the government.

On the domestic front, South Africa has advanced its fight against poverty and hunger by establishing CWP which are meant to absorb the youth and give them a stipend. In the process, the government seeks to deal with social ills in the communities and to reduce substance abuse. Therefore, even though some challenges continue to linger on, it is an undeniable fact that since 1994, South Africa has been hard at work trying to address domestic issues while at the same time investing time and resources in an attempt to improve both the political and economic situation across the African continent. The CAR and Nigeria are just two of many similar cases whereby South Africa has invested over the years.

6.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter South Africa's intervention in the CAR was discussed and the deployment of the SANDF in that country was examined. It was argued that the major reason for the deployment of troops in CAR was to protect the political elite and to negotiate the political settlement between the ruling government and the rebels. The presence of South Africa in CAR was to prevent the spread of violent extremist activities engineered by Al-Khaled and Boko Haram. The chapter also discussed the role of Nigeria and CAR given that South Africa and Nigeria share a historical past. Thus, South Africa's presence has been termed as Pax Nigeria which reflects the level of relationship between the two countries. The chapter discussed the role of Nigeria in dismantling apartheid. Furthermore, South Africa's foreign policy and economic diplomacy in Nigeria and CAR was examined. The chapter demonstrated that the presence of South Africa in Nigeria has resulted in increased trade. The chapter also discussed South Africa's strategies for managing partnerships and cooperation between CAR and Nigeria.

Finally, the challenges and opportunities for South Africa in CAR and Nigeria were discussed. The chapter concluded that unbalanced global trade and global finance and climate change were some of the challenges faced by South Africa in implementing its foreign policies. However, South Africa's foreign policy had promoted national interest against global realities in its foreign policy proposition, thereby increasing its benefits through its diversification and continental integration, particularly in CAR and Nigeria. This concludes chapter six which is the penultimate chapter of the project. The following chapter, which is the last one, will focus on the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The advent of democracy in 1994 presented South Africa with a new opportunity to present itself as a regional power in Africa. Hence it has played a significant role in building its international reputation through the architecture of foreign policy that has changed its past. As discussed earlier, during the first two decades of democracy, South Africa sought to reposition itself on the international scene through various bilateral and multilateral engagements. The democratic era brought tremendous changes in the South African politics. African states have since placed considerable hope on South Africa's contribution to the socio-economic and political arena. Through its foreign policy, South Africa has played a pivotal role in resolving conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Rwanda, Lesotho and among others. The presence of South Africa on the continent positions the country as a committed principled country to be a mouthpiece of the continent's views. Whilst South Africa has been involved in peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building initiatives, the country has also been affected by its own domestic challenges. This chapter seeks to discuss the conclusions on the comparative analysis of South Africa's foreign policy on the Central Africa Republic and Nigeria since 1994. It provides summaries of the study in order to make the recommendations on the way forward.

7.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR OBJECTIVES

The aim of the study was to discuss the role of South Africa in the world affairs and to address its legitimate interventions in African affairs with special attention paid to Central African Republic

and Nigeria. The main object was to make a comparison on how South Africa implemented its foreign policy on the two selected case studies. Since 1994, South Africa has configured its foreign policy so that it is portrayed differently. So, it was important to undertake a study that would provide insights on the extent to which South Africa's foreign policy is perceived. Whilst South Africa's intervention on the CAR was meant to safeguard President Bozize's administration and ensure that democracy prevailed, the study has shown that there were discrepancies on how South Africa's foreign policy was applied. There were emerging interesting questions raised after the death of South African soldiers in terms of the deployment of SANDF in CAR. Oher emerging issues included the role of South Africa in Nigeria, the broader reality of trade and the famed misconceptions about Nigeria's role in Africa.

The thesis made some interesting findings on South Africa's engagements. Although South Africa and Nigeria are perceived to be competitors, there were significant mutual benefits coming from each country. Therefore, the issue of integration of Africa was found to be one of the major contributions of the South African foreign policy. In an effort to address the research questions and the main objectives of the study, a number of insights emerged. Some of the issues that came out of the study were profoundly generalised but in essence constitute the core founding principles of South Africa's foreign policy. There is a general feeling that South Africa misappropriated its resources in CAR, but in essence the country was merely fulfilling its vision. Thus, the objectives of the study were addressed and there were justified

7.2.1 The role of South Africa's foreign policy in Africa since 1994

The study has demonstrated that since 1994, South Africa has been committed to promote the interest of Africa thereby becoming its voice. This has been achieved through the manner in which it managed to cut off the powers of colonisers in Africa, particularly those with bad faith and

motives against the African agenda. Interesting views from the study have shown that through building coalition amongst the African states, South Africa has promoted a strategy that will see Africa speaking with one voice. To achieve this strategy, the African geopolitics in the twenty first century have focused on improving and rationalising the African agenda strategy. The study has also shown that Africa is awakening; it has started questioning external dominance in Africa and also the role of civil society and non-profit organisation. Another interesting issue that came out of the study was the issue of addressing the challenges of other development, addressing socio-economic challenges emanating from colonisation, addressing the increasing disparities in wealth and addressing the growing power of trans-nationals.

In this study, it was argued that Africa in general has been infiltrated by Western ideas. The study has shown that South Africa's foreign policy has been critical about universal acceptance of globalization and neoliberalism. Hence, it has propagated for a new economic order that incorporates democratic governance, accountability and responsible market place. The study has also shown that South Africa took a new paradigm shift in handling regional issues, the new policy focuses on the new policies of equity and mutual benefits.

Furthermore, the results show that South Africa's policy condemns the bossy posturing and domineering attitudes towards its member states. Instead, it favours partnership, collaboration and fairness in order to effectively achieve its stated foreign policy goals. This ensures creating internationalism with conditions of shared values and collective security. The study also revealed that South Africa is regarded as a middle power in terms of both its position in the hierarchy of power relations and in its influence in world affairs exhibited through its diplomacy. Other achievements of South Africa's foreign policy include repetition it has built through mediation

with successive presidents playing a key role in negotiation settlements in Africa and elsewhere in the world. South Africa has contributed in building a more stable and peaceful African continent.

For instance, the building of the pillars of the South African corporations through BRICS and the strengthening of the North-South relations seem visible. Moreover, South Africa has played a significant role in strengthening the African Union. For instance, it has played an important role in building institutions such as PAP, ECOSOCC, the African Union Commission and the African court of human and people's rights. Furthermore, not only has South Africa been interested in the international affairs, the study has shown that South Africa's interest are intertwined with the need to redress national, social injustices and improve the economic situation of the black majority. Other challenges confronted by South Africa include clandestine migration, illegal trade and trans-national crimes. Of interest is how the ambitious South Africa's foreign policy has demonstrated to its own people and to the world the importance of democracy and how it works to uplift the poor and redress past injustices at home and ensure how it will be a responsible member of the international community.

7.2.2 The nature of South Africa's foreign policy towards CAR and Nigeria

The nature of the relationship that exists between CAR and Nigeria is based on mutual benefits. The results show that South Africa is fast becoming a leading economic power that produces one third of Sub-Saharan Africa's gross domestic product. Due to the symbolism of the apartheid struggle, Nigeria has built close relationships with South Africa during and after the country's political transition to democracy. Being a global economic player, South Africa has sought to allow the content to respond and transform its economic base in order to achieve continental integration. This has been achieved through greater corporation that shapes trading networks, thereby increasing its economic potential. Not only has South Africa managed to strengthen its relations

173

with CAR and Nigeria, in the SADC South Africa has pursued its bilateral relations based on its markets exports expertise. Notable is its role in strengthening the regional blocks. Thus, improving governance, coordination and decision making processes in the SADC has been one of South Africa's tasks. The study has shown that South Africa played a significant role in negotiation settlement solutions. For instance, South Africa employed quiet diplomacy and engaged the Abubakar regime for the release of the jailed leader Olusegun Obasanjo, Ken Saro-Wiwa and others.

Even though the relations between CAR and Nigeria were weak during apartheid, the study has shown that both countries have strategically positioned themselves as two giants of Africa fighting for the long-term development and the reduction of marginalisation and dominance by the West. The study has further shown that both countries share a history of cooperation politically and have been involved in continental projects such as NEPAD. For instance, South Africa has emerged as a dominant player in Southern Africa while Nigeria has dominated the Western part of Africa. Both countries have dominated the state of affairs in their sub-regions by adding a new dimension to African development. The study has further shown that South Africa enjoys cordial relations with CAR, hence the support given to that country during the peace processes. Although South Africa has sought to play a dominant role in African affairs to achieve its foreign objectives, the results show that it has found it difficult to implement the Africa agenda doctrine successfully. Critics from scholars have argued against South Africa's role in Nigeria and CAR as being neo imperialistic and as being driven by the neoliberal agenda.

So, the relationship between the hegemonic states has created a perception to smaller states that these two countries are setting the African agenda. Interestingly, the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa has resulted in competition between the two states. As a result, this has made

South Africa visible in multilateralism as it ups its game to outshine Nigeria –albeit doing this clandestinely. One of the challenges confronting South Africa is the alignment of the economic roles with the political foreign policy. The results show that inequality exists in South Africa. For example, most South African businesses remain primarily dominated by the White minority. In its effort to improve its economic model South Africa has refocused on the global economy to support economic growth and structural transformation. So, the approach to improving the relations between CAR and Nigeria is premised on addressing issues that stifle growth, limit access to basic fundamental resources and address poor history on democracy and human rights abuses.

Furthermore, by strengthening its relations with CAR and Nigeria, South Africa seeks to address infrastructural problems, address trade barriers, transport links and governance. Most importantly, the study has shown that the South African foreign policy has assisted in improving the socio-economic issues prevailing in the country by assisting those that are in need of resources. . Interestingly, these socio-economic and political conditions are influenced by the prevailing inequalities. However, the country has earmarked the advanced physical infrastructure, ICT, Telecommunication networks comparable to developed countries. Hence, this has influenced South Africa's dominion in CAR and Nigeria. The results showed that there is a wide gap between the poor and the rich. Hence, the need to open up the economy, spread wealth and boost other less labour-intensive sectors. Interestingly, the study showed that there is a need to increase or explore foreign direct investments.

So, according to the findings of this study, the relationship between CAR and Nigeria is motivated by the need to increase capacity, exchange goods and other services. The other thing is to do with reciprocity, the need for mutual benefits and learning from one another and accommodating each other. Through its relationship with CAR and Nigeria, South Africa seeks to expand investment

opportunities, create new business linkages, establish new markets and establish cultural exchange programmes. Furthermore, the results showed that Africa has not broadly embraced innovation policy and the issue of investment, growth and productivity has not been incorporated as a key function. The study has also shown that the South Africa's foreign policy is ambitious and broad; it risks failure to achieve its intended outcome. For a young democracy, some of the tenets are overwhelming and incredible. What has also emerged from this study is that South Africa cannot solve Africa's problems alone; countries like Nigeria and CAR are better placed to provide solutions on their own local problems. Of interest was the concept of "big brother syndrome" coined in this study and which shows that South Africa has developed very ambitious goals that seek to look after other countries at the expense of its own domestic problems. This has caused resentment to the country's foreign policy posture.

Sometimes it is difficult to measure the impact of foreign policy on investment and trade. The study showed that the policy is too open-ended and it is measured against developed nations which makes it very difficult to implement in an African context. Thus, South Africa has not applied its foreign policy universally. Depending on the national interest South Africa tends to set its own priorities. For countries like CAR, South Africa's intervention was a necessary intergovernmental response to managing globalisation and the deepening of interdependence of national economies.

7.2.3 Strategic relevance of CAR and Nigeria to South Africa

South Africa has faced a number of challenges since 1994. The growing population has resulted in skewed wealth in favour of the rich. So, poverty in the country remains high due to the high level of unemployment, particularly among the rural folks. Given the challenges and the need to expand development opportunities at home South Africa sought to expand its horizon in order to realise these possibilities. The study showed that South Africa has campaigned vigorously for the

176

emancipation of the poor black majority from poverty and vibrantly positioned itself on the global political arena. So, the relationship between Nigeria and CAR has been strategic. One of the main driving motivations is to impact and contribute to global governance. Through its commitment to ending Africa's marginalisation, South Africa has intrinsic interest on Nigeria. The choice of Nigeria is motivated by its size in terms of the population and the economic activities. Apart from the historical past, the study showed that trade relations between the two countries have increased significantly. Nigeria has become one of South Africa's major trading partners. Nigeria has become one of Africa's power houses. So, in order to strengthen its role in Africa, South Africa needed a strong partner making Nigeria a favourite option.

Thus, South Africa's integration in the global community has of essence become easier because of the linkages that the country has created with powerful countries like Nigeria. The expansion of its diplomatic political and economic relations into other African countries has made its democratic transition easy. Furthermore, the results showed that through its foreign policy position South Africa wants to be a model for democracy in African governance, particularly to CAR and Nigeria. Central to this thinking is the issue of expanding investment opportunities to countries like CAR. Although there is disagreement on the role of South Africa in CAR, the study showed that the relationship created through South Africa's intervention in CAR's crisis was meant to be a building block for more business opportunities, as well as the creation of markets to its products and raw materials. So, the strategic positioning of South Africa in CAR and Nigeria was meant to pave way for South Africa to use its new philosophy, new prerogative and new institutions and agencies.

It is envisaged that Nigeria and CAR being part of the AU could provide new opportunities for promoting good governance. Through its experience, South Africa has evolved from being a pariah state to a very influential player in world affairs. Consequently, South Africa's involvement in

CAR and Nigeria cannot be decoupled from the African continent; its fate is directly linked to the African continent as a whole. The study showed that South Africa's foreign policy influences and is influenced by the African conditions. Furthermore, in general and for the past two decades the South Africa foreign policy has focused on South African involvement in the national development of African states. The results showed that there are a number of deals that have been sealed between the established super powers (South Africa and Nigeria) and the developed countries. Under the auspices of the African Renaissance South Africa has been instrumental in providing personnel for UN peacekeeping missions. The study further showed that there is a growing discontentment among South Africans regarding the promotion of peace and fulfilling its domestic mandate.

Strategically, the relationship between Nigeria and CAR seeks to customise policies that have focused on poverty alleviation and eradication of rampant inequality. Based on the study, this relationship was influenced by the state priorities and other political motivations. The study further showed that South Africa has a strategic position and a competitive advantage due to its mineral wealth. Considering the vast mineral resources in CAR, bilateral and multilateral engagements will result in a comparative advantage for South Africa. The study further showed that by establishing a relationship with CAR and Nigeria South Africa seeks to expand its ambitions for the future with the hope of contributing meaningfully to peace and prosperity around the world. Therefore, South Africa's relationship with CAR and Nigeria could foster tranquillity within or with other nations. Having served two terms as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, South Africa seeks to flex its muscles and elevate Africa's interest with regards to peace, security and development.

South Africa's diplomatic efforts in CAR and other countries such as Burundi, DRC and Sudan are some of the initiatives that South Africa has used to influence political, social and economic

decisions. So, South Africa's participation in CAR's crisis has reshaped the world's opinion on issues of peace and security in Africa. Hence, South Africa' foreign policy continues to recognise the significance of multilateralism and the role played by the government in international systems. The study has demonstrated how South Africa has used its foreign policy to influence global policy and policy innovations in CAR and Nigeria. Interestingly, issues regarding involving the SANDF in CAR have remained a closely guarded secret. Questions have been raised but answers have not been forthcoming. The study has argued that South Africa is a net exporter in Africa and has ingrained interest in CAR. Therefore, the presence of SANDF was meant to deter and protect the country from external aggression and assist in reaching a political settlement. Therefore, South Africa's role in peace-building, peacekeeping and conflict resolution in the CAR and other countries was motivated by many causal factors. The study has also argued that South Africa has put its national defence upfront while pursuing its diplomacy in Africa.

7.2.4 Broader understanding of factors that shape South Africa's foreign policy agenda

South Africa's foreign policy is very complex and presents a number of challenges in trying to understand the broader issues affecting the country's operations. It should be understood that South Africa's foreign policy was influenced by a number of challenges ranging from civil wars, economic challenges and environmental degradation. The study showed that through its reconstruction and development programme South Africa's diplomacy sought to address such problems. The complications surrounding the factors affecting the broader foreign issues is to do with the management of partnerships and corporation. The study revealed that through its foreign policy South Africa needs to start pursuing a win-win situation where the country becomes the net exporter of both goods and human resources. Thus, the production of goods and services should

be demand driven to ensure that the country understands the culture of the people, traditions, customs and behaviour and other variables that can facilitate trade.

The study further revealed that for South Africa to play a significant role in African affairs it should stop playing the 'big brother role' but should seek ways to integrate brothers in the decision making process. The study further showed that South Africa has achieved a milestone through NEPAD. However, it minimises strategies that would result in competition to foster collaboration instead of rivalry. The study further revealed that the priority in the country's foreign policy strengthened the political agendas. Thus, the collaboration of South Africa with both the CAR and Nigeria is meant to consolidate these countries' democracies and solve their similar challenges. However, issues of poverty are very complex and cannot be solved militarily. Furthermore, the study revealed that each country is interdependent from others, which means that both Nigeria and CAR have considerable power in their own regions. The major issues raised regarding the broader issues affecting South Africa's foreign policy included the unbalanced trade and global finance and of late the global economic crisis. The other challenge exacerbating South Africa's status core is climate change.

The study found that terrorism and terrorist organisations pose a serious threat to national security. Thus, dealing with such organizations requires commitment and collaboration of various actors both locally and internationally. Furthermore, the study revealed that dealing with terrorism requires a lot of resources which might affect the country economically. So, political instability is very difficult to solve, except and until the basic issues such as inequality and poverty are addressed, this will continue to feature in world affairs as a problem. Although South Africa has provided leadership in the continent the study has revealed that it has failed to address the social injustice issues such as xenophobia which was discussed in this study as it presented cases on the

failure of South Africa to explain the erosion of its own domestic democratic processes. The study revealed that xenophobic violent episodes featured on publicised television clips and had a negative impact in discrediting Ubuntu philosophy that is embedded on South Africa's foreign policy and its constitution.

The main challenges that we have found in the study in Africa in general and in South Africa in particular included the issue of self-aggrandisement. Most of the political parties were seen as being power hungry and selfish and they were more concerned about themselves than advancing the interests of the country in general. The study found that South Africa's foreign policy has found interdependence, collaboration and cooperation in Nigerian and CAR. As a result, South Africa has managed to promote its own national interests against global realities in its foreign policy proposition. This has contributed to the country increasing its net benefit through diversification and continental integration.

7.3 CONTRIBUTION TO NEW KNOWLEDGE

The study presents a paradigm shift from other studies on foreign policy in international relations. It departs from the general conception of merely reporting on the achievements of foreign policy. In this study, South Africa's foreign policy was analysed and critiqued using empirical evidence. This led to the conclusion that the majority of studies on South Africa's foreign relations have been more focused on regional integration. The contribution of this study lies in its explanation and reflection on the general consistencies and inconsistencies of South Africa's foreign policy. Furthermore, it examined the events that have impacted on South Africa's foreign policy and how these events are perceived nationally and internationally.

The other contribution is on how the study has looked at Nigeria and CAR as case studies and the comparison of the two countries on how South Africa has employed its foreign policy. The study has also contributed to knowledge by profiling the policy contents and realities of the South African foreign policy towards the countries under study. Such comparison has provided enough information on how South Africa's foreign policy agenda plays itself out in countries marked by diversity in terms of size, history, economic situation and other factors.

The study has provided insights on South Africa's foreign policy in Africa in general and in Nigeria and CAR in particular. The major contribution of the study lies in its broader understanding of the factors that shape South Africa's foreign policy agenda and the strategic relevance of CAR and Nigeria to South Africa.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The study has provided insights on how South Africa's foreign policy agenda has been promoted in Africa and how South Africa has become the voice of Africa internationally. The study examined South Africa's historical past and the factors that informed the structure and the architecture of the country's foreign policy. Theoretical explanation of South Africa's foreign policy towards the rest of Africa was discussed in order to understand its positioning on CAR and Nigeria. This was important in understanding the reality and actions that reproduce and change that reality at different times and under different contexts. Realism and Neofunctionalism were useful constructs in understanding the shift in the dynamics of International Relations. This study was encompassing; it was conducted in South Africa focusing on officials, civil servants and ordinary people from CAR and Nigeria and officials from the department of Defence, academic experts, political commentators and ordinary people in South Africa. However, further research

could be conducted on the role of South Africa's foreign policy in enhancing continental integration. This would be a broader study than the present one. For example, empirical research could be conducted in the two countries in order to have first-hand experience.

7.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study examined South Africa's foreign policy with particular focus on CAR and Nigeria. The foreign policy as a concept was discussed in relation to national and international policies. The study examined and discussed the foreign policy context and the moral responsibility for each nation-state to play a significant role in world affairs. To understand the broader foreign issues, two international relations theories were used, namely, realism and neofunctionalism. In the light of the complexity of the foreign policy issues, the concept of national interest was examined in order to understand the description, explanations and predictions of the nation state in the international political state. Furthermore, the study explored the issue of national security and national sovereign and this was justified in the dissertation. The role of South Africa's foreign policy in the global system was analysed including the foreign policy document which was seen as a very important tool for any country that seeks to advance its interest on international relations issues.

The study found that South Africa has been visible in its foreign policy footprints by being involved in the African peace mediation efforts. The increasing importance of soft power in the global politics is recognised both in the literature and among scholars and practitioners of international relations. Although South Africa faces a number of challenges in constructing its new democratic institutions, it has emerged as one of the most important countries which has embedded

the 'Ubuntu' philosophy in its foreign policy. The idea of Africanization has become entrenched in South Africa's identity which has over-stretched the state that is striving to meet the idealistic demands placed upon its fragile world. The study revealed South Africa's policy influence on the global policy and policy innovation in both CAR and Nigeria by focusing on its historical legacy and economic imperatives. As part of its strategy to the diplomacy of Ubuntu South Africa has attempted to address global challenges through employing the principles of human rights, democracy, reconciliation and poverty alleviation.

Thus, South Africa firmly believes in non-violent conflict resolution, in relation to the present and future predisposition. South Africa has used its historic background to shape its influence and actions to contribute towards the global system of governance. The study revealed that the country's foreign policy has transformed from being power-based to being a rule-based system taking cognisance of the socio-economic realities prevailing in the country. Although the historical legacy remains deeply embedded in all spheres of life, with a lot of economic disparities, the country has witnessed a leap in terms of advanced infrastructure, ICT and communication networks, and sophisticated financial sector comparable to the developed world. The bilateral and multilateral relations between South Africa, CAR and Nigeria were discussed and various pertinent issues were explicated in the discussion. The birth of democracy in South Africa signified a new dawn as it paved a new dramatic attitude change. The study found out that Nigeria and CAR have become trading giants championing and repositioning the continent on the path to long-term development.

What is worth noting at this juncture is that South Africa has embraced a number of Nigerian and CAR nationals seeking either political asylum or greener pastures. The study further revealed that South Africa has received a huge number of migrants coming from CAR and Nigeria. As a result,

the country has been inundated with a lot of problems that it will not be able to deal with that easily. The economies of South Africa and Nigeria were discussed and the resulting mutual benefits were examined. The study also examined South Africa's foreign policy influence on the global scene and then focused on policy innovation in CAR and Nigeria. The study further discussed the bilateral and multilateral relations among the three countries. The study revealed that for countries like CAR, South Africa's intervention was a necessary intergovernmental response to managing globalization and the deepening of independence of international economies. Furthermore, the study made a comparative analysis of South Africa's intervention in CAR and Nigeria. The results showed that South Africa was committed to maintaining peace in Africa through democratization, conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building. Furthermore, the study revealed that South Africa's foreign policy has promoted national interest against global realities, thereby increasing its benefits through diversification and continental integration, particularly in Nigeria. Thus, South Africa has preferred to use negotiated settlements, dialogue and consultations to achieve lasting peace and stability.

The study concludes that even though the presence of South Africa in Nigeria has resulted in increased trade and restored peace in CAR, a number of opportunities in CAR and Nigeria opened up for South Africa. This led to other commentators and opposition political parties within the country arguing that South Africa's involvement in the two countries was driven by national interests more than anything else. This remains a contentious point. The study concludes that unbalanced global trade and global finance, poverty inequality and terrorism were some of the broader challenges faced by South Africa in implementing its foreign policy. These challenges will continue to exist. The onus is on South Africa as big role-player in Africa to find ways to deal with these challenges going forward. One thing that South Africa cannot avoid is being the centre

of criticism. The country's action or in action in line with its foreign policy objectives will always attract both friends and enemies. Therefore, what South Africa needs to do is define its foreign policy objectives and abide by them without trying to please everyone since that would be an impossible goal to achieve. What is clear from this study is that despite criticism levelled against South Africa by its detractors, the country has exceeded expectations in terms of leaving its footprints. Having become a democratic state in 1994, South Africa has made a mark which other African countries have struggled to make over forty years. This is one thing South Africa should be proud of.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

Chhabra, H. S. (1997). *South African Foreign Policy: Principles, Options, Dilemmas*. New Delhi: Africa Publishing.

Clark, M. and White, B. (1989) (ed). *Understanding Foreign Policy Systems Approach*. Adershot: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Danziger, J.N. (1997). *Understanding the political World: A Comparative introduction to political Science*. 4th ed. NY: M Long.

Draper, P. (2006). *The role of South Africa in global structural policy*: South African Institute of International Affairs, Deutsches Institute fur Entwicklungspolitik.

Federico, V. (2006). *Constitutionalism and Democratic Transition: Lessons from South Africa.* United States: Firenze University Press.

Geldenhuys, Deon (2010). *South Africa: The Idea-driven Foreign Policy of a Regional Power*". *In: Flemes, Daniel (editor): Regional Leadership in the Global System - Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers.* Ashgate Publishing – Farnham, Surrey.

Golwa, J. (2009). *ECOWAS and Conflict Resolution in Africa cited in ECOWAS: Milestones in Regional Integration,* Ogwu and Alli (Eds).

Ghosh, J. (2013). *The Global Economic Chessboard and the Role of the brics: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa*. Third World.

Habib, A. (2003). *Hegemon or Pivot: debating South Africa's role in Africa Centre for Policy Studies.*

Hill, C. (2003). *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy, Palgrave Macmillan*, New York.

Hyden, G. (2006). *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University

Jackson, R. and Sorensen, G. (2003). *Introduction to international relations: Theories and approaches* (2nd eds.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Le Pere, G. and A. Van Nieuwkerk (2004). "*Who Made and Makes Foreign Policy?" in E. Sidiropoulos (ed.). Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future, South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1994-2004.* Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.

Lewis, H. (2016). *The Politics of Everybody: Feminism, Queer Theory and Marxism at the intersection*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Lucey, A. (2015*) South Africa's Development Cooperation: Opportunities in the Global Arena, United Nations University Centre for Policy Research*, United Nations.

Magwanda, J. (2015*). Analysis of South Africa's foreign policy goal of achieving peace and security: the case of the Congo peace process,* University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Maree, K. (2007). *First Step in Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaick.

Mingjiang, L. (2009). ed., *Soft Power: China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics,* Lexington Books, page.

Muller, M (1997*). The institutional dimension: The Department of Foreign Affairs and overseas missions' in Carlsnaes, W and M Muller (eds) (1997) Change and South African External Relations.* Johannesburg: International Thompson Publishing.

McGowan, P.J. 2006. *The Southern African Regional Sub-system*. In: McGowan, P.J., Cornelissen, S. & Nel, P. (eds*.). Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa. 3rd ed. Lansdowne*: Institute for Global Dialogue, pp. 301-330.

Parker, F. (2013). *Soldier deaths in CAR the result of flawed foreign policy*. Africa Institute of South Africa. South Africa.

Pityana, S. (2000*). Address of the Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the South African Institute for International Affairs*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Pfister, R. (2005). *Apartheid South African and African States: From Pariah to Middle Power, 1961-1994*. London: Tauris Academic Studies.

Pfister, R. (2000). *South Africa's Recent Foreign Policy towards Africa: Issues and Literature*: Centre for International Studies, Zurich.

Qobo, M. (2011). *Refocusing South Africa's economic diplomacy*: the African Agenda' and emerging powers, South Africa

Sabine and Thorson (1973). *A history of political theory. (4th ed.). Tokyo*: Dryden Press. Holt-Saunders Japan, Ltd. Sebei, E. (2006).

Siko, J. (2002). *Inside South Africa's foreign Policy: Diplomacy in Africa from Smuts and Mbeki*, South Africa.

Sooliman, Q. (2014*). South African foreign policy and human rights: South Africa's foreign policy on Israel (2008-2014) in relation to the Palestinian question*: University of Pretoria, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Schoeman, M. (2003). *South Africa as an emerging middle power*: 1994-2003 in Daniel, J.; Habib, A. and Southall, R. (eds.) *State of the Nation, 2003-2004*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Spence, J. (2001). *South Africa's Foreign Policy: Vision and Reality" in E. Sidiropoulos (ed). Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future, South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1994-2004*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs.

Spies. Y. (2009). *Trends and developments in South African foreign policy: 2009*, University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Tetenyi, A. (2014*). South Africa vs Nigeria: competing countries for leadership position in Sub-Saharan Africa. ISA/FLACSO conference in Buenos Aires*, Argentina on the 24th of July, 2014.

Tseng, S. (2008). *The Republic of China's foreign Policy towards Africa*: The case of ROC-RSA Relations. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Van der Westhuizen, J. (2004) "*How Not to sell Big Ideas: Argument, Identity, and Nepad" in International Journal.* Forthcoming. Canadian Institute for International Affairs.

Van der Westhuizen, J.; Taylor, I.; and Nel, P.; (2001). *Of Rogues, Rebels, Renegades and Reformers: South African Multilateralism in Context' in Nel, P; Taylor, I; van der Westhuizen, J* (eds.) *South Africa's Multilateral Diplomacy and Global Change. The limits of reformism.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Verhoeven, H., Murthy, C.S.R., and de Oliveira, R. S. (2014). *Our identity is our currency: South Africa, the responsibility to protect and the logic of African intervention, conflict, security and development*. Conflict, security and development, South Africa.

Youla, C. (2009). *The Foreign Policies of Mandela and Mbeki: A Clear case of Location Idealism versus Realism?* South Africa: Stellenbosch University.

Zartman, I. W. (1966). *International Relations in the New Africa. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey*: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Zondi, S. (2012*). South Africa in Southern Africa: A Perspective*, *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Mozambique,* Maputo, Mozambique.

Zuma, J. (2013), *"State of the Nation Address to a Joint Sitting of Parliament"*, Cape Town, South Africa.

JOURNALS

Accord (2007): *South Africa's peacekeeping role in Burundi: Challenges and opportunities for future peace missions. Occasional Paper series*: Volume 2, Number 2, 2007. pp. 1-60.

Andreasson, S. (2011). *Africa's prospects and South Africa's leadership potential in the emerging markets century,* Third World Quarterly, 32:6, 1165-1181, DOI.

Ade-Ibijola, A. (2014). *Nigeria and the politics of African decolonisation in the United Nations, 1960-1994: Historical analysis and implications for Nigeria's contemporary political ambitions*. PhD Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Agbu, O., Okereke, E., Wapmuk, S. and Adenly, B. (2013). *The foreign policy environment in Nigeria and implications for Nigeria-South Africa relations. South African Policy Initiative. SAFPI policy brief No 54.* Cape Town.

Alden, C. and Le Pere, G. (2004). *South Africa's Post -Apartheid Foreign Policy: From Reconciliation to Ambiguity*? Review of African Political Economy*,* Vol.31, (100): 283-29.

Banjo, A. (2009). *A review of Parliament -foreign policy Nexus in South Africa and Namibia*: Journal of Politics and Law*,* Vol.2 (3): 61-70.

Barber, J. (2005). *The new South Africa's foreign policy: Principles and Practice:* International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944*).* Vol.81 (5): 1079-1096.

Barber, J. (1997). Reaching for values: The Commonwealth and Nigeria. *Royal Institute of International Affairs,* Vol. 53 (1): 19-22.

Besada, H. and Winter, K. (2013). *South Africa in the BRICS: Opportunities, Challenges and prospects Africa Insight* Vol. 42 (4), pp 1-15.

Bohler-Muller, N. (2012). *Nuanced Balancing act: South Africa's National and International interests and its African Agenda.* South African Institute of International Affairs. Occasional paper number 120. September, 201.

Bond, P. (2013). *Sub-imperialism as Lubricant of Neoliberalism: South African 'deputy sheriff' duty within BRICS*, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2013, pp 251–270.

Dudley, A. (2013). *South Africa's foreign policy: Striving towards Mandela's ideals.* Africa Institute of South Africa. Briefing Number 89, June, 2013.

Ebegbulem, C.J. (2013). *An evaluation of Nigeria-South Africa bilateral relations*. Journal of International relations and foreign policy, 1(1) June 2013.

Geldenhuys, D. (2012). *Political Culture in South African Foreign policy*: International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 2 (18): 29-38 Press,

Habib, A. (2009). *South Africa's Foreign Policy: Hegemonic Aspirations, Neoliberal Orientations and Global Transformation.* South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 16. (2):143-159.

Holsti, J. (1970). *National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy*, International Studies Quarterly, Vol. (14): No. 3.

Landsberg, C. (2006). *The politics of Africa's resources.* The South African Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 10, (2): 120-134.

Landsberg, C. and Smith, R. (2015). *South Africa's Foreign policy for sale?* The Thinker. Volume 65.

Landsberg, C. (2002). *South Africa's Africa Agenda: Challenges of Policy and implementation*. South Africa: University of Johannesburg

Mandela, N. (1993). *South Africa's Future Foreign Policy.* Foreign Affairs Vol. 72, No. 5. Pp 86-97.

Mathebula, S (2016). *South African foreign policy's conflict mediation outcomes and significantly shaped by democratic deficit which characterises the African continent*. Liaison dialogue and research, No 2/2016. Cape Town**.**

Marx, J (1995). *South African Foreign Policy in the New Era: Priority in Africa and the Indian Ocean Islands,* The South African Journal of International Affairs Vol. 2(2).

Mearsheimer, J.J. (1994). *The False Promise of International Institutions.19 (3)* International Security, 19 (3). pp 5–49.

Moravcsik, A. (1999). Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization* 15 (3). pp 3513–55.

Mbeki, M. (2000). *Issues in South African foreign policy*, The African Renaissance Souls, 2:2, 76-81.

Nathan, L. (2005). *Consistency and Inconsistencies in South African Foreign Policy*: International Affairs Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol. 8, (2): 361-372.

Nathan, L. (2013). *African Solutions to African problems: South Africa's foreign policy. South African Foreign Policy initiative*. SAFPI policy brief number 51, November, 2013.

Nel, S. and Van der Westhuizen, J. (2004). *How Not to sell Big Ideas: Argument, Identity, and Nepad in International Journal.* Forthcoming. Canadian Institute for International Affairs. Vol 23. (1). 187.

Nussbaum. B. (2003). *Ubuntu: Reflection of a South African on our Common Humanity Reflection*, Vol. 4 (4):21-26.

Ogunnubi, O. & Amao, B. (2016). *South Africa's emerging power influence in Africa and its impending limitations: Will the Giant be able to weather the storm?* African Security Journal, Volume 4, 299-319.

Pfister, R. (2000). *South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy Towards Africa, Centre for International Studies, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology ETH, Zurich*, Electronic Journal of Africana Bibliography, Volume 6.

Rose, G. (1998). *Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*, World Politics, 51 (1), 144-172.

Sega, D. and Lekaba, F. (2014). *Nigeria's Boom: a positive outcome for Intra-Africa trade. Policy brief.* Africa Institute of South Africa brief No. 111.

Soko, M. and Alden, C. (2005). *South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and its Discontents*. The journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 43, (3): 367-392.

Solomon, H. (2010*). South Africa in Africa: a case of high expectations for peace*": South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 17 (20):142.

Schraeder, P.J. (2001). *South Africa's Foreign Policy: From Pariah to Leader of the African Renaissance*. The Round Table, 90(359): 229-243.

Umezurike, A. S., and Lucky, E. A. (2015). *Exploring diplomatic crisis of Nigeria and South Africa between 1994 and 2013*. Academic journal of interdisciplinary Studies. 4 (1) 2015.

Van Wyk, K. and Radloff, S. (1993). *Symmetry and Reciprocity in South Africa's foreign policy:* The journal of Conflict resolution, Vol.37, (2): 382-396.

Wendt, A. (1995). *Constructing International Politics*, International Security, 20 (1), pp. 71-81.

Williams, P. (2002). South Africa's Foreign Policy: Dilemmas of a New Democracy*: International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs* 1944-, Vol. 78(3): 658.

UNPUBLISHED THESES/DISSERTATIONS

Mabuda, P. (2008*). South Africa's Foreign Relations towards Kenya: The Political and Economic Dynamics*. Unpublished MA South Africa: University of Johannesburg.

Naidoo, V. (2010). *Between Scylla and Charybdis, South Africa's Foreign Policy Dilemma in Southern Africa*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, UKZN, South Africa.

Ogunnubi, O. (2013). *Hegemonic Order and Regional Stability in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and South Africa*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, UKZ, South Africa.

Olivier, L. (2009). *Pursuing Human Security in Africa through Developmental Peace Missions: Ambitious Construct or Feasible Ideal?* Stellenbosch University, Stellenbosch unpublished Master's dissertation.

Phetha, R.H. (2015). *Peacekeeping and conflict resolution: An examination of South Africa's involvement in the Central African Republic*. Unpublished MA Dissertation, UKZN, South Africa.

Tjemolane, T. (2001). *South Africa's Foreign Policy towards Africa, 1994-2010: Partner or Hegemon.* (Masters Dissertation) University of the Free State.

Van Nieuwkerk, A. (2006). *South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy decision making on African crises*. PHD Thesis: Wits University.

ELECTRONIC/INTERNET SOURCES

Adebajo, A. (11 April 2006). *Does South Africa's foreign policy advance a human rights agenda? South Africa in Africa: Messiah or mercantilist?* Paper presented at HSRC Seminar: Democracy and Governance. http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Document- 549.phtml (Accessed 28 .07. 2018).

Bullard, M. (2006). *Analysis of China's National Interests*. http://rwxy.tsinghua.edu.cn/xisup/ institute/english/production/yxt/book/interests%20analysis/ch1.htm. Accessed: (14. 02. 2014)

Chinaka, C. (2008). *Zuma widens gap with Mbeki over Zimbabwe.* http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71627?oid=88212&sn=Detai l. (Accessed 20. 05. 17).

Cilliers, J. (1999). *An Emerging South African Foreign Policy Identity*. Occasional Paper no.39. Institute for Security Studies, http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/Papers/39/Paper39.html (Accessed 15. 05. 2017).

DIRCO (Department of International Relations and Cooperation), 2005. *Fundamental Principles and Guidelines for South Africa's Foreign Policy in the Strategic Foreign Policy Document*. http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2005pq/pq1817.htm. (Accessed 05. 7. 2018).

Landsberg, C. (2000). *Promoting Democracy: The Mandela-Mbeki Doctrine.* http://muse.jhu.edu.journals/journal_of_democracy/v011/11.3landsberg.pdf. (Accessed 16. 06. 2018).

Laverty, A. (2008). *How the Policy of Quiet Diplomacy Impacts South Africa's Democratic Consolidation*. http://theafricanfile.com/politicshistory/south-africa/ (accessed 09. 10.2017).

Schoeman, M. (2000). *South Africa as an Emerging Middle Power.* http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/ASR/9No3/SAMiddlePower.html. (Accessed: 07. 10. 2017).