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Life beyond BRICS?

South Africa's future foreign policy interests

South Africa is rapidly approaching the end of Jacob Zuma's tenure as president. This report examines South Africa's current diplomatic, economic and other relations and presents a set of broad priorities that could help guide a post-Zuma presidency. Notably, Africa should remain the focus of South Africa's foreign and economic policy, but not to the exclusion of important trading and investment partners.

Recommendations

- South Africa must facilitate economic growth at home by actively pursuing the development of regional value chains.
- Africa is and should remain the focus of South Africa's foreign and economic policy as the country's development and security depends on a stable and growing region.
- South Africa should maintain good relations with all important trading and investment partners (not only the BRIC countries).
- South Africa should facilitate the advancement of a rules-based system (as indeed nominally reflected in the White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy).
- South Africa must expand business-to-business relations with India to benefit from its rapid future growth.

Purpose and scope

South Africa is rapidly approaching the end of Jacob Zuma's tenure as president of the country. It is likely that Zuma will step down shortly after the election of a new leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) at its December 2017 National Conference and well before the conclusion of his second term as president of South Africa in 2019. This would avoid a 'two centres of power' problem (a new president of the ANC in Johannesburg and an outgoing South African president in Pretoria). That would also allow new leadership to take the party into the next national elections after which, even if the ANC loses its absolute majority, it will continue governing South Africa in a coalition with smaller parties.

Each presidential transition in South Africa has been accompanied by noticeable shifts in the country's foreign policy orientation – evident, for example, with the transition from FW de Klerk to Nelson Mandela, Mandela to Thabo Mbeki and Mbeki to Jacob Zuma. With each of these transitions the incoming president sought to realign South African foreign policy priorities.

The choice that the ANC will make at its December 2017 National Conference, probably either Cyril Ramaphosa or Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, will again have significant foreign policy implications.

Against that backdrop this report attempts to first briefly review recent history, and then presents an analysis of broad priorities that could help guide such a future orientation for a post-Zuma presidency. To that purpose the report uses the current path forecast within the International Futures (IFs) forecasting system to identify the likely trajectory in shifts in power and influence over long-time horizons. The current path assumes no major paradigm shifts, seismic policy changes, or transformative 'black swans' (very low-probability but high-impact events), but models a dynamic, interconnected future.[1]

Born into a unipolar world

When Nelson Mandela assumed the presidency, the North-South divide appeared to have replaced the previous East-West chasm as the most intractable of global challenges. This view allowed for new thinking and fresh efforts to respond to poverty and underdevelopment in the global South – such as the agreement on the eight Millennium Development Goals at the UN General Assembly in 2000.

The West had triumphed, or so it appeared, and commitments to free trade, democracy and a liberal international order were hailed as the start of a new era.

That sense of triumph was best captured in a 1989 essay in *The National Interest* titled 'The End of History?', by Francis Fukuyama, who opined: 'What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the endpoint of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.'[2]

After a single term, Mandela handed the presidency of the ANC (and hence that of the country) to Thabo Mbeki, who was elected as the president of the

ANC at its 50th Conference at Mafikeng in 1997. Mbeki was elected president of South Africa on 14 June 1999 (after the ANC gained an unprecedented 66% of support at the polls) and was inaugurated two days later.

Mandela's towering international image set the stage for Mbeki to pursue his South-South and Africanist agendas. Mbeki necessarily looked towards the West, represented by the G7 countries, to support Africa's renewal since these countries dominated in the distribution of wealth and global power.

Many members of the G7 – such as the UK, France, Germany and Italy – also still played an important role in Africa as a result of their historical linkages.

In seeking to promote South-South cooperation and reform of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, Mbeki launched IBSA, consisting of India, Brazil and South Africa – an alliance of democracies that pointedly excluded China, a permanent member of the UN Security Council and despite its role as purported leader of the developing world.

The inaugural Brasilia Declaration of 6 June 2003 mentions the shared democratic credentials of the IBSA countries, their condition as developing nations, their capacity to act on a global scale, and included a call to reform the UN, especially the Security Council.[3]

Looking back over this period it is, however, not the end of history that Fukuyama has written about, but rather the warnings about an imminent clash of civilisations, popularised by Samuel P Huntington, that appears to have come to pass.[4] Huntington penned his 1993 *Foreign Affairs* piece in response to that of his former student, and instead argued that while the age of ideology may have ended, the world had (largely) reverted to a normal state of affairs where people's cultural identities would be the main source of conflict.

From a global stability perspective, the most important development that tilted the world sharply in favour of the clash of civilisations narrative is undoubtedly the four coordinated terrorist attacks by al-Qaeda on the United States on the morning of Tuesday, 11 September 2001, and the fallout from the 'war on terror' that followed.

From the viewpoint of the Islamist terror groups, the subsequent ill-fated US invasion in Iraq of March 2003 snatched victory from the jaws of defeat. That decision would eventually create the momentum for the Islamic State to commence with its efforts to establish a caliphate in 'liberated' areas of Syria and Iraq some years later, events that have had wider ramifications in Europe and elsewhere.

Under Mbeki, South Africa's policy orientation had meanwhile developed into a frenetic engagement on a broad range of issues in Africa, driven by his vision of an African Renaissance that ranged from seeking to deter the impending invasion of Iraq to engaging on the lack of progress on a solution on Palestine.

> Under Mbeki South Africa served as an intermediary between the First and developing worlds

Other examples of the active engagement in multilateralism include South Africa's role in the 1995 indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the 1997 Ottawa Process on the banning of landmines, the 1998 adoption of the Rome Statute to set up the International Criminal Court (that South Africa now intends to withdraw from) and the Kimberley Process to regulate conflict diamonds.

In many of these roles South Africa served as an intermediary between the First and developing worlds, although it consistently proclaimed solidarity with the rest of Africa as the cornerstone of its efforts.

Basking in the glow of its historic settlement, and led by a hyperactive foreign policy president, South Africa punched above its weight.[5] Mbeki did so by retaining (and expanding) South Africa's international relevance through, among others, its active multilateralism, also as part of the G20 where the country remains the only regular African member in the group.[6] Since 2008 the G20 has met annually at the level of heads of state and finance ministers, and is steadily establishing itself as an important forum for global economic coordination and prioritisation.

South Africa hosted a series of international summits on issues of importance to the developing world during these years, including the ninth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1996, the Non-Aligned Movement in 1998, the World Conference against Racism in 2001 and the World Summit for Sustainable Development in 2002.

In the process South Africa gained a reputation for advancing progressive internationalism while

simultaneously acting in solidarity with Africa and the global South.

Mbeki adopted a similar partnership approach in his efforts to reform the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and infuse it with new thinking. Thus South Africa played a particularly important role in the transition from the OAU to the African Union (AU) from 2000 to 2002 during which Mbeki championed the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and conceptualised the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) with both secretariats today located in Midrand, eventually joined by the Pan African Parliament.

These developments were substantially enabled by his success in building a leadership partnership with Nigeria (Olusegun Obasanjo), Senegal (Abdoulaye Wade), Algeria (Abdelaziz Bouteflika), Egypt (Hosni Mubarak) and Ethiopia (Meles Zenawi).

Drawing upon this partnership, Mbeki pursued the concept of an African Renaissance, which is where he expended most of his energies, culminating in the G8-Africa Summit held in Gleneagles in Scotland in 2005.

The previous month, the G8[7] finance ministers agreed to write off the entire $40 billion debt owed by 18 Highly Indebted Poor Countries to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the African Development Fund. Basically Mbeki led the charge in making a deal with the West: instead of imposing the Bretton Woods Institutions upon Africa (and the associated structural adjustment programmes that had wrought significant suffering), Africa would assume ownership and self-regulate – NEPAD and the APRM.

But it still needed aid and debt relief. This new partnership approach was a major shift in Africa's relations globally.

In all of his engagement, Mbeki was motivated by his keen awareness of the extent to which the global order is heavily skewed against the developing world, but recognised the extent to which South Africa was deeply integrated into the Western-dominated global system. China was, for Mbeki, still largely a sideshow.

In South Africa, developments around corruption in a large arms deal, Mbeki's denialism on the HIV/AIDS pandemic and his paranoia would now play itself out with substantial consequences for South Africa's governance and its global standing. Mbeki had fired Jacob Zuma as deputy president over corruption allegations in 2005 and rivalry between the two candidates intensified, culminating in Mbeki himself being ousted as ANC president at its December 2007 National Conference at Polokwane.

After a brief interregnum during which Kgalema Motlanthe served as interim president, Zuma assumed the presidency after national elections in 2009 at which the ANC experienced a drop in support of 3.8 percentage points.

Zuma: throwing a BRIC

The unceremonial ousting of Mbeki by Zuma had far-reaching implications for South Africa's foreign policy, and upended many things, particularly South Africa's courting of the G7 (Russia was, by now, excluded from the previous G8) and their purported engagement with Africa, in favour of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries.

Instead of a foreign policy run tightly from the Union Buildings, which was the hallmark of the Mbeki administration, the renamed Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) under Zuma's presidency was given greater leeway to pursue South-South solidarity and continue its broad prioritisation of Africa. Beyond his interest in China and Russia, Zuma appeared to offer only limited direction.

> Mbeki recognised the extent to which South Africa was deeply integrated into the Western-dominated global system

Moving into the Union Buildings in the wake of the worst global recession in almost a century, the Zuma administration was keen to find new sources of economic growth. The financial crisis of 2007-2008 that erupted is generally considered to have been the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s, and its effects lingered for many years. That growth was clearly not going to come from the West, which was particularly badly hit, and where Mbeki had largely placed his trust (and through NEPAD, that of Africa).

Only China and India offered economic growth opportunities for a country that remained a large exporter of commodities, and dependent upon global cycles at a time of a Western recession. In addition, a pivot to China and countries like Russia and Brazil had the added advantage for Zuma of charting his own course, different to that of Mbeki. Membership of the BRIC grouping would

cement South Africa's relationship with the next generation of global powers, going far beyond the potential of bilateral relations with each of the countries.

In August 2010 Zuma undertook his first state visit to China and the countries announced a comprehensive strategic partnership and signed the Beijing Declaration that formally elevated bilateral ties from the previous strategic partnership.[8] The declaration underlined the extent to which the two countries shared views on international affairs, to strengthen relations and interaction. It was followed by the establishment of an Inter-Ministerial Joint Working Group on China-South Africa Cooperation in 2010 (although only ratified in March 2013 when President Xi Jinping visited South Africa) to which Zuma appointed five cabinet ministers.[9]

It is unclear which developments led to the decision by the original BRIC grouping to invite South Africa to attend their third summit meeting in Sanya in 2011, but the admission followed a concerted South African campaign and presented Zuma with a huge diplomatic coup. China had previously lobbied hard to join the Mbeki-inspired IBSA grouping, but neither India nor Brazil were keen on bringing in a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a non-democracy at odds with India on a number of issues and at a time when Chinese-Brazilian relations were still limited.[10]

By inviting South Africa to become a member of BRIC, China also succeeded in dismantling the potential role of IBSA that had strengthened rival India's claim to a permanent seat on the Security Council. IBSA has subsequently largely fallen by the wayside as the three partners each focused on pressing domestic issues and the momentum of BRICS dominated developments in the global narrative.

Whereas Mbeki presented his ideas on the African Renaissance and NEPAD first to the G8, Zuma now leant unashamedly towards China, India and Russia.

Membership of BRICS, on top of South Africa's existing membership of the G20 group of major economies, is the most important foreign policy achievement of the Zuma administration. It has cemented South Africa's position within the big league where the country rubs shoulders with the purported alternative club of global leadership.

However, this has come at the cost of efforts to reform global power relations (including agitating for a possible seat on a reformed Security Council in partnership with non-African countries) as well as South Africa's previous role as a bridge between the developed and the developing world.

By the time of the start of Zuma's second term in 2014, South Africa's view of BRICS had evolved to assume even greater ideological and political content. To the Zuma faction within the ANC, BRICS presented an opportunity to protect itself against what it viewed as a Western, neoliberal and free market-dominated framework where notions of financial prudence interfered with a nation's ability to adopt more expansive and populist domestic policies.

> Membership of BRICS is the most important foreign policy achievement of the Zuma administration

Whereas this world was previously informed by the requirement for individual rights, free trade, democracy and the like, BRICS would increasingly place their emphasis on the importance of national sovereignty (i.e. non-interference in domestic affairs) and the importance of a strong, developmental state.

China's commitment to non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations has steadily gained traction, buoyed by the fallout from the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 and, in 2011, Western overreach in Libya. The decline in enthusiasm for concepts such as Sovereignty as Responsibility and later the Responsibility to Protect reflect these global shifts in norms.

Together with the impact of the Arab Spring of 2010 that weakened existing authoritarian governments, the Middle East (and to a lesser extent North Africa) rapidly descended into war and destruction and provided opportunity for a resurgent Russia under Vladimir Putin to test Western resolve in Ukraine and elsewhere shortly after. As China grows it has become more assertive, including speculation about the potential for a new alliance of major power, the G2, consisting of China and the United States.

During these years the flow of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and other unstable areas to Europe added to the impact of several years of low economic growth and unemployment that followed the 2007 US subprime mortgage and eurozone crises. These all fed into a broad populist backlash against globalisation.

It was partly these developments that culminated in the decision of the United Kingdom to leave the European Union (EU) and the rise of populism in countries such as France and Germany. In North America populism was first evident in Canada (the Harper administration from 2006 to 2015) before Donald Trump was inaugurated as president in 2017 to give effect to a US retreat to bilateralism, a focus on hard as opposed to soft power, and to prune down the dense lattice of multilateralism that the US had helped establish since the Second World War.

South Africa, a small player on the global stage but a regional leader in Africa, has variously sought to navigate these turbulent waters while advancing its own interests. In support of its tilt towards BRICS, South Africa has embarked upon a wide-ranging social and cultural initiative to shift thinking and orientations to build people-to-people contact with the Chinese, Russians and to a lesser extent Indians and Brazilians. This effort is second only to its efforts to support and maintain relations with Cuba, to which the ANC feels particularly indebted given its military role in Angola during 1975 and again from 1988.

> The NDP took a narrow, economic view of foreign relations, and gave scant attention to other aspects of diplomacy

Then the large contingents of Cuban forces deployed to Angola in defence against the South African Defence Force during its second major intervention tilted the balance of power in the region and played an important role in the subsequent settlement in South Africa under Mandela/De Klerk.

In many ways, these people-to-people relationships have served to balance an orientation that was perhaps too Western-centric, but have also been pursued as an alternative instead of an addition to South Africa's existing external orientation.

A Zuma doctrine?

As part of the restructuring of the presidency that followed his inauguration, Zuma established a National Planning Commission under the leadership of the former minister of finance, Trevor Manuel, to draft a National Development Plan (NDP) with a time horizon to 2030. The plan was successively adopted by the cabinet, Parliament and the ANC in 2012, but implementation remains a challenge in a government that suffers from a lack of coherence and leadership.

Given its developmental approach, the plan took a narrow, economic view of foreign relations (and of regional organisations), and gave scant attention to other aspects of diplomacy. Thus the NDP argued that the most important priority for South Africa was to redefine the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).[11] The NDP thus focused on practical proposals such as maximising the Maputo Corridor that connected north-eastern South Africa, Swaziland and southern Mozambique with the port of Maputo and was dismissive of the economic relevance of DIRCO. Nor did the NDP make much effort in looking at global developments and shifts in power and influence.

THE ANC FEELS INDEBTED TO CUBA GIVEN ITS MILITARY ROLE IN ANGOLA

DIRCO later claimed that it had not been consulted much on the drafting of the NDP – and Minister of International Relations and Cooperation Maite Nkoana-Mashabane subsequently objected, among others, to the assessment that South Africa was losing its moral authority, recommendations that diplomats be trained to improve their skills in economic diplomacy and international negotiations and the call for an audit of the costs of maintaining its staff abroad.[12]

After initial agreement within the ANC that Chapter 7 of the NDP would be redrafted, nothing eventually came of the intention, possibly because the 2011 White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Relations, Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu, was deemed to supersede the chapter in the NDP.[13]

The White Paper states (in language more reminiscent of Mbeki than Zuma) that the two key tenets that inform South Africa's international engagement are Pan-Africanism and South-South solidarity, the latter being described as 'cooperation amongst countries and/or groupings in the global South aimed at addressing and developing a common stance on political, economic, social and human rights issues (all of which are often termed developmental issues, or issues which must be addressed in order to overcome the historical legacy of marginalization faced by these countries)'.[14]

Whereas Mbeki had been coy about South Africa's ambitions for a seat on a reformed Security Council, the White Paper now presented this as a clear objective despite its simultaneous commitment to the AU's Ezulwini Consensus position on reform of the UN.[15] According to the Ezulwini Consensus: 'The question of the criteria for the selection of [two permanent and five non-permanent] African members of the Security Council should be a matter for the AU to determine, taking into consideration the representative nature and capacity of those chosen. Despite repeated efforts to move the reform process forward, no progress has been made to date.

While Mbeki was at pains to downplay South Africa's regional hegemonic role, Zuma has proven much more willing to seek an African leadership role and to pursue specific objectives – a development that well-known foreign policy correspondent Peter Fabricius has termed a nascent 'Zuma doctrine' on foreign policy.[17]

Thus South Africa has, for example, been hammering on the table in proposing how it thinks peacekeeping should be done in Africa (aka the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises) – an initiative that seeks to duplicate the Rapid Response Capability of the African Standby Force.

This has not gone down well with a number of key countries and South Africa's efforts have confounded and exasperated others. It has proven difficult for DIRCO to translate South-South solidarity into practice, despite its frequent reference in the White Paper and in speeches written for Zuma.

The Africa agenda, while still important, certainly received less attention than previously. In practice a lack of direction and inability to take decisions have reduced the apparent leeway that DIRCO was afforded while the president prioritised the fracturing within the ANC and his numerous legal challenges.

A series of blunders have eaten away at South Africa's standing in Africa

Zuma certainly does not share Mbeki's keen sense of international politics or the same passion for the upliftment of Africa. He nominally chairs the AU/NEPAD Presidential Infrastructure Champion Initiative, a programme to improve north-south road and rail infrastructure on the continent under the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa but which pays little more than lip service to NEPAD and the APRM, both of which were the brainchildren of Mbeki.

A series of blunders have also eaten away at South Africa's standing in Africa that detract from the substantive contributions made, among others, to the AU that obtains 15% of its operating budget from South Africa, some R470 million in 2015/16.[18] For example, as part of its more assertive approach, and despite severe competition, South Africa managed to ensure the election of its candidate Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma as chairperson of the AU Commission in 2012 – against the expectations of most analysts, as well as opposition from Nigeria and its allies in West Africa.

The stated intention was to reinvigorate and empower the AU Commission, but after a mixed-result single term, Dlamini Zuma announced that she would not seek to run for a second term in 2016. In retrospect, her initial petulance as a candidate was clear since her domestic ambitions take precedence – a shot at the presidency of the ANC (and probably South Africa) at the ANC's December 2017 National Conference.[19]

Besides South Africa's membership of BRICS, perhaps the most important difference between Mbeki and Zuma's leadership is that whereas the former sought and built strategic global and African partnerships (such as with the G7, IBSA and key African partners), Zuma's engagements have been comparatively limited and focused on prioritising specific bilateral relations. These include countries such as the Central African Republic where South Africa had no obvious national interests, and with Angola, where Mbeki had made little leeway.

In the calamity of the Battle of Bangui, 13 South African soldiers died trying to protect the regime of François Bozizé against Séléka rebels in March 2013 for reasons that remain unclear.

Then Zuma looked away when his family's business associations, the Gupta brothers Ajay, Atul and Rajesh, repeatedly usurped the functions of DIRCO, such as during his 2012 state visit to India, effectively running proceedings. The most infamous event was the ability of the Guptas to present a planeload of guests to a private wedding as an official ministerial visit and landing them at the Waterkloof airforce base on 30 April 2013 rather than at the international airport outside Johannesburg. This was despite the base being a designated national key point.[20]

Personal business interests, analysts started to speculate, play a role in how the president conducts foreign policy. In time the most defining feature of the Zuma administration has been its inchoate policies, where the one department's actions undo the efforts of another, negatively impacting upon South Africa's regional and international standing.

But the single most serious setback to South Africa's stature in Africa under Zuma has been the impact of the widespread and repeated incidents of xenophobic violence, although the first serious outbreaks happened in 2008 when Mbeki was still in power.

One of the worst incidents of xenophobic violence occurred in May 2008 in Gauteng when 67 people were killed (of which 62 were foreigners) and 30 000 displaced. After apparently decreasing, reports of violent xenophobia reignited during the first and second quarter of 2015.[21]

During April 2015, South Africa was placed on the agenda of the AU's Peace and Security Council to discuss the violence. Elsewhere Africans in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Kenya and Ethiopia called for the expulsion or boycotting of South African businesses and goods.

While Zuma can hardly be blamed for how South Africans feel about other Africans, the repeat attacks reflect the leadership deficit that has developed during his presidency – and the failures in creating growth and employment.

Instead of acknowledging the problem and directing the SA Police Service to protect the victims, South Africa's response has mainly been characterised by denialism, blaming crime and 'criminal elements' rather than confronting the extent of xenophobia.[22]

The subsequent decision to allow Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir to attend the June 2015 AU Summit in Johannesburg despite the fact that he is sought by the International Criminal Court (ICC) should be seen against this backdrop. There had, by then, been a series of resolutions at the AU that it would not cooperate with the ICC in the arrest and surrender of the Sudanese president dating back to 2009 and requests for referral of the ICC's investigation and prosecutions in relation to the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya.

> The single most serious setback to South Africa under Zuma has been the impact of xenophobic violence

Rather than advise al-Bashir not to attend the summit, the government subsequently conspired to hustle him out of the country while in court on this very issue. The issue here is not if the ICC is anti-African as some argue, but the matter of subservience of the executive to the Constitution and rule of law.

Nothing has stopped South Africa from withdrawing from the Rome Statute as it has subsequently announced it will do (although it has not resubmitted its instrument of withdrawal after the latter was ruled as inadmissible in court), but while it is a member and having domesticated the Rome Statute it is legally bound by its associated commitments.[23]

To a degree these events underline a longstanding disconnect between how the South African government thinks the country is viewed in Africa and how it is really perceived. Thus a recent report by Maxi Schoeman, Asnake Kefale and Chris Alden reflects upon this disconnect and underlines the extent to which xenophobia dominates concerns, matters relating to the lack of coherence (or double speak) in South African engagement

during Zuma's tenure and South African perceived paternalism towards others on the continent.[23]

These perceptions should not, however, detract from the substantial contributions that South Africa has made to stability and development in Africa and general appreciation of these efforts.

A force for stability

South Africa's contributions to peacekeeping commenced unexpectedly in 1998 with the deployment of an intervention force under the auspices of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Lesotho.

Its first UN deployment started the following year as part of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and has continued ever since. In recent years it has taken the form of participation in the Intervention Brigade in the eastern DRC (as part of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or MONUSCO).

South Africa has also been involved in the peace process in Burundi for many years after Mandela succeeded Julius Nyerere as facilitator of the peace process in 1999. The South African troops who were stationed in Burundi as part of an AU mission were eventually rehatted to form the basis of the UN Operation in Burundi in 2004 and withdrew in 2009 after eight years.

By 2017 South Africa has served in 14 international peace operations, including seven UN peacekeeping missions, most prominently in the DRC and Sudan.[24] Currently South Africa has troops and police deployed in MONUSCO (DRC), the UN-AU Mission in Darfur in Sudan and the UN Mission in South Sudan.

South Africa is the 16th largest supplier of troops and police globally and 10th from Africa, although its contributions have steadily declined in recent years.[25]

Its future peacekeeping capacity is likely to remain modest as the Department of Defence struggles with funding challenges and the inability to summon the political courage to slim its bloated staffing structures.[26]

South Africa has also been a major provider of development assistance in the region. The DRC has been by all accounts the biggest recipient of South African foreign aid for the past 20 years. Between 2001 and 2015 South Africa contributed over $1 billion in official development assistance-like co-operation activities in the DRC, peaking at $181 million in 2008, which made South Africa the third biggest development partner to the DRC that year.[27]

South Africa, as a small middle-income economy, therefore finds itself in the same league of traditional Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development donors active in the African development landscape such as the UK, France and others, each of which has a large bureaucracy and considerable expertise in the provision and management of aid – capacities not evident in the South African case.

> South Africa contributed over $1 billion in official development assistance and activities in the DRC

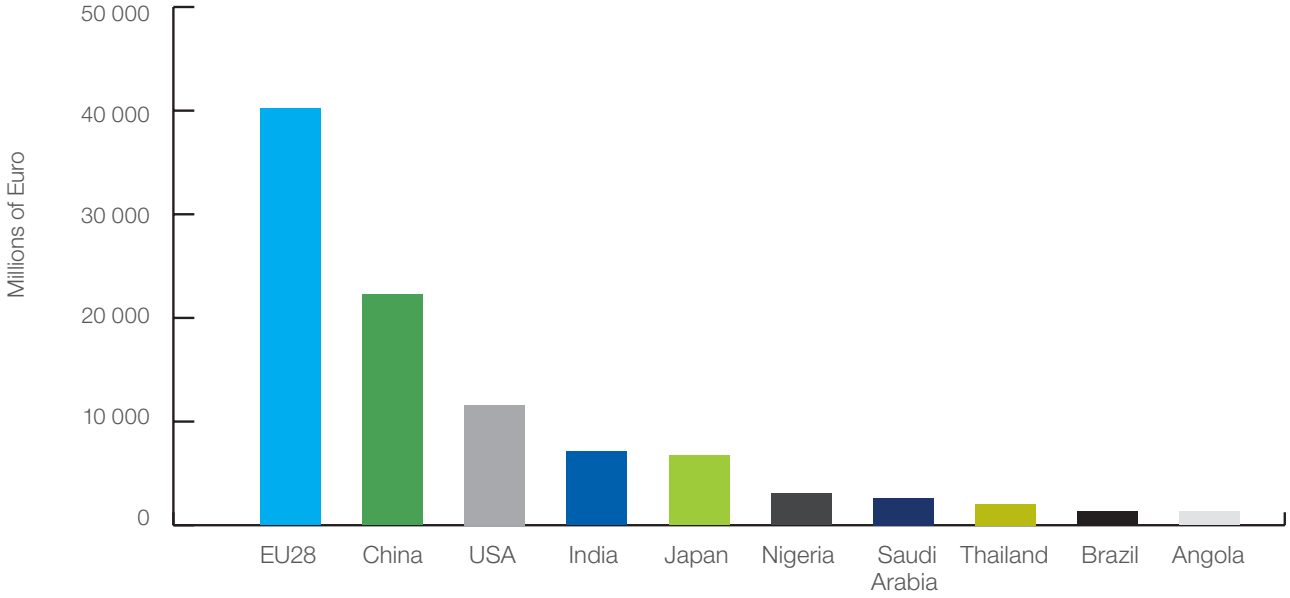
Yet several years after it was unveiled, the much-vaunted South African Development Partnership Agency, the vehicle through which DIRCO would manage and channel its development assistance, remains only on paper as all attention is soaked up by dealing with budgetary constraints and the fracturing within the ruling party.[28]

South Africa's most impactful efforts at peace have, however, been the efforts at mediation most prominently under Mbeki, who continued in that role on behalf of the AU in Sudan after stepping down as president. These have included ongoing efforts to end the political crisis in Zimbabwe (both as president and briefly thereafter), the massive efforts in the DRC, and his interventions in Côte d'Ivoire on behalf of the AU to jumpstart a stalled peace process between the rebel New Forces in the north of the country and President Laurent Gbagbo.

Zuma has been much less engaged. His involvement in Burundi started under Mandela and continued while he was deputy president under Mbeki. Efforts by the Zuma administration include a successful SADC intervention in Madagascar, the ongoing SADC efforts in Lesotho, and in Libya (on behalf of the AU). There, despite an eleventh-hour effort to forestall the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1973 of 2011, North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces turned the tide against its mercurial leader, Muammar Gaddafi.

South Africa also plays a behind-the-scenes role in recent discussions between the Mozambique Liberation Front

Figure 1: South Africa's trade by value with top 10 trade partners 2015



Source: EU. http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113447.pdf

(FRELIMO) and the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo) in Mozambique jointly with a number of other international partners.

The Zuma administration has also explored the potential of party-to-party talks with the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLA/M) as a means to assist with the peace process in South Sudan, eventually placing rebel leader Riek Machar under virtual house arrest in December 2016 in seeking to help end the civil war.

Patterns of trade

South Africa's relationship with BRICS has the most important feature of its foreign policy under Zuma. Despite its long history with Africa, the West features only to a limited extent in South Africa's current foreign policy narrative. Yet in 2015, the value of EU-South Africa trade was almost double its trade with China, although it only accounts for a 1.3% share of total EU trade. This relationship is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future and despite the decision by the UK (an important trading partner for South Africa in its own right) to exit from the EU in 2019.

Figure 1 presents South Africa's 2015 trade in millions of euros for its top 10 trade partners. Exports to the EU are dominated by primary products (precious metals) and transport equipment (from South Africa's automotive industry). Imports are dominated by machinery and other manufactured goods.[29]

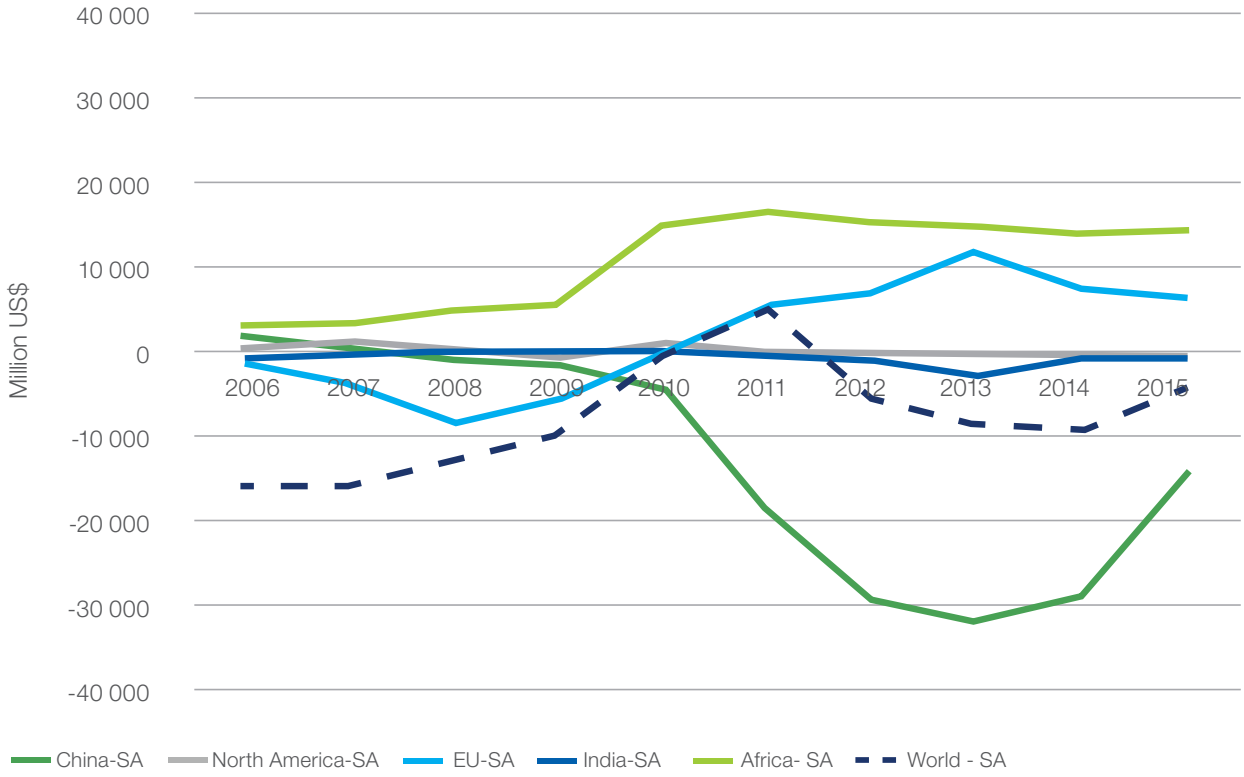
South Africa and the EU signed a Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement in 1999 that entered into force in 2004. South Africa is one of the 10 strategic partners of the EU with more than 2 000 European companies active in South Africa. Europe accounts for 77% of foreign direct investment in South Africa (compared to 4% from China).[30]

Beyond its engagement with Europe and BRICS, the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) that was passed by the US Congress in 2000 promotes US and African trade relations and was extended to 2025 by former president Barack Obama.

Unlike other preferential trade arrangements, AGOA is a unilateral trade concession that allows least developed and developing countries from sub-Saharan Africa additional market access in the US. It does so in exchange for a broad range of conditions such as respecting and promoting the rule of law, respect for human and workers' rights, and upholding democratic and market-based economic principles.

AGOA eligibility criteria also dictate that barriers to US trade and investment should be removed. As an upper middle-income country South Africa participates in AGOA on the basis of its extended value chains in the region rather than its development status, and this has allowed South Africa to grow its automotive, chemical and agriculture exports to the United States.

Figure 2: South Africa balance of trade



Source: TRALAC. www.tralac.org/resources/trade-data-analysis.html

In 2016 US-South Africa total bilateral trade amounted to US$11.2 billion. Of the US$7 billion imports, 27% were categorised as AGOA imports and 45% from AGOA and Generalized System of Preferences (pre-AGOA) benefits.[31]

South Africa's engagement with BRICS is dominated by its trade relations with China and to a lesser extent India. In Africa, South Africa is China's largest trading partner, followed by Angola, Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria. Since the bulk of exports from most African countries to China consist of oil, followed by iron ore and copper products, the fall in oil prices, the rebalancing of the Chinese economy and the global slowdown in growth have hit the value of Africa's exports to China hard.

In 2015 South Africa and China did business to the value of R262 billion although there has, since 2015, been a rapid de-acceleration of Chinese trade with Africa and South Africa. China has undoubtedly helped South Africa weather some of the effects of the global slowdown, although the reasons for South Africa's continued low growth are largely self-inflicted.

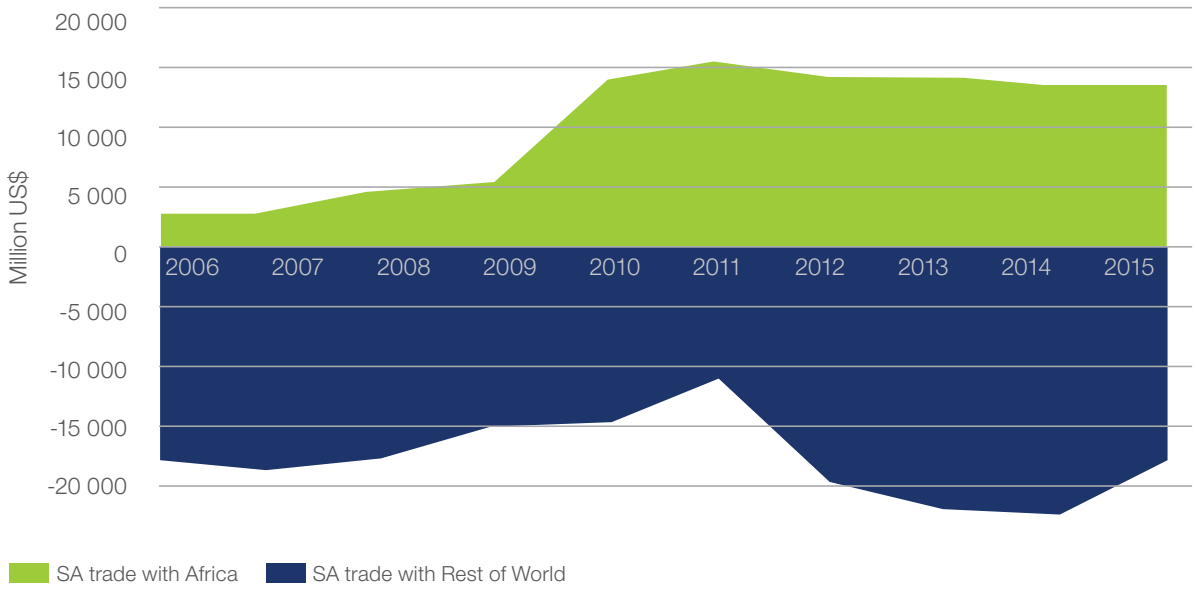
The rapid growth in China-South Africa trade has also contributed to the effective de-industrialisation of South Africa and the loss of tens of thousands of manufacturing jobs. Also, China and South Africa compete commercially in Africa. Economic relations with Russia and Brazil are limited in comparison.

In the most recent effort to counter the imbalance in its trade relations with China, South Africa has seized upon the opportunities offered by the BRICS New Development Bank. The bank was initiated partly in response to the slow pace of reform in existing global financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF to better reflect the current political and economic realities.

While there was a huge global savings surplus estimated at $17 trillion in 2012, the argument is that ways need to be found to invest these resources in Africa. The bank is particularly germane to Africa's infrastructure financing deficit estimated to require an annual investment of close to $100 billion a year, but at the moment it is only lending to its five members.

Africa is the only region with which South Africa has a consistent trade surplus. With the rest of the world the country's annual balance of trade is negative (see

Figure 3: South Africa's trade balance: Africa vs Rest of the World



Source: TRALAC, www.tralac.org/resources/trade-data-analysis.html.

figure 3). Furthermore, most of South Africa's exports to the rest of Africa consist of value-added manufactured products including refined petroleum oil, trucks and motor vehicles, diamonds and electricity.[32] It is for this reason that Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies speaks of the importance of regional integration and building regional value chains as a tool to further South Africa's industrial development, as indeed set out in the 2012 Trade Policy.[33]

Trade within SACU, including Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland, is highly asymmetric, with South Africa dominating imports and exports and others largely dependent upon the revenues that they get from South Africa.[34]

South Africa's export markets are concentrated in SADC. Beyond SADC, only Kenya features in the top 10 South African export markets.[35] In pursuit of trade in the region, South Africa has made major asymmetric commitment in the SADC trade protocol that came into effect in 2008, particularly as these relate to the reduction of its industrial tariffs in order to offset regional trade imbalances.

But, unable to move regional integration in southern Africa forward, attention has now shifted to the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) – an arrangement that seeks to bring together SADC, the East African Community and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa.

The TFTA and indeed the proposed Continental Free Trade Area seek to remove barriers to trading across borders without the prospects for deeper integration as exemplified, for example, by the EU.

South Africa's mining, retail, construction, financial services, telecommunications, tourism and retail sectors have therefore all expanded into the continent. Yet generally intra-African trade is very low, at roughly 15% compared to East Asia, where intra-regional trade accounts for over 50% of total trade.[36]

In Europe trade among countries accounts for over 60% of total trade. So there is massive potential to develop trade-related infrastructure and the exchange of goods between South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Already South African imports from SADC have increased since the launch of the SADC Free Trade Agreement, helping to balance relations that are heavily skewed in South Africa's favour.

Given South Africa's developed financial systems and the quality of its private sector, the potential benefits in a region that generally does not share these attributes are large. It is for this reason that the Industrial Policy Action Plan argued for the recently launched expanding Trade Invest Africa as a one-stop shop by the Department of Trade and Industry to provide support to South African businesses doing business in the rest of Africa.

Future prospects

Despite South Africa's strong trade relations with Europe, North America and Japan, South Africa's 'Western' partners have gradually lost profile and traction with successive ANC governments.

This dichotomous relationship is well captured in the distinction between high and low politics. Whereas South Africa's high politics is avowedly pro-China and pro-Russian, low politics of trade, investment and aid relations tells the opposite story where the EU, UK and others continue to play an important, even dominant, role. South Africa therefore has something of a split personality with different groupings within the government and the business community agitating for relations with the West and others with China.

This is ironic for the elevation of China's importance to Africa and South Africa has largely occurred at considerable expense to South Africa's manufacturing sector. Mbeki's concerns that were expressed in a widely publicised speech in December 2006 have therefore come to haunt Zuma: 'In its relationship with China, Africa must guard against merely becoming a supplier of raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods,' he argued.[37]

The penny has dropped, but only after significant damage to the South African industrial base. Today South Africa is actively seeking to leverage Chinese financial resources to reverse the trend towards de-industrialisation. As a result Chinese capital investment into South Africa has increased in recent years, although from a very low base.

> China adds the total size of the South African economy to its GDP every 8 months

Increased support for the industrialisation of South Africa, pushing for the export of more value-added goods to China and the local beneficiation of minerals from South Africa by China, have consistently been at the top of the agenda of bilateral discussions between the two countries. The same topics featured prominently on the agendas of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) meetings.

Beyond the call for greater balance in South Africa's engagement with its Western trading partners such as the EU and the United States, a new South African president will inevitably have to look at expanding South Africa's role beyond singular foreign policy focus on BRICS.

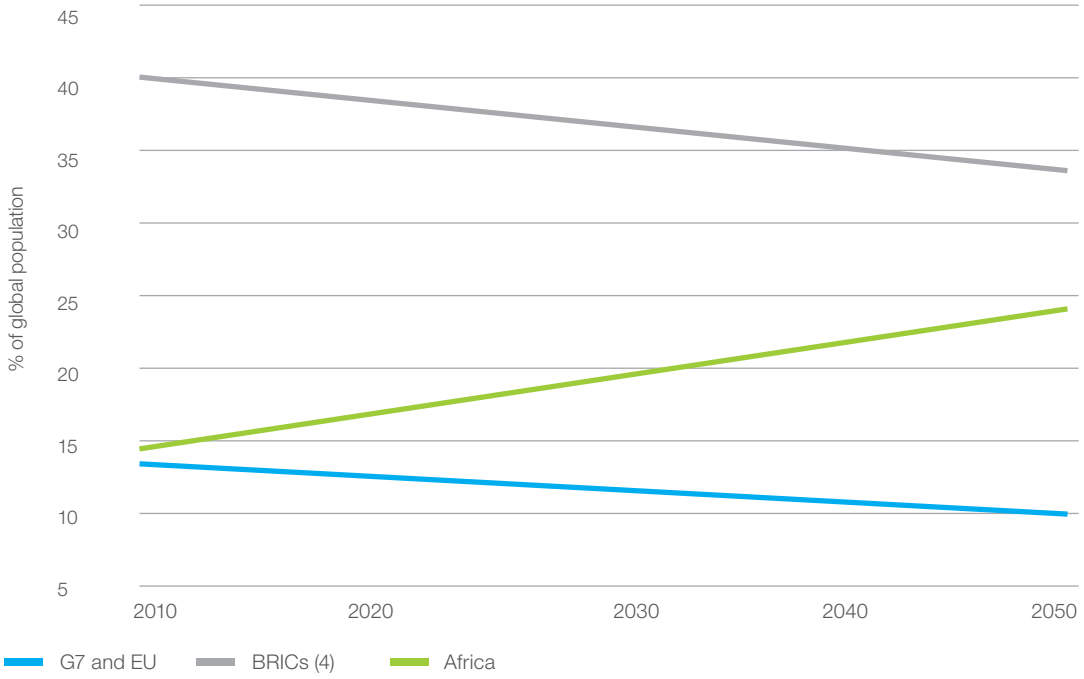
To be sure, BRICS has served as a global disrupter, for it has changed the stark developed-underdeveloped world divide, led to greater flexibility within the global financial system and opens the opportunity for a greater balance of power and, eventually, stability. But China is already moving on.

For the next five to ten years China's foreign policy will be focused on the One Belt One Road initiative that aims to revitalise the ancient Silk Road that ran from China to Europe through Central Asia. It is, in the words of Jeremy Stevens from Standard Bank 'a regional production chain of advanced manufacturing and innovation, furnished by First World infrastructure

INTRA-AFRICAN TRADE IS GENERALLY VERY LOW AT ROUGHLY

15%

Figure 4: BRIC, the West and Africa: share of global population



Source: IFs v 7.28. Forecast initializes from UNPD medium-fertility population in 2015.
Note: South Africa is included as part of the Africa group.

networks, with China at the centre… dealing with some of China's most immediate macroeconomic challenges, such as excess capacity, by migrating production facilities elsewhere; declining domestic investment growth, by finding alternative geographies to build; and regional economic disparity, by making sure inland province are translational hubs.'[38]

BRICS is, of course, not much of a trading bloc – trade among the BRICS nations is less than 5% of their total global trade or about $300 billion out of $6.50 trillion.[39] Its members have very different governance systems and its future is uncertain. Whereas the original leadership in India and Brazil was left-leaning at the time of the establishment of the grouping, both Narendra Modi (elected in 2014) and Michel Temer (as from 2016) are from conservative or centrist parties (the Bharatiya Janata Party and Brazilian Democratic Movement Party respectively).

Recently China endorsed the idea of BRICS Plus, aimed at an outreach with other developing countries that would inevitably dilute South Africa's membership of this exclusive club.[40] The reason for this potential dilution is not difficult to fathom. South Africa's contribution to the combined BRICS economies is set to decline from 3% in 2010 to 2% in 2030 and 1% by 2050. In fact, the Chinese socialist market economy adds the total size of the South African economy to its gross domestic product every eight months.

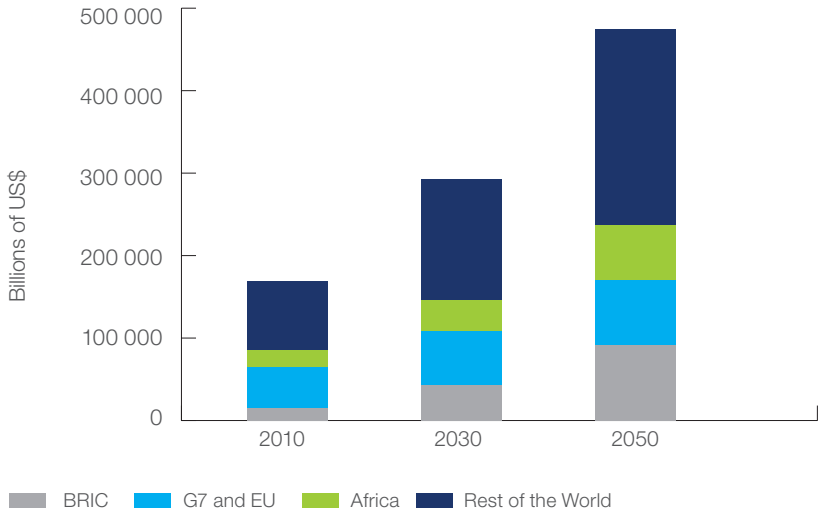
Within the BRICS grouping, the relative share of the various economies is also changing, with the contribution of China forecast to increase from 51% to 65% by 2030 but marginally declining to 63% by 2050. By 2050, India should constitute 27% of BRICS GDP, having increased from only 13% in 2010.

Looking ahead it may be appropriate to compare BRICS with a combined G7/EU grouping (the West) as the two most important competing ideological groupings globally, and then compare these with Africa.

Thus figure 4 first presents the population of these three groups as a percent of global population. The population of the West and BRICS groups consistently declines over the forecast horizon (as a percent of global population) while that of Africa increases to 25% by 2050. Yet the gap between BRICS and the West continues to increase from the current two billion people to around 2 275 million people by 2030. Africa's share of the global population increases from its current 16% to 25% by 2050.

Whereas population size presents one side of the story, the size of the economies of these three groups tells a very different one.

Figure 5: BRIC, the West and Africa: size of economies (MER)



Source: IFs v 7.28. Historical data from IMF World Economic Outlook.

Note: South Africa is included in the Africa group and not in BRIC.

Figure 5 indicates how changes in economic size may impact upon global shifts in power and influence. From 2010 to 2050 the G7/EU portion of the world economy declines from 58% to 33% while that of the BRIC group increases from 18% to 39%.

Africa increases its portion of the global economy from 3% to 5% over the intervening 40 years. As a measure of hard power one can expect BRICS defence expenditure to equal that of the West as from 2030. Since actual power capacity is a slow-growing stock, the actual transition in global power capabilities will take significantly longer to occur.

Since Africa will continue to export large amounts of commodities, its future relations with India will increase in importance. India's growth is likely to eventually trigger a resource boom with benefits for many African economies.

Between 2000 and 2010 India averaged GDP growth of 7.2% and grew 7.5% in 2015, faster than all other BRIC members. Its population will be larger than that of China in 2022 and the size of its working class (aged 15 to 64) will be larger than that of China two years later.

Although the quality of India's democracy is poor, it does share important communalities with South Africa including huge domestic challenges in respect of high levels of poverty, inequality and corruption. The activities of the Gupta family and the manner in which they have managed to exploit their relationship with Zuma have, however, tainted India's image in the eyes of many South Africans.

In summary, Africa is likely to remain relatively marginal in this emerging world order unless the continent can dramatically change its current developmental trajectory. Whichever measure is used (size of economy, military capability or technological sophistication), Africa's limited capabilities are vastly at odds with the size of the African population.

Yet Southern Africa will probably experience some of the highest growth rates globally in the years ahead. In fact, if South Africa is removed from the forecast of future growth in SADC, this region is forecast to experience the most rapid growth rates in Africa. The potential for trade and investment by South Africa – which finds itself on the doorstep of this rapidly growing region – will therefore be large.

Conclusion

At the time of writing, the Zuma presidency is coming to a premature and messy end, although South Africa is only likely to emerge from the impact of what can best be described as a lost decade after the national elections in 2019.

The 1990-1994 settlement process, the stature of Nelson Mandela and the character of the ANC that had been honed in exile provided post-apartheid South Africa with unprecedented global standing and influence. By 2017 South Africa's star has faded. It is located close to the periphery of the global political economy albeit with substantial influence in Africa

where it is a regional power despite its challenge of huge domestic inequalities and poverty.

South Africa has also been caught in an extended middle-income slow-growth trap for several decades and it is questionable whether it will be able to break this path-dependency, although it is located in a neighbourhood that will probably experience rapid economic growth in future years.[41]

Despite the continued strength of economic, social and cultural ties with many countries in the West, when it comes to 'high politics', South Africa under Zuma sided with the BRIC countries, specifically China and Russia, and appears to have largely abandoned the idea of an alliance of democratic emerging middle powers or association with traditional democratic middle powers (the Nordics in particular) to develop progressive alliances to advance global governance.

It is unlikely that an incoming president will be able to recapture that moment. Domestic priorities, growth, inequality and unemployment are likely to squeeze out most other considerations and the current foreign policy direction is unclear. In the words of former director general of DIRCO Sipho Pityana: 'Nobody knows where we stand, what our vision of our international system is.'[42]

The most evident problem with the way the Zuma administration has conducted its foreign policy is the extent to which national and international policies are often at odds with key values espoused in the Constitution and the basis of the historic settlement from 1990 to 1994. These reflect those of a liberal democracy, a respect for human rights and a positive internationalism – values shared in the constitutions of South Africa, India and Brazil, but not by Russia or China.

Every survey that the Afrobarometer project does in Africa confirms the demand of the majority of African citizens for democracy as their best guarantor to free them from the scourge of bad governance and exploitation at the hands of the Big Men of Africa (women are generally not allowed). Under Zuma South Africa does not serve as a proponent of these values and even its rhetorical commitments have waned.

The result is a country that is often not even-handed in its commentary and engagement on international developments and that undermines international rule of law to its own long-term detriment. Instead of an approach that is in accordance with applicable customary international law, the precedents that are being set will come to haunt it in the future. Small countries need the rule law and how this matter will be taken forward will be key.[43]

Certainly the current two frontrunners for president, Dlamini Zuma and Ramaphosa, appear to have very different views on the importance of the rule of law and constitutionalism.

While Dlamini Zuma served as foreign minister under Thabo Mbeki, foreign policy was effectively made by the president and in her current campaign for the presidency she has clearly come out in support of the traditionalist faction within the ANC that would largely continue the foreign policy trajectory of her former husband.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE TRADING PROSPECTS WITH INDIA ARE LIKELY TO GROW IN LEAPS AND BOUNDS

Ramaphosa has significantly less foreign policy experience, but his labour, business and government experience appear to present opportunities to focus DIRCO on where it is weakest, in economic diplomacy.

The department has also had to accommodate a stream of politicians in senior foreign postings that had fallen foul of domestic politics and squeezed out the appointment and promotion of career diplomats. This too needs to change, as does the lack of interdepartmental coordination between DIRCO and other government departments and state-owned enterprises. Finally, financial pressure will force DIRCO to close a number of embassies and force prioritisation.

> Membership of BRICS is a smart, pragmatic move to encompass changing geo-political and economic realities – but its future is uncertain

Looking to the future, South Africa's foreign policy priorities should be clear: how foreign policy can facilitate economic growth, jobs and reduce inequality at home, good relations with all important trading and investment partners (not only the BRIC countries) and the advancement of a rules-based system (as indeed nominally reflected in the White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy).

To the end of facilitating economic growth, South Africa should actively pursue regional integration in Africa and the development of regional value chains as its most important foreign policy priority. Africa is and should remain the focus of South Africa's foreign and economic policy for our development and security depends upon a stable and growing southern Africa.

Membership of BRICS is a smart, pragmatic move to encompass changing geo-political and economic realities, but its future is uncertain and it is time that South Africa starts thinking of life beyond BRICS. It is also unlikely that South Africa will be able to remain relevant to the BRICS grouping along its current expected development trajectory unless a new president and cabinet is able to unlock significantly higher rates of growth and recapture a sense of internationalism. China too appears to be thinking beyond BRICS.

Even then, other indices that determine power – such as population size, military expenditure and international interactions – inevitably mean that South Africa will lose some of its power capabilities. On the other hand, South Africa's future trading prospects with India are likely to grow in leaps and bounds.

South Africa is unlikely to see the restoration of the rule of law and positive prospects for its future emerge much before the 2019 elections. Even then it will take several years to recover from the damage done by Zuma to South Africa's domestic governance and international standing, but the prospects are certainly more positive than they have been for several years.

AFRICA IS AND SHOULD REMAIN THE FOCUS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Notes

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1 IFs is hosted and developed by the Frederick S Pardee Center for International Futures at the University of Denver. The model is an open-source tool and is available for free at www.pardee.du.edu. It leverages historical data (over 3 500 historical series), identifies and measures trends, and models dynamic relationships to forecast hundreds of variables for 186 countries for every year from 2014 to 2100. The IFs Current Path is a dynamic forecast, within and across key development systems, that represents a continuation of current policy choices and environmental conditions. All US$ numbers in this report are in 2016 values.

2 Francis Fukuyama, 'The End of History?'. *The National Interest*, 1989, (16): 3-18.

3 Brasilia Declaration, 6 June 2003, http://ibsa.nic.in/brasil_declaration.htm.

4 *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.

5 Substantially popularised by Joseph Nye of Harvard University as the ability to shape the preferences of others through appeal and attraction.

6 Also consisting of Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States – along with the European Union (EU).

7 Then consisting of the United States, Canada, the UK, Italy, France, Germany, Japan and Russia – plus the EU.

8 Chris Alden and Yu-Shan Wu, South African foreign policy and China: Converging visions, competing interests, contested identities, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 54, 2, 2016, DOI:10.1080/14662043.2016.1151170, 209.

9 Ibid, 216.

10 IBSA last had a summit meeting in 2011 and the leadership in all three countries appear to have lost interest. Twice meetings to be hosted by India (in 2013 and again in 2015) have been cancelled and the initiative is effectively moribund.

11 SACU is the world's oldest customs union and includes Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland. All but Botswana are also members of the Common Monetary Area, and the rand is legal tender in these countries. As the National Development Plan points out: 'Given its relatively advanced infrastructure, roads, ports and communication networks, South Africa is a convenient link for the landlocked countries in southern Africa with the rest of the world, and an important hub for trade in the region.' South Africa effectively subsidises the other SACU members in exchange for serving as a regional market for South African manufacturers.

12 National Planning Commission, Our future - make it work, National Development Plan 2030, Sherino Printers, 2011, pp 235-257 http://www.poa.gov.za/news/Documents/NPC%20National%20Development%20Plan%20Vision%202030%20-lo-res.pdf.

13 Department of International Relations and International Cooperation, Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu, White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy, final draft 13 May 2011, p 3 http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/foreignpolicy_0.pdf.

14 Ibid, p 3.

15 Ibid, p 25.

16 African Union, The Common African Position on the Proposed Reform of the United Nations: 'the Ezulwini Consensus', ET/EX.CL/2(VII), as adopted by the 7th Extraordinary Session of the Executive Council of the African Union, 7-8 March 2005, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, p 10.

17 Peter Fabricius, Are we seeing the emergence of a new 'Zuma doctrine' on Africa?, ISS Today, 2 May 2013, http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/are-we-seeing-the-emergence-of-a-new-zuma-doctrine-on-africa. Also see Chris Landsberg, The foreign policy of the Zuma government: pursuing the 'national interest', in South African Journal of International Affairs, 17:3, 273-293.

18 Carien du Plessis, SA coughs up over R470m for AU in 2015/16, Fin24, 18 July 2016, http://www.fin24.com/Economy/sa-coughs-up-over-r470m-for-au-in-201516-20160718.

19 Her opponent, Gabonese politician Jean Ping, subsequently returned home to pursue his own domestic ambitions to oust the Bongo family dynasty from Gabon where father and son have ruled for several decades. Stolen elections in 2016 denied Ping that opportunity as the AU did what it does best during contested elections – look the other way and eventually succumb to the power of incumbency.

20 For these and other details see Public Protector South Africa, State of Capture Report no 6 of 2016/17, 14 October 2016, http://cdn.24.co.za/files/Cms/General/d/4666/3f63a8b78d2b495d88f10ed060997f76.pdf.

21 See, for example, South African History Online, Xenophobic violence in a democratic South Africa, 27 February 2017, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/xenophobic-violence-democratic-south-africa.

22 See, for example, Barry Bateman, Crime, feuds incorrectly called xenophobia attacks – Zuma, Eyewitness News, 1 March 2017, http://ewn.co.za/2017/03/01/incidents-of-crime-feuds-incorrectly-characterised-as-xenophobia-says-zuma.

23 Maxi Schoeman, Asnake Kefale and Chris Alden, It's time South Africa tuned into Africa's views about its role on the continent, the Conversation, 24 January 2017, https://theconversation.com/its-time-south-africa-tuned-into-africas-views-about-its-role-on-the-continent-71019.

24 Walter Lotze, Cedric de Coning and Theo Neethling, Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: South Africa, September 2015, http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-south-africa/.

25 Ethiopia is the largest contributor to UN military and police operations globally (with 8 321 military and police serving in UN missions in February 2017), ahead of traditional large peacekeeping contributors India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Rwanda is the second largest African contributor with 6 137 personnel wearing the blue beret, then Burkina Faso, Senegal, Ghana Egypt, Tanzania, Nigeria, Morocco and South Africa, who ranks 16th largest contributor globally with 1 428 personnel deployed. Ranking of Military and Police Contributions to UN Operations, 28 February 2017, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/feb17_2.pdf and UN Mission's Summary detailed by Country, 28 February 2017, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2017/feb17_3.pdf.

26 The deployment of troops by low-income African countries is usually driven by concerns about regional instability and the practice of poorer countries such as Ethiopia to augment their national defence budget by deploying large contingents of troops to UN peacekeeping missions. South Africa has the third largest military budget in Africa after Algeria and Nigeria (Angola's defence expenditure will probably overtake South Africa in the next few years).

27 Neissan Alessandro Besharati and Carmel Rawhani, South Africa and the DRC: Evaluating a South–South Partnership for Peace, Governance and Development, South African Institute of International Affairs, Occasional Paper No 235, July 2016, http://www.saiia.org.za/occasional-papers/south-africa-and-the-drc-evaluating-a-south-south-partnership-for-peace-governance-and-development.

28 SADPA would, among others, replace the African Renaissance Fund that was established by Mbeki in 2000.

29 European Commission, European Union, Trade in goods with South Africa, European Union, Directorate-General for Trade, 17 February 2017, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113447.pdf.

30 Presentation by Bart Van Uythem, Head Economic and Infrastructure Cooperation Section, Delegation of the European Union to South Africa, Gauteng Economic Indaba, 9 June 2016, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/160609_en.pdf.

31 Cyril Prinsloo, AGOA and the future of US-Africa trade relations, South African Institute of International Affairs, 17 March 2016, http://www.saiia.org.za/opinion-analysis/agoa-and-the-future-of-us-africa-trade-relations and Bilateral Trade by Sector: United States – South Africa, https://agoa.info/profiles/south-africa.html.

32 For example, in 2015, South Africa recorded the biggest trade deficits with China, Germany, Nigeria (due to oil imports), Saudi Arabia, Thailand, France, Italy and India and the biggest trade surpluses with Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Belgium, and Japan. Trade Law Centre, TRALAC, https://www.tralac.org/resources/trade-data-analysis.html.

33 Rob Davies, Minister of Trade and Industry, in response to the 2017 debate on the State of the Nation Address.

34 Consistent with global trade slowdown and the reductions in commodity prices, South African exports to SACU peaked in 2012 and have since declined while Namibia and Botswana, with their more rapidly growing economies, have seen their exports to other SACU countries increase. John Stuart, Intra-SACU Trading Relationship, TRALAC Trade Data Analysis, February 2017, p 5 https://www.tralac.org/images/docs/11220/intra-sacu-trading-relationship-synopsis-february-2017.pdf#page=1&zoom=auto,-56,843.

35 Ibid.

36 Elsie S Kanza, 3 ways to make rich Africa work for poor Africans, World Economic Forum, https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/04/ways-rich-africa-can-work-for-poor-africans/.

37 Alden and Wu, 207.

38 Jeremy Stevens, OBOR and Africa, Standard Bank, 19 May 2017, 1, https://ws15.standardbank.co.za/ResearchPortal/Report?YYY2162_FISRqWkWXsjoLNloFp3Zff19eRlTTl7ZeYATQ8TyLc+WGGamA7Oat6bNCLM7jspT/xoilTm+eZxvGcE6UxHkpQ==&a=-1.

39 At the October 2016 BRICS Trade Fair, India's Commerce and Industry Minister noted that.

40 Saibal Dasgupta, China wants 'BRICS Plus' to include 'friendly' countries, plan might hurt India's interests, *The Economic Times*, 8 March 2017, http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/china-wants-brics-plus-to-include-friendly-countries-plan-might-hurt-indias-interests/articleshow/57542669.cms.

41 Janis van der Westhuizen, Brazil and South Africa: the 'odd couple' of the South Atlantic?, Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 54:2, 238, http//dx/doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2016.1151169. Also see David R Black & David J Hornsby (2016) South Africa's bilateral relationships in the evolving foreign policy of an emerging middle power, Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, 54:2, 151-160, DOI: 10.1080/14662043.2016.1151164.

42 Siki Mgabadeli, Winds of change hit the SABC, Pityana tells national radio: Zuma is corrupt, BizNews.com, 28 April 2017, http://www.biznews.com/interviews/2017/04/28/winds-of-change-hit-the-sabc-pityana-tells-national-radio-zuma-is-corrupt/?utm_source=BizNews.com&utm_campaign=3760852e12-dailyinsider&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_d5e2e8a496-3760852e12-100572145.

43 For example, on 22 June 2016 DIRCO issued an apparently innocuous media statement on the territorial dispute regarding the South China Sea that called on the countries concerned to resolve their dispute 'through direct consultations and negotiations, on the basis of respecting historical facts and in accordance with international law, as well as to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea'. The critical phrase here are the words 'direct consultations and negotiations', since this is a formula that implicitly rejects the ruling by the Court of Arbitration..

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