

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was stated at the commencement of this thesis that its primary purpose and objective was the development and application of a reliable model for the purpose of foreign policy analysis that would assist, not only in an analysis of the foreign policy relationship between South Africa and the People's Republic of China but also in all other bilateral foreign policy relationships pursued by South Africa. The hypothesis was stated as follows:

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 People's Republic of China that will provide a framework for the future analysis of foreign policy, not only South African foreign policy.

A secondary objective was to assess and identify the *best* foreign policy formula that South Africa's foreign policy decision makers would need to implement in order to establish and maintain a maximally advantageous diplomatic relationship with the PRC.

Chapter one of this thesis elucidated the frame of reference and problem statement as well as the research hypothesis and also described and explained the research methodology and key concepts utilised within the context of the thesis. The chapter elaborated the hypothesis 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 People's Republic of China that will provide a framework for the future analysis of foreign policy, not only South African foreign policy.

Chapter two described and explained the difference between Public Administration as a field of scientific study and public administration as a function of the executive branch of government. Chapter two concluded that foreign policy is also public policy that can be subjected to public policy analysis. The chapter also explained the decision making process as a dynamic systemic process of inputs, outputs and feedback, and demonstrated that individual actors and their decision making institutional *milieu*, as well as the personal characteristics and perceptions of such foreign policy decision makers, will help determine the nature and effectiveness of their decisions. The chapter also elucidated the importance of accurate factual information in the decision making process.

Chapter three advanced a basic core model (figure 3/1 *supra*) of the foreign policy process, comprising internal, external and communicational environments, in which foreign policy transactions take place and imperatives exert their influence upon foreign policy decisions. The chapter described and explained the individual components of the core model.

The environmental component (figure 3/2 *supra*) of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model showed that individual states may occupy a variety of different and sometimes overlapping external geographical regional environments, as well as multilateral communicational environments. This component also showed that the domestic environments of states are essentially unique as are the bilateral communicational relationships between states. The component showed that although foreign policy is made and ratified in the domestic environment, the bilateral communicational environment is the environment where *mutual* foreign policy transactions and exchanges, including a variety of authoritative policy making decisions, take place. The environmental component showed that foreign policy is an extension of domestic public policies into the external environments, within the ambit of diplomacy and diplomatic practice.

The chapter explained the leadership relationships component (figure 3/3 *supra*) of the core model and showed that all leadership relationships that may exert a decisive impact on public policy can be reduced to four. The chapter provided examples of the various types of decision makers who may make, shape or influence foreign policy and explained how leadership decision making relationships occur in all of the environments relative to the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis. The linkage between domestic policy and foreign policy was clearly elucidated. The chapter explained that although non-governmental organisations and individuals do not make foreign policy they may certainly influence the authoritative decisions of foreign policy decision makers within the domestic and communicational environments. The chapter identified key foreign policy decision makers and advisors within the bilateral environment and explained that there is a necessary distinction between actors who function in an authoritative capacity, as instruments of the state, and those non-governmental actors who may exert a peripheral or indirect influence on policy decisions.

Chapter three described and explained the imperatives component of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis and how this component provides the incentives for particular foreign policy decisions or courses of action. The chapter described and explained the development of an imperatives matrix (figure 3/4 *infra*), with a view to constructing world view profiles of South Africa and the People's Republic of China, and bringing coherence to foreign policy linkages reflected in the relevant bilateral environment.

The research concluded that the use of a model can facilitate an understanding of some of the factors that may determine the course of foreign policy as well as the inter-relationships and linkages between these factors. The research also concluded that the use of the proposed environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis can be utilised to comprehensively select and apply relevant data and information about the shaping and implementation of South African and Chinese foreign policy; and that the proposed model will facilitate the formulation of individual world view and foreign policy profiles that can in turn be utilised to

identify the most advantageous foreign policy strategy whereby South Africa can advance its foreign policy relationship with the People's Republic of China.

In terms of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model, chapter four described and explained the decision making *milieux* of the domestic and bilateral environments with specific reference to pertinent decision making, policy making and leadership relationships of the domestic environments of South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The research showed that leadership and decision making relationships originate in the domestic environment and then extend into the external environments, usually through the bilateral and multilateral communicational environments as foreign policy linkages between domestic environments. The research concluded that the decision makers of foreign policy are to be found in the executive branch of government, as are the implementers of such policy, whereas influencers of policy can be found in the hierarchy of the ruling political party, the higher echelons of government, and also in the non-governmental sector. The implementers of foreign policy within the public service, including diplomats serving abroad, were also identified as having an indispensable advisory role in the formation of foreign policy. The research also showed that, apart from departments or ministries of foreign affairs, a number of government departments, particularly those responsible for defence and trade, are involved in foreign policy concerns. The research showed that despite different domestic constitutional arrangements and different value systems, there are similarities whereby states communicate within the external environments and that most states maintain the equivalent of a foreign ministry, engage in international trade and have a military capability. The research also showed that in some domestic structures of government, irrespective of constitutional provisions to the contrary, there is an effective blurring of party-political and governmental divisions and responsibilities.

Chapter four described and explained the roles and functions of individual and institutional makers, influencers and implementers of foreign policy within the domestic and bilateral environments of South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The research showed that in both countries the president, as executive leader

of the government and leader of the ruling political party, have a decisive role in the foreign policy process. The research concluded that whereas, in the PRC, real executive power resides in the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China, in South Africa relative equivalent power resides in the Presidency. Chapter four identifies the primary decision makers and influencers of policy within South Africa's Presidency and within the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Communist Party of China. It also records the cabinet portfolios relating to each country and observes that both South Africa and the PRC have resorted to the institution of cabinet clusters. The research showed that whereas South Africa includes the portfolios of foreign affairs, defence, environmental affairs and tourism, and the Office of the Presidency under the cluster of International Affairs the PRC includes foreign affairs and national defence under the cluster of State Political Affairs, together with nine other portfolios of a more domestic nature. The research found that in the case of the PRC the trade and defence portfolios are salient elements of PRC foreign policy. The research found that PRC ministries and departments of state routinely coordinate their foreign relations activities through the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs unlike their South African counterparts who often by-pass the Department of Foreign Affairs when communicating with foreign governments. The research also showed that foreign policy transactions sometimes originate at the local government or provincial levels of government, both in South Africa and the PRC, but that proper coordination of such transactions through the respective foreign affairs departments is less certain and more problematic in the case of South Africa.

Chapter four elucidated the hierarchical organisational structures (figures 4/1 and 4/4 *supra*) within the foreign affairs ministries and departments of South Africa and the PRC and described and explained the roles and responsibilities of their respective foreign ministers and most senior public officials. The chapter also elucidated the organisational structures of the foreign affairs departments of each country, with specific reference to the respective bureaucratic responsibilities pertaining to South Africa (figure 4/2 *supra*) and the PRC. It was found that officials in both foreign services are mainly implementers of policy and that major foreign policy decisions tend to be taken at the highest political level. The research found that contributions to

foreign policy formulation by think tanks and professional institutes were more likely to take place in the PRC than in South Africa. The research also concluded that the monitoring of public policies, including foreign policy, was potentially more effective in South Africa than in the People's Republic of China, due mainly to the existence in South Africa of a free press and an opposition political system. The research found that the eight democratic parties of the PRC are effective extensions of the ruling Communist Party and that all news media sources in the PRC are controlled by the state. The research also found that monitoring does take place within the PRC where it is termed *supervision* but that it is unlikely to affect the power core within the Standing Committee of the Politburo. The research found that the foreign media and foreign governments are the most effective monitors of PRC public policies, including foreign policy. The research also found that, in the case of South Africa, the monitoring role of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs is too limited, in its present form, to contribute to the improvement of South African foreign policy, either in its formulation or its execution.

Chapter five considered the *origination* of foreign policy within South Africa and the People's Republic of China and the development of proposed systemic models of the foreign policy making processes in both countries. The research showed that traumatic historical, cultural and ideological influences that have left a deep imprint on the national leadership and national psyche of a country over a long period of time, may also determine the nature of its foreign policy. The chapter concluded that *apartheid*, racism, slavery; the influence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism; colonialism, capitalism and free market principles; the experience of revolution; Pan-Africanism, African Nationalism and the concept of the African Renaissance; and imported values, had all contributed to South Africa's foreign policy perspective. The chapter also concluded that the PRC's foreign policy perspective had been shaped by the thoughts, theories and contributions of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin; Marxism-Leninism and socialism; imperialism, colonialism and invasion; Confucius and other classical thinkers; the revolutionary experience; Chinese nationalism; and imported values.

Chapter five also explored the contributions of the eight imperatives, identified in chapter three *supra*, in regard to the foreign policy making process. The research concluded that South Africa and the PRC are both deeply affected by perceived past injustices and that both are suspicious of the motives of the developed world, particularly the United States. The research concluded that whereas South Africa tends to perceive the developing world as its natural ideological ally the PRC has been careful to avoid becoming tied to any region or group of states on ideological grounds. The research found that both states have tended to focus on playing leading roles in the multilateral environment and that this activity has tended to compliment their mutual interests at the bilateral level. The research concluded that although formal ideology enjoys a relatively low profile in South Africa, ideology has, in a sense, been replaced by the projection of a vision for Africa in the form of the African Renaissance. The research concluded that South Africa's political and historical experience has resulted in an expressed commitment to human rights as well as a dedicated campaign to make the South African foreign service more representative of the country's racial composition, by appointing more black heads of mission and senior diplomats serving abroad. The research also concluded that the PRC's foreign policy is dedicated to the preservation of Chinese sovereignty, the reunification of China, opposition to perceived American hegemonic pursuits, the focus on economic pursuits, and the advancement of China under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The research concluded that public policy decisions are affected not only by the personal value systems of decision makers but also by the nature of the constitutional and institutional decision making mechanisms available to them. The research also concluded that South Africa's important foreign policy decisions are dependant upon an exclusive group within the Presidency and that the monitoring of foreign policy usually takes place after policy has been implemented. The research found that few measures are in place to ensure that proposed policies are the *best* policies. Chapter five also explored the decision making process as a systemic process and elaborated an ideal decision making model (figure 5/2 *supra*) that incorporates information contained in chapters three, four and five *supra*. The model incorporates imperatives

as inputs, foreign policy as outputs and foreign policy responses as feedback. The research concluded that systemic representations of the foreign policy making processes pertaining to South Africa (figure 5/3 *supra*) and the PRC (figure 5/4 *supra*), based on research reflected in chapters four and five *supra*, would accurately reflect the dynamics of foreign policy making in those countries.

Chapter six focused on the initiators and influencers of foreign policy within the external environments, in accordance with the ideas advanced in chapters three and four *supra*. The research concluded that as direct foreign policy making takes place in the domestic geographical environment, external geographical environments are largely responsible for indirect or peripheral influences that may act upon the policy making process. The chapter described and explained the primary regional and international concerns of South Africa and the PRC. The research concluded that “revolutionary friendships” concluded between South Africa’s liberation movements during the *apartheid* years have formed a basis for improved bilateral relationships in the post-*apartheid* era and that the PRC has also derived benefits from these earlier “friendships.” The research concluded that although the PRC is officially a developing country its available power and economic potential makes it effectively more than a developing state and somewhat less than a developed state. The research concluded that the PRC belongs in a category by itself.

The concept of the *third state*, whereby another state may exert an impact on the bilateral relationship of two other states, was described in paragraph 6.2.1.4. *supra*. The research showed that whereas during the *apartheid* years a number of third states were able to affect the direction of South Africa’s foreign policy, including neighbouring African states and the former Soviet Union, current third states are likely to be limited to the five Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. The research concluded that the PRC is, itself, capable of acting as a third state and has, in fact, done so in regard to South Africa’s former diplomatic relationship with Taiwan. The research found that the PRC is relatively immune from the impact of third states with the possible exception of the United States. The research also concluded that the PRC had effectively acted as a third state, albeit in a multilateral context, when South

Africa failed to support the United States-sponsored resolution condemning human rights abuses in the People's Republic of China.

Chapter six concluded that South Africa's regional priorities reside in Africa and the developing world whereas the People's Republic of China's regional priorities reside in the Asian-Pacific region with specific attention to the resolution of territorial claims and frontier disputes. Nonetheless, the research has also shown that the PRC considers Africa and the developing world as strategically important resources areas. The research has shown that although South Africa is committed to the restructuring of the United Nations in order to achieve equal representation for developing states, the PRC is unlikely to agree to any form of restructuring that diminishes its own influence and prestige.

The research concluded that South Africa's foreign policy, with regard to the People's Republic of China, requires a strengthening of its professional competence at the political and senior bureaucratic levels and more experience in political and diplomatic negotiations, and language skills. The research concluded that affirmative action policies have been applied extensively in the Department of Foreign Affairs, which may result in insufficient capacity to advise Government on foreign policy. The research also concluded that the appointment of South African heads of mission should be re-considered with a view to providing for a parliamentary procedure whereby all candidates nominated for appointment by the President could be questioned in public hearings by the Foreign Affairs Parliamentary Portfolio Committee. The research found that the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs has appointed professional diplomats, including those serving as heads of mission, to serve in South Africa. The research also concluded that, at the higher levels of foreign policy making, the PRC has shown itself to be pragmatic and effective rather than politically and ideologically hidebound, as exemplified by the inclusion of top bureaucrats in the Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group (FALSG) which is an important foreign policy making instrument of the Communist Party of China. The research found that South Africa's president, by contrast with the PRC, apparently relies heavily on the loyalty of advisors to the detriment of expertise. The research

also concluded that South Africa and the PRC share a revolutionary bond that reveals itself at the party political level and is capable of influencing their foreign policy relationship.

The research also concluded that South Africa's historical experiences of racism and colonialism have tended to persuade South Africa's top decision makers to view the world in terms of their own experiences within the domestic environment and that, consequently, the developed world is seen as wealthy and white whereas the developing world is seen as poor and non-white. The research also concluded that the PRC does not view the world from a racial or ethnic perspective and that, in line with its ideological base and historical experience, its focus is firmly on economic development and related inequities. Chapter six utilised the information reflected in chapters four and five and much of chapter six *supra*, to construct matrices based upon the linkage model elucidated in chapter three *supra*, that would reflect the respective world views of South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The research reflected that it is possible to identify salient characteristics pertaining to South Africa and the PRC in terms of the five environments, four leadership relationships and eight imperatives identified in chapter three *supra* and that the resultant matrices are capable of isolating factors that may affect the formulation and implementation of a state's foreign policy, including the policy making acumen of its leaders.

Chapter seven described and explained particular limitations in regard to the planning of foreign policy. The research found that South Africa's foreign policy planners have, in some respects, treated foreign policy not merely as an extension of domestic policy but as domestic policy itself. The research concluded that although there is a clear need for long term planning in terms of financial and other resources, foreign policy requires planning for alternative choices in order to resolve what is foreseeable in the relatively short term; and that a lack of focus in this regard, may explain the current status of South Africa's subordinate relationship with the PRC. The research reflected that South African foreign policy makers tend to think in terms of

“friendships” with other states, as opposed to “interests” that tend to provide a more sure indication of foreign policy motives.

The research concluded that the Strategic Plan 2000-2005 of South Africa’s Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) is unrealistic and tends to confirm the notion that DFA is being utilised as a domestic department, similar to the Department of Labour or the Department of Public Works. The research concluded that the wording of the Strategic Plan *supra* is insufficiently precise to be useful and is open to subjective interpretation. The research also concluded that existing monitoring mechanisms within DFA threaten to displace foreign policy considerations due to an emphasis on bureaucratic planning, so that such planning becomes an objective in itself.

The research concluded that the current status of South Africa’s relationship with the PRC is reflected by the number of bilateral agreements signed between the two states during their relatively short diplomatic relationship, as well as the extent of their trade volume, and the number of high-level visits between the two states. The research also found that there are a number of actual and potential problem areas, concerning South Africa’s relationship with the PRC that need to be addressed, particularly in regard to tourism, agriculture, environmental concerns, protection of intellectual property rights, illegal immigration, human rights concerns, crime and the dumping of surplus goods.

Chapter seven identified a number of foreign policy approaches, namely a generic approach, a regional approach, an individual-state approach, an idealistic approach, a realistic approach, and a constructive engagement approach. The research concluded that the realistic and constructive engagement approaches would be inappropriate given the vast disparity in available power between the two states, in favour of the PRC. Research also concluded that an idealistic approach would create conditions for inconsistency and contradiction, whereas a regional approach would be premature in the context of African regional organisations.

Chapter seven described and explained the PRC's generic approach to foreign policy on the basis of clearly defined principles whereby that country conducts its foreign relations with other states. The chapter also described and explained the individual-state approach. The research concluded that, in terms of the numerous binational commissions entered into with other states, including the PRC, South Africa has already embarked upon this course but that it would be prudent for South Africa to also employ the generic approach by setting out particular principles that clearly elucidate South Africa's foreign policy concerns. The research concluded that, in view of the PRC's willingness to discuss human rights issues with the United States, Hungary and the European Union, and in view of South Africa's stated commitment to human rights causes, it would be appropriate for South Africa and the PRC to engage in bilateral dialogue on this issue on a regular basis. The research therefore concluded that a combination of the generic approach and the individual-state approach would provide the *best* alternative approach whereby South Africa ought to pursue its foreign policy relationship with the People's Republic of China.

Although classification and categorisation are recognised as essential tools of scientific analysis it is important to let the facts create their own categories. In this particular policy analysis three categories of factors were identified which may influence a state's foreign policy; environments; leadership relationships; and imperatives. Specific sub-categories were also identified, in which foreign policy exchanges take place and leadership decision making relationships occur; and specific issues were identified which may drive a state's foreign policy in a particular direction.

The concept of *world view* features prominently in this thesis, more specifically in chapter five *supra*, and forms an integral part of the decision making systems models also referred to in chapter five *supra*. The research concluded that the relevant *world views* of South Africa and the PRC are manifest in their respective foreign and domestic policy approaches, as reflected in this policy analysis.

The environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model of foreign policy analysis, described and explained in chapter three *supra*, assisted in keeping the research focused on three components of the foreign policy *milieu* that may best describe and explain the nature of foreign policy; and the relevant factors that may determine the nature and direction of a specific foreign policy relationship as exists between South Africa and the PRC. Consequently, as the foregoing research has demonstrated, the use of the environmental-relationships-imperatives linkage model is a valid and viable model for foreign policy analysis. It follows, therefore, that the hypothesis advanced in chapter one, paragraph 1.4 *supra* has been proven correct.

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