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ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

CO-OPERATION:

THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND CHINA, 2009 TO 2017

By

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A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

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Declaration

I, **Malesela William Leso**, declare that this mini-dissertation for the Degree of Master of Arts (Diplomatic Studies) at the University of Pretoria, hereby submitted by me, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university.

Malesela William Leso

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADS	Approved Destination Status
ANC	African National Congress
BNC	Bi-National Commission
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCIEEC	Chinese Culture and International Education Exchange Centre
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
CNTA	China National Tourism Administration
DoT	Department of Transport
DPME	Department in the Presidency for Monitoring and Evaluation
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ED	Economic Diplomacy
EDSF	Economic Diplomacy Strategic Framework
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FMPRC	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China
G-20	Group of 20 countries
GCIS	Government Communications and Information System
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICTSC	International Cooperation, Trade and Security Cluster
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMC	Inter-Ministerial Committee
IPAP	Industrial Policy Action Plan
ITM	International Tourism Management
JMA	Joint Marketing Agreement
MN	Multinational Corporation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MTSF	Medium-Term Strategic Framework

NDP	National Development Plan
NDT	National Department of Tourism
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGP	National Growth Path
NTSS	National Tourism Sector Strategy
PGD	Partnership for Growth and Development
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
PPEM	People-to-People Mechanism
PRC	People's Republic of China
SAA	South African Airways
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAPS	South African Police Service
SA Tourism	South African Tourism
TBCSA	Tourism Business Council of South Africa
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

ABSTRACT

This mini-dissertation examines the nexus between international co-operation in tourism and economic diplomacy through the lens of modern diplomatic practice. In this 21st century, characterised by globalisation, economic diplomacy is emerging as one of the ubiquitous mode of modern diplomatic practice in both the developed and developing nations. It takes many forms, such as negotiation of bilateral and multilateral trade regimes, establishing foreign economic relations, nation branding, attraction of foreign direct investment and promoting international tourism to pursue national development imperatives. This mini-dissertation focuses on one function of economic diplomacy, that of international co-operation in the field of tourism. This is a case study research design based on literature review, analysing the nature and character of the evolving economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation between South Africa and China. The literature review indicates that there is an abundance of analysis on the significance, nature and conduct of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China and that economic diplomacy is central to their growing diplomatic ties since 2009. However, there is lack of understanding of tourism's role in South Africa's economic diplomacy architecture, meaning the exact role of tourism co-operation in advancing economic diplomacy remains undocumented in the mainstream literature discussing South Africa's evolving economic diplomacy agenda. This lacuna has motivated this study and its findings will contribute to the body of knowledge on the evolving nature of modern diplomatic practice.

This mini-dissertation investigates the extent to which economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation advanced economic diplomacy between South Africa and China from 2009 to 2017. The nature of economic diplomacy practiced by South Africa through international tourism co-operation postulated in this mini-dissertation includes mainly four pillars: 1. Negotiation, signing and implementation of tourism co-operation agreements; 2. Representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China; 3. Country branding and positioning to increase inbound tourism arrivals; and 4. Building business relations through tour operators to promote tourism. The four pillars constitute the central tenets of analysis in this study, with the key finding being that co-operation in tourism is emerging as a major constituent of the burgeoning economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. The report recommends a more focused research agenda on this theme of tourism co-operation in diplomacy studies and provides policy recommendations on how South Africa can strategically use this form of co-operation as an effective instrument of economic diplomacy.

Chapter One: Background and Rationale of the Study

1. Introduction

“The Department of Tourism recognises that international co-operation in the area of tourism is emerging as an important foreign policy tool and an instrument of economic diplomacy in strengthening the broader bilateral relations between South Africa and China.” Minister of Tourism, Ms Tokozile Xasa, 24 April 2017.

The diplomatic relations between South Africa and China evolved through many stages since their official establishment on 1 January 1998. These diplomatic relations intensified across various policy sectors and through multifaceted modes of diplomacy. One mode of diplomacy that manifests itself in this relationship is economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation, among other modes. Economic diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy that countries use to pursue national economic interests in the modern world underlined by globalisation and economic inter-dependence between states. This case study explores economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation between South Africa and China. The choice of this case study is a recognition of the growing tourism relations as a new dimension of their evolving bilateral diplomacy and because “bilateral negotiations remains the core of diplomatic activity” as argued by Fitzsimons and Kertesz (1959: 3). This chapter introduces the theme and rationale of the mini-dissertation, as well as the purpose, conceptual and analytical framework, and research methodology applied in the study. It also provides the literature overview and the overarching outline or structure of the mini-dissertation.

2. Contextual Background

The prelude above captures the crux of President Jacob Zuma’s foreign policy of prioritising economic interests in foreign relations and the theme of this mini-dissertation, which is the nexus between international co-operation in the field of tourism and economic diplomacy. President Zuma ushered in a new era by pursuing a pragmatic foreign policy based on economic interest from 2009. Economic diplomacy became the maxim of South Africa’s foreign policy orientation as President Zuma criss-crossed major capitals accompanied by large business executives under the banner of promoting national interests. This is indicative of an international trend where economic issues are becoming more fundamental in the modern diplomatic environment and a major pre-occupation of diplomatic engagements between states

at a bilateral level. The 2011 White Paper on Foreign Policy, *Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu*, prepared by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), highlights the importance of economic diplomacy in South Africa's foreign policy establishment. In the White Paper, economic diplomacy is broadly conceptualised to include activities such as "pursuing market access for South African products, attracting investments and tourism, removing barriers to trade" (DIRCO 2011:27). This broad conceptualisation of economic diplomacy in this policy framework conforms to the era of globalisation characterised by the expanding scope of issue areas of modern diplomacy. This informs the analysis in this mini-dissertation of broadly conceptualising economic diplomacy to include various areas of international economic co-operation, ranging from attraction of foreign direct investment (FDI) and development aid, promotion of export and tourism, nation branding and imaging, and other forms of international economic exchanges. As such, in this mini-dissertation economic diplomacy is holistically contextualised as an umbrella concept encompassing activities that others prefer to call trade or commercial diplomacy.

The ever-expanding diplomatic ties between South Africa and China reignited academic curiosity and sparked a plethora of scholarly work, particularly on the controversial issue of the persistent trade imbalance pattern between the two countries. This focus of scholarly work however ignores other substantial aspects of the relations, such as the co-operation in the field of tourism, a component that plays a crucial role in nurturing economic diplomacy between the two countries. The study does not seek to underplay the problem posed by the asymmetric trade relationship but looks at the relations through the prism of international co-operation in tourism, an area in which South Africa enjoys a comparative advantage, as China is a major generating source market for inbound tourism. As argued by Chen and Duggan (2016: 52), "Chinese tourists bring more economic benefits to African countries than vice versa". This research also contributes in filling the gap in the understanding of modern diplomatic intercourse characterised by multifaceted issues and actors and the confluence of interests between official and unconventional diplomatic actors. This will broaden the contemporary academic debate that until now has only focused on the unbalanced trade relations between South Africa and China.

3. Purpose and Rationale of the Study

The purpose of this study is to illustrate the nexus between economic diplomacy and international co-operation in the field of tourism and make recommendations on how South Africa should improve the use of this mode of diplomacy in its relations with China. Co-operation in tourism as an instrument of economic diplomacy is an under-researched theme in international relations and diplomacy scholarship and this study aims to correct this deficiency. The research on this phenomenon should contribute to a better understanding of South Africa's economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation in its relations with China. There are numerous strategic reasons that constitute the motivation for pursuing this study. Firstly, "the emergence of China as a major economic and diplomatic force in Africa" (Alden 2008), secondly, the burgeoning diplomatic ties between South Africa and China under President Zuma's administration, and lastly, growing Chinese outbound tourism globally and to South Africa in particular over the last decade.

The central problem, as put by Hall and Coles (2008: 3), is that "tourism is marginalised in major global debates over the governance of society, economy, culture and environment...it is even more staggering...that tourism struggles for legitimacy in studies of international business", let alone diplomacy studies. One possible reason for the limited attention is that tourism is viewed as a social phenomenon only related to individual leisure (L'Etang, Falkheimer and Lugo 2006: 69). As such, the main justification for the study is that it addresses a number of interrelated questions largely ignored in the mainstream studies of international diplomacy. The primary research question is therefore: To what extent does international co-operation in tourism advance economic diplomacy between South Africa and China? The study will also look at subsidiary questions. Firstly, what are the mechanisms used and institutions involved in promoting co-operation in tourism? Secondly, as the research is approached from South Africa's perspective, the next question is, what material and non-material benefits accrue to South Africa from this co-operation? Finally, what are the challenges and prospects of tourism co-operation between the two countries? The demarcation of the study is from 2009 to 2017, which marks important milestones in the evolution of South Africa and China's diplomatic relations, including the signing of the bilateral co-operation agreement in the field of tourism in 2013. The period to 2017 will be used to report on the implementation of the agreement, looking at the achievements and challenges for future co-operation. The report will culminate with policy recommendations based on the four pillars identified above.

4. Conceptual Framework

4.1 Establishing the Essence of Economic Diplomacy

It would be impossible to fully comprehend the concept of economic diplomacy and establish the essence of its location within the canon of diplomacy studies without outlining the conceptual framework of the concept of diplomacy. There are many definitions of the concept of diplomacy but the general consensus in the mainstream literature is that it is the “master-institution of international relations”, synonymous with statecraft and the official conduit through which states pursue their foreign policy objectives by peaceful means (see Wight 1978, Berridge 1995, Barston 1996, Sharp 1999, Hamilton and Langhorne 2011, Cooper, Heine and Thakur 2013). Historically, scholars of diplomacy have tended to associate the concept with statecraft and states as the primary unit of analysis. This mini-dissertation transcends this narrow narrative and provides the plural view of modern diplomacy as the concept has grown in complexity and deserves a far more nuanced and in-depth analysis.

4.2 Defining Diplomacy through Theoretical Lenses

Social scientists resort to theory to put socially complex matters such as diplomatic practice into perspective and understand them better. However, according to one scholar, diplomacy is “particularly resistant to theory” (Der Derian 1987: 91). Leguey-Feilleux (2009: 11) for example argues, “despite the considerable advances made by social sciences and by political science in particular, there is no general theory of diplomacy or theoretical framework to facilitate systematic analysis”. For the purpose of this mini-dissertation, three theoretical approaches to theorising about diplomacy, namely Traditional Diplomatic Theory, Nascent Diplomatic Theory and Innovative Diplomatic Theory, as presented by Murray (2006) in his thesis, *reordering diplomatic theory for the twenty-first century: a tripartite approach*, are applied to establish the conceptual framework of diplomacy within the canon of diplomacy studies. Providing a fully theoretical terrain of diplomacy would allow for a better appreciation of what economic diplomacy is and aims to accomplish.

Some definitions, mainly by scholars and diplomatic theorists in classic works such as *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger* (2001), provide a narrow and state-centric view of diplomacy based on Westphalian state-sovereignty order. The common thread in diplomacy definitions in Nicholson (1950), Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte (2001), Roberts (2009) and Buckle (2011) is that it is an art and a system of communication between states.

This implies that official ambassadors are the only conduit through which to conduct diplomacy. Hocking (2004: 150) describes this as the ‘old’ traditional form of diplomacy where “the foreign ministry and the national diplomatic systems over which it presides acts as a gatekeeper, monitoring and controlling the interactions between domestic and international policy environments and funnelling information between them”. This is the bedrock of the traditional institution of diplomacy – the old zero-sum diplomacy that emerged during the inter-state war period and was based on the notion of power politics where “the balance of power not only became a diplomatic objective but was exalted into being the very highest of such objectives” (Butterfield 1966: 140). The above shows the parochial nature of the traditional diplomatic theory school of thought, which perpetuates the conventional assumption that diplomacy is a tool of statecraft, limited only to the implementation of official foreign policy through peaceful negotiations, representation and communication. A well-established traditional diplomatic theorist and practitioner, Henry Kissinger, believes nothing will change this status quo as he argues that “there is little evidence to suggest that this age-old model of diplomacy has changed, or is likely to change in the decades ahead” (Kissinger 1994: 19).

The above state-centric perspective is one-dimensional and incongruous with the modern diplomatic environment confronted by multifaceted international agendas and actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs). The diplomatic landscape has fundamentally changed after the end of the Cold War, necessitating a shift in conceptualisation of diplomacy as unconventional actors began to challenge the supremacy of the state in the conduct of international affairs. This unconventional diplomacy is defined as “nascent diplomacy...practiced by non-state actors who have risen up in the IR hierarchy, as a result of deficiencies of governments, acting alone or together, in terms of their rapidity or response to global issues...in pursuit of unconventional goals such as environmental, human rights or aid developmental issues” (Murray 2006: 111). The proliferation of new issue areas in the diplomatic agenda as noted above would not have been imaginable in the lexicon of diplomats in the early stages of the 20th century and challenges the traditional institution of diplomacy. The nascent diplomatic theory recognises this expanded subject matter of diplomacy and postulates opposing perspectives to that advanced by traditional diplomatic theory as it argues that the role of non-state actors is firmly established in the diplomatic discourse and is eroding the dominance of the traditional institution in the form of state diplomacy. It is therefore undeniable that with the entrance of non-state actors such as NGOs, “changes are underway that make it extremely difficult to predict the future of

diplomacy or prescribe its conduct”, as argued by Kennan (1997: 211). The erosion of the supremacy of Westphalian states in the conduct of modern diplomacy, as postulated by Nascent Diplomatic Theorists, is succinctly summarised as “the era that is already upon us of rapidly decentralizing government and broadly diffused authority” (Kennan 1997: 198). This highlights the importance of the statement that modern diplomacy is too important to be monopolised by state apparatus, as alluded to by British Diplomat Long Strang (quoted in Hamilton and Langhorne 2011: 1) when he said that “in a world where war is everybody’s tragedy and everybody’s nightmare, diplomacy is everybody’s business”.

Therefore, progressive definitions endorsed for the purpose of this mini-dissertation are those that recognise that “diplomacy is conducted on a vaster scale” and infer that diplomacy is a shared activity between state and non-state actors (Leguey-Feilleux 2009: 103). This kind of theorising about diplomacy belongs to the Innovative Diplomatic Theory school of thought. Examples of this include the Melissen’s (1999: xvi-xvii) theory that diplomacy is “the mechanism of representation, communication and negotiation through which states and other international actors conduct their business”. At the core of the concept is the idea of communication, interaction, maintaining contact, and negotiation between states and other international actors (Leguey-Feilleux 2009: 1). Du Plessis (2006: 145) argues that “diplomatic functions have similarly expanded to the point where diplomacy is no longer a mere form of statecraft in the service of the narrow political interests of state and government, but a multifaceted tool that extends to economic, public and cultural spheres, and to the imperatives such as development and aid, gender, the environment and peace operations”. The latter definitions are endorsed for the purpose of this study for recognising the transforming nature and evolutionary trajectory of contemporary diplomacy and encompass the complementary activities of both state- and non-state actors as alluded to by Barston (2013: 5) who says that “diplomacy is the subject of constant change, rather than major shifts constituting a new form”. The foregoing discussion illustrates why the study is more ontologically inclined to the Innovative Diplomatic Theory school of thought, underpinned by multiple actors, and which according to Murray (2006: 163) “argue[s] that the positive relationship between the state and non-state actors is a highly visible feature of the modern diplomatic environment”.

This calls for the overarching convergence of Traditional, Nascent and Innovative Diplomatic Theories, as one theory cannot fully explain the canon of modern diplomacy. Therefore, the integrative model is most applicable to understanding the complexities of the

contemporary diplomatic environment, especially in economic diplomacy, where the roles of state- and non-state actors are complementary. Its central tenet, that there is a middle ground between state-centric and nascent actors in modern diplomatic practice, is most apparent in the realm of international co-operation in the field of tourism, where commercial interests are in synergy with official state diplomacy. Co-operation in tourism calls for Integrative Diplomacy between states and non-state actors. This lends the study perfectly to Integrative Diplomacy as a framework of analysis. Integrating the assumptions of these opposing theoretical paradigms in this mini-dissertation will enable the reader to elucidate the comprehensive nature of economic diplomacy practiced through co-operation in tourism, which is redefining the art of diplomacy from a statist to a pluralistic paradigm in line with the ethos of modern diplomacy.

4.3 Economic Diplomacy: Conceptual Framework

The above discussion illustrates that the organising principles and core functions of diplomacy are representation, communication and negotiation by both state- and non-state actors. The growing economic interests in international relations in the late twentieth century, which for Spies (2006: 291) represent “the universal change in focus of foreign policy from geo-politics to geo-economics” and as Barston (2013:159) buttressed the point that “as is sometimes the case, economic issues dominate external policy”, this made the linkages between economics and diplomacy inevitable. The reviewed literature shows that economic diplomacy embodies the three functions of diplomacy alluded to above, as it is a concept of multifaceted meanings and functions. For Fuchs (2016: 5), economic diplomacy “is a form of diplomacy that is concerned with economic-policy issues”. Woolcock and Bayne (2013: 386) state that “economic diplomacy is therefore concerned with the process of decision-making and negotiation on policy or questions relating to international economic relations”. Most scholars regard economic diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument to pursue countries’ national interests, through negotiating favourable trade policies, attracting export, FDI, promoting tourism, and country branding and marketing abroad (see Hurd 1997, Rana 2007, Alves 2008, Vickers and Ajulu 2008, Baranay 2009, Van Bergeijk 2009, Bayne and Woolcock 2011, Vickers 2012). According to Pigman (2010: 139), “the oldest functional area of economic diplomacy [is]...the management of trade relations”. From a traditional diplomacy perspective, “economic diplomacy is fundamentally concerned with state formulation of economic policy by a given state or group of states, vis-à-vis other states” (Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell and Xiao 2014: 6). This derives from the functions conducted by the

economic sections of embassies, namely those of collecting, analysing and reporting on economic developments, trends, trade, commercial and investment opportunities in a country of their accreditation to aid the economic policymaking of their sending states. Seen from this vantage point, one can deduce that economic issues have always formed the fabric of the practice of international diplomacy, which can be called economic statecraft.

Economic diplomacy is a mode of diplomacy conducted in multi-pronged avenues, from bilateral to multilateral platforms. A well-elaborated definition by a former Indian diplomat states that “economic diplomacy is the process through which countries tackle the outside world, to maximize their national gain in all the fields of activity, including trade, investment and other forms of economically beneficial exchanges, where they enjoy comparative advantage; it has bilateral, regional and multilateral dimensions, each of which is important” (Rana 2007: 1). It is conducted in “international bodies, which may be multilateral, plurilateral (i.e. consisting of like-minded states or states that share common norms and values), regional (as in the European Union or other regional groups), or bilateral (as in the case of many recent trade and investment initiatives)” (Woolcock and Bayne 2013: 386). Negotiation of international economic agreements is a key function of economic diplomacy. Internationally, the most ambitious aspect of economic diplomacy is the negotiation of multilateral trade agreements that are binding on the participating governments (Woolcock and Bayne 2013: 390). The Uruguay Round negotiations that played themselves out in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is the case in point. In its relations with China, South Africa has also adopted the same approach of utilising bilateral and multilateral platforms to advance its economic diplomacy objectives. For example, South Africa’s relentless pursuit of its inclusion in the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) formation is part of its broader multilateral diplomacy, intended to boost the already burgeoning bilateral relations with strategic countries like China in the global economy.

In the modern world characterised by globalisation, economic diplomacy encompasses many more activities and actors embodying the ethos espoused by the innovative diplomatic theory school of thought and integrative diplomacy framework of analysis. According to Bayne and Woolcock (2011: 3), “economic diplomacy is much broader and purposeful”, it extends to commercial activities; what other scholars regard as commercial diplomacy being an important aspect of economic diplomacy (Van Bergeijk 2009, Donna and Hocking 2010, Makokera 2015). Vickers (2012: 112-113) makes a conceptual distinction between economic and

commercial diplomacy as “high and low politics of a country’s international economic relations”. However, Makokera (2015: 11) argues, “economic diplomacy strategy cannot be seen as separate from either national economic priorities or the articulation of foreign policy more broadly, especially given that economic relations are as important as political relations in today’s world of diplomacy”. Strange (1992: 2) boldly argues that “economic management and industrial policies may often be even more important for governments than conventional foreign policies as typically conceived”, especially in the era of globalisation.

For the purpose of this mini-dissertation, economic diplomacy is used to mean the negotiation of the framework for international economic relations, which includes rules, regimes, and norms that inform binding or voluntary agreements on the one hand and the negotiation of the specific economic activity (cf. Woolcock 2013: 211). This is in line with the emerging literature, which conceptualises economic diplomacy more broadly to represent multi-level negotiations, representation, communication, economic exchange activities and economic policies between states, and the activities of non-state actors in the international sphere on economic matters. It could be state-to-state interactions, where states pursue national economic interests, or poly-lateral diplomacy, which involves interactions between states and non-state actors (private interests). This conceptualisation recognises the fluidity and diverse nature of the modern diplomatic environment characterised by the multiplicity of actors and agenda issue areas as espoused by the integrative diplomacy framework of analysis. The diverse nature of economic diplomacy is well summarised below by a former diplomat who states that it is “economic engagement abroad [which] involves more than the ministries of foreign affairs, commerce and industry; it is the business units of the country, associations of industry and chambers of commerce, the financial sector, business schools and think tanks, the tourism industry and a host of domestic actors that are both stakeholders and prime movers” in the conduct of modern diplomatic practice (Rana 2007: 3).

Some countries like South Africa are realising the importance of having a dedicated economic diplomacy policy approach, such as the one outlined in the 2011 White Paper on Foreign Policy. This White Paper on Foreign Policy recognises that “successful economic diplomacy requires a close partnership between government, business, and labour” because economic diplomacy includes negotiating favourable trade regimes, attracting FDI and promoting commercial interests abroad, such as tourism promotion which requires certain skills set that are sometimes non-existent within governments (DIRCO 2011: 28). More often,

“business actors are merged with state rather than autonomous and as such both public and private interests are included in diplomatic representation” (Donna and Hocking 2010: 13). Therefore, in the 21st century, it is inconceivable for states to have any meaningful discussions on the global system of economic governance without the involvement of non-state actors as “NGOs actively seek ways to influence the agenda at international governance bodies by putting forward their policy recommendations and by lobbying in the corridors of power” (Saner and Yiu: 18). According to Donna and Hocking (2010: 10), “Such changes, quite naturally, have increased the need for and significance of integrated diplomacy to help facilitate as well as manage and govern economic development and market integration.” There is a normative paradigm shift where state actors solicit the buy-in and collaboration from civil society and business in major discussions to legitimise policy outcomes. It is against this development that integrative diplomacy embraces the fusion of state- and non-state actors in the conduct of economic diplomacy as the foregoing discussion has indicated.

5. Analytical Framework: Integrative Diplomacy

The analytical framework relied upon in this report is Integrative Diplomacy as developed by Hocking, Melissen, Riordan and Sharp (2012). Integrative diplomacy is a better prism through which to interpret the nuances of the modern diplomatic milieu as it postulates about diplomacy in its diverse manifestations, particularly in the era of “21st-century globalization [with its] increasing complexity of global relations” (Siracusa 2010: 107). Diplomacy as a social construct is susceptible to social changes and the new complexities confronting the international society. As put by Jonsson and Hall (2005: 22), “the practice of diplomacy is integrated with other social practices and takes place in the same political or socio-political space”. It is beyond being just a foreign policy tool, used for peaceful management of inter-state relations. The state machinery in terms of the head of state, foreign affairs minister and a network of bureaucrats who execute foreign policy were predominantly the sole conduit through which the conduct of diplomacy occurred. In the era of globalisation, “diplomacy concerns itself with all those aspects of a nation’s welfare that call for the conduct of foreign relations” (Laves 1959: 386). As such, the conventional orientation of viewing states as unitary actors is changing towards a more holistic approach, such that ‘new’ diplomacy places both the hard and soft issues on the diplomatic agenda, leading to co-operation between state- and non-state actors. As Mellisen (2005: 5) puts it, “such openness and multi-level cooperation call for the pursuit of more collaborative diplomatic relations with various types of actors”. This is

a validation that in contemporary world politics there are multiple actors such as private individuals, NGOs and MNCs that are important agents of change and claim space in various modes of international diplomacy. However, states remain the main protagonists, while non-state actors are consistently increasing their influence in contemporary diplomacy. Pigman (2010: 138) identifies “broad functional areas of diplomatic practice: economic, military and security and cultural diplomacy” as various modes of modern diplomacy. This mini-dissertation focuses on economic diplomacy. The kind of conceptualisation of economic diplomacy in this mini-dissertation, as shall be seen below, lends itself to Integrative Diplomacy as a framework of analysis alluded to above. The central tenet of Integrative Diplomacy is “the need to integrate change and continuity, different agendas and arenas, different diplomatic processes and structures and machinery of diplomacy...above all, it stresses the importance of growth of international policymakers and, consequently, the importance of diplomacy of collaboration between professional diplomats and the representatives of a variety of international actors” (Hocking, Melissen, Riordan and Sharp 2012: 5).

Integrative Diplomacy constitutes the framework of analysis to unpack the emerging phenomenon of international co-operation in tourism and how it advances economic diplomacy. This is a relevant framework of analysis, as the central argument in this report is that international co-operation in tourism is an instrument of economic diplomacy conducted by multiple stakeholders, including official state diplomatic apparatus and unconventional diplomatic agents. This recognises the role of, among others, the National Department of Tourism (NDT), South African diplomatic missions, state agencies such as South African Tourism and Brand South Africa and private companies such as tour operators and travel agencies. The involvement of this mixture of state- and non-traditional actors in the realm of economic diplomacy practiced through international tourism supports the common thread that modern diplomacy transcends the convention of a statist perspective and is no longer confined to official state diplomats. The above clearly indicates that in modern diplomatic environment “diplomacies pursued by states, international organizations and non-state actors are integrated into the complex, multi-faceted patterns of world politics” characterised by globalisation and increasing state interdependency (Hocking et al. 2012: 18). This evolution fuels the emergence of new issues areas such as co-operation in tourism and their integration in the agenda of modern diplomatic practice ubiquitous in contemporary world politics.

6. Research Methodology

This is a case study based on literature review. The methodological approach is through critical policy analyses based on the review of the 2013 MoU between South Africa and China as the primary unit of analysis. Engagement with key official policy documents such as the annual reports of the periods under review, White Papers, strategic plans of key departments and so forth underpinned the study to gain an understanding of the role of international tourism co-operation in advancing economic diplomacy between the two countries. For systematic analysis, the 2002 MoU between the two countries is reviewed as it provides important historical context for the genesis of the bilateral relations in tourism between South Africa and China. Furthermore, international tourism promotion and marketing activities conducted by the NDT, South African diplomats, South African Tourism and Brand South Africa officials based in Beijing, as South Africa's economic diplomacy machinery, was unpacked to understand how they contribute to advancing the country's economic diplomacy imperatives. Yin (1994: 1) argues that "in general, case studies are the preferred strategy when...the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real-life context".

The focus is literature/documentary study, particularly primary sources available in the public domain such as policies, strategic plans and annual reports of relevant government departments and agencies and policy statements arising out of speeches by political leaders and senior government officials. Policy pronouncements on the nature and significance of tourism co-operation were analysed from both South Africa and China's perspectives to check if the two sides attach the same importance to this partnership. The report also relied upon unpublished official documents such as the relevant reports and draft International Relations strategy of the NDT. A critical review of secondary literature from the academic fraternity (books, journal articles and think-tank research papers) on South Africa's foreign policy and economic diplomacy and literature on the subject of international tourism co-operation also enriched the study. Neither fieldwork nor interviews were conducted, as a non-interactive qualitative approach was the primary methodology employed for this study.

7. Literature Overview

The high degree of interdependencies in the 21st century global economy means that almost every country is engaged in economic diplomacy in one form or another, be it negotiating in multilateral fora, competing for market access on a global stage, attracting FDI and aid, promoting tourism or other forms of international economic exchanges. Below is a literature reflection on how South Africa and China engage in economic diplomacy and how tourism links to economic diplomacy informed by the idea that “conceptually, economic diplomacy is a component of foreign policy...it cannot be understood apart from the country’s broader pursuit of foreign policy objectives and domestic economic interests abroad”, as argued by Qobo (2010: 17).

Economic diplomacy is becoming a focused area of research in South Africa’s diplomacy studies, demonstrated by voluminous literature (see Muller 2000, Vickers and Ajulu 2008, Qobo 2010, Le Pere 2011, Vickers 2012). In contrast, tourism as an instrument of economic diplomacy as acknowledged in the White Paper on Foreign Policy remains an under-researched subject. The literature indicates that economic diplomacy is becoming the central plank in South Africa’s foreign policy orientation towards China under President Zuma’s administration (Calland 2013, Alden and Wu 2014, Grimm et al. 2014, Cornelissen 2015). The National Development Plan (NDP) calls for clarity and closer alignment of South Africa’s foreign policy and national interests (NDP 2011). The South African government regards the tourism sector as the new gold and a catalyst for economic growth (Van Schalkwyk 2010a and 2010b, Hanekom 2015, Xasa 2016). Hence, the government is prioritising international co-operation in tourism to grow the sector as a matter of national interest (NDT 2012: 8). This phenomenon of international co-operation in tourism deserves closer academic scrutiny to understand its role in economic diplomacy. As Donna and Hocking (2010: 1) state, “Scholars have highlighted the necessity of understanding international relations outside the narrow state-centric security nexus.” This case study aims to do exactly that, by enriching the understanding of South Africa’s evolving economic diplomacy, and, most importantly, provide policy recommendations on the effective use of international co-operation in tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy through the prism of modern diplomatic practice.

7.1 South Africa and Economic Diplomacy

Pursuing national interest is central to the concept of economic diplomacy, a policy matter increasingly embraced by the South African government in recent times, particularly in its relations with China, as argued by Calland (2013), Alden and Wu (2014), Grimm et al. (2014) and Cornelissen (2015). Some authors such as Landsberg (2010b) and Zondi (2010) observe that for many years after 1994, South Africa avoided embracing the concept of ‘national interest’ in its foreign policy posture due to sensitivities related to its apartheid history. As such, the dominant narrative is that South Africa did not pursue a coherent and assertive economic diplomacy (Qobo 2010). Its post-1994 foreign policy is widely described as driven by idealism, and lacking coherence, clarity, consistency and clear strategic objectives (see Johnston 2001, Landsberg 2010a, Van Wyk 2012). Zondi (2012) argues that domestic pressures for economic development forced the question of national interests into the centre of South Africa’s foreign policy. This is consistent with global changes from geo-politics to geo-economics diplomacy.

Former President Thabo Mbeki spearheaded what Landsberg (2005: 732) describes as a “more pragmatic and economic-driven foreign policy approach”. However, it was under President Zuma’s administration that the South African government made its intentions clear of pursuing foreign policy based on national interests. For example, in his maiden State of the Nation Address in 2009, President Zuma said, “The main goal of government for the medium term is to ensure that our foreign relations contribute to the creation of an environment conducive to sustainable economic growth and development” (Zuma 2009). In the 2010/2011 Presidency Budget Vote Speech, President Zuma said, “We have placed strong emphasis on deepening economic diplomacy in our relations with other countries” (Zuma 2010a). Thus, President Zuma set the tone and placed economic interests at the centre of his administration’s foreign policy posture. As argued by Alden and Le Pere (2006: 61), “the Presidency, as the primary locus of policy, is the architect of an overarching foreign policy vision and philosophy”. President Zuma has also been largely described as moving away from the idealism and normative values that had characterised the late former President Mandela’s foreign policy era to pragmatic foreign policy based on economic imperatives and geopolitical considerations (Tshipanyane 2011; Anthony, Tembe and Gull 2015).

In a discussion document, DIRCO (2009: 13) states that “broadly defined, South Africa’s national interests include, inter-alia, the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment; state security; energy security; water security; food security; entrenching democracy; and to give

expression to the Bill of Rights”. The DIRCO’s 2015-2020 Strategic Plan puts it more aptly that “central to South Africa’s national interest is to address the triple challenges of eradicating poverty, unemployment and inequality” (DIRCO 2015:21). Economic diplomacy is emerging as central to South Africa’s foreign policy orientation to pursue these above imperatives. For example, the Twenty Years Review 1994-2014 Background Paper: *South Africa in the Global Arena*, notes, “skill needs are most urgent with regard to economic and commercial diplomacy, public diplomacy and international marketing” (DPME: 35). Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane (2009) called for “the alignment and coordination of South Africa’s economic diplomacy across all spheres of government; strengthening economic diplomatic capacity in our Missions; and improving efforts aimed at marketing the brand South Africa”. The governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), also recognises “the need to build connections between...international relations and domestic priorities through economic diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy” (ANC 2012: 26).

The White Paper on South Africa’s Foreign Policy, *Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu*, puts into sharp focus economic diplomacy – including attracting tourism – in South Africa’s foreign policy (DIRCO 2011: 26-27). The White Paper further states that “central to South Africa’s economic diplomacy is the pursuit of a fair and equitable rules-based international trade regime that accommodates the developmental interests of developing countries” (DIRCO 2011: 27). It also states unequivocally that South Africa’s economic diplomacy objective is to achieve its domestic priorities (DIRCO 2011: 26-27). The national priorities are elaborated upon in government policy documents, including but not limited to the NDP and the NGP. Key among the domestic priorities is to ensure inclusive economic growth, job creation and eradication of poverty (NDP 2011, NGP 2010). Tourism plays a fundamental role in pursuing these objectives. According to the NDT Strategic Plan 2010/11-2014/15, “tourism is positioned as a priority sector in government’s planning and policy frameworks” (NDT 2012: 3), and among others, in the “ANC 2009 election manifesto, Cabinet’s New Growth Plan, the Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), and the national government’s Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF)” (NTSS: 10). It is also positioned as a sector that can drive future sustainable economic development given its resilience in the midst of the global economic challenges.

7.2 Tourism and Economic Diplomacy

It is a truism that tourism has become one of the world's major economic sectors and its development has come to occupy the development agendas of most governments in the world (Cornelissen 2005:1). International tourism is a sector of much international economic significance and thus of relevance to economic diplomacy as it “provides foreign currency and distributes purchasing power throughout the visited country” (Vellas and Becherel 1995: xxii). For example, Britain's former Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd (1997: 5), identifies three functions of diplomacy: “the accumulation and analysis of information, negotiation; and the promotion of national interests—including trade, finance, politics, culture and tourism”. Tourism has become an invaluable sector in the world economy (see Vellas and Becherel 1995, Gee 1997, Cornelissen 2005). According to Cornelissen (2005: 1), tourism is an important sector of the “global system of trade, production, exchange and governance”. In this regard, trade in international tourism offers another scope to diversify commercial ties between South Africa and China, particularly for the benefit of South Africa, which is experiencing a huge trade deficit in its trade exchanges with China. This clearly illustrates the nexus between international tourism and economic diplomacy. However, the role of international tourism as an instrument of economic diplomacy is under-valued and remains a largely unexplored subject of enquiry, as correctly observed by Richter (1983a: 313): “It is also almost totally ignored by political science.” Some literature regards tourism promotion as an important pillar of economic diplomacy (or commercial diplomacy as its subset), for example Muller (2000), Rana (2007), Vickers and Ajulu (2008), Vickers (2012), Vidya (2014), and Makokera (2015).

Most studies on tourism look at its impact on the host countries' economic growth, for example Breidenhann and Wickens (2002) and Akinboade and Braimoh (2010) and its contribution to world peace, for example Kim and Crompton (1990), and Upadhayaya, Muller-Boker and Sharma (2011). According to Richter (1983a) and Stock (1997), two-way tourism between states can be used as a diplomatic barometer of their closeness and affinity towards each other and the level of interest, understanding, and willingness to cooperate. “Tourism is an excellent vehicle for implementing Track Two diplomacy” (Kim and Crompton 1990: 359) and “is a part of the diplomatic strategy” (Richter 1938b: 410). This explains why the tourism sector is important to the South African economy, and is seen as a saviour regarding issues such as employment creation and poverty alleviation and is very high on government's policy agenda (George: 2007 195-196). This is evident in the 2011 White Paper on Foreign Policy

that identifies tourism promotion as a key pillar of South Africa's economic diplomacy strategic thrust. The White Paper states that "South Africa's economic diplomacy will therefore be focused on... pursuing market access for South African products, attracting investments and tourism, removing barriers to trade, and supporting the development of larger markets in Africa" (DIRCO 2011: 27). Furthermore, the NDT published its flagship blueprint called the National Tourism Sector Strategy (NTSS) to inspire tourism growth from 2010 to 2020, with a view of making South Africa one of the top 20 tourism destinations in the world by 2020 (NTSS 2010). Linked to this vision is the strategic objective "to position South Africa as a globally recognised tourism destination brand" (NTSS 2010:9). This directly links to one of the objectives of South Africa's economic diplomacy, which is to "positively position the brand South Africa in the global arena" (DPME: 28). The 2012 NDT draft International Tourism Strategy recognises that "tourism promotion and development constitutes a significant aspect of our economic diplomacy" (NDT 2012: 3).

8. The Structure of this Mini-Dissertation

This mini-dissertation consists of five chapters, which seek to answer the research questions through systematic literature review on economic diplomacy and its location within the canon of diplomacy studies and its linkages to co-operation between South Africa and China in the field of tourism. This first chapter provided the introductory context (contextual background) by outlining the aims, methodological framework and literature overview underpinning the case study. It also provided conceptual definitions of economic diplomacy and its location within the canon of diplomacy studies through the prism of a tripartite diplomatic theory, i.e. Traditional Diplomatic Theory, Nascent Diplomatic Theory and Innovative Diplomatic Theory. The chapter also introduced and discussed Integrative Diplomacy as a framework of analysis to unpack the nuances of modern diplomatic practice.

Chapter 2 provides historical background on the broader growth of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China before and during President Zuma's administration. This illustrates how the burgeoning diplomatic ties between South Africa and China, particularly under President Zuma's administration, laid a solid foundation for co-operation in tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy.

Chapter 3 discusses the nature of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China with a particular focus on international tourism co-operation as an instrument of economic

diplomacy. It looks at the key drivers of South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China. It outlines the nature of economic diplomacy practiced through international co-operation in tourism and the key role players in the conduct of modern diplomacy in South Africa.

Chapter 4 outlines the extent to which co-operation in the field of tourism is practically advancing economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. It looks at the implementation of the 2002 and 2013 bilateral co-operation agreements. It mainly covers the period from 2009 to 2017, moving beyond the enigmatic political rhetoric, outlining practical actions and role players in implementing the agreements, showing to which extent co-operation in tourism has advanced economic diplomacy between the two countries.

Chapter 5 analyses the key findings and culminates the discussion by looking at the challenges and prospects of tourism co-operation between the two countries and finally makes policy recommendations on how international tourism co-operation can effectively be used to strengthen South Africa's economic diplomacy.

9. Conclusion

This chapter introduced the theme of the mini-dissertation and outlined the context through literature overview for the triangular case study, involving economic diplomacy through tourism co-operation between South Africa and China. Conceptual clarification of the two main concepts, namely, diplomacy and economic diplomacy was provided using three theoretical frameworks on diplomacy, namely Traditional Diplomatic Theory, Nascent Diplomatic Theory and Innovative Diplomatic Theory. These theories converged into Integrative Diplomacy as a framework of analysis used to unpack the nuances of economic diplomacy in the modern diplomatic environment characterised by multiple stakeholders with expanded issue areas. This showed the ever evolving nature and character of modern diplomatic practice in the dynamic epoch of globalisation. The reviewed literature provides empirical evidence of evolving economic diplomacy between South Africa and China underpinned by institutionalised co-operation encapsulated in the 2013 MoU. Evidence shows that this agreement is indicative of a new emerging paradigm of co-operative economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. The next chapter goes deeper into the historical background of the evolution of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China before and during President Zuma's administration.

Chapter Two: South Africa & China – Evolution of Diplomatic Relations

1. Introduction

This chapter provides background information on the broader growth of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China. It traces how the diplomatic agenda of co-operation expanded between the two countries to include the area of tourism as a new niche area of focused economic co-operation. Keeping in line with the theme of the mini-dissertation, much focus is given to the encounters between South Africa and China under President Zuma's administrations from 2009. However, to put this into perspective, a short historical perspective of previous administrations' relations with China is provided to indicate the evolution that has taken place over time, particularly since the establishment of formal diplomatic relations in 1998. The purpose of the chapter is to show how the relations between the two countries have grown from formal diplomatic recognition to government relations cutting across various sectors including co-operation in the field of tourism. The chapter also outlines the controversies, challenges and opportunities that the burgeoning diplomatic ties between South Africa and China bring to the fore.

2. From Mandela to Mbeki Administrations

Alden and Wu (2014: 5) argue that the “contemporary relations between South Africa and China have roots that stretch back to the late 19th century”. The relation “is longstanding and complex, reflecting the politics of the Cold War and apartheid as well as the more contemporary activism emerging out of Beijing” (Shelton 2008: 257). Diplomatic relations between South Africa and China have come of age, from non-recognition at the birth of the new democratic dispensation in South Africa in 1994 to full official diplomatic relations from 1 January 1998. This followed a trend where South Africa's relations with the East Asian bloc evolved “[From the] absence of formal diplomatic relations or the existence of restricted relations before 1994... to formal diplomatic and economic relations...” (Matshego 2004: 37). In normalising relations with China, the new government under President Nelson Mandela faced what Suttner (1995: 6) calls the ‘two-Chinas’ dilemma. After long and hard diplomatic trade-offs on the question of switching official diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to mainland China, formal diplomatic relations between South Africa and China were instituted on 1 January 1998 (Botha 2004: 305 and Le Pere and Shelton 2007: 164). This was preceded by the signing of a Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations in December 1997 whereby the

South African government under Mandela affirmed that it would adhere to the One-China position (Naidu 2006: 466). The decision to switch diplomatic recognition is described as one of the hardest foreign policy decisions the new Mandela administration took post-1994 (see Geldenhuys 1995, Alden 2001, Naidu 2006, Shelton 2008, Alden and Wu 2014, Grimm et al. 2014, and Cornelissen 2015). It was also complicated by the practice of chequebook diplomacy, where “competing promises of trade, aid and investment by Taipei, countered by Beijing, ensued” (Alden and Wu 2014: 7). For example, it is estimated that Taiwan made a sizeable contribution (to the value of US\$25 million) to the ANC 1994 election campaign (Shelton 2008). In the end, whether it was diplomatic sanity to follow an emerging global pattern of the recognition of the PRC as the sole government of mainland China (inclusive of Hong Kong, Macao, Tibet and Taiwan) or socio-economic and political pragmatism that prevailed remains speculative, the PRC was eventually chosen over Taiwan. Even the large persona and international stature of Mandela failed to convince Beijing for South Africa to maintain a dual-recognition status. However, on a comparative basis between China and Taiwan, “global economic weight and political clout makes China an attractive strategic partner for South Africa” (Geldenhuys 2015: 139) and this fact could not be “ignored” by the government (Havenga 1995: 45). As according to Shelton and Kabemba (2012: 95), “a combination of strategic calculation and political ties persuaded South Africa to cement its relationship with China”. Furthermore, “the logic of formalising relations with the PRC was the anticipation that it would...allow access to a burgeoning consumer market” as argued by Naidu (2006: 465-466).

The official diplomatic recognition of China ushered in a new dawn of political and economic relations between the two countries. This should be seen within the context where “South Africa’s relations with Asia have enjoyed a tremendous period of expansion in terms of growth in diplomatic relations and increase in trade and investment ties” (Mills 2004: 45). As noted by Le Pere and Shelton (2007:164), during Thabo Mbeki’s visit to China in 1998, then as the deputy to Mandela, “official discussions focused on the potential for economic co-operation and the possibility of working together to establish a fair and just world economic and political order”. President “Mandela made the first official trip by a South African head of state to Beijing in May 1999” (Alden and Wu 2014: 7). Since then, state visits or political tours have become a frequent occurrence, providing the impetus to strengthen political and economic relations between the two countries. Some of the head of state visits included President Mbeki (December 2001) and President Zuma (2010, 2014 and 2016), and on the Chinese side,

President Jiang Zemin (April 2000), President Hu Jintao (2007) and Xi Jinping (2013, and 2015).

The administration of President Mandela opened doors for official diplomatic recognition between South Africa and China in 1998. It was under President Mbeki that official government-to-government relations were formalised. The adoption of the Pretoria Declaration on Partnership in 2000 during Mbeki's administration was fundamental in laying the groundwork for high-level government-to-government relations through the establishment of the Bi-National Commission. As noted by Wadula (2000), "the most important outcome of the agreement was the establishment of a Bi-National Commission (BNC), which would meet regularly to guide and coordinate all government-to-government relations between China and South Africa, while providing an effective forum for consultation on matters of mutual interest in bilateral and multilateral affairs". Through the declaration, both governments committed themselves to co-operate in advancing a new international political and economic order and to constructive dialogue, the creation of wealth for their peoples, the safeguarding of their national sovereignty, safety and integrity through the proceedings of the BNC (Pretoria Declaration 2000).

The BNC was launched in 2001 to pursue issues of common interest (Botha 2004: 306). During the launch, "separate talks on co-operation in relevant areas were held between leading members and their counterparts from ministries and departments of foreign affairs, economic co-operation and trade... and tourism" (Naidu 2006: 466-467). Since then, the BNC led at the deputy president level is institutionalised as a structured bilateral mechanism to coordinate government-to-government relations in a full range of mutually beneficial areas, including tourism. The Sixth BNC was chaired by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa and Chinese Vice President Li Yuanchao in Cape Town on 22 November 2016 (Chinese Embassy 2016). As the BNC is the main platform through which the bilateral interactions are ordered, almost all government departments participate in various sectoral committees. For example, according to the former Chinese Vice President, since the launch of the BNC "China and South Africa witnessed a smooth development of bilateral ties and cooperation in expanding fields including trade and business, investment, culture, education, science and technology, defence, tourism, justice and police affairs" (FMPRC 2004).

3. The new era of President Zuma

While it is widely acknowledged that both Presidents Mandela and Mbeki laid a solid foundation for Sino-South African relations, it is widely recognised that it was under Zuma's administration that relations between South Africa and China intensified on many levels and became a 'special relationship' in numerous ways (see Calland 2013, Grimm et al. 2014, Alden and Wu 2014, Cornelissen 2015). President Zuma's cosy diplomatic ties with China is widely associated with South Africa joining the exclusive diplomatic club of BRICS, which is considered a golden moment for South Africa's diplomacy as "its ascendance to the BRICS forum in 2010 has provided the country with greater scope to be the 'dealmaker' for southern Africa" (Notshulwana 2012:8). Some analysts even go to the extent of making bold claims that "China as a bilateral partner – or the rest of Asia, for that matter – did not originally enjoy a high foreign-policy priority in Pretoria...this has changed, particularly following the political shift from the Mbeki to the Zuma Administration" (Grimm et al. 2014: 9).

President Zuma introduced fundamental changes to South Africa's foreign policy orientation. As Calland (2013: 90) argues, "as the Zuma era emerged and then unfolded, so foreign relations took on a different hue". His foreign policy can be described as the Look East Policy, as in the global context, Asia became the centre of focus for South Africa's external relations, influenced by the global shifting of power relations from the West to East. It was under President Zuma that the diplomatic relations between South Africa and China were elevated to the highest level, with the signing of the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership declaration in 2010 during the much-publicised state visit to China, with a large entourage of ministers and business executives. As noted, "Zuma was accompanied by 13 cabinet ministers and more than 350 business executives and entrepreneurs, at the time the largest delegation to ever have accompanied him on a foreign tour" (Bradley 2016: 2-3). Overall, Calland (2013: 100) noted that under Zuma, "BRIC countries have attracted some of biggest delegations" during state visits. This perhaps is justified as these countries are touted as the "new sources of global economic growth, trade and investment flows" that South Africa sorely needs for its own development (Calland 2013: 123).

The Chinese Consulate General in Cape Town reported that, after the comprehensive strategic partnership signing ceremony of what came to be known as the Beijing Declaration, former Chinese President Hu Jintao remarked that "China and South Africa need to work together in culture, education, media, health, and tourism" (Chinese Consulate General 2010).

Both President Zuma and Minister Nkoana-Mashabane spoke very highly about the importance of strengthening diplomatic ties with China after the signing of the declaration. President Zuma said the comprehensive strategic partnership elevated bilateral relations to the highest level possible between the states (Zuma 2010b) and Minister Nkoana-Mashabane boasted that “South Africa is the only country in Africa that signed such a declaration with China and China has signed a comprehensive strategic partnership with eleven countries around the world” (Nkoana-Mashabane 2010). This illustrates the bonds of friendship that have blossomed between the two countries since the establishment of official diplomatic relations in 1998.

The Beijing Declaration is important in many respects. According to the Polity (2011), the “agreement would result in more than ZAR 100 billion invested in South Africa...to support projects in culture, education, media, health, tourism and financial services”. The agreement called for closer co-operation in the field of tourism, showing the importance the two countries attach to the sector as an instrument of economic development. Article 20 of the declaration talks about co-operation in tourism training, capacity building, promoting and developing cultural and medical tourism, promotion campaigns and information sharing, thereby acknowledging that the tourism industry is a generator of economic growth and empowerment, employment and foreign exchange (Beijing Declaration 2010).

This discerns how President Zuma ushered in an unprecedented focus on Sino-South African diplomacy under the rubric of South-South co-operation, with China being a key ally of South Africa in international affairs since 2009. As argued by Calland (2013: 94), “there has been a stronger attempt to position South Africa within a new changing global order, by siding with BRICS nations and pursuing Chinese trade”. President Zuma attached great importance to developing diplomatic relations with China and recognising its growing influence in international affairs, emblematic of a new sense of pragmatic approach to South Africa’s foreign policy conduct and pursuance of national interests. This unprecedented drive for close diplomatic ties between South Africa and China under President Zuma’s administrations has been a subject of keen interest to scholars of international relations and diplomacy. This unsurprisingly results in differing perspectives; some scholars are sceptical and wary of China’s commercial interests in Africa broadly, and some are optimistic about the mammoth Chinese market and the opportunity this offers to South Africa’s developmental needs. The debate is even more polarised in the academic literature and media circles between the pro and anti-President Zuma axis insofar South Africa’s cosy diplomatic relations with China are

concerned, particularly after the infamous Dalai Lama visa debacle. Some claim there is undue Chinese influence on South Africa's foreign policy conduct, such as Qobo (2011), who laments that "before Zuma ascended to power, it was unthinkable that South Africa's foreign policy would ever be dictated by another country or that the government would easily sell its soul in exchange for maintaining a commercial relationship with a country". This is an assertion that is strongly refuted by the South African government. Speaking at a public lecture at the University of Pretoria, President Zuma strongly dismissed the charge by Qobo that he sold the soul of the country. He said that "our foreign policy is independent and decisions are informed by the national interest...we are not dictated to by other countries, individuals or lobby groups within our own country" (Zuma 2011). President Zuma's position found support from a former South African diplomat, Thembinkosi Gcoyi, who was once posted in Beijing. Gcoyi (2015) sharply argued that the decision to deny the Dalai Lama a visa was "a well-considered decision" because when it comes to foreign policy "South Africa has to put its people first". By his logic, denying a visa to the Dalai Lama, South Africa was protecting its national interests.

China also "attached great importance to the country's relation with South Africa" (Wang 2012: 1). It has "actively courted South Africa as both a regional and international player, and has sought cooperation on international peace, climate change and reform of international institutions" (Bradley 2016: 4). This is indicated by the "invitation extended to South Africa at the end of 2010 to join the Brazil, Russia, India and China (or BRIC) grouping, largely at the behest of the Chinese government" (Cornelissen 2015: 196). Bradley (2016: 3) asserts that "Since South Africa's accession to the BRICS, the two nations have become more closely aligned economically and politically, with increasing levels of bilateral trade and alignment on international affairs". Co-operation in tourism is also indicative of growing diplomatic affinity.

4. The implication of the diplomatic evolution

The diplomatic relations between South Africa and China evolved through many stages from 1997, coming full circle in 2010. According to a very comprehensive presentation by DIRCO to Parliament in May 2010, as reported by the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG), since the establishment of official diplomatic recognition, the relations evolved through three stages: from the Pretoria Declaration on Partnership in April 2000, to Strategic Partnership in 2004, until the culmination in the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in 2010 (PMG 2010). However, the growing diplomatic ties between South Africa and China as described above have not been as smooth a ride as the above narrative might suggest. The

relations have been characterised by co-operation, ideological inconsistency and contestation. The name of the article by Alison Bradley (2016), 'China and South Africa: Emerging Powers in an Uncomfortable Embrace', clearly demonstrate the contradictions embedded in the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Bradley (2016: 1) states, "while the government remains eager for investment from China, its largest trading partner, a growing bloc of liberally minded South Africans are concerned by what they perceive as neo-colonial influence and an erosion of the post-apartheid country's democratic ideals, described by South Africa's first post-apartheid president, Nelson Mandela, in 1993 as 'the light that guides our foreign affairs'". South Africa is often vilified for closing its eyes to China's questionable human rights record, and continuing the relations for political and economic expediency. In this regard, the relation with China was always going to be problematic for South Africa, as argued by Naidu (2006:458), "given the high premium it placed on human rights in its foreign policy formulation in at least its early years". South Africa came under heavy criticism when the government denied the Dalai Lama a visa on more than one occasion in 2010 and 2011 to visit the country in what many characterised as China's encroachment on the country's independence. In what could be interpreted as justifying the government's position, President Zuma reminded South Africans and the world that the 'One-China Policy' that South Africa ascribed to in 1997 "is aimed at addressing the question of the territorial sovereignty of China as the sole and legitimate representative of all the people of that country, with which we have strong historical, political, economic and social relations" (Zuma 2011).

The other perennial problem in the relations between the two countries is the trade structure and persistent huge trade imbalance in favour of China that has resulted in trade arguments. According to Alden and Wu (2014: 15), "China imports minimal value-added products (such as minerals and agricultural products) from South Africa, while South Africa mainly imports Chinese manufactured products". Eisenman (2012: 809) warns that "if China-Africa trade continues in accordance with existing patterns, China's interest will be increasingly pitted against emerging African resistance narratives at both the grassroots and elite levels". Indeed, this is true as both Presidents Mbeki and Zuma lamented the trading pattern, with Mbeki labelling China's interest in Africa as "neo-colonial" in 2006 and in 2012 Zuma described the trade pattern between Africa and China as "unsustainable" (BBC News 2006 and Zuma 2012). Bilateral efforts have been undertaken during the period under review (2009-2017) to address the conundrum of trade imbalance and some of the initiatives in this regard are discussed in the next chapter.

5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the complex history between South Africa and China, characterised by asymmetric power relations and unbalanced trade patterns. The establishment of official diplomatic relations between South Africa and China in 1998 created an opportunity for sectoral co-operation in many areas of mutual interest, including tourism. Institutionalised co-operation across many sectors of government expanded within the framework of the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, the Beijing Declaration agreed to in 2010 under President Zuma's administration from trade to science and technology, health, skills development, tourism and people-to-people exchanges. However, the historical relationship is characterised by co-operation, ideological inconsistency and contestation. The two issues in particular that have been a thorn in the side of the relations between the two countries is China's record on human rights that emerged as the antithesis of South Africa's foreign policy ideals and the historical trade deficit in favour of China lamented by political, trade union and civil society leaders in South Africa.

This chapter sought to illustrate the dynamic diplomatic relations between South and China with areas of co-operation between the two countries having grown across many government departments. This shows that the conduct of modern diplomacy is no longer confined to the ministries of foreign affairs. As this chapter shows, line function government departments such as tourism play a pivotal role in the conduct of contemporary diplomacy by cementing the economic relations between the two countries. It is remarkable that tourism issues formed part of the inaugural meeting of the BNC in 2001. This was where the seed of co-operation in the field of tourism was planted. President Zuma's state visit to China in 2010 resulted in a watershed moment in the conduct of South Africa's economic diplomacy when the two countries elevated the diplomatic relations to a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, the first of its kind South Africa had with any country and the only kind China had with an African country. This shows how both countries appreciate and attach great importance to their political and economic relations. As indicated in its text, the Beijing Declaration gave rise to a variety of shared goals and objectives between South Africa and China, among those to explore co-operation in the field of tourism. The bilateral co-operation agreement in the field of tourism signed in 2013 should be contextualised within the framework of this declaration.

Chapter Three: Economic Diplomacy & Tourism Co-operation

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the nature of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China, identifying the four pillars that constitute the cornerstone of tourism co-operation as an instrument of economic diplomacy. The purpose of the chapter is to elucidate the key drivers of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. Looking at this from South Africa's perspective will indicate how in an effort to align economic diplomacy to the domestic imperatives of addressing the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality, promoting South Africa as a tourism destination in China is used as an instrument of economic diplomacy. The chapter also answers the subsidiary question of what mechanisms are used and which institutions are involved in promoting co-operation in tourism by identifying key role players in terms of government departments and agencies on economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation, and the mechanisms used in promoting such co-operation. The emergence of tourism co-operation as an agenda of diplomatic relations between South Africa and China and the multiple actors involved shows the utility of Integrative Diplomacy as a framework of analysis to understand the complexity of contemporary diplomacy.

2. South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China

South Africa regards foreign policy, which includes economic diplomacy as indicated in the 2011 White Paper on Foreign Policy, as an extension of its domestic policy, as stated in DIRCO's Strategic Plan for 2009 to 2012: "we proceed from the basis that foreign policy has to be based on the domestic priorities of our government" (DIRCO 2009: 3). Zondi (2010: 96) also notes that "there is an increasing realization of the need for the South African foreign policy to coagulate with domestic imperatives of wealth generation, employment creation, and social stability through a sharper interface between political and economic diplomacy in our international conduct". This gives expression to one of the oldest platitudes, that foreign policy begins at home. Furthermore, many scholars have written about how South Africa's foreign policy towards China is increasingly driven by domestic economic considerations, such as Muller (2002), Landsberg (2006), Shelton (2008), Qobo (2010), Shelton and Kabemba (2012), Calland (2013), Alden and Wu (2014a), and Cornelissen (2015). Also, scholars such as Geldenhuys (1995), Alden (2001), Naidu (2006), Shelton (2008), Grimm et al. (2014), and Cornelissen (2015) regard South Africa's diplomatic switch from Taiwan to mainland China

in 1998 as underpinned by a number of strategic motives, chief among those being economic interests, given China's growing importance in the world economy. As noted by Henderson (2010: 3), "the re-emergence of China as an economic and political driver of the global political economy is becoming one of the defining moments of world history...this is because China's increasing global engagement across the economic and political spectra is changing the rules of the game." South Africa has sought closer diplomatic ties with China to leverage China's economic growth to achieve its own economic development imperatives of poverty alleviation, creating decent employment and reducing inequality.

The relations between South Africa and China evolved from general diplomatic relations to more pragmatic economic diplomacy, especially under Zuma's administration as chapter two indicated. And as Calland (2013: 91) notes, "in building South Africa's foreign policy in recent years, a great deal of attention has been paid to strengthening economic ties with major emerging markets, especially the so-called BRIC grouping". Since 2009, the NDT has played an increasingly important role in establishing or cementing relations with fellow BRIC countries, evidenced by the signing of an MoU with China in 2013, Brazil in 2014 and India in 2016, while the one with Russia was signed in 1998 (South African Treaty Register). These tourism agreements are South Africa's mechanism for building global economic relations with anchor states in the global political economy. Furthermore, the declaration by the Minister of Economic Development, Mr Ebrahim Patel, that "South Africa's future economic relations with China will address South Africa's critical challenges of high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality" in a presentation titled 'Defining the strategic partnership between South Africa and China' in November 2009 is indicative of a paradigm shift to pursuing foreign policy based on economic imperatives (Patel 2009: 1). Increasing tourism is central to South Africa's economic diplomacy strategy to address the above triple challenges, as the sector is rightly acknowledged in the NDP as one of the engines of job creators in South Africa's economy and regarded as one of the six core pillars of growth in the country's NGP framework (NDP 2011, NGP 2010). According to Gee (1997: 213), "tourism is generally seen as a significant economic contributor to a nation's gross national product (GNP) since international visitors are a valuable source of foreign currency". This is also a view clearly articulated in South Africa's 2002-2004 International Tourism Growth Strategy, which states that it aims "to promote GDP growth and job creation and the transformation of our economy through six key objectives (growing volume, spend, length of stay and provincial distribution while reducing seasonality and promoting transformation)" (SA Tourism 2003: 3).

The NDT has set ambitious targets in this regard as outlined in the NTSS, the primary blueprint for the development and promotion of tourism in South Africa for the ten-year period from 2010 to 2020, with its vision of aiming to position the country to be among the top 20 tourism destination in the world by 2020 and aiming to push tourism's contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from the 2009 baseline of R189,4 billion to R499 billion in 2020. This would mean an increase of some 5,000 000 foreign tourist arrivals, approximately 177,000 more job opportunities by 2020 within the sector and another 48,000 directly linked to government programmes, making it a total of 225,000 jobs by the year 2020, and R1 billion more in foreign direct investment (NDT 2011a: 17). Already, tourism is making an immense contribution to the South African economy. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in 2016 it directly supported 716,500 jobs (4.6% of total employment), this is expected to rise by 3.6% in 2017 and by 4.1% p.a. to 1,110,000 jobs (6.0% of total employment) in 2027 and the direct contribution to GDP was R127.9bn (USD8.7bn), 3.0% of total GDP in 2016 and is forecast to rise by 2.7% in 2017, and to rise by 4.5% p.a., from 2017-2027, to R204.4bn (USD13.9bn), 3.8% of total GDP in 2027 (WTTC 2017: 1).

The good news for South Africa is that international tourism continues to grow. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) 2016 Annual Report, "international tourist arrivals grew for the seventh consecutive year to reach 1.2 billion, a sequence of uninterrupted growth not recorded since the 1960s" (UNWTO 2017a:11). The upward trajectory in international arrivals despite global economic challenges in recent years is positive news for countries like South Africa that position tourism in key policy frameworks as a sector that can propel the country on a sustainable path of inclusive socio-economic progress. It also augurs well for the achievement of South Africa's economic diplomacy goals.

3. Key drivers of Economic Diplomacy

The broad aims of South Africa's economic diplomacy as articulated in major policy frameworks such as the White Paper on Foreign Policy, NDP and NGP are economic growth, job creation, poverty eradication and improving the country's global competitiveness. The key drivers of South Africa's economic diplomacy are trade negotiations, participation in multilateral forums such as the WTO, G20 etc. and attracting FDI and tourism. According to Makokera (2015:3), "the focus of South Africa's economic diplomacy has been, firstly trade and investment...which has generally been coordinated by Trade and Investment South Africa...of the DTI". Back in 2000, the Former DIRCO Minister, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-

Zuma, made a similar observation that South Africa's diplomatic missions "spent more than 60% of their time on trade and investment related matters such as sustaining our market share, exploring and opening up new markets, facilitating joint ventures, and negotiating bilateral economic co-operation agreements" (Dlamini-Zuma 2000). Similarly, trade issues have dominated the economic diplomacy activities between South Africa and China, which according to DIRCO, culminated in China becoming the country's number one bilateral trade partner by the end of 2010, accounting for a total trade volume in excess of R166 billion (including trade from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan).

However, the nature of unbalanced trade in favour of China has proved contentious. To deal with this trade anomaly, the Joint Inter-Ministerial Group was established as a key economic diplomacy instrument for mutual co-operation in economic matters. According to Minister Nkoana-Mashabane (2015), "the Joint Working Group (JWG) held at the Ministerial level was established as a primary mechanism to identify challenges and obstacles that could hinder developmental progress and implementation of objectives". The mechanism includes several ministries from both countries, indicative of "closer economic ties that mirror the burgeoning bilateral diplomatic relationship", as argued by Alden and Wu (2014b).

Greater advancement in trade ties has also stimulated the expansion of linkages in other sectoral areas of economic co-operation such as attracting FDI and tourism. For example, on FDI, DIRCO reported that the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China's purchase of a 20 per cent stake in Standard Bank for US\$5,64 billion, has been the largest single investment in South Africa and China's largest financial investment and that two-way investment by various companies in each other's countries was growing (DIRCO 2010: 59). Promotion of tourism as a key driver of South Africa's economic diplomacy is also gaining traction. This is given momentum by the growth in tourism co-operation, reflecting the burgeoning bilateral diplomatic relationship between South Africa and China. The NDT and SA Tourism are emerging as key stakeholders in executing South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China through co-operation in tourism and increased in-country marketing efforts. For example, according to SA Tourism's *Marketing Growth Strategy for South Africa 2011 to 2013*, China was identified as one of the 11 targeted markets with growth potential (SA Tourism 2010a: 73). The Tourism Growth Strategy started in 2001 and is a market-facing process that involves ongoing research and analysis to support critical choices around which markets and consumer segments to focus on, and specifically how to activate growth through marketing, brand

positioning and channel fulfilment in the chosen focus areas while at the same time monitoring and evaluating our work (SA Tourism 2010a: 3). SA Tourism also developed a dedicated marketing strategy for China titled *Marketing South Africa in China* to help market South Africa in China. The strategy identified China as an emerging travel market entering a growth phase and acknowledged that South Africa is not yet fully capitalising on the Chinese outbound tourism boom (SA Tourism 2007: 4 and 21).

4. Economic Diplomacy through International Tourism Co-operation

The nature of economic diplomacy practiced by South Africa through international tourism co-operation postulated in this mini-dissertation is premised on four pillars: 1. Negotiation, signing and implementation of tourism co-operation agreements; 2. Representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China; 3. Country branding and positioning to increase inbound tourism arrivals; and 4. Building business relations through tour operators to promote tourism. The pillars are introduced in this chapter and further elaborated upon in the next chapter. This chapter discusses the element of negotiating and signing of tourism co-operation agreements and the key role players in this process, answering the subsidiary research question: What are the mechanisms used and institutions involved in promoting co-operation in tourism?

4.1 Negotiation and signing of tourism agreements

Globally, many states are beginning to appreciate the economic value of international tourism and are entering into agreements as a mechanism to facilitate the ease of movement of people from one territory to the other (this speaks to pillar one on negotiations and signing of agreements). As put by Hall, “unilateral measures, bilateral and multilateral agreements affect international tourism flows with respect to individuals...and organisations... [and] a rich tapestry of regulatory measures and governance structures comprising supranational bodies and inter-states collaborations and partnerships form an important backdrop to how states order the mobility of their citizens and those from outside” (quoted in Hall and Coles 2008: 29). From South Africa's side, the department that is taking the lead in this policy area is the NDT, which was established in 2009 as a stand-alone organisation, signalling the importance the South African government attaches to establishing an enabling policy and legislative condition for tourism growth and development at both political and administrative levels. This shows that “politically, the government had invested a great deal in tourism”, as argued by Cornelissen (2005: 42). As noted in the NDT 2014/15 Annual Report, the establishment of the NDT

provided a fundamental foundation for the “political and administrative support to the tourism agenda, allowing the government machinery to collectively work to put in place elements that support tourism growth” (NDT 2015a: 21). This followed the announcement of the new Cabinet on 10 May 2009 (DEAT 2010: 3).

The NDT derives its mandate from the Tourism Act, 2014 (Act No. 3 of 2014), according to which the department is responsible among others to provide for effective domestic and international marketing of South Africa as a tourist destination. The department has an international mandate and plays a pivotal role in promoting foreign relations in the field of tourism through its International Tourism Management (ITM) Branch through negotiations and liaison with its foreign counterparts. The purpose of the ITM is “to provide strategic political and policy direction for the development of South Africa’s tourism potential throughout the various regions of the world...” (NDT 2012: 24). This is done through signing and implementing international agreements with other countries, with a view to, among others, exchanging best practices and to improve tourism relations to unblock barriers to growing tourism into South Africa. The Branch also plays an important role in Economic Diplomacy training conducted at DIRCO. According to NDT’s 2014/15 Annual Report, “2 [two] Capacity Building on the tourism functions as part of Economic Diplomacy training for officials of South African Missions abroad was conducted” (NDT 2015a: 40). International tourism is a new focus area for the NDT, aimed at streamlining marketing efforts to ensure an increase in the number of foreign arrivals (NDT 2012: 8). This makes the NDT a significant player in advancing South Africa’s economic diplomacy through its mandate of attracting international tourism. As stated by Bayne and Woolcock (2011: 5), “all government agencies that have economic responsibilities and operate internationally are engaging in economic diplomacy”. According to its draft International Tourism Strategy, “the NDT engages in structured bilateral co-operation with various countries, and also participates in various tourism related multilateral fora, both regional and global to advance tourism’s national, regional, African and global agenda, through negotiations and facilitation of the implementation of the international agreements” (NDT 2012: 3-8). For example, “during 2013/14 [financial year] memorandums of agreement (MoUs) were signed in the field of tourism with four countries, namely Seychelles, Saudi Arabia, Mexico and China” as a mechanism of strengthening bilateral co-operation in the field of tourism (NDT 2014:49).

The above MoUs were preceded by the first agreement signed in 2002 between South Africa and China called *Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of South Africa through its Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China on the Implementation Plan for Organized Group Travel by Chinese Citizens to South Africa*, granting South Africa Approved Destination Status (ADS). According to the now defunct Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), China and South Africa signed an MoU in November 2002, conferring ADS to the latter, which entitles South Africa to market group leisure activities in China and contribute to the simplification of tourist travel procedures from the Chinese mainland to South Africa (DEAT No Date: 14). According to the MoU, registered tour operators and travel agencies in South Africa and China are authorised to organise group outbound travel of Chinese citizens to South Africa with effect from 2002 (MoU 2002). The negotiation and granting of ADS to South Africa in 2002, a few years after the establishment of official diplomatic relations, can be viewed as one of the ways in which China rewarded South Africa for its diplomatic switch from Taiwan to mainland China. As argued by Richter (1983a: 324), “most nations have several policies toward foreign tourists based... on the degree of international cooperation existing between them”. This is because increasing Chinese tourism to South Africa holds the promise of significant job creation (Shelton 2008: 272). In relation to this, Van Schalkwyk talks about the significance of opening a South African Tourism (SA Tourism) destination marketing office in Beijing in 2010, emphasising that “in order to better promote South Africa as a tour destination in China, SAT Beijing representative office will be dedicated to improve marketing and branding investment in China and present a real and attractive South Africa to all Chinese tourists (Van Schalkwyk 2010b).

The second agreement that was signed by the former Minister of Tourism, Mr Van Schalkwyk and Mr Shao Qiwei, Chairman of the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA), in October 2013, called Agreement between the Government of the Republic of South Africa and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism, was lauded in the NDT Quarterly Newsletter as being key to helping the department and the country to achieve the objectives of the NTSS and the NDP (NDT Quarterly Newsletter 2013: 1). Reporting on the signing of this agreement in the 2013/14 Annual Report, the NDT noted that “South Africa acknowledges that China will remain an important source market because of its large population, spending power and the political relations that have been established between the two countries” (NDT 2014: 49). This makes it clear that the NDT

postulates its tourism relations with China based on the broader bilateral relations between South Africa and China. The agreement signalled South Africa and China's commitment to fostering the growth of the two-way tourism between the two countries. The broad purpose of the agreement is to encourage information sharing, tourism investment, marketing and promotion, skills development and training and tourism safety and service standards (NDT Quarterly Newsletter 2013: 1). In honour of forging this close co-operation, China declared that it would "encourage more Chinese companies to make investment in the tourism market of South Africa, including tourist resources and facilities development, and encourage more Chinese tourists to spend their holidays in South Africa, creating more jobs for the locals in the process" (Chen 2017: 4). Co-operation in tourism between South Africa and China gained traction after the signing of the 15 November 2002 and 28 October 2013 MoUs in tourism. These regimes are mechanisms of strengthening bilateral relations in tourism and instruments of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China.

International agreements such as MoUs are important instruments of co-operation and commonly used by states and international institutions for regulating many aspects of their foreign relations in defence, aviation, commerce, education, science, tourism, industrial co-operation and other areas (Barston 2006 and 2013). Most bilateral agreements serve economic interests, such as agreements in tourism, which among others serve to remove travel barriers and facilitate increased two-way travel between states for economic gain. The CNTA conceptualises this as tourism diplomacy which facilitates "not only contacts between official tourism authorities, but also those between tourists, tourism companies, industry organizations and agencies; not just Sino-foreign cultural exchange, but also economic exchange regarding tour operation, services and investment in tourism... tourism diplomacy is the upgraded version of international tourism communication and cooperation" (CNTA 2016).

China also uses bilateral agreements in the field of tourism as tools of its economic diplomacy. It has a rigorous outbound tourism policy framework in the form of ADS, which has become an important arsenal in China's economic diplomacy toolbox which has been in place since 1995 (see Arita, Edmonds, Croix and Mak 2011, Hall and Coles 2008). According to this policy, "Chinese group leisure tourists travel to numerous countries under a bilateral ADS arrangement" (Hall 2008: 29). ADS policy is an integral part of China's economic diplomacy tool used either as a carrot (extension of goodwill) or a stick (punishment or coercion). As Chinacontact (2015) puts it, "countries without an ADS agreement are not

allowed to receive tourist groups from China and to promote their destination in China for tourism and are restricted to business and official travel groups only”. What is also clear is that “China’s granting of ADS is inherently a political decision, closely linked to China’s strategic relations with a foreign country” (Chen and Duggan 2016: 50). Each destination country negotiates separately with the CNTA and the Chinese government with respect to their specific ADS agreement (Hall 2008: 40). Many countries have made it their diplomatic objective to gain entry into the Chinese ADS programme for economic benefits. China uses its outbound tourism policy as a direct instrument of economic diplomacy and is well aware of this soft power (see Windybank 2005, Shie 2007, Hall and Coles 2008, Chen and Duggan 2016). As an important source of leverage, “the political roles of outbound tourism have become China’s diplomatic tool, which is referred to here as tourism-based diplomacy” (Shih-Ping 2010: 260). For China, “outbound tourism has become a political bargaining chip” (Shih-Ping 2010: 274). In this sense, tourism policy is utilised to support or further other policy objectives that are not exclusively economic but political in nature, such as enticing countries to adhere to the One-China Policy. In this sense, China administers ADS policy as an economic tool to achieve political ends. Some of the factors considered by the Chinese government in granting countries ADS are: friendly foreign relations with the Chinese government; the value of tourist attractions as a destination; the safety of the destination country; and no discrimination against Chinese tourists (UNWTO 2010: 76). In China’s 2006 African Policy, China committed to strengthen co-operation in tourism by granting more African countries ADS. The policy states that “China will implement the program of Chinese citizens' group tour to some African nations and, grant more African countries, as they wish and as far as feasible, ADS for out-bound Chinese tourist groups” (FOCAC 2006).

5. Role players in International Tourism Co-operation

In line with the philosophy of modern diplomacy, economic diplomacy is practiced by various actors, as Makokera (2015: 3) notes: “although the term ‘diplomacy’ might suggest that this area is the domain of DIRCO, the reality is that numerous government agencies in South Africa are involved at all levels, including provincial governments and local municipalities”. Similarly, tourism is a complex sector impacted by policy choices from many government departments. The South African Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) Schedule 4 Part A proclaims that tourism is a concurrent functional area of national and provincial legislative competence. However, the responsibility of conducting international relations in tourism is

mainly the domain of the NDT as a key player as indicated above. The new NTSS gazetted for public comments acknowledges that tourism is supported by multiple relations and connections that the sector has with other sector departments, which are essential and have a high degree of influence on the delivery of a complete tourist experience and identified key government departments that are having a direct impact on the tourism system in South Africa such as the Departments of Home Affairs; Transport; Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; Arts and Culture, Sport and Recreation; Environmental Affairs and the South African Police Services (Government Gazette Vol. 623 No. 40827 2017: 8). Below is a discussion on some of the key government departments or agencies playing a pivotal role in international tourism co-operation in South Africa.

5.1 Department of International Relations and Cooperation

The DIRCO, with its advantage of broad global presence, is one of the key departments affecting the tourism sector, especially international tourism co-operation. As stated in its 2016/2017 Annual Report, it “is responsible for the formulation, application and implementation of South Africa’s foreign policy, which is derived from South Africa’s domestic priorities... [And] has 126 diplomatic missions in 109 countries” (DIRCO 2016: 12). The NDT’s foreign relations are guided by the foreign policy parameters formulated by the DIRCO as acknowledged in its draft International Tourism Strategy: “that the NDT engages in part in international relations, which at minimum needs to take place under the guidance of the country’s foreign policy...to an extent, our international engagement is in execution of our foreign policy”. The foreign missions set up by DIRCO are responsible for representing South Africa’s national interests abroad, including promoting South Africa as a preferred tourism destination, as noted in the 2015/16 Annual Report which states that “another important aspect of bilateral relations consists of the strengthening of economic relations for the promotion of South Africa’s trade, investment and tourism potential and opportunities” (DIRCO 2016: 51). In an article titled ‘The Role of Economic Diplomacy in a New World’, the former Deputy Director-General for Diplomatic Academy at DIRCO outlines the department’s role in economic diplomacy. She notes that “Economic diplomacy has always been an integral and important part of the work of a diplomat, and that principle applies equally to South African diplomats...Our diplomats around the world are therefore competing to ensure that the economic levers that allocate the supply and demand of scarce resources will favour South Africa” (Dlomo 2011).

Furthermore, in 2012 the DIRCO presented to Parliament that “in 2008 DIRCO together with the Department of Trade and Industry were tasked with the function of developing an Economic Diplomacy Strategic Framework (EDSF) in order to support South African mission – its embassies, consulates and high commissions abroad – in meeting the domestic priorities for growth and prosperity in the international environment” (PMG 2012a). According to the presentation, the EDSF “clarifies the role and relationship between different spheres and agencies of government [and was developed to] pursue an Economic Diplomacy Strategy that compliments SA’s developmental policies and strategies by, pursuing market access for SA products... promote tourism; [and] enhance the image and nation brand of SA” (Amazon Web Service: No date).

To realise the objectives of the EDSF, its development was followed by the introduction of an Economic Diplomacy (ED) training workshop for government officials, which “included not only officials of the DTI and the department [DIRCO], but also officials from the National Treasury and SA Tourism” among others (Dlomo 2011). This training started in 2011 to instruct the trainees on how to pursue market access for South African products, how to promote and attract investment into South Africa, how to promote tourism and enhance the image and national brand of South Africa, and ultimately pursue political engagements that advance the African agenda and African economic development (PMG 2012a). According to Dlomo (2011), “a total of 90 international relations practitioners from other government departments have attended the four workshops held between November 2009 and June 2011” and the roll-out of the training programme was planned for the following years to capacitate more officials in economic diplomacy and equip them in promoting the country as a destination of choice globally. In 2012 DIRCO reported to Parliament that “170 South African diplomats had been trained... [and] all missions abroad would have received training by the 2013/14 financial year” as it uses its network of foreign missions strategically located around the world, such as in China to promote South Africa as a destination of choice (PMG 2012a). Briefing Parliament in 2012, DIRCO indicated that a number of embassies had dedicated officials responsible for tourism promotion and uses opportunities provided by exhibitions to promote tourism to South Africa (PMG 2012b).

In the 2009 to 2012 Strategic Plan, DIRCO committed to focus its economic diplomacy (promotion of trade, investment and tourism) on China amongst other strategic countries in East Asia. The strategy noted that “nearly sixty per cent of South Africa’s trade with Asia is

with the countries of East Asia, which are also important sources of International Relations direct investment and tourism for the country” (DIRCO 2009: 18). Under the key performance area of strengthening political and economic relations, marketing the country abroad and positioning South Africa as a preferred tourism destination are identified as key objectives (DIRCO 2009: 38). Reporting on its performance indicator of the “number of economic diplomacy activities undertaken to increase value added exports; attract FDI to priority sectors...promote tourism and South Africa’s image abroad... [the DIRCO noted that] 94 tourism promotion events were held where emphasis was also placed on promoting South Africa as a preferred destination for business and leisure and as a safe and value-for-money destination of choice” (DIRCO 2016: 66).

5.2 South African Tourism

As indicated above, South Africa opened its destination marketing office in China in 2010 to represent its tourism interests (this speaks to pillar two on representation of South Africa’s tourism interests in China). The presence of SA Tourism in China since 2010 is indicative of the importance the NDT attaches to improving the country’s competitiveness as a tourism destination of choice. According to the UNWTO:

“the governmental tourism department of a foreign country which requests the establishment of a representative office in China must be approved by CNTA...the representative office of a foreign tourism department established in China may be engaged in non-profit activities such as tourism promotion, consultation, liaison and coordination, but shall not carry out any commercial activities or covert commercial activities” UNWTO (2010: 78).

According to its 2015-2020 Strategic Plan, the SA Tourism Board is entrusted with the responsibility under Chapter 3 of the Tourism Act of 2014 to primarily focus on the marketing of South Africa as a domestic and international tourist destination for leisure tourism and as a business events destination (SA Tourism 2015: 10). As the destination marketing organisation, SA Tourism “aim[s] to make tourism the leading economic sector in South Africa, and so promote the sustainable economic and social empowerment of all South Africans...to market South Africa as an integral part of Africa and particularly of the subcontinent of southern Africa”, as noted in the 2009-2010 Annual Report (SA Tourism 2010b: 5). SA Tourism has a presence in countries regarded as holding the most promise in terms of bringing a large volume of inbound tourism, such as China. There are currently 13 international offices, opened to

represent South Africa's tourism interests in key tourism generating markets, including in China (southafrica.net). According to the Report of the Expert Panel on the Review of South African Tourism released in 2015, "the international marketing effort is the mainstay of SA Tourism's business", in line with government policy of placing more emphasis on developing international tourism (NDT 2015b: vii). Hence, the international offices serve as an invaluable infrastructure to penetrate key markets and grow South Africa's market share in terms of international arrivals, with a view of boosting economic growth.

5.3 Department of Home Affairs

The other department playing an important role in facilitating international travel into South Africa is the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). The DHA is the custodian of South Africa's immigration policy, including issuance of visas for all international travel to South Africa. The DHA is increasing its footprint in terms of opening more Visa Facilitation Centres in China. In 2016, the DHA opened five additional centres, increasing them to nine and the then Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Malusi Gigaba, indicated that "these new visa application centres will help us to cater to the growing demand while making application processes easier for applicants" (Tourism Update 2016). The DHA raised eyebrows in the tourism industry with its new stringent immigration policy that came into effect on 26 May 2014. Providing an overview of the new immigration laws and regulations, highlighting what has changed and implications thereof, the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr Mkuseli Apleni, noted that, "this was meant to better manage immigration in a way that balances South Africa's openness to travellers as well as developmental and security imperatives" (Apleni 2015). In a nutshell, the new visa regulations amongst others demanded travellers to apply for visas in person at Missions and required unabridged birth certificates for children under 18 years (Apleni 2015). In its presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Tourism on its role in promoting tourism to South Africa, "the DHA conceded that it had a minimal role in promoting tourism directly, but its efforts indirectly promoted tourism...it followed an "Onion Ring" approach to immigration management, which extended the borders of South Africa to the country of departure of the visitor" (PMG 2012).

Considering reactions to the new immigration regulations, the DHA policy choice on immigration is regarded as a major impediment to tourism growth in South Africa. For example, according to an impact assessment report prepared by Grant Thornton on the new immigration regime, "the tourism sector, acting through the Tourism Business Council of

South Africa (TBCSA), has voiced extreme concern about these new regulations having and continuing to have a negative impact on South Africa's tourism industry and hence the economy as a whole" (TBCSA 2015: 3). The report confirmed the concern raised by the tourism industry that the new regulations were indeed having unintended consequences on the sector. It noted that "since the proposed implementation of these regulations widespread reports of a reduction in the number of tourists arriving in South Africa, an increase in cancellations, as well as a significant reduction in the number of forward bookings have been received from a wide-range of players and beneficiaries of the South African industry" (TBCSA 2015: 3). The concerns raised by the tourism industry prompted President Zuma to appoint the Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) on Immigration Regulations which was led by the Deputy President to investigate the unintended consequences of the new visa regulations (Cabinet Statement 23 October 2015). In a written reply to a parliamentary question on this matter, the Ministry of Tourism indicated that Cabinet was of the view that the IMC succeeded in finding the appropriate balance between our national security interest and economic growth imperatives as Accredited Travel Companies will be able to lodge visa applications on behalf of their clients in countries like China, meaning that tourists will no longer have to apply in person for visas (Ministry of Tourism 2015: 2).

5.4 Brand South Africa

The other government agency that plays an important role in promoting international tourism into South Africa is Brand South Africa as the official custodian of South Africa's nation brand (this speaks to pillar three on nation branding and positioning). Established in August 2002, a major role of Brand South Africa is to create a positive, unified image of South Africa, one that builds prides, promotes investment and tourism and helps job creation and new enterprises (Umalusi No Date). According to its mission, Brand South Africa is charged with among others "developing and articulating a South African Nation Brand identity that will advance South Africa's long-term positive reputation and global competitiveness and seeking the involvement and cooperation of various stakeholders in building awareness and the image of the Nation Brand domestically and internationally" (brandsouthafrica.com). Its role in promoting international awareness of the country and a positive nation brand globally plays a pivotal role in positioning the country as a preferred destination for international tourists. It has international presence through its three country offices in the USA, UK and China. According to Brand South Africa's 2014/15 Annual Report, "Brand South Africa's international

programmes...aim to increase familiarity and knowledge of South Africa as a viable, world-class and profitable business destination in targeted international trade, investment and tourism markets...key markets include China [amongst others]” (Brand South Africa 2015).

6. Integrative Diplomacy by Role Players

The practice of diplomacy and foreign policy broadly is a contested terrain in the 21st century, especially as new areas of co-operation such as tourism emerge in the diplomatic agenda. Hence, Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma acknowledged that “foreign policy cannot be conducted without the assistance and co-operation of other Government Departments” (Dlamini-Zuma 2002). The above indicates that, although DIRCO is the custodian of foreign policy design and implementation in South Africa, the realm of economic diplomacy is characterised by multifaceted actors, especially since “the Zuma administration’s focus on economic growth as a key component of South Africa’s foreign policy has brought with it new individuals, ministers and outside state players, who are all part of a contest for control over foreign policy” (Calland 2013: 105). Given the fragmented nature of actors in the conduct of South Africa’s economic diplomacy, a coordination mechanism became necessary. Minister Nkoana-Mashabane (2016) said “in this regard, DIRCO has been central to the coordination of South Africa’s economic diplomacy programme”.

As the lead department, according to the 2016/17 Annual Report, the DIRCO led the International Co-operation Trade and Security Cluster in creating “the Measures and Guidelines for Enhanced Coordination of South Africa’s International Engagements...approved by Cabinet in 2009, [which is meant to] establish more effective measures and mechanisms to coordinate the conduct of international relations and the implementation of South Africa’s foreign policy” (DIRCO 2016: 23). The measures were introduced to improve the co-ordination of South Africa’s foreign policy interactions, and to enhance the benefits which South Africa’s international engagement brings to all parties involved after the recognition that modern bilateral diplomatic relations now encompass a myriad of different fields linked to globalisation (DIRCO No Date: 9-13). These kinds of measures are becoming more “indispensable in managing increasingly complex international and domestic policy environments, as argued by Hocking (2013: 126). South Africa’s tourism promotion in China as an instrument of economic diplomacy is a collaborative effort by many stakeholders identified above. The multiple actors in tourism co-operation between South Africa and China embody the ethos of the adopted framework of analysis in this report, the

integrative diplomacy, given the collaboration and integration of different agendas in the conduct of economic diplomacy through tourism co-operation. This also conforms to the central tenets of modern diplomatic practice involving multiple actors and agenda issues-areas. The dynamics and practical nature of the activities of these role players when engaging with China on tourism promotion as an instrument of economic diplomacy will be outlined in detail in Chapter 4.

7. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the nature of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China, anchored in structured bilateral mechanisms such as the Joint Working Group responsible for dealing with challenges related to unbalanced trade between the two countries. The key drivers of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China, mainly the promotion of trade, FDI and tourism were discussed. The latter is increasingly becoming an important agency in shaping the relations between South Africa and China as indicated by the four pillars introduced above and the two agreements signed as a mechanism to promote two-way tourism between the two countries. Co-operation in tourism is given impetus by the NDT increasingly asserting its role in international affairs, together with its statutory body, SA Tourism, with its network of international offices which play a pivotal role in representing and promoting South Africa's economic interest abroad. From China's side, its outbound tourism policy, the ADS [granted to South Africa in 2002], is utilised as an instrument of economic diplomacy to pursue China's national interests but also laid a strong foundation for bilateral relations in tourism with South Africa.

The various South African institutions that play an important role in promoting tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy were highlighted, i.e. the NDT, SA Tourism, DIRCO, DHA and Brand South Africa. These stakeholders play a fundamental role in economic diplomacy practiced through international tourism co-operation. They all have presence in China, constituting an architectural machinery geared to position South Africa as a preferred destination for tourism in an integrated approach. This provides testimony that the South African government attaches great importance to tourism as a tool of job creation and foreign exchange earnings. The evidence provided indicates that international co-operation in tourism between the two countries is emerging as a vital instrument of economic diplomacy, leveraging on their good political relationship.

Chapter Four: Tourism co-operation advancing economic diplomacy

1. Introduction

The overarching focus of this chapter is to discuss in detail the four pillars identified above. It will firstly look at the implementation of the agreements and the practical activities of the key role players identified above in relation to their presence in China in advancing South Africa's economic diplomacy through tourism co-operation. This will answer the primary research question of the extent to which international co-operation in tourism advances economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. This will be done by looking at the practical nature of co-operation in tourism and provide stocktaking of bilateral agreements negotiated and entered into between South Africa and China. It also elucidates practical activities in the implementation of the agreements signed on 15 November 2002 and 28 October 2013 respectively, as instruments of economic diplomacy. The main focus is the period from 2009 to 2017, moving beyond the enigmatic political rhetoric to show how the four pillars identified above are carried out to enhance co-operation in tourism as a tool of advancing economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. The chapter also provides an analysis of China's strategic importance to South Africa's tourism sector and the benefits and significance of tourism co-operation between the two countries as a tool of economic diplomacy. This will show from South Africa's perspective to what end co-operation in tourism with China is pursued with such vigour. This will answer the subsidiary question of which material and non-material benefits accrue to South Africa from this co-operation.

2. Pillar One: Implementation of bilateral agreements

International co-operation in tourism is becoming one of the important agencies driving South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China. It is also an integral part of South Africa's international marketing strategy of increasing foreign arrivals in the country, hence building relations with countries like China is taken seriously by the government. The agreements on co-operation in the field of tourism advance economic diplomacy from South Africa's perspective as they address the call made in the White Paper on Foreign Policy, that "South Africa's development objectives require the negotiation of mutually beneficial sectoral co-operation agreements and investment treaties that support South Africa's development policy space" (DIRCO 2011: 27). Tourism in South Africa is elevated high on the government policy agenda as an important economic sector to pursue socio-economic development and inclusive

growth as enunciated in the NDP and NGP. To the extent that the signed agreements are implemented as tools to reduce travel barriers between South Africa and China and make it easy to facilitate increased two-way tourism for mutual economic benefits, they are in a way contributing in advancing economic diplomacy between the two countries. It is also argued that “governments use tourism as a diplomatic barometer of their closeness and affinity for each other” (Richter 1983: 324). Tourism can be a soft-power instrument to improve relations between nations and people. As argued by Stock (1977: 33), “the flows of tourism between two nations can be used as a sign of the level of salience between the two nations and their people”. This is indicative of the fact that two-way tourism has the capability of improving relations between countries as it may increase the level of interest, understanding, and willingness to co-operate between two governments. In this regard, practical steps have been undertaken since the agreements on co-operation in tourism entered into force to realise their objectives of contributing towards better economic and people-to-people relations between South Africa and China through increased two-way international travel.

The main tools used by the two countries, especially from South Africa’s side, in facilitating the implementation of the agreements have included bilateral visits by ministers and senior government officials responsible for tourism administration, as well as skills development and cultural exchange programmes (such as Mandarin and Chinese cultural training programmes). The two countries are also forging collaboration in tourism promotions such as the opening of the SA Tourism China Office; participation and attendance in travel fairs and exhibitions; gathering market intelligence and facilitating market access for South African tourism products; and facilitating business relations between the two countries. The tourism industry is leveraging the cordial political and diplomatic relations between the two countries to advance the goal of increasing the tourism economy. As indicated by Mr Bradley Brouwer (2016), President: Asia Pacific Region for SA Tourism, “positive bilateral relations generate massive positive coverage about South Africa and draws interest from Chinese customers”. The frequent high-level political visits between the two countries, often involving business delegations, generate a lot of media coverage and influence the level of interest among businesses and citizens to interact and travel between the countries for leisure, business and studying.

2.1 Bilateral visits in implementing agreements

Between 2009 and 2017, there were many exchange visits by the political leadership and top government officials as a diplomatic tool to promote tourism co-operation between the two countries. The year 2010 was particularly momentous in terms of ministerial visits to China. One of the important visits used, among others, to promote South Africa's tourism offerings in China, as reported in the 2010/11 Annual Report, was by former South African Minister of Tourism, Marthinus Van Schalkwyk, from 22 to 27 May 2010 (NDT 2011b:7). During the visit, the Minister also presided with his counterpart, the Chairman of CNTA, Mr Shao Qiwei, in the official opening ceremony of the South African Tourism China Office, joined by the former Chairman of the SA Tourism Board, Mr Jabu Mabuza, as well as former South African Ambassador to China, Ndumiso Ndima Ntshinga among the dignitaries (SA Tourism 2010c). This was a significant milestone in giving practical expression to the 2002 agreement that conferred an ADS to South Africa, allowing for the opening of South Africa's destination marketing office for better coordination, promotion and marketing of group travel from China to South Africa. During that visit the Minister emphasised the importance of opening a destination marketing office and indicated that the SA Tourism was determined to increase Chinese arrivals to South Africa and in this regard increased the marketing budget in China by 50 per cent (Van Schalkwyk 2010c). SA Tourism indicated that "the opening of the new office demonstrated its long-term commitment to the market while actively expanding South Africa's brand recognition and boosting Chinese arrivals to South Africa" (SA Tourism 2010c). The Minister visited China again from 24 to 27 July 2010 to promote South Africa in Hong Kong and from 22 to 27 August 2010 accompanying President Zuma on a state visit, enhancing tourism co-operation between the two countries (NDT 2011b: 8). The former Deputy Minister, Tokozile Xasa (appointed Minister of Tourism in 2017) also visited China from 29 August to 6 September 2010 to attend the World Expo in Shanghai and visited the SA Tourism offices in Beijing (NDT 2011b: 12).

The other high-profile visit by Mr Van Schalkwyk to China was in 2012. The Minister participated in the launch of the inaugural non-stop flight of South African Airways (SAA) to Beijing, China on 31 January 2012 (NDT 2012: 9). This was hailed by the South African tourism fraternity as a strategic move by SAA to massively boost trade and tourism between South Africa and China (Brand South Africa 2012). However, SAA cancelled the route in 2015 amidst reports of operational loss estimated at around R1 billion between 2012 and 2015

(Traveller24 2015a). Mr Van Schalkwyk undertook two more visits to China in 2013, firstly during the media road show from 22 to 24 January 2013 and secondly to attend the BNC from 28 to 29 October 2013. In January 2013 the Minister had a bilateral meeting with his Chinese counterpart, the CNTA Chairman, Mr Shao Qiwei (NDT 2013: 19). In a media statement released by the NDT, it indicated that the purpose of the January 2013 visit was “to celebrate the value and potential of China as a major overseas tourist market to South Africa – and to build on the excellent tourism relationship between the two countries” (NDT Media Statement 2013b). In a show of diplomatic force and charm offensive, Minister Van Schalkwyk was accompanied by the former Director General of the NDT, Ambassador Kingsley Makhubela, Ambassador Dr Bheki Langa, former South African Ambassador to China, and Mr Thulani Nzima, former Chief Executive Officer of SA Tourism (NDT Media Statement 2013b). In the media statement, Minister Van Schalkwyk indicated that since South Africa joined the BRICS formation in 2011, tourism arrivals from China had increased significantly (NDT Media Statement 2013b: 1).

The October 2013 visit holds a particular significance as it was a momentous occasion where the MoU on co-operation in the field of tourism was signed during the BNC meeting. In April 2016, the former Minister of Tourism, Derek Hanekom, embarked on a three-day media road show in China. The NDT reported that “during the visit to China, Minister Hanekom and SA Tourism officials discussed the latest market trends, listened to the emerging issues raised by the local tourism trade, and shared strategies to grow tourism to South Africa” (NDT Media Statement 2016). These Ministerial visits are not undertaken just for earning Voyager Miles but are employed as strategic tools for symbolising the value of the diplomatic relations and promoting economic diplomacy through tourism co-operation between South Africa and China. As argued by Grimm et al. (2014: 15), “state visits [are] the highest form of diplomatic contact marking the deepening of bilateral relations”. Equally, ministerial visits constitute the highest form of diplomatic engagement to strengthen bilateral political and economic relations. Recognising the fact that tourism is also shaped by the conduct of foreign policy, Van Schalkwyk stated that “South Africa is continuing to entrench its status as a major international tourist and business events destination... [Which] demonstrates the effectiveness of our economic diplomacy, underpinned by a sound foreign policy” (Van Schalkwyk 2013). The above high level political visits are an integral part of and contribute to the effectiveness of conducting economic diplomacy.

From China's side, the high-level visit by the CNTA to South Africa, according to Government Communications and Information System (GCIS), was by Mr Wang Xiaofeng, Vice Minister of CNTA during the launch and inaugural meeting of the South Africa–China High Level People-to-People Exchange Mechanism (PPEM) from 24 to 26 April 2017 (www.gcis.gov.za 2017). This occasion was effectively a public diplomacy exercise meant to deepen mutual understanding between the peoples of South Africa and China and to enhance people-to-people exchanges and co-operation in areas of, among others, culture; education; communications; health; science and technology; sports; tourism; women affairs and youth (www.gcis.gov.za 2017). The PPEM was launched as an additional bilateral mechanism between SA and China. During the visit, the Minister of Tourism, Ms Tokozile Xasa and Vice Minister Wang met on the sidelines of the PPEM “to strengthen the bilateral relations between South Africa and China in the area of tourism as China is one of the strategic and fastest growing source markets for South Africa” (Mnisi 6: 2017). Following the bilateral meeting, the two leaders shared the stage in addressing the Chinese promotional event themed ‘Discover Beautiful China’ held under the auspices of the PPEM (www.sanews.gov.za 2017). The purpose of the event was to promote China as a travel destination in South Africa. The event was attended largely by the South African travel trade, including tour operators, travel agencies, hotels and theme park representatives. CNTA reported that “in his address, Wang noted: despite the great distance in between, China and South Africa are bonded by increasing people-to-people exchange... the two countries enjoy complementary advantages and broad prospects for tourism cooperation” (www.cnta.com 2017). Demonstrating the mutual interest, Minister Xasa indicated that “in our bilateral meeting between ourselves and the Vice Minister we committed to support each other in promoting our respective destinations” (Xasa 2017).

Minister Xasa's support of the Chinese promotional event held in South Africa and the support offered by the Chinese tourism authorities to many South African promotional events held in China represent another crucial step in implementing the 2013 MoU for mutual economic benefits. Article Five of the MoU on Marketing and Promotion states that “the parties shall enhance exchange and cooperation in tourism promotion...each Party shall facilitate the other Party's promotion efforts in its country and exchange information of each Party's important tourism events for the benefit of the other Party's participation...” (MoU 2013). Talking about the support South Africa provided to the China event, Minister Xasa said that “the Department of Tourism recognises that international co-operation in the area of tourism is

emerging as an important foreign policy tool and an instrument of economic diplomacy in strengthening the broader bilateral relations between South Africa and China” (Xasa 2017).

2.2 Skills Development and Cultural Exchange Programmes

To better service Chinese tourists and enhance their experience whilst in South Africa, the NDT prioritised the training of tourism practitioners in Chinese language and culture in implementing the 2013 agreement, particularly Article 6 which encourages co-operation on skills development and training. The NDT collaborated with the Chinese Culture and International Education Exchange Centre (CCIEEC) and Yangzhou University to provide training in Mandarin and Chinese culture to twenty tourism practitioners (tour guides and frontline staff). Twenty trainees were selected for specialised training from establishments that have been attracting Chinese tourists (NDT 2016a). This is an indication that South Africa recognises the importance of teaching Mandarin and Chinese culture to South African tourism practitioners to communicate effectively with Chinese tourists as a vehicle to improve the country’s competitiveness as a destination of choice in China. Speaking at the ceremony to award certificates to the trainees, the former Minister, Derek Hanekom, said, “the training given to the tourism practitioners will make them give the Chinese visitors an unforgettable experience which will make them want to come back to South Africa” (Zhaoxi 2016). Speaking at the same ceremony, the Chinese Deputy Ambassador to South Africa, Li Song, contextualised the training provided to tourism practitioners within the framework of tourism co-operation between South Africa and China and implored the attendees to become cultural ambassadors for people-to-people exchange between China and South Africa (Zhaoxi 2016).

One of the important outcomes of the inaugural meeting of the PPEM indicated above, as reported by the Deputy Minister in the Presidency, Buti Manamela, was the agreement to consider collaboration in various skills development programmes in the field of tourism including, training a further group of 15 tourist guide and frontline staff in Mandarin to equip them to better service the market; explore scholarship for South African professional chefs to advance their qualifications through a specialisation course on Chinese traditional cuisine for 20 to 30 chefs per year; an exchange programme of 20 graduate chefs with the Yangzhou School of Cookery and Hotels; scholarship offered by Yangzhou University on a Tourism Diploma and Degrees including postgraduate courses for two to five students per year for a period of three years; training of up to 20 unemployed graduates on various skills within the

hospitality sector to address unemployment; and training or up-skilling of a group of five new entrants on adventure guiding (Manamela 2017).

3. Pillar Two: Representing SA tourism interests in China

In Chapter 3 it was indicated that SA Tourism opened 13 offices globally to represent South Africa's tourism interests; one of those offices is based in Beijing, China. It was also highlighted that to build the country's brand position, Brand South Africa, which is effectively the country's public relations agency, is also represented in China. These are government agencies fulfilling a pivotal economic diplomacy function in China as non-state actors. This is significant for South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China. As argued by Rana (No Date: 8), "a positive country image facilitates trade exchanges... [And] inflow of foreign tourists, which is a key source of employment and for foreign exchange earnings." Although SA Tourism and Brand South Africa offices abroad are not diplomatic missions, and their personnel are not accredited as diplomats as well as not recognised as such in terms of the diplomatic law as codified in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, they to a large extent conduct certain diplomatic functions of communication, negotiation and representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China. This form of diplomacy is acknowledged as Track II Diplomacy, also called "citizen diplomacy and private diplomacy" (Leguey-Feilleux 2009: 331). SA Tourism and Brand South Africa personnel employed in international offices are not recognised as traditional foreign service and as such do not enjoy diplomatic cover in the form of immunities and privileges afforded to traditional diplomats, but they conduct a specialised diplomatic work in their host countries such as China. This supports the views espoused by integrative diplomacy that "international relations are no longer the exclusive preserve of foreign ministries...a large variety of governments are involved in foreign relations, even to the point of sending their own personnel on diplomatic missions – a matter that complicates the task of coordinating a nation's foreign relations" (Leguey-Feilleux 2009: 2).

Since its inception in 2010, the SA Tourism Office in Beijing has been a useful infrastructure to position South Africa favourably to the Chinese outbound travel market as a destination of choice and as a way of implementing the 2002 MoU. Mr Brouwer, head of the China office, said his role "include[s] strategic analysis, marketing planning and setting up the operations to promote South Africa while building the South African brand, to further develop relations with the travel trade, media and other stakeholders in these markets" (The Event

2015). In carrying out its functions the office embarks on “a series of familiarisation tours, joint media promotions, trade events and broad consumer engagement” (SA Tourism 2011: 88). Having a presence in the market provides the biggest marketing opportunity to reach out to potential tourists in their backyards. In this regard, outlining the SA Tourism China Office Marketing Strategy in 2016, Mr Brouwer indicated that the focus of the office will among others be to “hold annual Media Road Shows across China to express our appreciation for the media’s consistent support and to provide the media with the latest news and promotional strategy of SA Tourism and cooperate with key Chinese media to promote South Africa as an attractive long-haul destination in the Chinese market” (Brouwer 2016).

Being present in the market has the added advantage of fostering deep and more nuanced knowledge of those international markets through the gathering of market intelligence and insight into the culture, travel behaviour and needs of the travel market. Hence among its functions the China office produces market insights to inform the marketing strategy and promotional campaigns in China and also to offer advice to the South African trade on how best to make inroads in accessing and capitalising on Chinese market opportunities. The SA Tourism China Office partners with the trade in China by signing Joint Marketing Agreements (JMAs). According to SA Tourism’s 2015-2020 Strategic Plan, “JMAs are signed between SA Tourism and trade partners and focus on positioning South Africa as a value-for-money destination where tourists can stay for longer, and at competitively priced rates” (SA Tourism 2015: 27). For example, Van Schalkwyk indicated that “in 2012 we concluded joint marketing agreements with seven trade and marketing partners in China to build education and understanding of our destination in China, to package and promote a larger variety of products and experiences and to make South Africa as affordable and accessible as possible for Chinese travellers” (NDT 2013b). According to Brouwer (2016), additional five JMA partners were signed across China in 2016. In this regard, SA Tourism China Office uses JMAs to partner with key trade as a vehicle to drive promotional campaigns in China in order to improve South Africa’s tourism brand awareness across the Chinese travel market. In addition, the office uses partnerships with the media, as indicated by Mr Brouwer in the 2010/11 Annual Report: “Media partnerships are the most important arm in our marketing efforts to ensure that journalists are fully informed about South Africa” (SA Tourism 2011: 90).

4. Pillar Three: Country Branding and Positioning

Brand South Africa plays an equally important role in representing and communicating South Africa's tourism interests in China. The agency charged with the fundamental function of engendering a positive nation brand domestically and internationally, established its presence in 2013 in China. According to its 2013/14 Annual Report, "Brand South Africa's Board appointed a Country Manager for Asia in September 2013, to strengthen South Africa's competitiveness and appeal to investors and businesses throughout the Chinese market (Brand South Africa 2014: 53). This move was significant for South Africa's economic diplomacy towards China, especially for tourism, as "the Brand South Africa team, together with its country managers in the UK, USA and Asia, ensures that South Africa is promoted internationally in key markets, as a business, tourist and investment destination" (Brand South Africa 2014: 50). The first Country Manager to be appointed to head the Brand South Africa office in China was Tebogo Lefifi, who in an interview with China Daily Africa in February 2014 identified South African Tourism and the South African Embassy as key stakeholders in her new mandate to position the brand South Africa in China. This is indicative of how Brand South Africa attaches importance to promoting South Africa as a preferred tourism destination in China. In this regard, according to the Brand South Africa 2013/14 Annual Report, "through extensive stakeholder engagement and the implementation of key initiatives, Brand South Africa was able to generate awareness of South Africa's offerings, improve perceptions and promote the country's competitiveness" (Brand South Africa 2014: 50).

Brand South Africa also plays a critical role in ensuring that government departments and various agencies that promote South Africa communicate a common message and engender a strong and unified image of the country globally. According to Brand South Africa, it conducted an International Investor Perception Study in 16 countries including China which provided valuable insight on key issues that impact positively on South Africa's reputation, in order to inform its proactive and coordinated marketing communication and reputation management strategies for South Africa (Brand South Africa Research Update 2017). Its presence in China is to manage the integrity of the brand South Africa and cultivate a conducive environment for country image in collaboration with other key role players. For example, "to ensure brand and message alignment by stakeholders and to positively influence South Africa's perceptions, Brand South Africa's China office... formalised a working relationship with SAA, South African Tourism and the Embassy of South Africa in Beijing" (Brand South Africa 2015:

55). Also, in managing the brand reputation and perception of the country, both Brand South Africa and SA Tourism partners with DIRCO to leverage its infrastructure and network of South African Foreign Missions (such as Embassies, Consulate General and Liaison Offices) strategically located around Greater China. In 2014, Brand South Africa reported that it supported South African Tourism in hosting the 2014 Trade Workshops in Hong Kong, Chengdu, Shenyang and Beijing, by communicating on different ways of travelling in South Africa (Brand South Africa 2015: 55-56). The importance of Brand SA's presence in China can never be overemphasised in terms of cultivating a positive country image. Announcing a new Country Manager to take care of its operations in China, Chief Executive Officer of Brand South Africa, Dr Kingsley Makhubela, said the aim was to position South Africa as a competitive destination in China (Polity 2016).

One of the important annual events that contribute to galvanising collaboration by various South African stakeholders is the South African Week in Beijing, hosted by the Embassy of South Africa in collaboration with Brand South Africa, South African Tourism, South African Airways and other South African companies in China (Liu 2016). The week-long event aims to showcase the South African brand in China, promote trade and investment, people-to-people relations and tourism (Liu 2016). Over and above hosting this important marketing event, the South African Embassy in Beijing contributes in marketing South Africa as a tourism destination through its official website. The Embassy website¹, under tourism information-page, contains information on South African tourism attractions such as National Parks and Wines and this is a potent digital platform to promote the country. The effort to create a harmonised arrangement of work by Team South Africa, which includes key players such as the diplomatic missions, SA Tourism and Brand South Africa constitutes South Africa's integrative economic diplomacy machinery in China that market South Africa as a destination of choice for trade, investment and tourism. Strengthening partnership between these role players in China is integral to South Africa's economic diplomacy strategic thrust to leverage the burgeoning diplomatic ties with China to accrue greater economic and commercial benefits, through amongst others increasing South Africa's market share of China's growing outbound travel market.

¹ <http://www.dirco.gov.za/beijing/>

5. Pillar Four: Relations between Tour Operators

The other important layer of international tourism co-operation is the business-to-business relations between South Africa and China. According to the ADS agreement signed in 2002, both parties should designate a number of tour operators to be authorised to operate outbound travel business and organise the outbound travel of Chinese citizens to South Africa (MoU 2002). The tourism sector exemplifies the symbiotic relationship between state and non-state actors as “the *1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* confirmed South Africa’s approach to tourism as one which is “government led, business driven and community based and grounded in cooperation and close partnerships between all stakeholders” (Government Gazette 2017: 1). Hamilton and Langhorne (2011: 243) argue that “displays, presentations at trade fairs, nation-branding through direct marketing techniques all demand public/private partnerships”, hence the symbiotic partnership between the state and non-state actors in tourism promotion as a form of economic diplomacy. Former Minister Derek Hanekom acknowledged that “the successful delivery of the tourism sector’s aspirations is largely dependent on collaborative efforts of both public and private sector strategic partners” (SA Tourism 2015: 2). Minister Xasa emphasised this point when addressing the Chinese promotional event in South Africa when she stated that “the importance of the relationship between government and business in the tourism industry can never be overemphasised...for tourism to thrive, governments need to forge a stronger collaboration with the industry” (Xasa 2017). In the 2013 MoU, the parties agreed to exchange information on tourism business development and encourage domestic businesses to participate in major tourism events in the other country (MoU 2013). For example, the SA Tourism office in China “continues to play a critical facilitation role for travel business exchanges between South African inbound tour operators and product suppliers in China mainland and Hong Kong markets...through trade workshops [which] serve as a valuable networking opportunity” between tour operators in South Africa and China in establishing business relationships (SA Tourism 2017). For example, one of the workshops was hosted from 10 June to 9 July 2016 where “420 agents attended the workshops, providing extensive market information...while boosting confidence in SA among the outbound operators and travel agents” (Duminy 2016).

This indicates that South African tour operators as non-state actors cherish the opportunity to meet with their counterparts in China for strengthening business relations and this is a testimony that the relations between South Africa and China are not just driven by elite interests

but by substantive and real business interests as well. Commercial networking is one of the main reasons why many South African tour operators attend the trade workshops. Through these trade workshops, SA Tourism provides enormous exposure and opportunities for participants to meet with key role players in the Chinese market in order to establish new contacts and generate more business synergy and collaboration. This is a realisation that strong international tourism co-operation should be underpinned by collaborative efforts between government and business to support South Africa's international economic and commercial interests while advancing the imperative goal of domestic economic development. All these collaborative efforts between government and business provide a good foundation for integrative diplomacy to leverage South Africa's multi-actor presence in China for local benefits, be it in increased trade, the flow of investment or the increase in tourism, which is the ultimate goal of the South African government. These integrative efforts are meant to promote South Africa, increase awareness of South African tourism attractions and elevate the competitiveness of the country in China as a leisure and business tourism destination. Above all, it shows that economic diplomacy as postulated by integrative diplomacy is a mode of diplomatic practice that brings multiple actors into the realm of international economic exchanges and negotiations, which was previously the monopoly of state actors, primarily the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6. China's strategic importance to South Africa's tourism sector

China is the most populous nation in the world, with 1.4 billion inhabitants, according to the 2017 United Nations (UN) World Population Prospects Revision Report, and the second largest economy in the world with a massive outbound tourism market (UN 2017). China is leading "new emerging powers... [that are] growing in influence", making it more appealing to the tourism industry in South Africa, which is increasingly becoming a catalyst for economic development (Bayne and Woolcock 2011: 1). China is emerging as the catalyst for the burgeoning global tourism economy in the 21st century, "driven by a booming economy and increasing disposable incomes, mainland Chinese are looking more and more to travel abroad" (Voellm 2011: 2). For example, in 2015, China registered over 120 million person times of outbound tourists, and 122 million in 2016 (Chen 2017: 2-3). According to the UNWTO report "China is one of the fastest growing source markets in recent years and has been the world's top spender in international tourism since 2012" (UNWTO 2013). In 2016 its international tourism expenditure grew by US\$11 billion to US\$261 billion, an increase of 12% as reported

in the UNWTO World Tourism Barometer released in April 2017 (UNWTO 2017b). The graph below indicates the top five countries in terms of international tourism expenditure in 2016, which indicates that China assumed the apex position.

Figure 1: Top five countries: International Tourism Expenditure in 2016

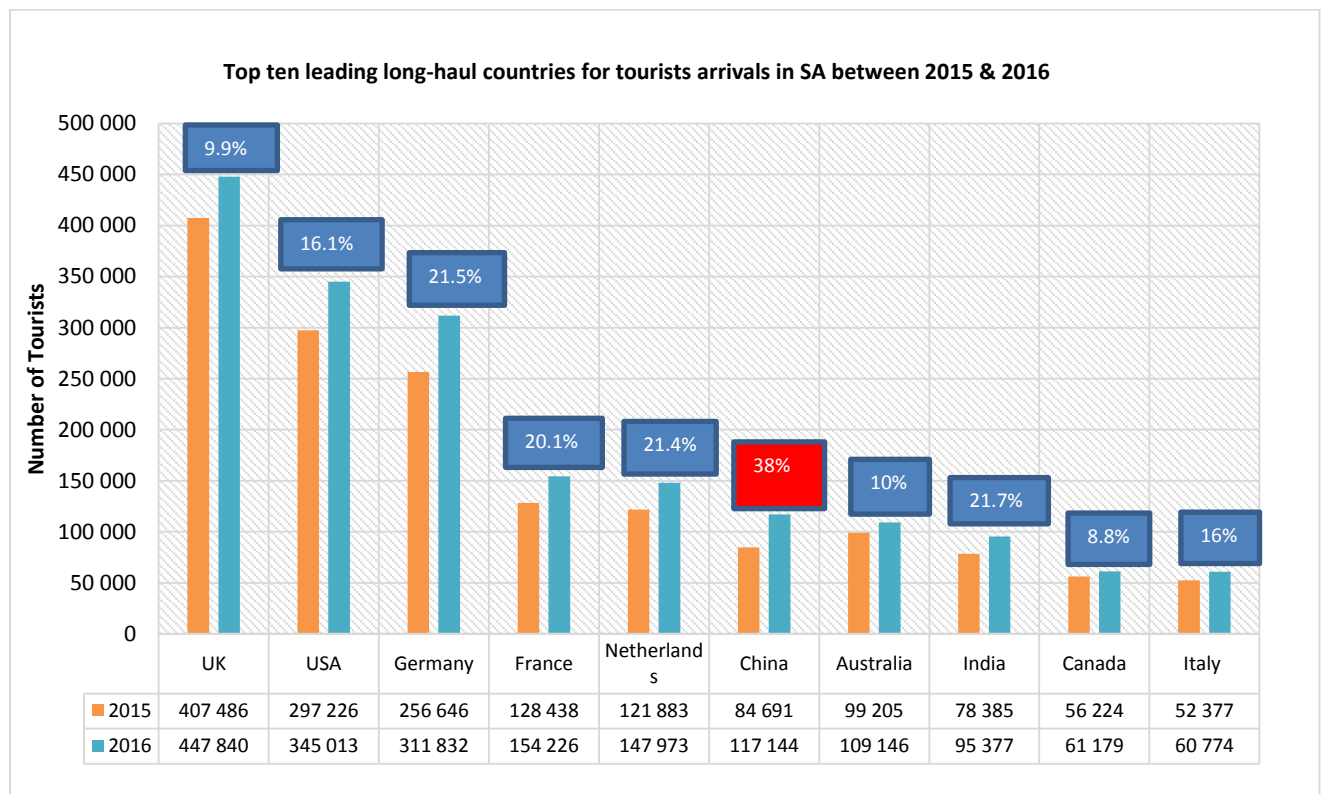
Country	1. China	2. USA	3. Germany	4. UK	5. France
Expenditure	US\$261 Billion	US\$122 Billion	US\$81 Billion	US\$64 Billion	US\$84 Billion

Source: UNWTO 2016 Annual Report

According to the UNWTO Study on Chinese Outbound Travel to Africa, “the fast development of [the] Chinese outbound tourism market is changing the pattern of the Asia-Pacific outbound tourism market and that of the world” (UNWTO 2010: 7). The above study indicates that South Africa is among the top destinations for the Chinese travellers to the continent as they regard the country as “the most representative of African countries; beautiful and modern; perfect tourist reception facilities and services” (UNWTO 2010: 37). This is essential for achieving South Africa’s economic and socio-economic development objectives, “given the positive contribution that tourism can make to job creation... encouraging Chinese consumers to visit South Africa is a major priority” (Shelton 2012: 20). China is now among the top ten long-haul generating source markets for South Africa. This is remarkable as South Africa only acceded to China’s ADS programme that allows Chinese groups to travel to the country in 2002. It is also significant as China, an emerging market, ranks high among the traditional and matured travel markets as indicated by the graph below.

According to the below graph (figure 2), in terms of the real year-on-year tourist arrival growth in percentage in South Africa between 2015 and 2016, China grew faster than the rest of the top ten long-haul/overseas source markets at 38%. This is a significant growth albeit from a low base. The graph indicates that despite the growth, compared to the arrivals from the top three traditional markets, namely the United Kingdom (UK), United State of America (USA), and Germany, China largely remains an untapped market for South Africa given its mammoth outbound tourism market.

Figure 2: Top ten leading long-haul source markets in SA between 2015 & 2016



Source: SA Tourism 2015/16 Annual Report

According to Duminy (2016), “China accounts for around 4% of overseas visitors to SA”. This indicates that South Africa is still punching below its potential in terms of growing the Chinese arrivals to its shores. However, despite the modest contribution in tourist arrivals from China, the growth trajectory is positive news for South Africa’s economy and job creation, considering that according to the WTTC quoted in the NDT Strategic Plan 2015/16-2019/2020 reviewed in 2016, “for every additional 30 tourists that arrive at a destination, one job is created” (NDT 2016b: 9). In this regard, Chinese tourists visiting South Africa can be countered as positively contributing to the economic growth when they spend in the local economy (more details on this below). The WTTC also reported that “the sector now supports 292 million people in employment – that’s 1 in 10 jobs on the planet” (WTTC 2017: 1). What also lends impetus to the Chinese growth is that China graduated into the core market category in terms of SA Tourism’s fifth leisure portfolio of market segmentation, which became effective from 1 April 2014 to 30 March 2017, as indicated in the table below depicting SA Tourism’s fifth portfolio of markets and China’s position in the portfolio.

Figure 3: SA Tourism’s 5th Leisure Market Portfolio (2014-2017)

Region	Africa	Americas	Asia/Australasia	Europe
Core Markets Attractive and Easier <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Markets that deliver the “bread & butter” 60% of organisation’s effort deployed against these markets Best capabilities allocated to these markets 	Angola	Brazil	Australia	France
	Domestic	USA	CHINA	Germany
	Kenya		India	Netherlands
	Mozambique			UK
	Nigeria			
Tanzania				

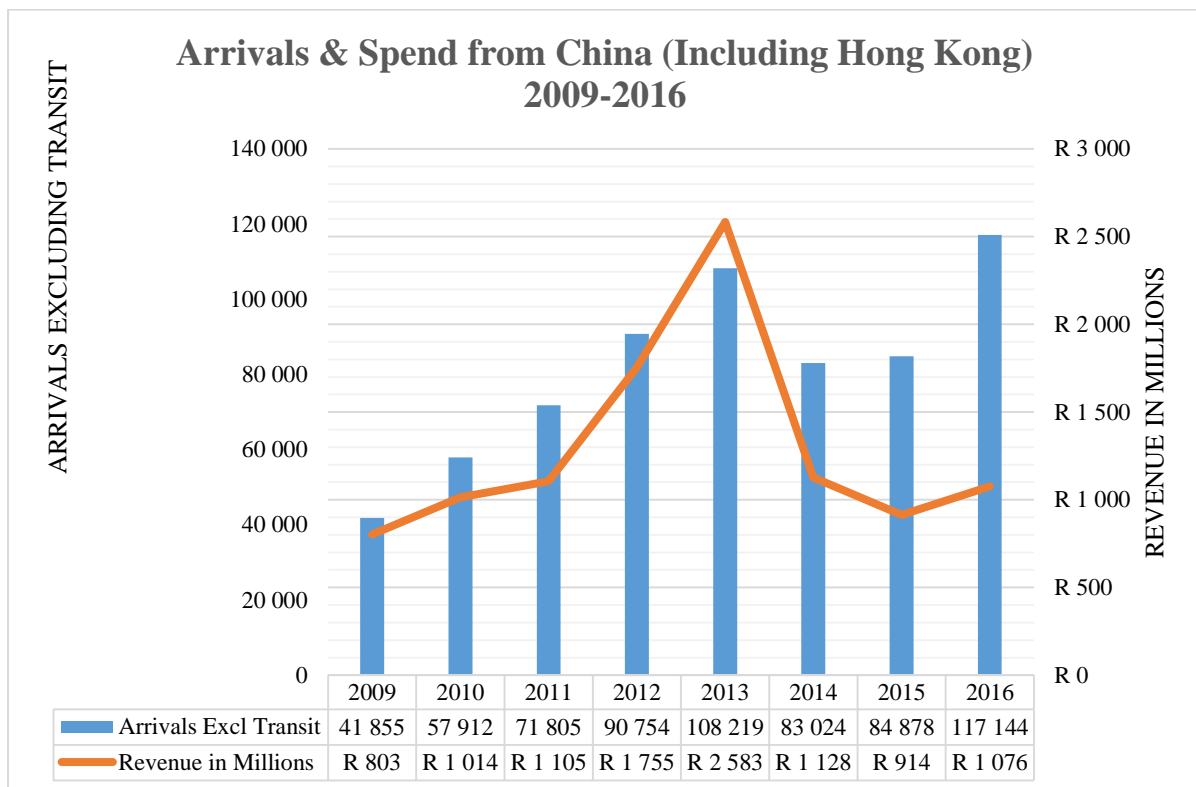
Source: SA Tourism

According to the leisure market portfolio graph above, the core markets receive 60% of SA Tourism’s efforts in terms of human capital, marketing and promotional activities. This focus is justified as markets in this segment such as China present the greatest opportunity by delivering the best volume and value to the South African tourism economy. This allows for increased promotional activities in China as part of South Africa’s economic diplomacy strategy. SA Tourism’s leisure portfolio of markets is a methodological process of identifying priority markets and informs decisions in terms of where it should have a presence or spends most of its marketing budget and is reviewed after every three-year cycle. The portfolio of markets identifies among others core markets where it spends most of its international marketing budget, as well as investment, tactical, watch-list and strategic markets (SA Tourism 2015: 26). China is classified as a core market, meaning it receives a substantial budget in terms of marketing and promotional campaigns based on SA Tourism’s marketing strategy that put a sharp focus on prioritised markets to optimise marketing investments.

7. Benefits of international co-operation in tourism

The large investments that South Africa is making in China in terms of promoting tourism are showing positive returns as depicted in the graph below, tracking the arrivals and spending during the period under review (2009 to 2016) from China shows.

Figure 4: Chinese tourist arrivals and spending pattern in SA from 2009-16



The above graph indicates that China is emerging as a strategic source generating market, with huge material economic benefits for the tourism industry. During the period under review (2009 to 2016), the number of arrivals showed a steady increase from around 42,000 in 2009 to 132,000 in 2012, showing positive returns on marketing investments planted in China. However, the numbers declined to about 108,000 and to a low of 83,000 in 2013 and 2014 respectively. The biggest decline in 2014 is attributed by former Minister Hanekom and the tourism industry alike to the outbreak of the Ebola pandemic in West Africa and the introduction of the new visa regulations in South Africa (Traveller24 2015b). The years 2015 and 2016 reversed the downward trajectory by registering improved arrival numbers to 84,000 and 117,000 respectively. The Chinese are also among the big spenders, contributing greatly to the South African economy. During the period under review, the total foreign direct spend (excluding capital expenditure) from China increased from R803 million in 2009 to just above R1 billion in 2016. This is a significant contribution to the South African economy, considering that “for every US\$1 million spent in the travel and tourism economy, 51 jobs are supported, of which 22 are direct jobs” (NDT 2015b:10).

China became the sixth top source market for inbound arrivals to South Africa in 2016, following improvements in the increase in visa facilitation centres. The other positive

development is that “South Africa has implemented an Accredited Travel Company programme in China (through the Chinese Approved Destination Status program) to process visa applications on behalf of travellers – this means that Chinese travellers to South Africa no longer need to make in-person applications at visa processing centres” (NDT 2016c). These are some of the recommendations made by the Inter-Ministerial Committee appointed to strike a balance between security concerns and economic development through tourism. This move, together with increased marketing efforts by Team South Africa in China, will go a long way towards further increasing Chinese arrivals in South Africa.

Former Chief Executive Officer of SA Tourism, Thandiwe January-McLean, acknowledged back in her 2010/11 Annual Report that “efforts to increase our presence in...the emerging powerhouses of India and China, are paying off” (SA Tourism 2011: 32). She was talking about the impressive increase in inbound arrivals from China that added substantial economic benefits to the country. The material benefits outlined above indicate that international tourism co-operation is becoming central in advancing South Africa’s economic development imperatives under President Zuma’s administration since 2009 when the NDT was established. It is also an important constituent and functional area of economic diplomacy as recognised in DIRCO’s policy framework outlined above.

Apart from the apparent material benefits that South Africa accrues from co-operation in the field of tourism with China, South Africa receives a lot of diplomatic mileage and geo-strategic advantages from its association with a global powerhouse like China across many sectors, including tourism. The flow of tourism between nations contributes to improving the bonds of relations and creating a special rapport between the countries concerned by shifting from statist-centric or elite interests to people-focused and -driven relations. Tourism is the best embodiment of human interconnectedness and peaceful co-operation between nations, as it can demonstrate the tangible aspect of foreign policy between countries from its abstract nature; hence the political leadership in South Africa and China are fond of describing the relations between the two countries as ‘exceptional, special and strategic’.

Through its inherent message of goodwill, hospitality, trust, service without servility, tolerance, interaction and communication, tourism is a most effective mechanism for fostering national and international cultural exchange and understanding among people (NDT 1996: 20). It was against this backdrop that the two countries declared 2014 as the Year of South Africa in China and 2015 the Year of China in South Africa as well as the subsequent launch of the

South Africa-China High Level People-to-People Exchange Mechanism in 2017. The latter mechanism was described during its launch by Minister Nkoana-Mashabane (2017) as a “testimony of unbreakable bonds of friendship that exists between our people” and Vice-Premier Liu Yandong leading the Chinese delegation to the launch is reported to have remarked that “we should pursue closer cultural interactions, policy co-ordination, and people-to-people exchanges in order to advance common progress” (Ebrahim 2017). All these mechanisms are indicative of maturing diplomatic relations between South Africa and China, giving practical expression to the comprehensive strategic partnership accord entered into in 2010 and subsequent sectoral MoUs concluded, such as the 2013 MoU on co-operation in the field of tourism.

8. Conclusion

The evidence shows that South Africa’s focus in promoting international arrivals from China is part of its economic diplomacy strategic thrust to enhance market access to the huge outbound Chinese market and thereby diversify economic and trade structure with China. Although trade in tourism cannot reverse the legacy of many years of structural trade imbalances between the two countries, South Africa has a comparative advantage, given China’s massive outbound tourism market and spending power, and should position itself better to leverage these aspects as part of its economic diplomacy arsenal towards China. The increase in tourism arrivals from China to South Africa, albeit from a low base as compared to other top markets, proves that South Africa’s effort in improving tourism co-operation with China is paying off as the two countries move beyond exchanging diplomatic parlance to exchanging tourists through the dogma of people-to-people exchanges, which is perceived as the best embodiment of bilateral ties in modern diplomatic relations. By investing heavily in the growing Chinese travel market driven by an expanding middle class with a growing propensity to engage in international leisure travel, South Africa through its massive presence imbued by diplomatic missions across China, SA Tourism’s China Office, Brand South Africa’s Country Office in China, and nine Visa Facilitation Centres, is aiming to improve and entrench its competitiveness as a destination of choice in China. The efforts are paying off as witnessed by the increase in the number of arrivals from China and this is contributing in advancing South Africa’s economic diplomacy strategic thrust towards China as a force to be reckoned with in the global economy. From South Africa’s perspective, co-operation in tourism with China is emerging as a strategic tool to pursue the national interest and building economic statecraft.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Findings and Recommendations

1. Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter is to analyse the key findings of the mini-dissertation by summarising and pooling together the different aspects presented in the preceding chapters. The chapter will also outline the challenges and prospects of tourism co-operation between the two countries moving forward based on the four pillars identified above. Lastly, the chapter culminates in providing policy recommendations on the effective use of international tourism co-operation to strengthen South Africa's economic diplomacy, as this mini-dissertation is approached mainly from South Africa's perspective. The empirical evidence advanced buttresses the view that South Africa has clearly identified China as a special target for its economic diplomacy practiced through co-operation in tourism.

2. Summary of the key findings

The report indicates that the South African government prioritises tourism as an important sector of its economy and as an engine to drive economic growth through the creation of decent jobs. The report concludes that the agreements on tourism co-operation signed with China on 15 November 2002 and 28 October 2013 respectively boost international tourism and economic growth as tools of South Africa's economic diplomacy. In addition, South Africa's diplomatic relations with China experienced unprecedented growth under President Jacob Zuma's administrations from 2009, growing in scope and depth and extending significance to other sectoral areas such as tourism co-operation. This, however, should not be isolated from "the emergence of China as a major economic and diplomatic force in Africa", especially since the dawn of the new millennium (Alden 2008). Expansion of the bilateral agenda to areas such as tourism is a growing trend in the practice of modern diplomacy characterised by multiple issue areas as advocated by integrative diplomacy as a framework of analysis used in this mini-dissertation. However, this study identifies the shortcoming that tourism as an instrument of economic diplomacy remains largely ignored in the academic literature as well as being an under-researched theme in diplomacy studies.

The key finding is that the bilateral co-operation in promoting tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy is emerging as a major constituent of the burgeoning diplomatic relations between South Africa and China. The two countries attach great importance to co-operation in the area of tourism, as can be discerned in many policy statements made by the highest political leaders

and as articulated in important agreements such as the Comprehensive Strategic Partnership. The bilateral agreements in the field of tourism outlined above advance economic diplomacy between South Africa and China as they cement economic co-operation and people-to-people exchanges between the two countries. When assessed from South Africa's vantage point, it becomes clear that it enjoys a comparative advantage as these agreements give South Africa the formal institutional means to maximise the mammoth Chinese outbound tourism market for its economic benefit. As argued by Vellas (2000: 881), "the promotion of bilateral co-operation agreements concerning tourism has as a goal increasing the flow of tourists between signatory countries". Negotiation of international economic agreements is a key function of economic diplomacy and thus these agreements serve as mechanisms to strengthen economic diplomacy between South Africa and China. This is in line with South Africa's tourism policy, which according to Cornelissen (2005: 42) "places great emphasis on increasing South Africa's share of the world market, while at the same time it aims to develop a sector that contributes to the country's economic development and enables economic and social empowerment and upliftment".

The specific finding on the 2002 MoU is that this laid a fundamental foundation in the growth of bilateral cooperation between South Africa and China in the field of tourism. The significance of the agreement was the granting of ADS to South Africa that allowed the latter to open a marketing and promotional office in the form of the SA Tourism China Office in 2010. The office is playing a central role in negotiating, representing and communicating South Africa's tourism interests in China as an instrument of economic diplomacy. The objectives of the 2013 MoU of increasing two-way tourism between the two countries is conforming to what economic diplomacy seeks to advance, which according to Muller (2010: 1) is "to serve economic interests through diplomatic means". The agreement contributes to economic diplomacy between the two countries. In its preamble it is noted that the parties are "guided by the desire to strengthen the existing friendly relations...to expand and advance bilateral tourism cooperation between the two countries...to develop and facilitate tourism, based on the principle of mutual benefit and full respect for the sovereignty of each Party on a lasting and long-term basis" (MoU 2013).

The agreements also adhere to the White Paper on Foreign Policy, which states that "South Africa's development objectives require the negotiation of mutually beneficial sectoral co-operation agreements and investment treaties that support South Africa's development policy

space” (DIRCO 2011: 27). Scholars such as Vellas (2000) argue that countries entering into bilateral treaties in the field of tourism do so with the purpose of promoting international tourism for economic development. According to the 2013 agreement between South Africa and China, co-operation in tourism includes areas that are pertinent to economic development such as tourism investment, marketing and promotion, and skills development. Concerted efforts have been undertaken by South Africa and China in the tourism sector to seize the opportunity and leverage the close political relations that have developed between the two countries since 2009. Efforts have been made between 2009 and 2017 to implement commitments made in tourism regimes for mutual economic benefits as seen with the skills development programme on Mandarin and Chinese Cultural Training that benefitted 20 South African tourism practitioners as discussed above.

The mechanism that the parties used during the period under review to strengthen co-operation in tourism includes various structured bilateral mechanisms such the BNC and PPEM and including high-level political visits. Dynamic reciprocal visits at the highest political level witnessed between South Africa and China during the period under review are essential to strengthen the bilateral relations and advance economic diplomacy between the two countries. Empirical evidence advanced in the mini-dissertation shows that there are material and non-material benefits that accrue to South Africa in its co-operation with China in the field of tourism. The benefits provide further justification for South Africa’s diplomatic switch from recognition of Taiwan to China. Due to this comparative advantage, co-operation in tourism between the two countries mainly serves to advance the objectives of South Africa’s economic diplomacy. South Africa is leveraging the large Chinese population of about 1.4 billion inhabitants and international tourism expenditure of about US\$ 261 billion in 2016 and is capitalising on the cordial and highest level of diplomatic relations between the two countries bolstered by the 2010 comprehensive strategic partnership.

3. Challenges in tourism co-operation

Although co-operation in tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China has been strengthened in recent years as indicated in this report, it is however confronted by challenges that may inhibit its agency to advance economic diplomacy between the two countries if not addressed. The challenges highlighted herewith are based on the four pillars identified as the cornerstone of co-operation in tourism as a tool of economic diplomacy between South Africa and China, i.e. 1. Negotiation, signing and implementation of tourism

co-operation agreements; 2. Representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China; 3. Country branding and positioning to increase inbound tourism arrivals; and 4. Building business relations through tour operators to promote tourism. The policy objectives for co-operation in tourism for South Africa are to protect and promote the country's core interest of increasing market access in China's outbound tourism market for its economic growth. Tourism promotion in China is an instrument of South Africa's economic diplomacy to address the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment and the following factors remain strategic shortcomings to the full realisation of this policy objective.

a) *Negotiation, signing and implementation of tourism co-operation agreements*

The close and cordial political relations between South Africa and China have allowed for the smooth negotiation of sectoral bilateral agreements such as the 2013 MoU in the field of tourism, given that “the task of generating international agreement on anything is extremely difficult” as noted by Susskind (1994: 6). The fundamental problem lies in the implementation of these instruments of co-operation, as they are not self-executing. Although some practical steps have been taken to implement the 2013 agreement as discussed above, this has been based on an ad hoc approach rather than a systematic one, as there is no agreed programme of action to implement the agreement between South Africa and China. The fact that since 2013 this agreement is not fully implemented is an indictment not only of the ITM Branch but the whole NDT from South Africa's side. While the ITM Branch is the custodian of international relations in tourism, the domain of international relations as a line-functional area does not happen in a vacuum but within the tourism value chain system and is meant to reinforce other line function branches and the tourism sector broadly through bilateral relations with strategic countries.

b) *Representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China*

The management of economic diplomacy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has become more complex; the number of agreements, and the number and type of actors participating in them, have increased dramatically (Pigman 2010: 159). However, the international rules governing diplomatic relations, the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, does not afford diplomatic immunities and privileges to unconventional actors such as SA Tourism and Brand South Africa officials posted abroad, even if their work is diplomatic in many respects as alluded to above. This means the international regulatory framework undergirding diplomatic relations is out-dated and incongruous with 21st century contemporary diplomatic practice.

On the other hand, the multiplicity of actors in modern diplomacy creates its own challenges, such as the difficulty in coordinating foreign policy design and implementation. For example, while the collaborative efforts by South African stakeholders with presence in China are paramount to manage South Africa's external economic work, they appear to be more ad hoc rather than formalised into some coordinating structure. This approach is masking the existing institutional disharmony and cannot be sustainable in using South Africa's massive footprint in China to deliver the full value of promoting trade, investment and tourism as key drivers of South Africa's economic diplomacy strategic thrusts.

c) *Country branding and positioning to increase inbound tourism arrivals*

The improvement challenge in country branding and positioning is to build a unified and coherent South Africa Inc. team that work towards a common goal of enhancing the reputation of the country for greater market access in China's outbound tourism market. There is no evidence of a structured and systemic coordination of planning and strategies by various South African role players in China in building a competitive country brand, except for a few ad hoc collaborative initiatives where Brand South Africa, SA Tourism and the diplomatic missions and other organisations worked together. The solo operation leads to duplication of efforts and suboptimal usage of limited resources.

d) *Building business relations through tour operators to promote tourism*

The 21st century diplomatic environment poses a challenge to governments as they no longer have the monopoly over the practice of diplomacy. As Riordan (2005: 190) puts it, "international relations increasingly operate not at a single inter-state level but through complex, multi-level and interdependent networks". The South African government has made a strategic realisation that successful economic diplomacy requires a close partnership between government, business and labour, as outlined in the 2011 White Paper on Foreign Policy. The challenge in this area of international tourism is to empower and support enough tourism enterprises to access long-haul markets such as China to maximise national gain.

4. Recommendations

The central argument in this report is that international co-operation in tourism is emerging as an instrument of economic diplomacy conducted by multiple stakeholders. This theme therefore deserves academic attention as an area of intensive study to understand the nuances and the nexus between international co-operation in tourism and economic diplomacy. The

study indicates that tourism is more than just a social phenomenon – it is a strategic economic sector of global importance. However, this study has merely touched the surface and a further research agenda on the theme is recommended to enrich the discipline of diplomatic practice. On the other hand, based on the theme of the study, this concluding chapter is set out to recommend measures to improve the use of international co-operation in tourism as an effective instrument of South Africa’s economic diplomacy based on the four strategic pillars identified above, i.e.:

a) Negotiation, signing and implementation of tourism co-operation agreements

Fundamentally, this mini-dissertation recognises that South Africa’s economic diplomacy promote targeted sector collaborations with high-priority countries such as China. As articulated in the 2011 White Paper on South Africa’s Foreign Policy, *Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu*, South Africa’s development objectives require the negotiation of mutually beneficial sectoral co-operation agreements and investment treaties that support South Africa’s development policy space. This clarion call has received attention from the NDT, which has undertaken to promote sectoral co-operation in the field of tourism with key countries such as China, as evidenced with the two signed agreements discussed above. It is clear from the texts of the agreements that both countries recognise the value or importance of co-operation in the field of tourism for economic growth. The agreements have the potential to promote the countries’ economic diplomacy by among others increasing two-way tourism, improving friendly relations between the two countries and exchange of knowledge and expertise in the field of tourism. The key recommendation is that the two countries should put more effort into leveraging the strong historical, political, economic and social relations between the countries to pursue pragmatic co-operation in tourism to advance economic diplomacy objectives through the adoption of a robust programme of action to implement the negotiated and signed bilateral agreements in tourism as strategic tools of economic statecraft.

In this regard, South Africa and China need to establish a Joint Working Group/Committee under the BNC to develop concrete implementation plans, particularly for the 2013 agreement, in order to expedite the implementation process. The principle of *sunt servanda* (“agreements should be honoured”) is the uncontested norm of international diplomatic practice. This will assist in realising the full potential of international co-operation in tourism, which is to increase two-way international tourism between the two countries. In this regard, there is a need for a more strategic use of the structured bilateral mechanisms between South Africa and China such

as the BNC and PPEM to include more sustained dialogue on tourism matters. The BNC should be used strategically as a mechanism to monitor the implementation of the agreement as the primary structured bilateral mechanism driving government-to-government relations between the two countries. Furthermore, there is a need for broader ownership and appreciation of the international relations work in the NDT going forward to realise the strategic value that international relations can add. The political spadework of strengthening diplomatic ties is accomplished; it is now incumbent upon the bureaucratic administration and technocrats in both countries to come on board with a concrete implementation plan.

b) Representation of South Africa's tourism interests in China

As Rozental and Buenrostro (2013:231) argues, in modern diplomatic practice, “Promoting one’s country in every sphere [including tourism] is now a key task in bilateral diplomacy”. As such, South Africa should institutionalise the working relationship between the key role players identified in this report to maximise their promotional efforts in China. Formalised working relationships and collaboration will ensure that all the stakeholders act in unison and synergy to gain maximum benefits from their efforts and positively contribute to the development and growth of tourism in South Africa. Harmonisation of efforts will allow the optimal use of resources to take advantage of opportunities to penetrate new and emerging markets such as China. Therefore, there is a strong need to develop a common national strategy for the international marketing and promotion of South Africa as a destination of choice globally, more so in China where there is a plethora of South African actors. An integrated diplomacy between government (foreign missions), government agencies and the private sector is necessary if South Africa is to position itself better in a highly competitive international tourism industry.

The integrated efforts by the various stakeholders in promoting international tourism to South Africa will archive domestic development imperatives and give practical expression to the NDP as the overarching national blueprint for economic growth. The NDP calls for linkages of foreign policy and domestic priorities in the conduct of South Africa’s economic diplomacy. Linked to this imperative of combining the two policy competencies is the new focus of embracing the promotion of tourism as an emerging phenomenon in South Africa’s economic diplomacy orientation, as South Africa realised that increasing international tourist arrival is vital to achieve development imperatives of poverty eradication, job creation and inclusive economic growth as envisaged in the NDP, NGP and IPAP.

A collaborative culture is an absolute necessity in a multi-faceted sector like tourism that heavily relies on a wide range of role players to offer best tourism experiences and services to consumers. For future co-ordination, the DIRCO should use its comparative advantage of global presence to assume the leadership role in terms of coordinating the activities of all South African role players abroad to achieve greater strategic alignment of policy settings and planning. DIRCO is constitutionally mandated to assume leadership roles in all international relations matters and in terms of the Measures and Guidelines for Enhanced Coordination of South Africa's International Engagements, approved by Cabinet in 2009. Furthermore, DIRCO should improve its institutional capabilities with regard to economic diplomacy, equipping diplomats to handle technical issues of the highly competitive global economy so that the core economic interests of the country are effectively represented. The reality as argued by Barston (1997:165) is that economics has become "a central feature of modern diplomacy, rather than a discreet or distinct area of activity as under traditional diplomacy".

c) Country branding and positioning to increase inbound tourism arrivals

Brand South Africa as the custodian of the country's brand should leverage the policy mandates and strength of other government departments and agencies with presence in China to build a reputable brand and country positioning. While this work is ongoing as acknowledged in this report, it can only improve if all parties institutionalise their collaboration and work towards a common goal of engendering a positive country image.

d) Building business relations through tour operators to promote tourism

Modern economic diplomacy requires strong synergy and complementary relationships between government and the business community. In this regard, the South African government should endeavour to establish cooperative or functional relationships with non-states actors in pursuit of common objectives. For example, high-level political visits in the field of tourism should be accompanied by tourism business delegations to establish business linkages and relations as a tool of economic diplomacy. The South African and Chinese governments need to continue to make concerted efforts to shift from statist-centric to business and people-to-people driven relations as the cornerstone of their economic diplomacy practiced through tourism co-operation among other modes of diplomacy. The South African government in particular should continue to build the capability of businesses to engage in track II diplomacy and with their counterparts and customers alike in China through training programmes such as the Mandarin and Chinese Cultural Training Programme outlined above.

This report indicates clearly that the participation of non-state actors in diplomacy is a recent phenomenon, however they have fundamentally altered the form and substance of international diplomatic practice. While recognising the principle that “only states are full subjects of international law” as argued by Hurd (2015: 54), non-state actors such as businesses should continue to fight for their relevance and recognition in diplomatic practice that is still highly institutionalised and regulated by international law. Shaw (1991:41) laments that international law maintains the “basic state-oriented character of world politics”. Hurd (2015: 42) argues further that “the essentially state-centric nature of diplomacy could conceivably change if non-state actors become more central to public international law”. In this regard, diplomatic law should be more progressive to accommodate the needs and interests of non-state actors in line with the realities of the 21st century modern diplomatic practice characterised by an international order that transcends the state system. This will provide the agency to non-state actors in the practice of modern diplomacy and compliment official state diplomacy.

The above recommendations should improve South Africa’s effective use of international tourism co-operation with various countries including China as an effective instrument of economic diplomacy. However, this study also acknowledges that “economic diplomacy – like any other form of politics – is still the art of the possible” as argued by Berle (1964: 109). Therefore, the maximization of national gains with respect to increasing tourism arrivals from China is possible if South Africa develops a comprehensive strategy around the four pillars identified above in its relations with China. Diplomacy makes it possible, it is the will of people that will ultimately make it happen.

Beyond the policy recommendation, and informed by the finding that tourism co-operation is an under-researched theme in diplomacy studies, the discourse on South Africa’s economic diplomacy practiced through international tourism co-operation can only benefit from more focused research on the subject matter. Such a recommended research agenda might identify more factors that could improve the practice of South Africa’s economic diplomacy broadly, to become a potent instrument in addressing the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality in a highly competitive global economy. The recommendations are consistent with the broad aims of South Africa’s economic diplomacy as articulated in major policy frameworks such as the White Paper on Foreign Policy, NDP and NGP, which are to ensure economic growth, job creation, poverty eradication and improve the country’s global competitiveness.

5. Conclusion

The mini-dissertation demonstrates that, despite the many challenges discussed above, tourism co-operation between South Africa and China is improving the bilateral relations broadly as an instrument of economic diplomacy. It is also increasing the flow of tourism mainly towards South Africa. Tourism is one of the fastest growing economic sectors in South Africa, boosted by growing arrivals from strong emerging markets such as China. The report provides empirical evidence of important activities undertaken to implement the bilateral agreements in the field of tourism to advance economic diplomacy between the two countries. The political will and strong commitment to implement the agreements can be discerned in political and policy statements. There are closer and healthy political relations and diplomatic ties between South Africa and China with a shared international development agenda. This shared international development agenda at the political level needs to be matched by bureaucratic activism and be transformed into tangible targets and pragmatic action plans with concrete timelines to fully implement the bilateral agreements. To date, the approach has been unsystematic, not informed by a well-considered implementation plan agreed to by the two parties to the agreements. The full implementation of bilateral co-operation agreements is a key recommendation in this mini-dissertation for South Africa to take full advantage of its international regimes in tourism to advance government's development policy objectives of poverty eradication, creating employment and reducing inequality.

The various role players such as the NDT, DIRCO, DHA, SA Tourism and Brand South Africa are making concerted efforts to pursue the common goal of marketing and positioning the country as the top tourism destination of choice globally. In the final analysis, it is argued that the NDT and its key stakeholders are registering some success by capitalising on and leveraging close political relations between South Africa and China to position tourism as an economic diplomacy tool to support economic growth and development in South Africa. This case study indicates that the phenomenon of economic diplomacy practiced through co-operation in tourism between South Africa and China is emerging as a fundamental policy area diversifying economic relations for mutual economic benefits, and serves geo-political and economic strategic purposes giving practical expression to the comprehensive strategic partnership between the two countries. The nexus between tourism co-operation and economic diplomacy elucidated in this study presents a new research agenda that can enrich international relations and diplomacy scholarship through the prism of modern diplomatic practice.

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