CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1.   Introduction

This thesis is an analysis of South Africa's existing foreign policy relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC). It is an attempt to assess and identify the *best* (*vide* paragraph 1.6 *infra*; MacRae and Wilde. 1985: 6) foreign policy formula that South Africa's foreign policy decision makers need to implement in order to establish and maintain a diplomatic relationship with the People's Republic of China that will be maximally advantageous for South Africa now and in future years. In this sense it is also an attempt to scientifically develop foreign policy perspectives and options that may be useful to the makers of South Africa's foreign policy. Consequently, a particular methodology will be followed to scientifically analyse South Africa's China policy by means of a policy analysis.

In order to better understand what drives the foreign policies of South Africa and the PRC and, more specifically, what events and ideas shaped those policies during the final decade of the second millennium, it is necessary to identify and examine a variety of factors. Such factors may be classified in three broad categories that collectively, it is argued, identify and describe the respective *world view* perspectives of these two states. Firstly, they include the *internal* or domestic environments of the two countries, their *bilateral*, *regional* and *multilateral* environments, and their respective roles and expectations within the greater *international* environment; secondly, they include the relationships, specifically decision maker or *leadership relationships*, within and between environments, which have helped to shape the foreign policies of the two states; and thirdly, they include specific *imperatives* that have determined, and may continue to determine, the nature of the relationships and environments identified. Much of the research procedure relevant to this study pays necessary regard to the historical, social and cultural *milieux* in which the basic tenets of foreign policy, in the case of each of these countries, were shaped and nurtured.

This information is necessary because it helps to explain issues and imperatives, the nature of particularly the domestic and regional environments, and the kind of leadership that came to the fore in a particular era or under particular circumstances.

1.2. Introductory overview

At the conclusion of a workshop on foreign policy, which took place in Randburg from 9 to 11 September, 1996, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo ({1}SA.1996: *Speech*) said that the ultimate responsibility for South Africa's foreign policy resided with the President; and that the primary task of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs was to identify and develop foreign policy perspectives and options that could be useful to the President. He had also stated, in September, 1995, that "... it is imperative to make an ongoing analysis of important international matters to enable South Africa to take independent positions consistent with the country's commitments" ({2}SA. 1996: *Draft Discussion Document*. paragraph 7.2). He again referred to this foreign policy workshop, months later, when he said he wished to "... repeat an invitation to parliamentarians, the media, academics, business, trade union and religious leaders and other interested parties, to engage in a constructive interaction with the Department (of Foreign Affairs)" (SA. 1997: *DFA Budget Speech*). Such constructive interaction should also include policy analysis.

It has been argued (Hanekom. 1992: 71) that the policy analyst, when conducting policy analysis, should:

> *be provided with policy-relevant information, as far as possible*
> *without constraints;*

> *be conversant with the history and peculiarities of the policy*
> *he is analysing;*

> *bear in mind that good policy analysis is a rigorous dissection of*
> *information and entails the application of the scientific model of*

enquiry (what, where, when, by whom, how and why);

remember that a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, incorporating different skills and different backgrounds from different disciplines working together, is always more fruitful than attacking policy problems from a single perspective;

not be a passive, disinterested researcher; he must articulate his findings, which implicitly entails the articulation of his opinion, projecting him into the arena of prescriptive policy analysis.

Dunn (1981: 35) has defined policy analysis as "… an applied social science discipline which uses multiple methods of enquiry and argument to produce and transform policy-relevant information that may be utilised in political settings to resolve policy problems." For MacRae and Wilde (1985: 4), policy analysis is "… the use of reason and evidence to choose the best policy among a number of alternatives."

The concept of "best" as used in this thesis in regard to policy therefore refers to what is perceived to be the most advantageous (Neilson *et al.* 1953: 258) policy out of a range of alternatives. A more detailed definition of this concept is set out in paragraph 1.6 *infra.*

According to Quade (1975: 4), policy analysis is,

any type of analysis that generates and presents information in such a way as to improve the basis for policy-makers to exercise their judgement. … In policy analysis, the word analysis is used in its most general sense; it implies the use of intuition and judgement and encompasses not only the examination of policy by decomposition into its components but also the design and synthesis of new alternatives. The activities involved may range from research to illuminate or provide insight into an anticipated

issue or problem to evaluation of a completed program. Some policy analyses are informal, involving nothing more than hard and careful thinking whereas others require extensive data gathering and elaborate calculation employing sophisticated mathematical processes.

In regard to the PRC, such research often necessarily drew on the enduring impact of events which took place hundreds and thousands of years ago. In the case of South Africa, events of hundreds of years ago also contributed to the shaping of latter-day domestic and foreign policy (*vide* Mandela. 1997: 142 and 339). The period from the late 'forties, when both *apartheid* in South Africa (Mandela. 1997: 127) and communism in the PRC (Roberts. 2000: 219) took root, as official government policy, is particularly significant in terms of the development of the contemporary foreign policies of these states.

Since World War II, the Republic of South Africa and the People's Republic of China have both undergone far-reaching political and social change; during this period their foreign policies, in relation to the international system generally ({3} SA. 1996. *Profile* 1/96: 11; Kim. 1998: 24-27), toward key states within the international system, and toward each other, have changed substantially. In addition, each country is a core-state within its own geographical region (Cantori and Spiegel.1970: 21 and 370-372) and is committed to playing an influential role in multilateral politics within the international system. During this period the regional environments of both states have experienced cycles of military, political and economic stability and instability; the domestic environments of both states have also become economically and politically more amenable to the impact of *globalisation* and penetration (Lam. 1999: 307; Mills. 2000: 59-63) from the external international environment, particularly in the diplomatic, cultural, economic, academic, scientific, social and telecommunications fields.

China and South Africa effectively fought on the same side during the Second World War and on opposite sides during the Korean War (Moore and Bagshawe. 1991: xvii).

During World War Two, South Africa was mainly concerned with combating German and Italian forces (Brown. 1990: 48; Leigh. 1992: 2) in the European and North African theatres of the war. However, China was pre-occupied with the need to defeat Japan, as evidenced by the decision of the Chinese communists to join the ruling *Guomindang* in fighting against their common enemy (Roy. 1998: 12). South Africa's National Party achieved power and introduced *apartheid* in 1948. Subsequently, in 1949, when the Communist Party came to power in China (Ch'en. 1967: 312) and established the PRC, the South African government of the time was denouncing communism and "communistic activities" (De Klerk. 1991: 6). The two states were ideological opposites and exhibited a hostile relationship toward one another for more than forty years. However, for much of this period the international status of Taiwan and South Africa's association, and subsequent diplomatic relationship, with Taiwan (Mills. 2000: 232, 269 and 275) effectively determined relations between South Africa and the PRC. During the early stages of this era of mutual enmity the South African Air Force's Flying Cheetah squadron, fighting on the side of UN and American forces, engaged both PRC and North Korean forces in the Korean War (Moore and Bagshawe. 1991: 36-37 and 79-80; Helfrich. *Pretoria News*. 18 April, 2000: 11). Little more than a decade later, South Africa established diplomatic relations with Taiwan; and the People's Republic of China offered military assistance to South African exiled guerrilla groups such as the African National Congress and the South West African People's Organisation (Robinson and Shambaugh. 1997: 301). Members of another South African liberation organisation, the Pan Africanist Congress, also received PRC military training (Robinson and Shambaugh. 1997: 311-312). Subsequently, toward the end of the 'eighties, members of the Communist Party of China (CPC) began to visit South Africa officially for the first time (Delport. *Sunday Tribune*. 10 December 1989).

After the demise of *apartheid* South Africa achieved increased stature as a regional player, particularly in Africa. Simultaneously, the increasing economic and political influence of the PRC, even within highly developed countries such as the United States (Burstein and de Keijzer. 1999: 83-89), made the absence of diplomatic

relations mutually disadvantageous. Consequently, the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the PRC become both feasible and desirable.

The PRC's approach to its socialist ideals appears, at this stage, to be sustained by a fine blend of Marxist-Leninist ideology, home-grown Chinese Communist ideology, and Chinese historical and cultural tradition (Lam. 1999: 16 and 276-277). For example, the preamble of The Constitution of the People's Republic of China implemented on 4 December, 1982 ({1}PRC. 2000. *Constitution*: preamble) refers specifically to Dr Sun Yat-Sen, Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China and Marxism-Leninism. Certainly, undiluted ideology appears less prominent than it was during the days of Mao Zedong (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: x). While adherence to Marxism and "the socialist road" continues to shape the progress of the Chinese state, Deng Xiaoping explained on June 30 1984 (PRC. 1991. *Major Documents*: 2) that, by Marxism he meant "Marxism that is integrated with Chinese conditions" and that, by socialism he meant "... socialism that is tailored to Chinese conditions and with Chinese characteristics." In contrast, South Africa's grass-roots communists, still largely influenced by the imported Marxist-Leninist ideology (*vide* Phahlane in *Cape Argus*. 31 July 2000: 2) of the former Soviet Union, remain an important segment of the power-base of the ruling African National Congress ({2}ANC. 1997 Mandela *report*) in South Africa and cannot be discounted as far as the development of future South African domestic and foreign policy is concerned ({1}ANC. 1997. *Umrabulo*: 6).

The relationship between the CPC and the African National Congress-South African Communist Party (ANC-SACP) alliance is an important factor in the existing diplomatic relationship between the two states (Mills. 2000: 269; {2} 2001. *Interview*). It is no coincidence that the first South African ambassador to the PRC is a member, and served on the executive, of the South African Communist Party (Hayes. 1997: 180). Nonetheless, despite opportunities for South Africa and the PRC to strengthen bilateral ties, the desire to use their newly-established diplomatic relationship to achieve mutually beneficial goals, and the need to avoid future conflicts that can threaten or harm their relationship, there may also be inherent

obstacles which create conditions for disagreement and discord. Initially, differences occurred on issues such as human rights (Mills. 2000: 265) and the abolition of anti-personnel mines. Such issues are a reflection of the domestic environment in each state, prevailing attitudes toward such issues as expressed within the pertinent environments of the international system, and the impact of those attitudes upon relationships between relevant actors. The imbalance in trade in favour of the PRC ({2} 2001. *Interview*), illegal PRC aliens entering South Africa (Sono. *The Star*. 27 April 1999) and the abuse of intellectual property rights by PRC nationals ({2} 2001: *interview*), are also potential areas of discord.

There continues to be a degree of confusion and concern among the general South African population concerning the significance and importance of South Africa's existing and future relations with the People's Republic of China. In some quarters, doubt has been expressed about the desirability of the relationship (SAIIA and FGD. 1995 *Conference*: 190-191). In the South African business community and within government itself, at every level, there is also confusion. Sometimes, there is exasperation about South Africa's inconsistency. Consequently, after Deputy President Mbeki's 1998 visit to the PRC a South African journalist wrote (Hartley. *Sunday Times*. 19 April 1998: 16) that South Africa's

> ... *maverick human rights agenda (had) given way to a more*
> *mundane pragmatism ... Behind the decision to keep well*
> *away from the thorny matter of human rights in Chinese-ruled*
> *Tibet and the lack of political freedom in Beijing was a belief*
> *that South Africa needed the Chinese markets more than it*
> *needed to be a global human rights watchdog.*

More recently other commentators ({2} *Sunday Independent*. 18 March 2001: 7) have stated that trade, and not the human rights issue, is South Africa's foreign policy goal.

Among South Africa's foreign policy decision makers, decisions involving the PRC are also often delayed or postponed indefinitely (eg the establishment of a new

Consulate-General in Shanghai) ({2} 2001: *interview*). In addition, decisions that are taken, or not taken, such as South Africa's failure to raise human rights concerns with the PRC Government (Rademeyer. *The Star*. 27 April 2000: 3; *South China Morning Post*. 27 April 2000: 10; Mills. 2000: 265), do not seem to be part of any identifiable, coherent and focused China policy. There is also the concern that some of South Africa's foreign policy decision makers are allowing their decisions to be shaped by conflicting party political interests (Hadland. *The Sunday Independent*. 14 July 1996: 2; {2} 2001: *interview*). In this regard it is considered that the African National Congress, as had occurred previously with other states (Mills. 2000: 274-275), had sought funding from the PRC Government ({{4}2000. *Conversation*; {2} 2001. *interview*). There is also direct party-to-party communication between the Chinese Communist Party and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (IDSA. March 1998 *vol. XXI, no. 12*: 1833; {2} 2001: *interview*); and there is evidence that some South African Government leaders who are also members of the South African Communist Party, are allowing perceived Communist solidarity to override their judgement in matters pertaining to potentially divisive foreign policy considerations, such as human rights issues (Mills. 2000: 268;{1}SA.1998: *Nzo speech*). Members of the news media, academics, parliamentarians, public servants, including personnel of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the public are among those who are impatient to learn whether South Africa's approach to its relationship with the People's Republic of China is the *best* that South Africa can expect to pursue in its relations with that country, now and in the future; whether South Africa's foreign policy in regard to the PRC is being conducted in a manner that has the *best* interests of the nation in mind; if not, what alternative policy should South Africa adopt in regard to the PRC that would be in South Africa's best interests; and whether a generic foreign policy formula ought to be adopted to serve as a guideline for all South African foreign policy decision making that would also apply to relations with the PRC? This thesis attempts to find answers to these questions.

There has also been much criticism, in recent times, about South Africa's approach to foreign policy in general and about some perceived failings of respective Ministers of Foreign Affairs (Barrell. *Mail & Guardian*. 26 November 1999: 2-3), the Department

of Foreign Affairs and its officials. For example, it has been stated (Holiday in *Mail & Guardian*. 4 September 1998: 25) that,

> *...the Ministry of Foreign affairs has failed to generate ideas which might have served as the founding principles of a coherent foreign policy. Short of these ideas - concepts to help our diplomats grapple with a dispensation in which the most basic terms of reference governing their craft have either changed or lost their meaning - even the richest supply of intelligence (information) would be almost useless. Nobody would know what to do with it, how to make sense of it, how to employ it as a guide to action. ... instead of a foreign policy, we have a hopeless mix of so-called 'pragmatism', so-called 'realism' and general ad hocery that prevents us from taking our own initiatives.*

Therefore, although this research specifically examines South Africa's bilateral relations with the PRC it also attempts, in a broader sense, to provide a practical method whereby South Africa's general foreign policy options and decisions can be scientifically tested, considered and, if necessary, re-formulated in a manner that may effectively promote a coherent, consistent, dependable and predictable (O'Leary in{2}Rosenau. 1969: 334-335) South African foreign policy.

1.3. Frame of reference

The decision making *milieux* of contemporary foreign policy in both South Africa and the People's Republic of China will be examined with specific reference to the influence, on the decision making process, of political, technical, academic and socio-economic role-players in both countries. In addition an historical overview will be presented of the development of South African and Chinese foreign policy during the past decade with particular emphasis on the linkage between environments, leadership relationships and imperatives. World view perspectives of each state will

be identified, described and utilised as the crucibles that may ultimately help to determine and explain the foreign policies and foreign policy decision making conducted by the leaders of these states. The *environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model* has been developed which focuses on five *environments*, four categories of decision making leadership *relationships* and a wide variety of *imperatives*; historical, political, economic, social, strategic and moral imperatives, among others, which have determined, and may ultimately continue to determine, the course of foreign policy in regard to South Africa and the People's Republic of China.

Apart from references to historical factors which influenced the development of foreign policy, both prior to and under the influence of communism in China and the influence of *apartheid* in South Africa, for the purposes of projection and prediction, this research focuses mainly on the period from 1989 to the end of February, 2001. The year 1989 was the year of the fall of that symbol of the Cold War, the Berlin Wall, and the year of the pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing (Robinson and Shambaugh. 1997: 568); it was also a year when *apartheid* in South Africa was in irreversible decline (Mandela. 1997: 661-662; De Klerk. 1991: 29) and the People's Republic of China was already exploring ways to achieve a diplomatic relationship with South Africa (Delport. *Sunday Tribune*. 10 December 1989).

1.4.   Objective of study and problem statement

Quade (1989: 361) has pointed out that,

> *... the statement, early in the analysis, of the possible conclusions*
> *or recommendations is sometimes regarded as a pitfall. This*
> *is in itself a mistake. Once we realise that the analysis is an*
> *iterative process and that a single cycle of formulation, data*
> *collection, and model building is unlikely to give the final*
> *answer, we should realise that setting forth hypotheses and*
> *possible conclusions early in the study is essential to guiding*
> *the study that follows. ... A set of tentative conclusions or*

hypotheses helps to guide the analysis; it tells us what we are looking for while we are looking. In addition, it offers something concrete for others to probe.

1.4.1. Objective of study

The primary objective of this research is to develop and apply a scientifically reliable model for the purpose of foreign policy analysis that will elucidate and assist the development of South Africa's bilateral relationship with the PRC, and which may also be applied universally, to include other inter-state relations.

The secondary objective is to identify the "best" available foreign policy choice that South Africa can adopt in order to effectively promote its relations with the People's Republic of China, with a view to the advancement of South Africa's best interests. By implication, the successful attainment of this objective is dependent upon policy analysis, given the fact that policy analysis implies a choice among a range of alternatives (MacRae and Wilde. 1985: 4).

1.4.2. Problem statement

South Africa needs to develop a broad foreign policy strategy with regard to its future relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC); a policy that is consistent, predictable (Mills. 2000: 300) and dependable; a policy that reflects the values expressed in the South African Constitution ({4}SA. 1996. *Constitution*: chapter 2) and that is ultimately advantageous to South Africa. In this regard, South African foreign policy decision makers might need to identify a generic foreign policy formula that will not only facilitate consistency, predictability and dependability but also *flexibility* to choose from a range of alternative courses of action in order to promote South Africa's *best* interests. Obviously, the identification of such a formula would depend upon whether it is considered preferable to base foreign policy decisions on realistic concerns which subordinate moral considerations in favour of pure national interest; on the pre-eminence of ideological considerations; or on a

combination of both realistic and idealistic concerns, or strategic concerns, in the form of constructive engagement. It might also be feasible, and desirable, to consider whether South Africa can, or should, premise its foreign policy decisions on the concept of regional interest as opposed to pure national interest. There is also a question as to whether South Africa's foreign policy approach toward the PRC, or the Asian region, can or should differ from its approach to other regions or states of the international system; or whether South Africa ought to develop a single generic foreign policy formula to apply in its relations with all the individual states and diplomatic entities of the international system; or whether *ad hoc* foreign policies should be applied in the case of particular states in accordance with individual circumstances.

A choice between alternatives is not as obvious as it might seem at first glance because the relationship between South Africa and the PRC is in most respects unequal. The PRC, after all, is a nuclear power and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (Robinson and Shambaugh. 1997: 129-130 and 348); it also has potentially the world's largest economy (Lardy. 1994: 106-110; Zhao. 1996: 5). South Africa's foreign policy decision makers, therefore, must select a foreign policy strategy, in relation to the PRC, that will be capable of producing maximum advantages for South Africa, within a situation of relative weakness. At the same time, in the interest of national sovereignty, such a strategy should enable South Africa to grow stronger and more influential, both in relation to the PRC and more generally within the international system, and in a manner that does not create unnecessary diplomatic obstacles for South Africa. There is also the very relevant and important question of whether South Africa's diplomatic relationship with the PRC, or any individual state or region, ought to be formulated on principles that differ from those generally and regularly applied in regard to South Africa's foreign policy relationships with other diplomatic entities.

Is it possible, or even desirable, for South Africa to base its foreign policy on the concept of different principles for different states? Can and should South Africa premise one diplomatic relationship on ideological considerations and another

relationship on perceived national interests? Can and should South Africa apply a foreign policy formula to one region of the world that differs fundamentally from the foreign policy formula applied to any other region of the international system? Can and should South Africa's foreign policy *in regard to the PRC* determine the formula or pattern of South Africa's diplomatic relations *with any or all other states* or vice versa.

Given these many questions, and the proposed research framework, it is hypothesised:

> that the employment of a research model, in the form of the proposed environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis, will facilitate an effective and comprehensive policy analysis of the bilateral relationship between South Africa and the PRC that will provide a framework for the future analysis of foreign policy, not only South African foreign policy.

1.5. Research method and design

As previously stated (paragraph 1.3 *supra*), an environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis has been developed which focuses on five basic environments of the international system; several key leadership or decision making relationships that may shape and be shaped by those environments; and a range of perceived salient imperatives which may drive and be driven by such relationships, and which may often be shaped by the environments in which they attract most attention.

In this model, where an individual state's domestic environment could be represented by the symbol D, South Africa might be designated Country D1 and the PRC might be designated Country D2. Each state is affected by or relates closely to at least five environments which, for the purposes of the linkage model referred to, are classified as the domestic, regional, international, bilateral and multilateral environments. The first three are *geographical* environments; and the latter two are *institutional*

environments. A component of this model (*vide* Addendum three: paragraph 9.3 *infra*) will show that states D1 and D2 are only certain to share the same environment in the case of the bilateral and international environments although it is possible for them to also simultaneously share the multilateral and regional environments. However, of these four (two certainties and two possibilities) the bilateral environment is specially useful in the sense that it is conducive to a high level of direct action and intense communication; membership of the international environment is a largely passive categorisation which includes pariah states and maverick organisations with reduced access to any substantive foreign policy relationship. The domestic environment is particularly important as a reservoir of historical causes and effects translated over time into many complex and dynamic social and political relationships, deep-rooted traditions and national characteristics. The nature of government and society, in general, is such that leadership relationships within the domestic environments of individual states take precedence over all other environmental relationships; the domestic environment is the incubator of a nation's psyche and *world view*. In contrast to this situation, bilateral environmental relationships between states need not necessarily take precedence over the regional or multilateral relationships of those states. However, in the case of the bilateral environmental relationship between South Africa and the PRC this relationship should be the main focus of attention in any analysis of their foreign policy relationship.

In researching the salient general features of the respective foreign policies of South Africa and the PRC an empirical comparative approach has been followed, with information drawn largely from historical research, official documents and interviews with key foreign policy decision makers and implementers. The research method also utilises a normative approach, based on available empirical data, to identify and isolate the projected anticipated consequences of the selection of each of the available foreign policy choices with a view to selecting and proposing the best or most valuable course of action. The techniques employed in this research project therefore represent a combination of several methods which include the quantitative, comparative and analytical methods of scientific analysis.

1.6.   Definition of key concepts

In order to avoid any misunderstanding in regard to the terminology used in this research it is necessary to define key concepts. Definitions utilised in this research that are not directly attributable to other sources reflect the independent views of the researcher.

"Actor" refers to "one who acts" or a "doer" (Hanks. 1971: 48). In regard to this research it refers specifically to decision makers, role-players, institutional structures and active participants, including states, multilateral organisations and non-government organisations, within the international system.

"*Apartheid*" refers to the official policy of legislated race-based segregation and discrimination championed, implemented and practised by the South African National Party Government (Mandela. 1997: 140-141) during the period 1948 to 1994.

"*Apparatchik*" means, "…an employee of the *Apparat*, … best translated into English by the use of the modern Marxist term 'State Apparatus', that is, any institution involved in the running of the state, whether formally part of the state or not. In the communist countries where the word is used, it means in practice a member of the Communist Party who is in some intermediate position in the bureaucracy… The term is sometimes used pejoratively in the West of administrators and bureaucrats who bully those in their power and truckle to their superiors" (Robertson. 1985: 10).

"Basic Law" or "The Hong Kong Basic law" refers to the constitutional legal framework presently delimiting the administration of Hong Kong as a quasi-autonomous Special Administrative Region (SAR) within the sovereign jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and in terms of the concept of "one country, two systems." In terms of the Basic Law, which anticipates a limited duration of fifty years from 1 July 1997, the PRC determines Hong Kong's foreign policy and is responsible for the defence of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region ({3}PRC. 1998. *Yearbook 1997 1998*: 157-159).

"Best" as a descriptive concept, as in "best policy," "best alternative," "best interests" or "best solution" is defined *in Webster's New International Dictionary* (Neilson *et al.* 1953: 258) as "... superlative of good ... most productive of good; most beneficent; most advantageous, serviceable, etc.; as, what were best to do?" "Advantageous," which is the term utilised to define "best" is, in turn, defined (Neilson *et al.* 1953: 258) as "... being of advantage; conferring advantage; favourable; profitable; useful; beneficial; as an advantageous position; trade is advantageous to a nation*." Webster's Third International Dictionary* (Gove *et al.* 1961: 208) defines "best" as "excelling or surpassing all others of its kind as inherent quality or according to some standard; most productive of good; providing or offering the greatest advantage, utility or satisfaction ... (what is the best thing to do?)." In the context of this policy analysis it may be deduced that the objective of the researcher, as policy analyst, is to identify and recommend the best or most advantageous foreign policy, in South Africa's diplomatic relationship with the PRC, from a range of alternatives, with a view to obtaining the greatest possible benefit for South Africa.

"Bilateral environment" refers to the institutional communicational and transactional environment that links any two states at the government-to-government level and within which all official, but particularly diplomatic, relations, including transactions, exchanges, communications and actions, take place.

"Bilateral relations" refer to the diplomatic relations conducted between any two states at the government-to-government level, and encompassing all aspects of government, by means of transactions, exchanges, communications and actions that are in accordance with the respective foreign policies of the states concerned.

"Cathay" is the ancient name under which China was known to the Europeans in the time of Marco Polo. It is derived from "Khitai" which referred specifically to North China (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: 170).

"China," in the context of this research, and except where the term is quoted from related source references which may intend a different meaning, refers collectively to the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), Macau and the island of Taiwan (also recognised by some states as the Republic of China), and includes the separate administrations of these territories. China shares a boundary of over 20,000 km. with North Korea, Russia, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Tajikstan (Tajikistan), Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam and has a coastline of more than 18,000 km. With a surface area of 9.6 million sq. km., China is the world's third largest country after Russia and Canada ({3}PRC. *1998. Yearbook 1997/1998*: 26).

"Chinese mainland," sometimes also termed "mainland China," refers to the People's Republic of China (PRC) and excludes Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan.

"Confucius" was a "Chinese philosopher and teacher of principles of conduct. His highest standards of conduct were treating others as you wish to be treated, loyalty, intelligence, and the fullest development of the individual in the five chief relationships of life: ruler and subject, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, friend and friend" (Hanks. 1971: 351).

"Confucianism" is defined by Zhang (1999: 74) as,

> *a philosophy of social organisation, of common sense and*
> *practical knowledge. It stresses the need for proper behaviour*
> *of and for harmonious relationships among various social*
> *actors. It values order, hierarchy, and tradition and assigns the*
> *central role of maintaining social control and regulation to the*
> *extended family. It gives pre-eminent status to the family and*
> *promotes filial piety, ancestor worship and collective*
> *responsibility. Confucius conceived of individuals and the state*
> *as an organic whole. What the state secures is the individual's*
> *ability to fulfil his role in society. It is only when the whole is*

*healthy that it is possible for people to perform their functions
and dwell in an efficient and secure state.*

"Consistency" means constant adherence to the same principles (Hanks. 1971: 356) as, for example, in the case of a consistent foreign policy.

"Constructive engagement" represented what it's architect, US Assistant Secretary for Africa, Chester Crocker (1993: 75), described as "... an ambitious regional strategy linked to a purposeful and interventionist bilateral strategy toward the region's dominant state ..." Crocker had stated (1993: 79) in 1981: "Only if we engage constructively in Southern Africa as a whole can we play our proper role in the search for negotiated solutions, peaceful change, and expanding economic progress ..." "Constructive Engagement" represented a policy strategy intended to enable the United States to engage in 'quiet diplomacy' or the use of 'dialogue and persuasion' rather than pressure or sanctions (Crocker. 1993: 79) with a view to promoting 'negotiated solutions' to the problems of Southern Africa, more specifically South Africa (Crocker. 1993: 78). As employed in the context of this research, "constructive engagement" is not intended to refer only to American policy toward *apartheid* South Africa but, rather, as a policy option with a view to diplomatic engagement that may be applied to any and every state in a specific manner and with specific objectives in mind.

"Cybernetics", derived from the Greek word meaning steersman (Shafritz. 1988: 530) "... was used by (Norbert) Wiener to mean the multidisciplinary study of the structures and functions of control and information-processing systems in animals and machines. The basic concept behind cybernetics is self-regulation ... systems that can identify problems, do something about them, and then receive feedback to adjust themselves automatically (Shafritz. 1988: 530)."

"Deng Xiaoping Theory" refers to a body of principles articulated by Deng Xiaoping and which has been enshrined in the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) as the Party's "guiding ideology" in company with Marxism-Leninism and

Mao Zedong Thought. Deng Xiaoping Theory argues that China must build "socialism with Chinese characteristics" (CPC. 1997: 9 and 17). The basic principles of Deng Xiaoping Theory or building socialism with Chinese characteristics are as follows:

- The principle of seeking truth from facts, following China's "own path" and not being ideologically dogmatic ("emancipate our minds") (CPC. 1997: 9);
- the principle of understanding "what socialism is and how to build it" (CPC. 1997: 18);
- the principle of proceeding from "the realities of a primary stage of socialism" (CPC. 1997: 25);
- the principle of concentrating on "developing productive forces" (CPC. 1997: 31);
- the principle of "modernisation in three stages" (CPC. 1997: 38);
- the principle that "reform is China's second revolution" (CPC. 1997: 47);
- the principle that "China cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world" (CPC. 1997: 54);
- the principle that China "can develop a market economy under socialism" (CPC. 1997: 59);
- the principle that it is necessary to "develop socialist democracy and improve (the) socialist legal system" (CPC. 1997: 66);
- the principle of nurturing "a new kind of socialist citizen, one with high ideals, more integrity, a better education and a strong sense of discipline" (CPC. 1997: 74);
- the principle of "upholding the four cardinal principles (keep to the socialist road, uphold the people's democratic dictatorship, uphold the leadership of the Communist Party, and uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought)" (CPC. 1997: 82);
- the principle that China must "oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace" (CPC. 1997: 87);

- the principle of advancing the peaceful reunification of the Chinese nation through the concept of "one country, two systems" (CPC. 1997: 94);
- the principle that the successful building of socialism with Chinese characteristics is dependent "on the people" (CPC. 1997: 101);
- the principle that it is necessary for China to "build a strong, modern and revolutionary standardised army" (CPC. 1997: 110); and
- the principle that "the key to (the solution of) China's problems lies with the Party" (CPC. 1997: 118).

"Dependability," as used in the context of this thesis, refers to the reliability and trustworthiness (Hanks. 1971: 439) of a state's foreign policy in that expectations, duties, obligations, and the conventions of normal diplomatic practice and international law can be expected to be honoured consistently.

"Domestic environment," following an idea advanced by Cantori and Spiegel (1970: 3), is synonymous with the environment of the nation-state's internal system, which is "... the totality of relations of the organisations (and individuals) which compose its domestic politics."

"Environment" has been defined as "the aggregate of surrounding things, conditions or influences" (Hanks. 1971: 536). As applied to the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis utilised in this study, "environment" refers specifically to environments of the international system in which diplomacy is initiated, formulated and, or, implemented. The list of environments identified (domestic, bilateral, regional, multilateral and international) is by no means exhaustive but is intended to represent the minimum number of identifiable environments that can be expected to influence the formulation of foreign policy. Each of these environments also has systemic qualities and can be explored as a regional or communicational system. However, the term "environment" is preferred because it allows more flexibility. The definition of a system, advanced by McClelland (1966: 20; *vide* Cantori and Spiegel. 1970: 3), could also be utilised to describe "environment" as employed in this research. "Any system (environment) is a

structure that is perceived by its observers to have elements in interaction or relationships and some identifiable boundaries that separate it from its (other) environment (or environments)."

The "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" were re-stated by Zhou Enlai ({1}PRC. 1999) at the Bandung Conference. Kong Minghui (IWAAS. 1998: 389) has listed the five principles as follows:

- *mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;*
- *mutual non-aggression;*
- *non-interference in each other's internal affairs;*
- *equality and mutual benefit; and*
- *peaceful coexistence*

The "Five principles of Sino-African cooperation" refer to the principles that govern the PRC's relations with African and Arab countries. Kong Minghui (IWAAS. 1998: 389) describes these five principles as follows:

- To support the African and Arab peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence;
- To support the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of the African and Arab countries;
- To support the desire of the African and Arabic peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice;
- To support the African and Arabic countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation;
- To hold that the sovereignty of the African and Arabic countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed.

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The "Eight Principles for China's aid to foreign countries" were first elaborated by Zhou Enlai (IWAAS. 1998: 379) and have been listed by Kong Minghui (IWAAS. 1998: 389-391) as follows:

- *The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual;*

- *In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges;*

- *The Chinese Government provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible;*

- *In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development;*

- *The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results, so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital;*

- *The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese government agrees to replace them;*

- *In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such techniques;*

- *The experts dispatched by the Chinese Government to help*

in construction in the recipient countries will have the same

standard of living as the experts of these countries. The

Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands

or enjoy any special amenities.

"European" and "non-European" are terms utilised in this research to distinguish between South Africans of European, as opposed to African, Asian and Chinese ancestry, for the purposes of cultural identification.

"Flexibility," when applied to foreign policy indicates adaptability (Hanks. 1971: 611) as in the ability to "adapt ... easily to new conditions" (Hanks. 1971: 49).

"Foreign policy" is defined in the *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Gove. 1961: 889) as "... the underlying basic direction of the activity and relationships of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states typically manifested in peace, war, neutrality and alliance, or various combinations of or approaches to these." Therefore, "foreign policy" can be said to encompass a deliberate course of action requiring skill, prudence and wisdom, directed toward the establishment and observance of rules of procedure with a view to achieving, usually long-term, political or diplomatic advantage in relations between states. It should be understood, though, that "...states can have many separate and not necessarily coordinated foreign policies toward particular states or groups of states. .. A state has no single foreign policy; instead policies can be distinguished in terms of subject area and in terms of other participants in the international system" (Legg and Morrison. 1971: 34).

"Foreign policy doctrines" are "... above all declarations of purpose ..." (Merritt. 1975: 151) and the concept of such a doctrine has been defined by Merritt (1975: 149) in the following terms:

Doctrines are typically unilateral declarations of policy

designed to elicit domestic public support, to serve as

axiomatic policy guidelines for domestic decision-makers and
bureaucrats, and to announce basic policy to foreign governments.

Some examples of foreign policy doctrines include the Monroe Doctrine, the Nixon Doctrine and the Brezhnev Doctrine.

"Generic foreign policy formula" is a term utilised in reference to a genus or "class" (Hanks. 1971: 665-666) of foreign policy whereby certain salient principles are applied in related circumstances and under related conditions and, in the context of this research, refers specifically to the development of a new South African foreign policy formula that is clearly identifiable as South African.

"Groupthink" has been defined as, "... a mode of thinking that people engage in when they are deeply involved in a cohesive in-group, when the members' strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action" ('t Hart. 1990: 7). *Groupthink* is said ('t Hart. 1990: 11) to involve "(excessive) concurrence-seeking ... (particularly) ... when it takes place too early and in too restrictive a way..."

"Han" refers to:

(1) "a Chinese dynasty, 206 B.C. - A.D. 220, with an interregnum, A.D. 9-25, known as the Earlier or Western Han before the interregnum and as the Later or Eastern Han afterwards. The Han was distinguished for the revival of letters and the beginnings of Buddhism; its bureaucracy became a model for later dynasties" (Hanks. 1971: 720); and

(2) the Han Chinese ethnic group, which constitutes the majority of the current population of China.

"Hegemony" refers to what Aron (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff. 1971: 97) describes as "...the incontestable superiority of one political unit ... acknowledged by other

members of the international system ... ." It has also been described (Hanks. 1971: 738) as, "... leadership or predominant influence exercised by one state over others, as in a confederation. ... leadership; predominance... ." In Marxist terms (Marshall. 1998: 272), hegemony "... refers to the ideal representation of the interests of the ruling-class as universal interests ..." Consequently, the Marxist view (Marshall. 1998: 272) is that the proletariat "... really does represent the universal interest."

"Hong Kong Special Administrative Region" or "HKSAR" refers to Hong Kong island, Kowloon, the New Territories and some 230 islands and islets covering a total land area of 1,095 sq. km. On 1 July 1997 the HKSAR came into existence as Hong Kong and exchanged British colonial rule for a return to Chinese sovereignty. In terms of the Basic Law of the HKSAR the basic policies of the PRC Government toward Hong Kong are to remain unchanged for a period of fifty years ({3}PRC. 1998 *Yearbook 1997/1998*: 156-157).

"Ideology" has been described as "the body of doctrine, myth, and symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group" and as "... a body of doctrine ... with reference to some political and cultural plan ... together with the devices for putting it into operation" (Hanks. 1971: 787). According to Plano and Olton (1969: 105-106) it is,

> *the articulation of basic political, economic and social values*
> *as a body of ideas that serves as the basis for an ideal social system*
> *or 'way of life'. An ideology is concerned with the nature of the*
> *political system, the exercise of power, the role of the individual,*
> *the nature of the economic and social system, and the objectives of*
> *society.*

"Imperative" has been defined as that which "is not to be avoided or evaded" (Hanks. 1971: 795). "Imperative," as applied to the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis utilised in this study, refers specifically to a collective category of issues, factors or considerations which over a period of time, will help determine the form which a particular foreign policy response to a perceived

threat or opportunity must assume. Only a modest selection of what are perceived to be the more important imperatives that can be expected to influence the shape of foreign policy decisions, has been identified for the purposes of this policy analysis. The list of imperatives identified for the purpose of this study is, therefore, by no means exhaustive.

"Institutional environment" describes the bilateral and multilateral environments of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis and distinguishes between these two environments, in which institutions, not only diplomatic institutions, predominantly interact with one another, as contrasted with the remaining three environments (domestic, regional, international) which are largely geographical in nature. In terms of its function it serves as a linkage environment whereby foreign policy communications and transactions are able to link individual environments.

"International environment" refers to the largest of the five environments of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model and encompasses all other environments and systems including the perceived international system. The international environment is similar in extent to the boundaries of planet Earth and is unique; there is no other known equivalent. Singer ({1}Rosenau. 1969: 22) refers to the "total international system" as "...the most comprehensive of the levels (of analysis) available, encompassing the totality of interactions which take place within the system and its *environment* ..." (my emphasis). In reference to the "global system," Singer ({1}Rosenau. 1969: 30) comments as follows:

> *it can, of course, be compared with its various sub-systems,*
> *but for the moment there is no known system at the same level or*
> *echelon against which it might be compared, or with which it*
> *might experience relationships or interactions.*

"Kowtow" or "Kotow" (Hanks. 1971: 883) in practical contemporary terms means *to defer to* or *acknowledge the leadership of another*. Originally the *kotow* required

"...three prostrations and nine head knockings..." (Roberts. 2000: 18) to be performed by visiting envoys before the Chinese emperor.

"Leadership" is a "... situation process in which a person (or persons) because of his actual or supposed ability to solve problems in the field of current group interest, is followed by others in the group and influences their behaviour ..." (Fairchild. 1977: 174). In terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model the "current group interest" would be reflected in the direct making of foreign policy, as associated with the governmental foreign policy decision making process, as well as activities that indirectly, or peripherally, result in the making of foreign policy. As Johnson (1995: 156) has noted, "... in most cases, leadership is based on some form of legitimate authority associated with a social position such as manager or president, but this is not necessarily the case ..." A "leader" has been defined (Fairchild. 1977: 174) in the broadest sense as, "... one who leads by initiating social behaviour; by directing, organising or controlling the efforts of others; or by prestige, power or position. The effective stimulus-giver in social behaviour ..."

"Macao Special Administrative Region" is situated 61 km. west of Hong Kong and refers to the Macao peninsula and two adjacent islets, Dangzai and Luhuan, which together total a little more than 36 sq. km. Formerly under Portuguese administration, Macao reverted to PRC sovereignty on 20 December 1999 ({2}PRC. 1999. *Yearbook 1998/1999*: 170-171).

The "Mandate of Heaven" (*tien-ming*) refers to the authority which entitles Chinese leaders to rule ({2} Yang. 1999: 157 and 207-209). The Chou kings, who ruled earlier than 1000 BC (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: 21), referred to themselves as "Son of Heaven" and justified their conquests (and defeats of rival claimants to power) on the grounds that they had received the "Mandate of Heaven" (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: 32). According to *Meng-tzu* (Mencius) the Mandate of Heaven, "manifests itself only through the acceptance of a ruler by his people; if the people kill or depose him it is clear that he has lost heaven's support" (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: 52).

"… heaven does not speak, but shows its intention through acts and events" ({2} Yang. 1999: 157 and 207-209).

"Matrix" refers to "…that which gives origin or form to a thing, or which serves to enclose it …" It has also been described as "…a rectangular array of logical elements acting as a selection system …" The plural form is "matrices" or "matrixes" (all definitions extracted from Hanks. 1971: 978).

The term "Middle Kingdom" (*Zhong Guo*) reflects the Chinese perception of China as being the "… centre of the world …" (Yap and Leong Man. 1996: 25).

Milieu and *milieux* as used throughout this thesis, refer to all environments other than the five environments of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model. For example, the political environment and public administration environment are referred to as the political *milieu* and the public administration *milieu* respectively.

Mu is a Chinese agricultural measure and one *Mu* is equivalent to 674.5 square metres or 807 square yards (Tung. 1991: 243).

"Multilateral environment," for the purpose of this research includes all international governmental organisations having a permanent secretariat and a membership of at least three member-states (see the definition of "regionalism" *infra*).

"National interest," in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, refers to the perceived, priority responsibility of the government of the day, of any and every state, to defend by any means, the sovereign existence of the state and the wider collective interests of the national community that underpin and guarantee the continuing existence and peaceful evolution of that state and that community. Hans J Morgenthau indicated long ago that there are many categories of national interest and Thomas W Robinson's analysis of Morganthau's work ({1} Rosenau. 1969: 184-185) identified six specific "national interests" as follows:

a)   *Primary interests* include protection of the nation's physical, political and cultural identity and survival against encroachment from the outside; Primary interests can never be compromised or traded. All nations hold these same interests and must defend them at any price;

b)   *Secondary interests* are those falling outside of (a) but contributing to it. For example, protecting citizens abroad and maintaining proper immunities for a nation's diplomats are secondary interests;

c)   *Permanent interests* are those which are relatively constant over long periods of time; they vary with time, but only slowly. For instance, Great Britain, for many centuries, has had an interest in the freedom to navigate the seas and in a narrow definition of coastal waters;

d)   *Variable interests* are those which are a function of all the cross currents of personalities, public opinion, sectional interests, partisan politics, and political and moral folkways, of a given nation. In other words, they are what a given nation at any particular time chooses to regard as its national interests. In this regard the variable interest may diverge from both primary and permanent interests. For example, Great Britain in 1938 chose to regard certain events bearing on the security of Czechoslovakia as not being within its interest;

e)   *General interests* are those which the nation can apply in a positive manner to a large geographic area, to a large number of nations, or in several specific fields (such as economics, trade, diplomatic intercourse, international law). An example would be the British interest in maintaining a balance of power on the European continent; and

f)   *Specific interests* are those positive interests not included in (e). Specific interests are usually closely defined in time and/or space and often are the logical outgrowth of general interests. For instance, Britain historically has regarded the continued independence of the Low Countries as an absolute prerequisite for the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

The term, "national interest" as used in this thesis encompasses the concepts of primary, secondary, permanent, variable, general and specific national interests.

"One country, two systems" refers to Deng Xiao Ping's "concept of solving the issues of Taiwan and Hong Kong … . This means that within the People' Republic of China, the mainland will produce a socialist system, while Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan will (each) maintain a capitalist system" ({2}PRC. 1999. *Yearbook 1998/1999*: 157).

Origination, as in the "origination of a state's foreign policy", is the term developed and used to describe deep-rooted historical, philosophical and cultural factors that are believed to have given rise to that state's current foreign policy and, in the context of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model, refers to the linkage between contemporary foreign policy and the perceivable historical and cultural origins of such policy.

"People's Republic of China (PRC)," unless otherwise stated, refers to the Chinese mainland and excludes the Macao and Hong Kong Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan, due to the fact that these three regions fall outside the total political, economic and social control of the central government of the PRC.

"Policy" is described in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Sykes. 1976: 854) as a "… course or general plan of action (to be) adopted by government, party, person …" whereas *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Simpson and Weiner. 1989: 26-27) defines "policy" as "… political sagacity; prudence, skill or consideration of expediency in the conduct of public affairs; statecraft, diplomacy … prudent, expedient or advantageous procedure …" *The Hamlyn Encyclopedic World Dictionary* (Hanks. 1971: 1215) refers to "policy" as "… a definite course of action adopted as expedient or from other considerations" and refers to "foreign policy" as "a course or line of action adopted and pursued by a government, ruler, political party or the like."

"Policy analysis" has been described as "… an attempt to measure the costs and benefits of various policy alternatives or to evaluate the efficiency of existing policies; in other words, to produce and transform information relevant to particular policies into a form that could be used to resolve problems pertaining to these policies" (Hanekom 1992: 65). It has also been termed "… client-oriented advice

relevant to public decisions" (Weimer and Vining 1989: 1). MacRae and Wilde (1985: 4), refer to policy analysis as " ... the use of reason and evidence to choose the best policy among a number of alternatives." Policy analysis is, in fact, a social or human science discipline in its own right and may serve as a useful objective means for public policy makers to assess existing policies or to plan new policies, including those which direct a state's foreign policy.

In explaining the purpose of policy analysis, Quade (1989: 4) has stated as follows:

> *Policy analysis is a form of applied research carried out to acquire a deeper understanding of sociotechnical issues and to bring about better solutions. Attempting to bring modern science and technology to bear on society's problems, policy analysis searches for feasible courses of action, generating information and marshalling evidence of the benefits and other consequences that would follow their adoption and implementation, in order to help the policy-maker choose the most advantageous action.*

For the purpose of this research, it is also important to note the direct relationship between policy analysis and Public Administration, as explained by Rhodes (1979: 36) who contends that, "... if Public Administration is policy-making then policy analysis is also Public Administration." The dual relationship of policy analysis to administration and politics is also significant, as pointed out by Weimer and Vining (1989: 7) who argue:

> *Although policy analysts must concern themselves with questions of organisational design and administrative feasibility, they seek to influence the choice of programmes by the political process. One focuses exclusively on doing well what has been chosen; the other also considers the choice of what is to be done.*

"Predictability," in reference to the nature of foreign policy, implies that such a policy or course of diplomatic action can be known beforehand or shrewdly inferred from facts or experience (Hanks. 1971: 1235). "Predictability" refers to the "... degree of probability to which a phenomenon (e.g. foreign policy) is capable of prediction ..." (Fairchild. 1977:228). The consistency and dependability of a state's foreign policy practice would, of course, make predictability more feasible.

"Realism" is "the taking of a practical rather than a moral view in human problems" (Hanks. 1971: 1305). Hans Morgenthau advanced the following six principles of realism (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff. 1971: 75-77):

> *political relationships are governed by objective rules deeply*
> *rooted in human nature ... ;*
> *... statesmen 'think and act in terms of interest defined as power' ... ;*
> *... the meaning of 'interest defined as power' is an unstable one ... ;*
> *... 'universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions*
> *of states in their abstract, universal formulation, but ... must be*
> *filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place' ... ;*
> *... political realism does not identify the 'moral aspirations of a*
> *particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe' ... ;*
> *... political actions must be judged by political criteria. '... The*
> *moralist asks: 'Is this policy in accord with moral principles?'*
> *And the political realist asks: 'How does this policy affect the*
> *power of the nation?'*

According to Plano and Olton (1969: 133), "The realist approach to policy-making is fundamentally empirical and pragmatic... The realist school starts with the assumption that the key factor prevalent in all international relationships is that of *power*. The wise and efficient use of power by a state in pursuit of its national interest is, therefore, the main ingredient of a successful foreign policy."

"Regional environment," within the context of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis, refers to a discernible

geographical region, or discernible geographical regions, usually contiguous and within which a specific state or domestic environment, say South Africa or the People's Republic of China, is likely to focus and project its diplomatic and economic interests as major, if not priority, regional concerns.

"Regionalism," according to Plano and Olton (1969: 296), refers to the "… concept that nations situated in a geographical area or sharing common concerns can cooperate with each other through a limited-membership organisation to meet military, political, and functional problems. Regionalism provides a middle-level approach to problem solving, between the extremes of unilateralism and universalism. … Regional organisations include: (1) military-alliance systems, such as NATO … ; (2) economic arrangements , such as the European Community (European Union) … ; and (3) political groupings, such as the Organisation of American States, … the Commonwealth … and the Organisation of African Unity." In terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model, "regionalism" is included within the concept of the "multilateral environment."

"Regional interest" refers to that which is "… on the side of what is advantageous to … (a geographical area) … of considerable extent; not merely local" (Hanks. 1971: 828 and 1319). Such a geographical area would normally include a number of individual states, usually more than two such as, for example, the regions of the North Atlantic Community, Western Europe, Southern Africa, South Asia, East Asia, the Asia-Pacific or the developing region. In the context of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model, "regional interest" and "regional environment" would also encompass what Rosenau ({2}1969: 61) terms the "contiguous environment."

"Relationship" has been defined as "an existing connection; a particular way of being related… the various connections between peoples, countries …the various connections in which persons are brought together, as by common interests" (Hanks. 1971: 1322). "Relationship," as applied to the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis utilised in this study, refers specifically to the actions of key individual decision makers in government; key

institutional decision makers in government; key individual and institutional decision makers outside, and critical toward, government; key individual and institutional leaders within the economic sector; and the impact or cause and effect relationship of the decisions and actions of such leaders on the formulation of foreign policy. The types of relationship identified are by no means exhaustive but are intended to cover a broad range of possible decision or action categories that can be expected to influence the nature of foreign policy.

Revolutionism is the term used, in the context of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model, to refer to the national experience of revolutionary war, including civil war, wars of liberation and rebellion, national insurrection and sustained guerrilla or terrorist activity, whereby a large number of the population, particularly the ruling echelon, have engaged in a successful revolution or insurrection. It is argued that the experiences of *revolutionism*, particularly among developing states since the end of the Second World War, may prompt individual leaders and their governments to seek closer diplomatic and personal links with other leaders and governments having similar experiences, particularly when those leaders and governments also share common value systems and revolutionary ideological beliefs.

"Socialism with Chinese characteristics" refers to the theory advanced by Deng Xiao Ping that advocates applying the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to the reality of present-day China and the special features of existing times ({2}PRC 1999. *Yearbook 1998 1999*: 4).

"South Africa" refers to the sovereign state of the Republic of South Africa, a member of the United Nations, comprising nine provinces and located at the southernmost extremity of the African continent, and encompasses for the purpose of this analysis, the territory, laws, government and people of South Africa. It shares common borders with Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho.

"State" refers to a "…demarcated area of land, on which living (human) beings with permanent citizenship live, and which is ruled according to sovereign constitutional frameworks which enjoy international recognition. The term also refers to the government machinery of the state…" (Roux *et al*. 1997: 268).

"System" has been described (Fairchild. 1977: 315) as "… an aggregate of related interests or activities. There is the assumption of an organisation of parts or phases in orderly arrangement." It has also been described (Marshall. 1998: 659) as "… any structured or patterned relationship between any number of elements, where (the) system forms a whole or unity. It is assumed that a system has an environment and thus there is the requirement of boundary maintenance. There is an interchange between a system and its environment …"

"Systems theory" considers the interchanges between a system and its environment and has been described (Marshall. 1998: 659) as employing "… a cybernetic approach (which) considers these interchanges in terms of the storage and control of information. It is further assumed that systems will tend towards an equilibrium state or homeostasis."

"Taiwan" refers to the island off the south-east coast of the Chinese mainland which became the refuge of Guomindang forces under General Chiang Kai Chek after world war II and which is regarded by the PRC as a renegade province. The authorities who rule over Taiwan are recognised by fewer than thirty states as the legitimate government of China. In 1971 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758 unequivocally recognised that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China were the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations. Such recognition implies that the Government of the PRC is the sole legitimate representative of China, including Taiwan.

"*Three kingdoms*" refers to the period 220 AD to 280 AD when China became divided into the three kingdoms of Wu, Wei and Shu Han (Fairbank and Reischauer. 1990: chronological chart) and is also the name of an epic Ming dynasty historical

novel, attributed to Luo Guanzhong, which, "…despite its length and chronologically remote subject matter, commands a universal audience in China; thus the novel has become an integral part of Chinese culture" (Roberts. 1995: 1460).

"Third state" refers, in the context of this research, to any state having an interest in a particular bilateral relationship, of which the relevant third state is not part, but is capable of influencing, usually to its own advantage. It follows that third states can be expected to have, at their disposal, substantial diplomatic, political, economic or military power, or a combination of these, in order to be able to influence the relationships of relatively less-advantaged states. Due to their super power status, their military capability (which includes nuclear arsenals) and economic influence, and global diplomatic influence, the five Permanent Member states of the United Nations Security Council are among the more likely third states of the international system, more specifically in those regions where they have interests. Partners to bilateral relationships in a regional context, can be expected to keep a wary eye on their region's core domestic environment; the most likely third state. Third states, relative to the domestic environments of the bilateral relationships they seek to influence, will conceivably be more powerful, in terms of access to relevant resources.

The "two what evers" refer to the statement that "we will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made , and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave." This statement was contained in a joint editorial entitled "Study the documents well and grasp the key link," published on 7 February, 1977 in *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), the journal *Hongqi* (Red Flag) and *Jiefangjun Bao* (Liberation Army Daily) (PRC. 1991. *Major Documents*: 887).

"World view" refers to the particular perception of the international system or the world which any state, particularly its political leaders, whether at party or governmental level, may exhibit at any particular time in its historical development. A state's world view may be deeply affected by historical experience, geography, religion, ideology, ethnicity and a full range of other factors. In the German language

"*world view*" is termed *weltanschauung* which has been described (Dushkin. 1974: 310) as "...the distinctive outlook of the members of a region, class, group or historical period based on common experiences that express common structural conditions. Groups look at the world in different ways because their societies are organised differently. ... Various groups usually include (their) views in a complex, fairly consistent network of ideology."

"Yin and Yang" refer to the two fundamental principles of the universe, "yin" being "feminine, passive and yielding" and "yang" being "masculine, active and assertive" (Hanks. 1971: 1828 and 1831).

1.7.   Structure of research

This research takes the form of a policy analysis and covers eight chapters. Chapter one delineates the time frame in which the research takes place and defines the relevant research perimeter. It explains and defines key concepts and terminology used in the research and identifies the research problem, the approaches adopted and the scientific methods and techniques employed. It also explains what is being researched, why it needs to be researched, how such research will be carried out and with what objective in mind.

Chapter two establishes the relevance of this policy analysis and its supportive research within the field of Public Administration. This chapter describes the relationship between public administration, public policy and foreign policy and looks at the *milieux* in which public policy and foreign policy take place. It explains why an analysis of foreign policy can justifiably be undertaken within the context of research methods that are already well-established in the field of Public Administration.

Chapter three investigates, empirically, the perceived causal determinants of foreign policy. An environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis is employed, both as a framework for analysis that will ensure consistency of focus and as a research instrument, to assist in enhancing understanding of the

processes that help to shape foreign policy. Special emphasis is placed on the perceived environments in which foreign policy takes place, decision makers who may influence the development of foreign policy, and selected imperatives that may influence the foreign policies of states; in this case, specifically, the bilateral diplomatic environment of South African and Chinese foreign policy.

Chapter four considers the individual and institutional makers, influencers and implementers of foreign policy within the domestic environment, as identified by means of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model. It focuses on the political foreign policy decision maker and his or her institutional environment. It also examines the role of professional diplomats and technical experts, academic advisors, public officials and civil society in general, in both South Africa and the PRC, and ways in which foreign policy is initiated and implemented in each country. The focus of research in this chapter is on the domestic environment and ways in which domestic policies are projected into the external bilateral, regional, multilateral and international environments as foreign policy.

Chapter five investigates the *origination* of foreign policy - world view and formative influences on the making of national foreign policy - in South Africa and the People's Republic of China. In addition it utilises much of the content of chapter four to construct an "ideal" systemic model of the foreign policy decision making process as well as individual models of such processes as they become manifest in the foreign policy decision making processes of South Africa and the People's Republic of China.

Chapter six concerns the initiators and influencers of foreign policy within the external environments of South Africa and the PRC, in terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model. It focuses on foreign policy decision making actions and causal-determinants in the external environments of South Africa and the PRC. Four external environments, drawn from the linkage model are identified and explored; the regional, international, multilateral and bilateral. The roles of third states, international organisations, non-contiguous regions, and other individual and institutional entities within the international system are also explored.

In addition, the development of separate foreign policy matrices is explored, in respect of South Africa and the PRC, based on the concept of the world view perspective. The intention is to create world view profiles of these two states that can be compared and contrasted in order to achieve a more accurate, more precise foreign policy analysis.

Chapter seven examines South Africa's available foreign policy choices with regard to the PRC. In accordance with the primary objective of policy analysis, an attempt is made to identify the *best* available alternative policy based on the anticipated future consequences of such a choice. The chapter recommends procedures for implementing such a policy and evaluating its consequences. The chapter also investigates the significance of South Africa's existing diplomatic relationship with the PRC. In terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model the focus is on the bilateral environment.

Chapter eight provides a research summary and conclusion, proving the hypotheses advanced in paragraph 1.4 *supra*.

1.8.   Conclusion

This chapter has articulated *what* research is to be undertaken as well as *how* it will be conducted, *why* it is being pursued and what time frame it will focus upon. In addition, the hypothesis to be proven has been identified and the basic concepts of the research model to be utilised have been elucidated. Furthermore, a comprehensive list of definitions has been included to assist in understanding unfamiliar concepts, particularly those concerning China, as well as original concepts that relate specifically to the research models employed, including related aspects of the research itself.

It now remains to proceed to chapter two which will present arguments to the effect that foreign policy is also public policy; and that, consequently, foreign policy can also be subjected to public policy analysis.