

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: A MODEL FOR PUBLIC
POLICY ANALYSIS**

by

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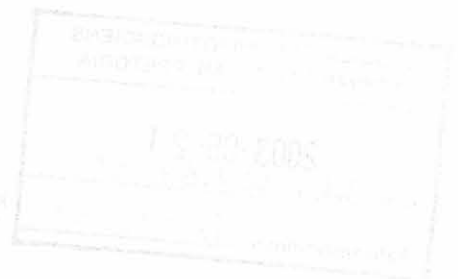
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Co-promotor: Prof. Dr. C. Thornhill

PRETORIA

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SUMMARY

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DOCTOR ADMINISTRATIONIS (PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION)

SUMMARY

The primary objective of this research was to develop and apply a scientifically reliable model, for the purpose of foreign policy analysis, that would elucidate and assist the development of South Africa's bilateral relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC), and which might also be applied universally to include other inter-state foreign relations. An important mutually supportive and interdependent secondary objective was to identify the most favourable available foreign policy choice that South Africa, in pursuance of its perceived best interests, could adopt in order to effectively promote its bilateral relationship with the People's Republic of China.

In seeking to attain these objectives it was argued that foreign policy, as a form of public policy, could be effectively subjected to public policy analysis and that through such analysis, it would be possible to identify the most advantageous or *best* foreign policy formula that South Africa could apply in its diplomatic relationship with the PRC. It was also hypothesised that the employment of a research model, in the form of a proposed linkage model of foreign policy analysis, would facilitate an effective and comprehensive policy analysis of the bilateral relationship between South Africa and the PRC and that such a model could provide a framework for the future analysis of foreign policy, not only South African foreign policy.

In developing the proposed linkage model of foreign policy analysis the foreign policy inter-action of states was explored at the *geographical* domestic, regional and international environmental levels as well as at the *communicational* bilateral and multilateral environmental levels. Decision making leadership *relationships* and foreign policy *imperatives* were also identified as relevant components of the specially developed model. The influence upon foreign policy decision making of the respective *world views* of South Africa and the PRC, whereby each state is perceived to exhibit a particular perception of the international system and its

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individual role therein, was also explored. In this regard, examination of particularly the decision making structures of South Africa and the PRC, and the various historical, political, economic or other *imperatives* that may drive the respective foreign policies of these states, resulted in the necessary development of *world view* matrices in respect of South Africa and the PRC.

The research found that whereas South Africa and the PRC exhibit many similarities there are also fundamental differences that may sometimes be clouded in the euphoria of perceived friendships and confusion between party political and national interests. It also identified organisational and leadership weaknesses, particularly in the case of South Africa, that make it problematic for South Africa to engage the PRC in a manner that is likely, in the absence of a changed foreign *policy* strategy, to favour South Africa's perceived best interests.

The study found that South Africa needs to be constantly aware that the PRC, although generally regarded as a developing country, is really in a category of its own and needs to be engaged with caution and with due cognisance that the interests of South Africa and the PRC do not naturally, and will not invariably, coincide; and that South Africa should be more assertive in its endeavours to add substance to the relationship while constantly ensuring that it does not find itself *kow-towing* to the needs and interests of the PRC. The research also found that South Africa's leaders, in sometimes confusing party political interests with national interests, may have effectively weakened their ability to engage the PRC, particularly in regard to moral issues pertaining to human rights.

Although this research has undoubtedly raised many unanswered questions it has also laid the groundwork for a viable scientific method of public policy analysis. It has also effectively identified aspects of foreign policy analysis that invite further study, research and analysis. More specifically, it has identified several alternative foreign policy approaches that could be applied to South Africa's relationship with

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the PRC and, from such alternatives, has identified what is believed to be the most advantageous approach for the advancement of South Africa's perceived best interests. This research thereby contributes specifically to knowledge about South Africa's relationship with the PRC and, in the more general sense, to the field of public policy analysis, including foreign policy analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was fortunate to have the opportunity to live and work in the People's Republic of China (PRC) from February 1997 to February 2001 as a member of South Africa's Diplomatic Service. It was a time of ongoing transition in South Africa and great changes in China, as first Hong Kong and subsequently, Macao, became re-absorbed under the sovereignty of the PRC. Four years are certainly not enough to be able to understand China, its people or its languages. Therefore, in order to conduct my research, during extremely busy and difficult years in Beijing, I relied heavily on the services, the kindness, the patience, the expertise and the assistance of others, both in the PRC and in South Africa.

Without the encouragement of my promotor, Prof. Nico Roux, I might never have embarked on this four-year journey of exploration and research. I certainly owe him a great debt of gratitude for his infinite patience and scholarly advice, both in person during my periodic journeys back to South Africa and per email communication from Beijing. In addition, the experience of my co-promotor, Prof. Chris Thornhill, has not only added polish to the finished text but also saved me from the futility of trying to produce a research dissertation as up-to-date as last week's news; a virtually impossible undertaking where the foreign policy dynamics of states undergoing transformation and transition are concerned, as in the case of the PRC and South Africa.

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The Department of Foreign Affairs graciously made a Public Service Bursary available to me for the purposes of carrying out my research and I would like to thank the Department for its valued role in this regard. I would also like to emphasise that the views and arguments expressed in this research are mine alone. Although I am a serving official of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, my views do not necessarily represent the views of the South African Government or, by implication, the official views of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Arguments advanced in this research are intended for the greater good of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Republic of South Africa; in this regard, differences of opinion that are motivated by seeking after the truth can therefore only be beneficial.

Finally I would like to thank my dear wife Patricia for her encouragement and continual support, and for reminding me from time to time that what is worth doing is usually also worth completing.

ANC	African National Congress (S.A.)
APCC	Asia Pacific Business Conference
ARMSCOR	Armaments Corporation (S.A.)
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AUD	Australian Dollar
AZAPO	African Zoological Association (S.A.)
ENG	English Language
COCCO	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
COF	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
COE	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
COEAT	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
CITC	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
CYC	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
CW	Central Office of the Commission of Enquiry
DO-G	Department of Government
D-G	Department of Government
DPA	Department of Public Administration
DAC	Department of Agriculture
DO	Department of the Environment
GCI	Government Communications
GEA	Government Employees Association
GND	Government National Defence
GSD	Government Social Development
IKS	International Labour Conference
ISPC	International Security Council

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired-immune-deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress (SA)
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Conference
ARMSCOR	Armaments Corporation (SA)
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation (SA)
BNC	Binational Commission (sometimes quoted as Bi-National Commission)
CCCPC	Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
CJO	Chief of Joint Operations (SA)
CMC	Central Military Commission (PRC)
COS	Commission of Supervision (PRC)
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions (SA)
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPC	Communist Party of China
CW	Commonwealth
DD-G	Deputy Director-General
D-G	Director-General
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs (SA)
DMC	Departmental Management Committee (SA)
DOD	Department of Defence (SA)
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System (SA)
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GNU	Government of National Unity (SA)
GSD	General Staff Department (PRC)
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council (SA)

IFP	<i>Inkatha</i> Freedom Party (SA)
ILD	International Liaison Department (PRC)
IWAAS	Institute of West Asian and African Studies (PRC)
LSG	Leading Small Group (PRC)
MAP	Millenium Africa Recovery Programme (SA)
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SA)
MOD	Ministry of Defence (PRC)
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (PRC)
MOFTEC	Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (PRC)
NAI	New African Initiative
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCACC	National Conventional Arms Control Committee (SA)
NDR	National Democratic Revolution (SA)
NGO	Non-government Organisation
NPC	National People's Congress (PRC)
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PMC	Programme Management Committee (SA)
PLA	People's Liberation Army (PRC)
PLAN	PLA Navy (PRC)
PRC	People's Republic of China
SA	South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SAISS	South African Institute of Strategic Studies
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SC	State Council (PRC)

UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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