CHAPTER II
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2.1. Determinants of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is never uniquely determined by anyone factor or set of factors, but it is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors. Determinants of foreign policy are those factors or forces which determine the nature or outcome of it. The foreign policy of a country is compounded out of many factors and forces. All of them interact and determine the foreign policy. The determinants of foreign policy, however, vary in importance according to circumstances and it is impossible to lay down any general rule regarding the relative importance of each factor. It is, nevertheless, a general rule that each factor individually and collectively affects major problems of foreign policy.

According to Paddleford and Lincoln, “Fundamentally, foreign policy has its roots in the unique historical backgrounds, political institutions, traditions, economic needs, power factors, aspirations, peculiar geographical circumstances and basic set of values held by a nation”.¹ James Rosenau writes that geography, size, economic development, culture and history, great power structure, alliances, technology, social structure, public opinion and governmental structure as inputs of foreign policy.² It can be said that the basic determinants of foreign policy include geography, economic development, political traditions, domestic milieu, international milieu and military strength. It can also sum up that the two important determinants of foreign policy of a country are domestic environment and international environment.

Who or what influences foreign policy? Although leaders are quick to take credit for foreign policy successes and the public is often quick to blame them for failures, leaders rarely make foreign policy alone. Advisory systems and government bureaucracies may be organised differently in different countries, but

they always play some role in foreign policy decision making and implementation. Domestic constituencies may vary in influence, depending on the attentiveness of a public to foreign affairs or the structure of government in a specific country. Finally, the world beyond the borders affects the possibilities for foreign policy action. It may present opportunities, but it also presents constraints.  

The study of foreign policy includes policy makers, interests and objectives, principles of foreign policy and means of foreign policy. The determinants of foreign policy of a country can be briefly seen as follows: geographical location, history and traditions, political organisation and traditions, military strength, personalities or leadership factors and international environment etc. One of the major determinants of foreign policy is geography. It includes location, size, topography, state boundaries, population, climate and hydrography. All these elements are important in varying degrees for a country’s national polities and foreign relations.

The history of international relations shows that location has always been an important determinant of the foreign relations of a state. The strategic location of Britain has helped her historically to rule over the waves in terms of both trade and naval power. In case of India, the highest mountain range of the world in the north and one of the three major oceans of the world in the south have given the Indian subcontinent a certain geographical insularity. In case of South Africa, the strategic location of South Africa on the Indian Ocean gives a central position in Africa, Asia and world politics.

The history and traditions have significant influence on foreign policy making. In the context of South Africa, the historical and political tradition is an important domestic determinant of its foreign policy. Historical ties of the United States with Britain, the mother country, had an impact on the US policy for a very long time. British imperialism in India and our struggle for freedom against colonialism and imperialism has had direct impact on India’s foreign policy. The

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5 India’s full support to freedom struggle in Afro-Asian countries and fight against racial discrimination was outcome of our history.
possession of raw materials and natural resources and compulsions of economic also determined the course of a country’s foreign policy. The political strength of a country is often measured in terms of economic strength. Hence these factors cannot be ignored while shaping the foreign policy. The political organisation, political tradition, structure of the government and charismatic leadership also contributes to the shaping of an effective foreign policy. The military strength of a country has impact on its foreign policy. Possession of large and powerful armed forces equipped with modern sophisticated weapons of warfare makes for an effective and aggressive foreign policy.

Lastly, one of the most important determinants of foreign policy is the international milieu. The big power politics is one international factor of every country’s foreign policy. The disintegration of Soviet Union and the end of the cold war have brought about a radical transformation in the structure of international relations. In this context, the USA has emerged not only as the only superpower of the world but also as the unchallenged hegemon of the international system both inside the United Nation and outside.

Another factor is the establishment and role of the UN. Before the establishment of the UN, there had been a widespread movement for the establishment of a world government in the USA and Europe. In the light of the experience of the two World Wars, the failure of the League of Nations to ensure collective security and the Oligarchic structure of the inter-state system since 1815, the movement for the world government was motivated by the twin objectives of international security and global democracy. The movement for a federal and democratic world, government was again motivated by these twin objectives. Some of the major proposals for world government involve the democratisation of the UN and its transformation into a global regulatory authority.

But the UN was soon caught up in the cold war and the ideological and strategic conflict between the two contending blocks undermined the possibility of transforming the UN into a loose and minimalist form of world government. The end of the cold war has brought about changes within the international system in

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6 It has been reduced to an economically and politically disorganised state which is heavily dependent on the western countries in general and the USA in particular, for both and economic and political support.
which the role of the UN has to be visualised in a new light. At the same time, the international system has witnessed a profound globalisation of international processes, issues and problems which made nation state and inadequate agency for performing the necessary global functions.\(^7\) The practical difficulties in the way of democratisation and further empowerment of the UN such as power political conflict, nationalism and racism are probably no longer as acute at the beginning of the 21st century as they were over half a century ago. The Third World states alone can act as the appropriate agency of these transformative efforts, in collaboration with sympathetic groups and movements within the developed countries. For the Third World states have everything to gain in terms of international security and development, nothing to loose, from a democratic and just world government.

The other international factor of a country’s foreign policy include the emergence of European Union, China, Japan and India as world powers and other international contemporary issues. Now let’s examine the various determinants of South Africa’s foreign policy.

### 2.2. Determinants of South Africa’s Foreign Policy

After a brief examination of determinants of foreign policy, let us discuss some important determinant factors of South Africa’s foreign policy. The post apartheid South Africa coincided with a historic moment in international affairs marked by the end of the cold war and the process of globalisation. South Africa’s foreign policy has been dominated by racial policies, historical events, political traditions, and other international environments. Post apartheid South Africa's foreign policy exhibits both important continuities and marked transformations, reflecting in its domestic revolution, regional realignments, and post-Cold War global changes.

In view of this, the present chapter examines the domestic as well as external determinants of post apartheid South Africa’s foreign policy. Domestic determinants of South Africa’s foreign policy include geography, political factor, economic factor, state and non-state actors. External factors like globalisation, the

\(^7\) Among these global processes, some of them are economic and technological globalisation, the global information revolution, environmental pollutions and degradation, nuclear weapons, international terrorism and general international insecurity among Third World states caused by hegemony of the big powers.
end of the Cold War and emergence of the United States of America (USA) as a world supper power, International Organisations like the United Nations (UN), Commonwealth of Nations, Non-Aligned Movements etc. and African Countries are the some of the major determinants of South Africa’s foreign policy. The emergence of multi polar world like European Union (EU), China, Japan and India have also served as important external determinants of post apartheid South Africa’s foreign policy.

Before we go into details of determinant factors, let us examine a brief evolution South Africa’s foreign policy and its adaptation in the post-apartheid period.

2.2.1. Evolution of South Africa’s Foreign Policy

Under the apartheid regime, South African foreign policy was severely constraint by universal hostility which the country’s racial policies generated abroad. The domestic roots of South Africa’s foreign policy in the first 30 years of National Party (NP) rule have been examined in dept elsewhere, but it is worth remarking that it was in the 1980s that the burden of external pressure combined with a growing internal opposition became too great to bear.\(^8\) The result was a dawning recognition that the price of external rehabilitation specially with respect to a profoundly depressed economy was major political reforms at home. F.W. De Klerk’s decision to initiate change was helped by the fortuitous coincidence of a more favourable external climate and in particular the collapse of Soviet Union. Henceforth, the latter could no longer be regarded as a significant threat to the Republic, the traditional prescription of a total strategy to counter a ‘total onslaught’ from Moscow was patently absurd.

Then, the NP government recognised that time and demography was against them: in 1990 South Africa’s population was 38.1 million; by 2000 the figure would be 47.5 million. A white minority regime with a declining economy could hardly deliver the 3-4 percent growth rate required to sustain numbers on that scale. True, violent revolution- in the absence of change might not be the

\(^8\) Spence, n.4, p. 222.
outcome, but the spectre of slow, haphazard social disintegration was presumably more than enough to convince De Klerk, a pragmatic realistic. During the 3 and half years of constitutional negotiation, the major actors concentrated their efforts on devising a new political structure to give expression to black political aspiration. The new state’s foreign policy was a matter of debate and argument, but the energies of principal actors, De Klerk and Nelson Mandela were absorbed in trying to maintain their partnerships through negotiation.

The international community maintained, indeed intensified its interest in events in the Republic. The period 1990-4 has been well describes by Deon Geldenhuys as “a new era of international engagement in South African politics”.9 A variety of external bodies including the United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, the Common Wealth, the Organisation of African Unity (now African Union), the International Commission of Jurist offered offices to the major players........various fact finding, monitoring and facilitating roles.10

Both leaders, in effect, were using the external arena as a vehicle for their domestic competition; Mandela sought aid packages to seek the timing mechanism for the lifting of sanctions and to build a supportive international consensus for the ANC’s policy of non-racial majoritarian unitary states as the basis for the new South Africa. South Africa’s transition to democracy and its nation building challenges more or less coincided with far reaching and dramatic changes in the global landscape.11 It is against this backdrop that South Africa has attempted to build democratic institutions and a new civic culture on the foundation of a bitter legacy. Nelson Mandela could assert as early as 1993 that human rights will be the light that guides our foreign affairs.12

Freed from its apartheid isolationist moorings, South Africa adopted a broad approach of universality. This represented its intention to pursue diplomacy

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of active internationalism and to open foreign and local doors in the same reconciliatory spirit that had characterised its own domestic transformation. By 1995, South Africa had established ninety three resident missions abroad. It also established a full diplomatic relations with forty six African countries. Conversely, by the end of 1994, a matter of months after the installation of ANC government, there were 136 countries with representations in South Africa. The country joined or readmitted to 16 multi-lateral organisations. For example, it was readmitted to full membership in the UN, to the Commonwealth, to the African Union and to the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It concluded 86 bilateral treaties and acceded to 21 multilateral treaties and conventions. At different times it has been chaired of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), of SADC, of the UN Commission on Human Rights and of the Non Alignment Movement etc. This is how the foundations of post-apartheid foreign policy were laid in South Africa.

**Foreign Policy Adaptation in the Post–apartheid Era**

South Africa's Presidential election in April 1994 was one of the most significant events in African democratic transition. The foreign policy adaptation strategies were adopted by the Mandela and Mbeki administrations in their quest to further strengthen South Africa's ongoing transformations from an isolated international pariah to the leader of African Renaissance. The following are the strategies designed to adapt South Africa's foreign policy to the new realities of post-apartheid era: (1) restoring civilian control over the security apparatus, (2) restructuring the foreign policy establishment, (3) self promotion as the leader of African Renaissance, (4) adherence to the foreign policy principle of universality and (5) assuming a leadership role in international organisation.  

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(1) Restoring Civilian Control over the Security Apparatus

One of the most important tasks was the process of demilitarisation to restore civilian control over a security apparatus that had become too powerful in the formulation of South African domestic and foreign policies. An agreement was signed between the military leaders of the apartheid era SADF and the military wing of the ANC prior to the general election of 1994. The process of the demilitarisation also included profound changes in military doctrine. As opposed to apartheid era, doctrine of being able to launched counter insurgency wars and retaliatory strikes against neighbouring countries, current military doctrines emphasises the overriding importance of national self defence in South Africa. An important challenge that confronted the new elected Mandela administration was the necessity of integrating previously opposed military forces into the newly created South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

(2) Restructuring the Foreign Policy Establishment

The second strategy to adapt South African foreign policy to the post cold war was complete restructuring of foreign policy making establishment. The 1996 constitution has clearly established the formal role to be played by a wide variety of institutional actors, with the creation and consolidation of democratic practices favouring the foreign policy inputs of different non state actors. One of the most profound examples of institutional change revolve around the restructuring of the former ministry of foreign affairs to ensure that it once again assumes one of the leading roles in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. An important step in this process was the creation of a new bureaucracy- the Department of Foreign Affairs. This restructuring process referred to as Rationalisation within South African Policy making community.

(3) Self promotion as the Leader of African Renaissance

As the leader of African Renaissance, the strengthening of democratic practices and economic liberalisation throughout Africa since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, constitutes a third important component of foreign policy adaptation

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in the post cold war era. Among the most important foreign policy concerns of South Africa include the promotion of regional integration and development as witnessed by the South Africa’s membership and leadership role in SADC, its support for nuclear non-proliferation etc. a willingness to adopt liberal economic model of free trade and investment has also gathered strength in the post cold war era and has been specially invoked by the more technocratic ally minded Mbeki administration.

(4) Adherence to the Foreign Policy Principle of Universality

The fourth adaptation is designed to bridge the foreign policy gap between the apartheid and democratic era. The principle of universality underscores the willingness of South Africa to establish diplomatic relations with all countries of the world regardless of the domestic or the foreign policy of those countries. In the case of Middle East, for example, the Mandela and Mbeki administration have sought to strengthen diplomatic links with Israel while at the same time establishing and strengthening diplomatic ties with Libya and Iran. In some cases like People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan as to which capital – Beijing or Taipei is recognised as the official seat of the Chinese government.

The willingness of the Mandela and Mbeki administrations to choose economic self interest over regime type in the case of China has led to sharp critics of South African foreign policy. South Africa’s diplomatic ties with Cuba and other countries considered by American policy makers to be terrorist state within the international system has caused repeated diplomatic tensions between Pretoria and Washington.

(5) Assuming a Leadership Role in International Organisations

The final strategy for adapting South African foreign policy to specially the international realities of the post cold war era has been a firm commitment to upholding and strengthening the international norms associated with the UN and its

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16 This foreign policy stance is designed to emphasise the centrality of the African continent in South African foreign policy.
17 Graham Evans, “South Africa’s Foreign Policy after Mandela”, Round Table, 352, (October, 1999) p. 621.
18 South Africa’s desire to maintain a two China policy proved untenable, ultimately leading to South Africa to choose Beijing largely due to economic reasons.
19 Schraeder, n.14, p. 234.
member agencies. The other organisations also include the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the African Union. One of the most important foreign policy objectives of the immediate post-apartheid era was to ensure that South African Diplomats quickly reasserted South Africa’s rightful place as both a member and a leader within the international community of international organisation. South Africa has particularly focused on its UN membership, joining the Governing Councils of several specialised agencies and organs. Indeed, South Africa’s closest rivals for a permanent UN Security Council seat are often dismissed by South African diplomats as either undemocratic (Egypt or Sudan) and beset by internal conflict (Algeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo) or lacking sufficient economic resources (Nigeria and Senegal).

These are the strategies designed by the South African leaders to adapt South Africa’s foreign policy in the post-apartheid era. Now let us examine some of the important determinants of South Africa’s foreign policy.

2.2.2. Domestic determinants

The study of the sources of Africa’s foreign policy traditionally has been dominated by three bodies of scholarships. One body of research, often referred to as the big man theory of African Foreign Policy, emphasises the overriding importance of the personal whims of authoritarian leaders to explain the formulation and implementation of African Foreign Policy. The second body of research focuses on the impact of the larger geo-political setting of great power competitions, most notably the Cold War struggle between the United States and Soviet Union. The third body of research emphasises the constraints imposed on African Foreign Policies by the continuation of dependency relationships between the African States and their former colonial powers.

Domestic determinants of South Africa’s foreign policy can be examined as follows- (1) Geography, (2) Demography, (3) Historical and Political tradition and (4) Economic factors.

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20 In 1994, South Africa was admitted to the OAU, joined the NAM and was readmitted to the British Commonwealth of Nations and the UN.


2.2.2.1. Geography

Geography includes location, size, state boundaries, population, climate, soil etc, and undoubtedly, all of these elements are important in varying degrees for South Africa's national politics and foreign relations. The history of international relations shows that location has always been an important determinant of the foreign relation of a state.

South Africa, on the continent's southern tip, is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the west and by the Indian Ocean on the south and east. Its neighbors are Namibia in the northwest, Zimbabwe and Botswana in the north, and Mozambique and Swaziland in the northeast. The strategic location of South Africa on the Indian Ocean gives a central position in Africa, Asia and world politics. South Africa and the Indian Ocean are an indispensable link in world trade and commerce. Most of the major air and sea routes of the world pass through South Africa. Any major happening in South Africa would affect the rest of the Africa and Asia. South Africa is a major connecting link among the geographical areas of Africa, South Asia particularly India, East Asia or Far East.

The logic of geography inevitably makes India heavily dependent on the Indian Ocean for her national security as well as her foreign trade. Indian Ocean continues to play a vital role in South Africa's foreign policy in post apartheid period. The establishment of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation (IOR-ARC) in 1997 is a positive response to geopolitical imperative.\textsuperscript{23} Therefore, from the above points we can see that geographical factor is one of the important domestic determinants of South Africa's foreign policy.

2.2.2.2. Demography

The demographic features of the population of South Africa, including population density, ethnicity, education level, religious affiliations and other aspects of the population have its impact on its foreign policy. South Africa has an

\textsuperscript{23} The IOR-ARC was launched in Mauritius on 6-7 March 1997. Members are Australia, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kenya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mozambique, Oman, Singapore, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Thailand, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The Seychelles announced its withdrawal from the Association in July 2003. The Indian Ocean Rim defines a distinctive area in international politics consisting of coastal states bordering the Indian Ocean.
uncommon demographic profile, marked by a heterogeneous population base, social issues brought on by the legacy of apartheid, divisions within ethnic groups, HIV/AIDS and emigration. Within the Rainbow Nation\textsuperscript{24} demography consequently plays a prominent role in public policy.

Blacks compose about 79.7 percent (2007 est.) of the population and represent different ethnic groups, including Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Tswana, Pedi, Sotho and Swazi, as well as recent immigrants from other parts of Africa (particularly Zimbabwe and Nigeria). Whites compose 9.1 percent (2007 est) to 11 percent (CIA 2007), comprising of the descendants of Dutch, French, British, and German settlers who began arriving at the Cape from the late 17th century, immigrants from Europe who arrived in South Africa in the twentieth century, and Portuguese who left the former Portuguese colonies of southern Africa (Angola and Mozambique) after their independence in the mid-1970s. Coloureds (8.8 percent, 2007 est) are mixed-race people primarily descended from the earliest settlers, their slaves, and the indigenous peoples. The remaining 2.4 percent are categorised as 'Indian/Asian', including the descendants of Indian indentured sugar estate workers and traders who came to South Africa in the mid-19th (particularly around Natal), as well as a small Chinese population of approximately 100,000 people.\textsuperscript{25}

All these different ethnic groups are important domestic factors in the making of South Africa’s foreign policy. For example, the charismatic leadership of the first black President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela had a deep impact on both the domestic and foreign policy of South Africa.

\textbf{2.2.2.3. Historical and Political Tradition}

The historical and political tradition is another domestic determinant of South Africa’s foreign policy. The past, it could be argued, is never entirely wiped clean whatever the expectations and aspirations a people may have as their society

\textsuperscript{24} Rainbow Nation is a term coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to describe post-apartheid South Africa, after South Africa’s first fully-democratic election in 1994. The phrase was elaborated upon by President Nelson Mandela in his first month of office. The term was intended to encapsulate the unity of multi-culturalism and the coming-together of people of many different nations, in a country once identified with the strict division of white and black.

\textsuperscript{25} Statistics South Africa Mid-year population estimates, South Africa (2007).
undergoes transformation of the kind affected in South Africa.\textsuperscript{26} This applies to the prospects for the emergence of a democratic tradition of politics in South Africa as much as it does with respect to the formulation and conduct of foreign policy. With respect to the latter, success or failure in policy making will depend not only on the stability of the polity but also on the extent to which South Africa succeeds in its efforts to establish a democratic tradition of political behaviour. Hence, this digression into speculation about the future structure and process of South African politics.

The term ‘tradition’ implies that the structure and process of a country’s politics is the evolving product of a peculiar history and culture. This explains why non-political system is identical to another; it also explains why the wholesale transplantation of Western political values and institutions failed to take root in Third World societies such as Angola, Mozambique and Zaire. Jack (1996) expresses that the new South Africa paradoxically has advantages inherited from the past, however traumatic.\textsuperscript{27}

An institutional framework incorporating a tradition of parliamentary government (admittedly exclusive) and a judicial system which has survived the battering of apartheid. The notion of the rule of the law is not, after all, a new and exotic foreign import into South African political culture; it has roots in the country’s legal history and has also been vigorously defended when attacked undermined, as it has been during the past 46 years.\textsuperscript{28} On the other hand, it is because South African statehood is not fragile that negotiators were encouraged to seek the transformation of the state and society within existing boundaries in the hope of avoiding the ethnic fragmentation that has occurred elsewhere.

The new government starts, therefore, with the advantage that it thus not has to engage in the business of state and nation building simultaneously. The hope remains that by a combination of a debate, constitutional revision and learning from experience, a peculiarly South African version of democratic government may well emerge. By the same token, it could be argued that a country’s foreign

\textsuperscript{26} Spence, n.4, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid, p.228.

\textsuperscript{28} This is largely a legacy from the past, rooted in the gross abuse of state power and its instruments by the apartheid regime.
policy is to a degree, shaped by past preoccupations but these are not immutable. As Bruce Miller once puts the matter in a perceptive analysis: a national interest cannot be separated from the minds of the men who formulate them.......ideas of national interest have a grounding in the facts of geography and economics, but these facts are subject to change.

Thus, it could be argued that while Pretoria’s new policy makers have inherited a set of national interest defined by their predecessors and constraint by the facts of geography and economics, nonetheless those self same policy makers will put their own particular interpretation on those facts and seeks to maximise advantage for their country. For example, the new government aspires to play a critical role in the southern African region, likewise, did the apartheid regime.29

2.2.2.4. Economic Factors

The economic development is another important factor of South Africa’s post apartheid foreign policy. Among the major factors which determine the rate of economic development are population, natural resources, capital and technology. Foreign policy is conditioned by these economic factors in national development in different ways. South Africa is an economic giant relative to other African economies. South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP) of US $ 239 billion is 40 times larger than the average Sub-Saharan Economy. It represents 25 percent of the total African economy and constitutes one third of the economy of Sub-Saharan Africa and almost two thirds of the GDP of Southern African Development Community (SADC).30

The policies of President Mandela’s government will affect the state’s capacity to pursue a foreign policy bought in Africa and abroad.31 Similarly, external perceptions will be influenced by the performance of the economy, and the following observation, it is hoped that it will be helpful in placing foreign policy incentives and constraints in a domestic and economic context. The new

29 Ibid, p.228.
31 This applies particularly to those aspects of policy driven by economic imperatives and the need to scramble for markets and new foreign investments.
government inherits an economy emerging out of long recession, inflation has fallen to single figures, while exports of commodities increase by 25 percent in the first three months of 1994; agricultural products has improved. With respect to relations with European Union, the precise form of the relationship between Pretoria and Brussels has yet to be worked out.

According to Martin Holand (1994), the options are as follows; (1) the standard ‘Most Favoured Nations’ (MFN) status within GATT framework, (2) Generalised System of Preference (GSP), (3) The full Lome Status, (4) Associate Lome Status, (5) A Non-reciprocal association agreement and (6) a Reciprocal Association Agreement. In a detailed analysis he contends that the most likely outcome is a bi-lateral agreement that offers reciprocal terms. This would mean the negotiation of a free trade agreement geared specially to South Africa but in time this would require South Africa abandoning certain protectionists’ measures in exchange for access to the EU market. Assuming such an agreement would be forthcoming EU policy would stress, promoting economic co-operation and trade and investment promotion.\(^{32}\)

2.2.3. External determinants

External factors have also served as important sources of South Africa’s foreign policy. Among the important external factors of South Africa’s foreign policy are: (1) Market Economy and Globalisation, (2) Emergence of the USA as only world power, (3) Strategic position in the African Continent, (4) Multinational Corporation involvement in South Africa, (5) Impact of African Union (AU), (6) Rise of Middle Power (IBSA) (7)International Organisations and (8) Emergence of Multi-Polar World. These factors can be discussed as follows-

2.2.3.1. Market Economy and Globalisation

Having emerged from the international isolation of the apartheid era, South Africa has become a leading international actor. Its principal foreign policy objective is to develop good relations with all countries, especially its neighbors in

the Southern African Development Community and the other members of the African Union. South Africa has played a key role in seeking an end to various conflicts and political crises on the African continent, including in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Comoros, and Zimbabwe. Swaziland has asked South Africa to open negotiations on reincorporating some nearby South African territories that are populated by ethnic Swazis or that were long ago part of the Swazi kingdom.

South Africa’s transition is taking place at a time where there are enormous changes in the international system. There is no longer any alternative socialist bloc of countries which used to allow developing countries and countries attempting the transition to democracy to structure their trade, aid and investment relations. At the same time, powerful forces of globalisation and liberalisation are changing the capitalist world economy. Understanding these changes is essential in defining policy options across the board including our economic policy, social policy and policy on the role of the state.33

The United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) 1997 Human Development Report points out that the term globalisation both describes and prescribes the system of economic relations in the world today.34 The descriptions refer to the fact that international flows of trade, finance and information are being integrated into a single global market. Globalisation, therefore, is a process which is aimed at integrating the world market where national commodity capital, financial and currency markets are joined together into a single market which operates according to a set of rules whose application are universal. Transnational corporations, multi-lateral institutions and governments of advanced industrialised countries are driving Globalisation. This is happening in a context where there are major advances in technology, particularly in the information and communication industries.

These technologies have made capital, financial and commodity flows much quicker. But globalisation cannot be reduced to technicist changes alone.


34 It is this transition from an international economy to a transnational world economy that defines the present phase of globalisation. Globalisation has been facilitated by the introduction of new information and communication technologies.
Globalisation is much more fundamentally a process of restructuring the entire way in which global capitalism works. Globalisation has transformed the way in which dominant forces in the global economy have defined their interests in the world outside of their own home base. The agenda of transnational capital is to look for a much broad and far-reaching breakdown of barriers to the free movement of commodities and capital across national borders as well as removing obstacles to setting up production processes in any part of the world. 35

Globalisation has therefore come together with the demands for removing regulatory and other barriers in national states. These barriers are seen as obstacles to the free movement of commodities, finance and capital, but not of labour, across the world. National states have been pressured by the rules of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the conditionalties of international financial institutions (IMF - International Monetary Fund and World Bank), and the impact of globalised currency and capital markets (which react with frightening speed against any country that does not conform).

South Africa’s Options in Responding to Globalisation

While globalisation in its current guise is characterised by the exploitative relationship between the developed and developing world, it does provide the tools to redefine that relationship. 36 What then is the appropriate policy response for a country like South Africa? Globalisation is clearly a complex process that cannot ignore or avoid. South Africa depends on its relationship with the world economy for about 50 percent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and withdrawing or isolating is an option that could only be implemented at great cost. The ANC has, thus, taken a policy decision to engage proactively with globalisation and look for a beneficial re-insertion of the country, isolated by apartheid, into the world economy.

South Africa needs to see globalisation as presenting both opportunities and threats, and to recognise the strengths and weaknesses in engaging with it. The opportunities arise from the fact that world trade is expanding more rapidly than world GDP, that international capital flows have increased and that globalisation

35 Davies, n. 33, p.172.
has been associated with communication and information-technology revolution. The rapid expansion of world trade is creating possibilities for a country like South Africa to boost its economic growth by increasing exports as well as, at the same time, achieving a diversification of exports that could reduce their dependence on primary products. Both these goals are critical to achieve the GEAR target. The technological advances linked to globalisation also have enormous potential to raise output and improve incomes. The increased movement of international capital could potentially result in an increase in foreign investment - another important GEAR objective.

The threats come from the fact that globalisation has increased competitive pressures. No country can maintain protective tariffs and regulatory barriers at the levels they were in the past - unless it is prepared to cut itself off entirely from the global trading system. Unlike the East Asian Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) who began their drive for export-led growth at a time when most other developing countries were following Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) policies, South Africa faces the prospect of having to attempt to realise its objectives in this regard at a time when many other countries are trying to do precisely the same. In both export and domestic markets, globalisation is thus increasing competitive pressures.

South Africa has strengths it can build on in developing a proactive response to globalisation. It has a significant natural resource base, is relatively developed in relation to its neighbours and has a geographic location closer than the advanced industrialised economies of "the North".

At the same time, South Africa has weaknesses and vulnerabilities that need to be identified and overcome. Much of the inherited productive economy and the manufacturing sector in particular, are relatively uncompetitive. These actual or potential weaknesses are made worse by the unevenness and selectivity of

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37 As protective barriers are lowered, producers directed at domestic markets will face increased competition from potential imports. At the same time, taking advantage of the opportunities available through engaging in export trade has become an objective of many countries.

38 Davies, n.33, p. 173.

39 Years of isolation under apartheid, and policies of import substitution industrialisation have left much of the manufacturing sector, in particular, vulnerable to foreign competition.
globalisation today. South Africa's level of development means that it is seen as a potential competitor, at least in some sectors, to developed countries.

South Africa's policy stance requires that a number of elements are put in place at the same time. First, there is a need for a clear trade strategy aimed at identifying countries and regions where it can most beneficially increase trade. The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has identified the fast growing regions of the Indian Ocean Rim and Latin America, as well as the Southern African region and West Africa, as particularly important in this regard. Second, South Africa industrial and sectoral policies aimed at raising the overall level of competitiveness, identifying sectors where it has potential and those where there are vulnerabilities that need to be overcome.

In a context where globalisation has been accompanied by a widening of inequalities within countries and where jobless growth has become a global norm, active policies to promote employment, by focusing on services and other non-tradable sectors, human resource development and basic needs provision, are all essential. Finally, globalisation challenges South Africa to actively engage in wide trade diplomacy. In circumstances where there are powerful pressures merely to conform, this will need to be constantly based on an informed and critical analysis of the emerging global environment and of the balance of forces within it.

Some valuable lessons have been learnt in the past three and a half years. One of them is that South Africa, which produces less than half per cent of the world's GDP, can only hope to be effective in international forums if it acts together, in partnership, with others. The search for alliances is thus fundamental - with Southern Africa, Africa and the South clear priorities in this regard. South Africa must overcome the tendency to see matters of trade negotiations and international economic regulation as technical matters that can be left to experts. Developments at this level are of critical importance both to government as a whole and broader civil society.

41 Davies, n.33, p. 174.
42 South Africa needs to recognise that globalisation and liberalisation have created an imperative to, on the one hand, struggle to find new ways to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation and sovereignty.
The ANC must become more active in the creation of a greater awareness and promotion of broader participation in, the development of positions to be taken up in the conduct of trade diplomacy, based on recognition that the issues being addressed often have very profound implications for people of South Africa. The forging of links and building of alliances, not just with the founding member on 7 November 1945. Merely a year later, the General governments of countries of the South, but also with a broader range of progressive forces in both developed and less developed countries.

2.2.3.2. Emergence of the USA as World Power

International factors like the end of the Cold War and emergence of the USA as a world’s only power is another determinant of South Africa’s foreign policy. The disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent States in 1991 had direct impact on the foreign policy of South Africa. The external milieu in which South Africa now has its foreign policy objectives has changed profoundly. In the past South Africa was a beneficiary of the precarious order established by the Cold War.43

It might be helpful, therefore, to set out a rough and ready scenario for the next five years. Western Europe will be preoccupied with the debate over widening and deepening, the European community will enlarge itself by the addition of new states from Eastern Europe and elsewhere and make progress towards closer political and economic union. The community as a result may become inward looking, absorbed in solving the problems arising from the process of closer union. In this context, South Africa may seem distant and less important than was the case when the apartheid ruled.

There will be a progressive demoralisation of parts of the Third World and their ultimate marginalisation to the very edge of the international agenda. International order will not be achieved in the short to medium term. The time of troubles is with us for a long time to come. How will this affect South Africa and the region? (1) South Africa will struggle to keep a modest place on the international agenda, (2)

43 That order has now disappeared to be replaced by a new world ‘disorder’ and the new government will have to make its way in a profoundly different international order from the one in which its predecessor had to cope.
From South Africa’s point of view there is much to be said from working out a profitable relationship with the European community and precisely what form this should take is discussed later, (3) these observations suggests that regional integration must be pursued with vigour. Hanging together may just be preferable to hanging separately.\textsuperscript{44}

The USA took a pro-active and leading role in supporting South Africa through its transition to broad based democracy. The administration of President Bill Clinton set great store by the success of the South Africa model of multiculturalism, a model must needed in its own cities across America. The USA anti-apartheid movement, which had played a key role in overturning the Reagan administration’s policy of constructive engagement and imposing sanctions in 1986, had created a political environment in the USA that allowed continued and increased development aid to South Africa.\textsuperscript{45}

During Nelson Mandela’s administration, President Bill Clinton announced an aid package of $ 600 million (R 3.9 billion) which was to be distributed over the next five years. The United States is South Africa's biggest single trading partner. Total trade between the two countries has been increasing steadily in recent years, with South Africa holding an increasing trade surplus since 1999. This amounted to just under $1.5-billion in 2001, growing slightly in 2002. The USA has consistently been the largest foreign investor in the post-apartheid South Africa, representing some 40 percent of the total FDI since 1994.

\textbf{2.2.3.3. Strategic position in the African Continent}

South African leaders especially have been influenced by ‘role expectations’ within the African continent and the wider international community. Africa in particular has been an important focus of interest, as South Africa has worked to cultivate and consolidate partnerships on the continent. This was intended to distance the new governments’ actions from the past behaviour of the apartheid states and to express solidarity with, gratitude to, those African leaders who had been sympathetic to South Africa’s liberation struggle.

\textsuperscript{44} Spence, n. 4, p.228.
As aptly summarised by Aziz Pahad, former Deputy Minister of foreign affairs, there exists a ‘tremendous expectation’ that South Africa will play a major role in fashioning and directing the new world order at the beginning of the new millennium. South Africa’s special status is clearly captured by an academic literature which variously refers to the country as a regional, intermediary, middle, or semi-peripheral power. Whereas African countries expect South Africa to take the lead in promoting the most cherished aims of African foreign policy, the northern industrialised democracies expect South Africa to serve as a role model for economic and political reforms throughout the African continent.

South Africa has a dominant position in the African continent because of economic power, political institutions, regional power and active role in international affairs. South Africa’s dominant position in the region arises from: (1) the size, experience and operational capability of its security forces, and (2) the economic superiority. A key aspect of South Africa’s foreign policy over the last few years has been its role of peacemaker in Africa, promoter of democratisation on the continent, and a champion of Africa’s interests abroad.

2.2.3.4. Multinational Corporations (MNCs) involvement in South Africa

Multinational Corporations can have a powerful influence in local economies as well as the world economy and play an important role in international relations and globalisation. The presence of such powerful players in the world economy is reason for much controversy. In the context of South Africa, involvement of MNC has a deep impact on the foreign policy of South Africa. A decade ago, South African companies were chained to their national base. Sanctions, political isolation and legislative constraints made anything beyond normal trade relations nearly impossible. Even much of the trade was done under the table.

48 A multinational corporation (MNC) or transnational corporation (TNC) is a corporation or enterprise that manages production or delivers services in more than one country. It can also be referred as an international corporation. ILO defined MNC as a corporation which has its managerial head quarters in one country known as the home country and operates in several other countries known as host countries.
After the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, both business and diplomatic relations with the rest of the world began to expand - slowly. Following the democratic elections of 1994, the floodgates opened, and South African corporations moved with alacrity into the rest of Africa and beyond. Today, South Africa-based companies are rapidly expanding their global profile and proving that they can compete with the best multinational companies in the world.

South African firms are more likely than international investors to make investments worth less than $1 million and to form partnerships with local entrepreneurs. It's clear that privatisation has provided an opportunity for South African firms to enter a number of Sub-Saharan markets. In terms of operational characteristics, South African firms on the continent have tended to rely very heavily on imports from South Africa, often sourcing less than 10 percent of inputs on average locally. It is useful to contextualise the regional activities of individual firms with regard to their overall international activities.

In this respect there seem to be four dominant groups of firms. Firstly, there are those that have so far looked primarily outside of Africa, either as production bases or as markets for services, as in case of Sappi. Secondly, there are those firms, such as SABMiller, with a significant African presence within a much larger international network. Thirdly, there are firms with international operations in Africa and other emerging markets. Finally, there are those firms whose expansion has been essentially limited to Africa to date.

This wide variety would seem to reflect, in part, the unbalanced pattern of South African industrialisation under apartheid, which gave rise to a number of very large firms possessing world leading technology and providing services tailored to high income markets. The end of apartheid provided the most important pre-condition for South African firms to invest abroad, as potential host economies were once again willing to receive them. This development has been followed by increasing liberalisation of investment and trade restrictions within South Africa. Liberalisation has not only facilitated investment abroad, but has also created new incentives, as growing domestic competition has forced South African firms to

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look for profitable new markets on the continent.\textsuperscript{50} It can be seen that the involvement of the MNCs in South Africa has tremendously expanded its companies to the African continent as well as to the global arena also.

\textbf{2.2.3.5. Impact of African Union (AU)}

The establishment of African Union (AU)\textsuperscript{51} is an important issue in South Africa’s foreign policy. South Africa has been a key player in the formation of African Union. It has supported the AU financially and militarily and sent peace keeping forces to other countries of Africa. South Africa was also the first African state to choose its delegation of representatives to Pan African Parliament (PAP). African countries, in their quest for unity, economic and social development under the banner of the OAU, have taken various initiatives and made substantial progress in many areas which paved the way for the establishment of the AU. The AU is Africa's premier institution and principal organisation for the promotion of accelerated socio-economic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples.

The AU is based on the common vision of a united and strong Africa and on the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion amongst the peoples of Africa. As a continental organisation it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration agenda of the Union. In this context, South Africa has focused its policy towards the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent as one of the foreign policy objectives.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, p.133.

\textsuperscript{51} The advent of the African Union (AU) can be described as an event of great magnitude in the institutional evolution of the continent. On 9.9.1999, the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity issued a Declaration (the Sirte Declaration) calling for the establishment of an African Union, with a view, inter alia, to accelerating the process of integration in the continent to enable it play its rightful role in the global economy while addressing multifaceted social, economic and political problems compounded as they are by certain negative aspects of globalisation.
2.2.3.6. Rise of Middle Power (IBSA)\textsuperscript{52}

IBSA is a trilateral, developmental initiative between India, Brazil and South Africa to promote South-South cooperation and exchange. The three main issues which brought India, Brazil and South Africa into a dialogue forum are – WTO negotiations, the UN reforms and democracies. Since the emergence of IBSA, South Africa’s foreign policy has been transformed into a new direction, for example its new policies towards India and Brazil.

On 6 June 2003, the Brasilia declaration was signed by the foreign ministers of India, Brazil and South Africa. They agreed on the urgent need for reforms in the United Nations, especially the Security Council. The declaration was of the view that the United Nations Security Council should reflect the current world scenario. It also touched upon the subjects of international terrorism, transnational crime and illegal arms dealing, stating that such threats to international peace must effectively tackled with respect for the sovereignty of States and for International Law.

IBSA, even though established recently, it has a number of areas of cooperation among the member countries. Among the areas of co-operation, defence, economic, energy, education, transport and science and technology are important. The detail study about IBSA will be done in Chapter VI of the present work.

2.2.3.7. International Organisations

Another external determinant of post apartheid South Africa’s foreign policy is International Organisations like the UN, the African Union (AU), Commonwealth of Nations, Non-Aligned Movement etc. South Africa is active in the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and the Commonwealth of Nations.\textsuperscript{53} On June 1, 1994, South Africa rejoined the Commonwealth of Nations, and on June 23, 1994, it was readmitted to the UN General Assembly. South Africa

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{52} IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa) came into existence on 6 June, 2003. It represents three important poles for galvanising South-South cooperation and greater understanding between three important continents of the developing world namely, Africa, Asia and South America. The forum provides the three countries with a platform to engage in discussions for cooperation in the field of agriculture, trade, culture, and defence among others.

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also joined the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now known as the African Union (AU); the change from the OAU to the AU was initiated by South African President Thabo Mbeki in 2002. South Africa is now a respected international citizen.

For South Africa, reacceptance into the community of sovereign states was contingent upon resuming its place in the UN. In this light, the UN can be said to have occupied a distinctive position in South Africa’s early post-apartheid international relations. At the same time the UN was itself emerging from the bipolar rivalry of the Cold War. By the beginning of the 1990s, the UN, like South Africa, faced the challenge of grafting a new role for itself. In the twelve years since the end of institutionalised apartheid, South Africa has sought to do this by defining itself as a leader of the developing world. The reform of the UN has been one of the issues that developing countries have collectively pursued in recent years. This has also been an issue on which South Africa has attempted to take a leading position.

2.2.3.8. Emergence of Multi-Polar World

The emergence of the multi-polar world like the EU, China, Japan and India has been another external determinant of South Africa’s foreign policy. South Africa has aggressively sought foreign aid, trade, and investment. It can be examined as follows: South Africa’s leading economic partners of Member States of the EU are Germany and United Kingdom. It was way back in 1983 that EU introduced economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa in opposition to the apartheid policies. In 1993, EU reestablished its diplomatic relations with South Africa, when President Nelson Mandela called for lifting of economic and diplomatic sanctions. South Africa’s relation with EU is governed by the EU-SA Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement (TDCA).

The international community sees the People’s Republic of China (PRC) as an important player in the global economy as well as a significant force on the


55 EU-SA TDCA- EU South Africa Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement. In 1993, the first tentative steps towards establishing a free trade area between South Africa and EU were taken. It was provisionally implemented in 2000.
diplomatic stage. The post-apartheid South Africa chose to follow the mainstream international consensus was undoubtedly one of the critical tests in Pretoria’s foreign policy. Moreover, both governments demonstrated resounding synergies in their global outlook around South-South cooperation, multiculturalism and the promotion of a fairer international economic order. China is now South Africa’s fifth largest trading partner while South Africa is currently China’s biggest trade partner in Africa.

Another external factor of South Africa’s foreign policy is the emergence of Japan as one of the emerging power. Japanese government in 1990s has sought its economic agenda in sub-Saharan Africa through two dual and integrated processes: a vigorous initiative through the TICAD and a drive to draw the region into a system which enhances trade and investment. Japan has also exhibited a distinct developmental interest in South Africa. In 1994, the Japanese government committed an aid package amounting to $1.3 billion. In terms of absolute volume, this presently ranks South Africa as the largest recipient of Japanese aid in sub-Saharan Africa.

Finally, India has been one of the important external determinants in the post apartheid South Africa’s foreign policy. This can be examined from the following factors. First is historical factor. This is when Mahatma Gandhi took part in the struggle in South Africa against racial discrimination and oppression. His philosophy has become the base for the current leaders of South Africa. Second, during the days of apartheid, India was at the forefront of international struggle against apartheid and during that time India formed close links with anti-apartheid bodies including the African National Congress (ANC). Third, in the post-democratic South Africa, India was the first country to establish a relationship with South Africa.


57 Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). It was inaugurated in Tokyo in October 1993 and was organised by Japanese government, United Nations Development Programme and a non-governmental organisation, the global collision for Africa. It drew together ministers and heads of the states of sub-Saharan Africa countries, officials from World Bank and representative of EU and DAC donor countries. The purpose of the conference was to encourage sub-Saharan African States to adopt and advance economic and political reforms and lastly, to restore international consciousness in South Africa.
In the post apartheid period, India continues to be an important factor in South Africa’s foreign policy. The two countries have emerging areas of cooperation in various fields such as economic cooperation, defense cooperation, political relations and exchange of visits, training in peace-keeping operations, cooperation in Indian Ocean, culture, tourism and multilateral co-operations etc.

Indian Diaspora in South Africa is another factor in the post apartheid South Africa’s foreign policy. Since the end of apartheid in the 1990s, the Indian community in South Africa has undergone a significant transformation particularly in socio-cultural fields. In the post apartheid era, there has been a tremendous scope for Indian settlers to rise up with the structural changes in South African society, polity and economy. Therefore, it can be said that Indian Diasporas have always been an important factor in South Africa’s foreign policy in the post apartheid period.

2.3. Drivers of South Africa’s Foreign Policy

Some of the major drivers of South Africa’s foreign policy are as follows:

2.3.1. Role of State Actors

Several state actors play an important role in the formulation and implementation of South Africa’s foreign policy during democratic era 1994 to present. The constitution of 1996 that the formulised South Africa’s entry into the community of democratic nations clearly stipulates the overriding importance of the President in the formulation of South Africa’s foreign policy. Former South African President Nelson Mandela was consistently used as a tool of the Pretoria government’s foreign relations.58 During the Mandela administration 1994 to 1999, the constitutional prerogative was further strengthened by what is often referred to as the ‘Mandela Effect’. Mandela’s emergence from nearly 28 years of captivity in apartheid jails as one of the most celebrated, admired and charismatic figures of the 20th century.59

58 Peter Vale and Ian Taylor, "South Africa’s Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy five years on –from Pariah State to Just Another Country", The Round Table, 352, (1999), p. 629.
59 Graham Evans, “South Africa’s Foreign Policy after Mandela”, Round Table, 352, (October, 1999), p. 621.
A charismatic leadership of Thabo Mbeki has been another factor in South Africa's foreign policy. Mbeki as President in 1999 heralded a greater routinisation and depersonalisation of South Africa's foreign policy more in line with the 1996 constitution. Having served as the Foreign Minister of ANC during its years in exile, Mbeki is clearly familiar with the multitude of foreign policy issues confronting post-apartheid South Africa. Unlike his predecessors, Mbeki is reportedly more open to compromise and more willing to rely on the expertise of foreign policy experts within the executive branch, most notably the co-ordination and co-operation unit.

The foreign affairs bureaucracies of executive branch also serve as important source of South African foreign policy in the democratic era. A fascinating aspect of emerging bureaucratic blue print of South African foreign policy is that the existing foreign affairs bureaucracies, most notably the department of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense, were completely transformed. Several trends can be noted in the relative positions of power and influence of individual bureaucracies within the foreign policy hierarchy.\textsuperscript{60}

The Parliament is a final state actor that has emerged as an important foreign policy actor in the democratic era.\textsuperscript{61} This constitutionally independent branch of government plays an important oversight role that, although not as powerful as originally envisioned by ANC stalwarts and members of civil society, clearly goes beyond the foreign policy prerogatives enjoyed by legislatures during the apartheid (1948-94) and pre-apartheid (pre-1948) eras. The leading legislative actor within the foreign policy realm is the Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs.

2.3.2. Role of Non-State actors

Non-state actors also play a significant role in the formulation of South African foreign policy. The ANC is particularly influential due to its status as the ruling party in both the executive branch and the Parliament during the democratic era. The ANC's victory in two sets of legislative elections and the alteration of

\textsuperscript{60} The Department of Foreign Affairs has regained a substantial portion of the influence that it had lost during the apartheid years, although it continues to struggle to train enough capable diplomats to staff South Africa's quickly expanding diplomatic network.

\textsuperscript{61} Schraeder, n.14, p. 237.
power between the Mandela and Mbeki administrations have even led some scholars to refer to South Africa as a 'dominant-party system' in which the ANC will continue to rule for the foreseeable future.\(^{62}\)

Non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGO), conflict management institutions, policy think-tanks and peace and stability organisations have also become important instruments and players in South Africa's foreign policy. The NGO sector is already starting to engage in collaborative interventions with the Department of Foreign Policy (DFA) and other government departments involved in foreign policy.\(^{63}\) Another South African think-tank that has been of policy value to the DFA is the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) which has in recent years acted as an important focal point in several fields. The Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Institute of Global Dialogue (IGD), and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), among many others, have been of immense value to the South African government's foreign policy operations.

One of the features of South African NGO sector in the first ten years of democracy has been its engagements and visibility in national-policy issues. In the area of conflict management, peace and stability, this growth has been phenomenal. South African NGO have developed depth and experience in the practice of international conflict management, which has placed them in a strategic position to influence the pattern of South African foreign policy towards Africa. The IGR (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation) is considered a leader in transitional politics and engagement in Africa. It has involved in working across various transitional settings- the DRC, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi and other countries.\(^{64}\) SAIIA has monitored the development of South African foreign policy and published world class foreign policy reviews at yearly intervals.


\(^{64}\) Ibid, p. 23.
2.3.3. Role of Multiple Actors

One of the challenges of post-apartheid South Africa’s foreign relation was the emergence of many actors who played important roles in shaping, determining and finally implementing policies. It was precisely this multiplicity of players with seemingly conflicting interests, which included President Mandela, Deputy President Mbeki, Cabinet, Parliament, and Parliamentary Committees dealing foreign affairs and trade and other state departments.

President Harry Truman, the US President (1945-52) once declared that "the President makes foreign policy". In case of President Mandela, this was certainly true. His command and seeming domination of every major policy decision and issue was so complete as to almost overshadowed the roles of Cabinet and Parliament. As President Mandela’s Deputy, Thabo Mbeki also had a very influential hand in fashioning and articulating foreign policy concerns. A very skilled in his own right, Mbeki emerged as the ANC’s Chief international spokesman during his long years in exile.

As Deputy President, he was the prime mover in reconfiguring South Africa’s relation with the US, the European Union, developing countries of the South and Africa in particular. In 1999, Mbeki became the President of South Africa. Since then, his role in making foreign policy of South Africa has been remarkable in different fields. His charismatic leadership has been another factor in South Africa’s post apartheid foreign policy.

From the above discussion, it can be said that foreign policy of South Africa has been influenced by various domestic and international factors. The foreign policy of South Africa has been transformed into a new dimension in the post apartheid period since 1994 onwards. The domestic factors include geography, political and historical tradition, economic factors etc. The international factors include Globalisation, end of the Cold War, African continent, International Organisations and emergence of multi-polar world.

67 Garthle and Anthonivan, n. 65, p.124.
Lastly, the real policy makers of South Africa’s foreign policy are the various actors who are the drivers of foreign policy. It includes the role of charismatic leaderships like Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and other important actors.

The next chapter will discuss South Africa’s foreign policy towards its neighbouring countries, particularly in the Southern African countries. The role and position of South Africa in the African Union will also be part of the next chapter.