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Monyae, Merthold Macfallen (David)

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Learning to Lead: South Africa's Role in Africa - Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

Case Studies (1994-2008)

by

Merthold Macfallen (David) Monyae

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations.

Supervisor: Professor Gilbert M. Khadiagala

April 2014

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work.

It has been submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university. Parts of this thesis have appeared in two publications:

1) Monyae, David. (2006). South Africa in Africa: Promoting Constitutionalism in Southern Africa, 1994 – 2004. In Veronica Federico & Carlo Fusaro (Eds.) Constitutionalism and Democratic Transitions: Lessons From South Africa (pp. 131 – 152)

2) Monyae, David. (2007). South Africa's Leadership Role in the Great Lakes: Burundi and the DRC. In Bhekinkosi Moyo (Ed.), Africa in the Global Power Play: Debates, Challenges and Potential Reform (pp. 200 – 219). Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd

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Merthold Macfallen (David) Monyae

25th day of April, 2014

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the post-apartheid South Africa's Africa policy through the lens of Kalevi Holsti's 'national role conceptions' conceptual framework. One of the most significant preoccupations of the post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policymakers in the Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki administrations (1994-2008) was defining the country's new identity. This was indeed not a simple task by any measure. In assigning national roles to their country, the Mandela and Mbeki administrations struggled to divorce South Africa and themselves from an apartheid-inspired foreign policy deeply rooted in the Global North.

The new foreign policy that emerged was largely couched in morality, Africa, and the Global South. There were two distinctive features of this foreign policy, however. While Mandela emphasised the promotion of human rights in Africa as South Africa's major national role, Mbeki preoccupied his administration in the task of renewing Africa. South Africa played a leadership role through walking a tight rope in constructing partnerships with both African countries and the developed countries, anchored in ending conflicts and supporting economic development.

However, this thesis argues that Pretoria, seat of South Africa's government, realised that national role conceptions as defined by Holsti do not operate in a global vacuum. Case studies are examined to argue that, given its global ranking as a 'middle power', South Africa's national roles were more successful in areas of its African interventions where its national interest converged with those of powerful countries in the Global North. Pretoria's interventions in Lesotho, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, although often faced with operational hiccups, were by and large fairly successful. This was precisely

because Pretoria's national roles, in the above-mentioned countries in which it intervened to resolve conflicts, converged with bigger powers within the global arena.

In the case of South Africa's intervention in Zimbabwe, this thesis argues that it was difficult to enforce its national roles as they came in direct conflict with those of the developed countries in the West, led by Britain and the United States of America. Therefore, South Africa failed to register foreign policy successes because of the stalemate between its own national role conceptions and those of external powers.

DEDICATION

To my mum, my late dad and the rest of the Mthembu, Munyai and Ngaatonge families that raised me up.

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A special thanks to Kea, Percy, Francis Kornegay, Mbongeni, Zama, Rofhiwa, colleagues at Wits and elsewhere, loyally supported by family and friends near and far.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

£	British Pound - currency
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMIB	African Mission in Burundi
ANC	African National Congress
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
ASD	Alliance pour la Sauvegarde du Dialogue Intercongolais (Alliance for the Defence of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue)
AU	African Union
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BLS	Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland
BNC	Bi-National Commission
BNDF	Botswana National Defence Force
CAIR	Centre for Africa's International Relations
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CNDD-FDD	Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie–Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (National Council for the Defence of Democracy–Forces for the Defence of Democracy)
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa

COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration
DDRRR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration, Repatriation and Resettlement
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs (now DIRCO)
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DOD	Department of Defence
DPSA	Department Public Service and Administration
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EMIS	Education Management Information Systems
EPSP	[Ministre de] l'Enseignement Primaire, Secondaire et Professionnel ([Ministry of] Primary, Secondary and Vocational Education)
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Plan
ESU	[Ministère de] l'Enseignement Supérieur et Universitaire ([Ministry of] Higher Education)
EU	European Union
FLS	Front-Line States
FNL	Forces Nationales de Libération (National Forces of Liberation)
FRODEBU	Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (Front for Democracy in Burundi)

G8	Group of Eight (A forum for the governments of a group of eight leading industrialised countries)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICD	Inter-Congolese Dialogue
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IDG	Institute for Global Dialogue
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Interim Political Authority
IPP	Independent Power Producer
ISS	Institute of Strategic Studies
JBCC	Joint Bilateral Commission for Co-operation
JCC	Joint Ceasefire Commission
JOC	Joint Operations Command
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LDF	Lesotho Defence Force
LSL	Lesotho Loti (plural Maloti) - currency
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change

MITM	Ministry of Industry, Trade and Marketing - Lesotho
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MLC	Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo (Movement for the Liberation of the Congo)
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MNC	Multi-National Corporation
MONUC	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République démocratique du Congo (United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola – Partido do Trabalho (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola – Labour Party)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Party
NSMS	National Security Management System
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OCEP	Observatory of the Code of Ethics for Public Officials
ONUB	United Nations Operations in Burundi
OPDSC	SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation

PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania
PPDR	People for Peace and Defence of Rights
R&D	Research and Development
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (Congolese Rally for Democracy)
RCD-G	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie - Goma (Congolese Rally for Democracy - Goma)
RCD-ML	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie - Mouvement de Libération (Congolese Rally for Democracy - Movement for Liberation)
RCD-N	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie-National (Congolese Rally for Democracy - National)
RLDF	Royal Lesotho Defence Force
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SA	South Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party's
SACU	Southern Africa Custom Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAMSA	South African Maritime Safety Authority

SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAPP	Southern African Power Pool
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SNCC	La Sociale Nationale des Chemins De Fer Du Congo (Congo National Railway Company)
SSC	State Security Council
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UDPS	Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (Union for Democracy and Social Progress)
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UP	United Party
UPRONA	Union pour le Progrès National (Union for National Progress)

US	United States
US$	United States Dollar - currency
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II
Zanu-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXTUALISATION

The question of the role of South Africa in the continent will always come up, and will have to be addressed with courage and humility. South Africa, objectively, has the characteristics of a middle-power, which are: (a) a comparatively strong military; (b) a comparatively strong and dominant economic base; (c) fiscal stability; (d) relative social and political stability; and (e) a government that has effective control over its territory and borders. However, in order for South Africa to play a role in the continent, the country will need to go beyond the will and start addressing its capacity to exercise such a role.[1]

After four decades of global isolation and 'pariahood', post-apartheid South Africa's leaders understood that they were facing a completely unfamiliar regional and international environment. The first fourteen years of multiracial democracy from 1994 to 2008, South Africa's foreign policy under the stewardship of the globally renowned Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki embarked upon a new, more transformative approach in formulating its international relations agenda. These leaders laid the firm foundation of South Africa's foreign policy deeply anchored in Africa. South Africa's national role conceptions[2] first and foremost were perceived to be one of peacemaker and bridge builder between the developed nations in the north and developing countries in the south especially Africa.

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[1] Mbeki, Thabo. "Umrabulo, Special 51st National Conference Edition." *African National Congress (ANC), 16*. August 2002. 100. See also, http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?=2932.

[2] Kalevi Holsti defines national role conceptions as, (1) 'includes the policymakers' own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules, and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system or in subordinate regional system. It is their image of the appropriate orientations or functions of their state toward, or in, the external environment'. (Holsti, K. J. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly, 14 (3)*. September 1970.)

The impetus for this search for a new foreign policy identity was informed mainly by four factors. First was the demise of apartheid in South Africa and the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. Post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy makers found their country and themselves operating on completely new global terrain. This was terrain mainly defined by the triumphant western countries with the United States of America (US) at the helm. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) - a former ally of some African liberation movements including the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa – lost its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe, disintegrated and collapsed.[3] Secondly, the African continent was engulfed in intra-state conflicts, massive civil strife and poverty. Thirdly, despite the demise of apartheid and the dawn of a democratically elected government in South Africa, the country's position in Africa remained questionable. Apartheid South Africa had pursued a regional policy of destabilisation which caused massive loss of human and infrastructural capital. The extent of the apartheid's regime destruction in Southern Africa is estimated to have left, 'two million people dead and US$62.45 billion worth of infrastructural damage.[4] The demise of apartheid did not remove the lingering suspicions Africa had on the future role South Africa could play in the continent, to the extent that some African states harboured fears of hegemonic imposition from post-apartheid South Africa on military and economic issues.[5]

Furthermore, the country confronted an image and identity crisis. Given the legacy of apartheid inspired foreign policy pursued over the years, the newly democratically elected leadership realised that the country required an urgent overhaul of its foreign policy. It was not a matter of changing simply the apartheid foreign policy but also the norms and values

[3] Maharaj, Mac. "The ANC and South Africa's Negotiated Transition to Democracy and Peace, Berghof Series, Resistance/Liberation Movements and Transition to Politics." *Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management*. 2008.

[4] Nolutshungu, S. "Constructive engagement." *A Journal of Opinion, 12 (3/4).* Autumn-Winter 1982. 34.

[5] Alden, Chris, and Mills Soko. "South Africa's Economic Relations with Africa: Hegemony and Its Discontents." *Journal of Modern African Studies, 43 (3).* 2005.

that underpinned it. In this endeavour, South Africa's foreign policymakers refocused its foreign policy towards the African continent. There was an immediate shift in foreign policy focus from a strict alignment with Western countries to one that was universal with its roots deeply entrenched in Africa.

More critically, South Africa's foreign policymakers redefined the country's new roles in Africa. Conscious of South Africa's eminent place in Africa, the country was required to contribute massively to peace and stability on the continent.

With the above in mind, post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policymakers perceived themselves to be morally bound to play a leadership role in Africa's renewal. For Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, if South Africa failed to play a leading role in Africa, the political and economic stabilisation of the continent if goes unchecked it will spill over to South Africa.[6] There were other reasons for the post-apartheid South Africa's leadership to focus their foreign policy attention on Africa. Since its inception in 1912, the ANC and other liberation movements in South Africa placed a high premium on African unity and solidarity. It was therefore impossible to ring fence South Africa from the rest of the continent because if the country becomes an, 'island of prosperity in the sea of poverty[7]' it stands to attract massive economic and political refugees to its own shores. In the struggle against apartheid, South Africans relied heavily on the assistance and solidarity from fellow Africans and others in the international community. It was therefore imperative to use South Africa's relative

[6] The ANC has always pronounced commitment to African economic development, political stability and the need to end Africa's marginalisation in the global arena, both in exile and in post-apartheid South Africa. (Mandela, N. "South Africa's Future Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs.* 1993. 89-92.; Pfister, Roger. "Gateway to International Victory: The Diplomacy of the African National Congress in Africa. 1960-1994." *Journal of Modern African Studies, 41 (1).* 2003.; Daniel, John. et al. "South Africa in Africa: Trends and Forecasts in a changing African Political Economy." *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007.* Eds. Buhlungu, Sakhela. et al. HSRC Press. 2007.

[7] Landsberg, Chris. "International Policy and the African and South Agenda in Rethinking South Africa's Development Path: Reflection on the ANC's Policy Conference Discussion Documents." *Centre for Policy Studies*. Ed. Omano Edigheji. June 2007.

economic and political power to assist those striving to liberate themselves from war and poverty.

Driven by these imperatives, post-apartheid South Africa undertook a gradual approach towards assuming a leadership role in Africa. However, South Africa's newly assumed leadership role on the continent did not go unchallenged. In Nelson Mandela's Presidency, South Africa's leadership was brought to momentous test. In an attempt to play a leadership role, South Africa's policymakers found themselves embroiled in some of the most intense conflicts in Africa. In 1995, it was the Nigerian crisis[8] that erupted in West Africa in which a military junta embarked upon massive human rights violations. The South African attempts to lead Africa in the resolution of the Nigerian crisis failed to prevail on the rest of the African continent. Instead, its role in Nigeria was questioned to the level of defeating the objective of its Africa centric foreign policy.

Closer to home, South Africa's foreign policymakers were caught off guard by sudden political turmoil in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in 1997 and Lesotho in 1998. In both cases, South Africa was criticised of playing double standards. In the DRC, South Africa argued for a peaceful resolution of the conflict through a dialogue between warring parties. When the Lesotho political turmoil erupted South Africa used the military as the main tool of diplomacy to bring peace and stability. Further criticism for double standards came over South Africa's policy on Zimbabwe. Since 2000, political tensions in Zimbabwe presented surmountable challenges to South Africa's Africa policy. President Thabo Mbeki preferred Quiet Diplomacy in the face of what the international community perceived as

[8] Geldenhuys, Deon. *The Idea-driven Foreign Policy of a Regional Power: The Case of South Africa*. University of Johannesburg. http://www.giga-amburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/english/content/rpn/conferences/geldenhuys.pdf

human rights abuses in Harare under President Robert Mugabe. Diplomatic pressure on South Africa to play an active leadership role in Zimbabwe brought limited results.

In all these interventions, South Africa received a mixed response at home and abroad. Globally, South Africa has largely been recognised as an important African leader. This is particularly true in international forums such as the United Nations (UN) and the Group of Eight most industrialised countries (G8). South Africa's growing influence was specifically acknowledged by the European Union (EU), which sought a strategic partnership with the country in all matters patterning to global peace and security, development, democracy and peacekeeping in Africa. South Africa has also been acknowledged as an important African voice by the US; Britain; France; Germany; Russia; China; India and Brazil; and Japan.

The roles that South Africa played in the formulation and promotion of the New Partnership for Africa's Development NEPAD enabled it to expand its own efforts to deal with the African Agenda.[9] It furthermore, contributed significantly in the restructuring of Africa's multilateral forums such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the African Union (AU) and Southern African Development Community (SADC). Despite its own domestic challenges, South Africa has contributed significant resources in promoting peace in other African conflicts such as in Comoros, the Ivory Coast, Sudan (Southern Sudan and Darfur) and in the Ethiopia – Eritrea border dispute.

In most of these interventions, South Africa managed to carve its own niche[10] as a responsible regional power on the African continent. Hence, South Africa is often perceived

[9] Landsberg, C. "Africa Emerging Continental Governance Regime." *Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) Policy Brief,* (50). September 2007.; de Waal, A. D. "What's new in the 'New Partnership for Africa's Development'?"*International Affairs*. 78 (3). 2002. 466**.**

[10] Landsberg, C., and D. Monyae. "South Africa's Foreign Policy: Carving a Global Niche**."** *South African Journal of International Affairs.* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2006.

to be occupying a leadership position in Africa. There are many roles attributed to the country. They range from as a 'regional hegemony', 'middle power', the African voice, the leader, the negotiator, and the African champion. Central to South Africa's Africa policy is the desire to promote peace and security. It also seeks to build effective mechanisms that can see Africa receive a fair share of global distribution of political and economic power and benefits.

South Africa's newly-found leadership role in Africa did not go unnoticed. Active involvement by Pretoria, seat of South Africa's government, in African affairs raised high expectations at home and abroad that it could resolve some of the conflicts on the continent. Due to the lack of adequate institutional capacity, limited resources, skills, and diplomatic strategies and tactics, South Africa worked closely with other African countries in building sufficient consensus and common goals to resolve conflicts.

The aim of building a broad African consensus on African issues was largely informed by the need to limit criticisms of South Africa bullying its ways in diplomatic circles. More often than not, South Africa's Africa policy can be directly linked to its domestic imperatives such as poverty alleviation. Instability on the African continent was perceived to be having a corrosive effect on the hard-won democracy at home. It was apparent that instability in one part of the continent has a direct impact to South Africa and the world. Therefore, South Africa's foreign policymakers' argued vehemently within global forums that instability in Africa has negative impact on global security. This view has received support in developed countries especially in the post September 2001, terrorist attack on the US. South Africa advanced the argument that Africa's peace and security should and must be a shared global responsibility. This idea gained prominence in the NEPAD document.[11]

[11] de Waal, A.D. *Op. cit*. 473.

To effectively contribute to Africa's renewal, South Africa's foreign policy–makers understood the importance of adopting new national roles. South Africa's foreign policy approach towards African issues was characterised by gradual changes during the Mandela-Mbeki presidencies (1994 to 2008). While there were no fundamental shifts in foreign policy terms from Mandela to Mbeki, there was a wide and visible gap in their focus, strategy, style, and indeed tactics towards matters concerning the African continent. Mandela's government concentrated on the fundamental question of internal (South African) nation-building while Mbeki championed a continental renaissance. Nevertheless, the recasting of Pretoria's post-apartheid foreign policy - Africa policy included - got its head start under Mandela with the country's entry into the OAU, Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and other multilateral arrangements. Therefore, the argument that South Africa was reluctant to play a leading role in Africa during Mandela's rule (often advocated by Mandela's critic), fails to appreciate, let alone understand, the strength and weaknesses of both leaders. In addition to this, the argument does not take into account the different priorities that the transition needed to undertake in terms of foreign and domestic policy. While consolidating peace and the reform of state institutes at home, South Africa had limited capacity and resources to deploy in the African continent. Thus, the more stability on the domestic front, allowed greater involvement of South Africa on the African continent.

The breadth of this approach can be better understood through Mbeki's foreign policy vision of an African renaissance and the New Partnership for Africa's Development Programme (NEPAD).[12] These visions of a better, economically viable, politically stable continent, to a larger extent, propelled and positioned South Africa as a leader in Africa. This represented an

[12] NEPAD, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, is an African Union's document in which African leaders pledge to their people and the world to renew the continent's economic and political environment for the better.

important turning point. South Africa's success in the region was dependent on its capability to align itself with regional and continental institutions, creating a harmonious relationship instead of a discordant one. The governing party, the African National Congress (ANC) under Thabo Mbeki captured this at its national conference in 2002:

> There are two ways that South Africa can meaningfully contribute to the African renaissance: (a) it can 'bully' others, whether they like it or not; or (b) it can work through existing continental, multilateral structures to advance and support the defence of progressive principles and ideals that have collectively been agreed to. It is the latter role that South Africa will have to consider; deploy its resources and political experience to advance and accelerate the implementation of the African Union and NEPAD. The realisation of Africa's renaissance will be difficult to achieve without South Africa's commitment to play its role in the continent.[13]

This thesis takes a historical approach to examine how South Africa deployed its resources and political experience in the first fourteen years of democracy thus 1994 – 2008 to advance its national role conceptions expounded in NEPAD mainly to renew Africa? This will be done through the use of case studies to critically assess South Africa's leadership roles in three major areas of conflicts; i) Lesotho, ii) Great Lakes Region (DRC and Burundi), and iii) Zimbabwe.

1. 1 The Context of the Thesis and the Research Questions

This thesis examines why and how post-apartheid South Africa embarked upon a leadership role in the field conflict resolution in Africa. The focus of the thesis will therefore be limited to three major case studies (Lesotho, Zimbabwe and the Great Lakes region of DRC and

[13] *Op. cit.* "Umrabulo." 100.

Burundi) in which played different leadership roles of interventions in mediation, peace enforcement, peacekeeping and post conflict reconstruction and development. In doing so, the thesis attempts to answer four broad questions: firstly, to what extent have the post-apartheid South African foreign policy makers redefined their national role conceptions in Africa? Secondly, how do the rest of the African continent and the world at large perceive South Africa's role in Africa? Thirdly, to what extent has South Africa's interventions in Africa enhanced its leadership role in Africa? Fourthly and lastly, what lessons, if any, that South Africa learned about leadership role in Africa that comes directly from its involvement in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and the Great Lakes Region DRC and Burundi).

1. 2 Research Problem and Objectives of the Thesis

In the late twentieth century, the Southern African regional subsystem[14] underwent a period of turbulent change. Apartheid South Africa was one of the major initiators of instability in the region. Pretoria's involvement in Africa's conflict resolutions, whether seen from the perspective of South Africa, the region, or the international community, had long been dictated by the survivalist power politics of racial domination. Indeed, it has been well documented that apartheid South Africa's regional policy sought economic and political dominance.[15] The challenge confronted by the post-apartheid South Africa, however, was about constructing acceptable new leadership roles in Africa.

[14] The study adopts Karl Kaiser's definition of regional subsystem thus: "A pattern of relations among basic units in world politics which exhibits a particular degree of regularity and intensity of relations as well as awareness of interdependence among the participating units." (Kaiser, K. "The Interaction of Regional Subsystems: Some Preliminary Notes on Recurrent Patterns and the Role of Superpowers." *World Politics, 21 (1).* 1968. 86.)

[15] Khadiagala, G. M. *Allies in Adversity: The Frontline States in Southern African Security, 1975-1993.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994. 1.; Nolutshungu, Sam, *South Africa in Africa: A Study in Ideology and Foreign Policy.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975. 1-4.; Barber, James, and John Barratt, *South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security 1945-1988*. 1.

One cannot talk about leadership roles in a vacuum, however. Any understanding of leadership must be understood within the context of power politics. As stated earlier, the nature and balance of power within and among African states - particularly in Southern Africa - has always been in favour of South Africa. At the same time, it is crucial to realise that the possession of tangible (hard) and intangible (soft) assets of power by a state does not necessarily guarantee compliance from its weaker neighbours. The history of international relations has been marred regionally and globally by powerful states that have failed to translate their relative power in relation to their weaker partner(s). The main aim and objective of the thesis is to show how the post-apartheid South Africa succeeds in obtaining favourable foreign policy outcomes particularly in countries in which it promotes peace and security.

1.3 Limitations and Scope of the Thesis

Defining a role and having it accepted by other actors is a basic objective of states in international relations. The thesis will attempt to document and explain the manifestation of South Africa's leadership role(s) in Africa within the parameters of the period 1994 - 2008. The major weakness of the thesis lies in the fact that some official documents and records are inaccessible. Furthermore, the primary actors of South Africa's Africa policy such as the President and some of the senior officials were not accessible for one to interview them. To mitigate these shortcomings, a wide personal network within government and civil society circles was consulted in addition to the number of documents that were accessed.

1. 4 Significance of the Thesis

The thesis is justified because it seeks to contribute to the debate on the changing nature of leadership in international relations, but does this from a South African perspective. Recent

literature[16] exists on scholarly enquiries around the issue of leadership in international relations; however, it is mainly concentrated on the behaviour of the major powers, such as the US, overlooking local or regional perspectives on leadership. South Africa's role in Africa's quest for peace, security, and democracy is important, and must be documented, as additional debate is needed on whether and under what conditions political leadership may be subject to change. Such debate is necessary to understand not only protection of political and economic stability in the Southern African region, but also the consolidation of democracy at home, South Africa itself.

Secondly, the thesis is justified in order to meet the gap in literature on the new, evolving role of regionalism within South African policy discourse. Regionalism has become a building block not only for economic integration, but also for the success of regional governance initiatives such as NEPAD, and pan-African unity initiatives enshrined in the African Union (AU), successor to the OAU. If Africa cannot become an example - if not a leader - of peace and democracy, then the goals of the African renaissance vision embodied in NEPAD will be deeply undermined.

Thirdly, the study is needed in order to explain the global trends that appear to be favouring regional integration. All of the above-mentioned factors require clear regional leadership to form the basis on which success can be achieved. Apartheid South Africa bred civil wars and corruption in the region. What was in question at the time was whether the democratic South Africa could decisively exert a positive influence in Africa. In its initial phase under Mandela's presidency (1994 – 1999), Pretoria struggled to have a clear and coherent Africa policy. This was primarily exacerbated by the manner in which South Africa handled the

[16] A Policy Advisory Seminar I attended titled: "Whither SADC? Southern Africa's Post-Apartheid Security Agenda.", hosted by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, held at The Twelve Apostles Hotel, 18-19 June 2005. For further reading please see also: Nathan, Laurie, "Organ Failure: A Review of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defense and Security," a paper commissioned by the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Finland* and published as: Ed. L. Laakso, L. (Ed). 2002.

crisis in Nigeria in 1995. However, during Mbeki's presidency (1999 – 2008) the country assertively implemented its Africa policy with varying degrees of success.

1.5 Qualitative Case Study Methodology

> Because of its strengths, case study is a particularly appealing design for applied fields of study such as education, social work, administration, health, and so on. An applied field's processes, problems, and programmes can be examined to bring about understanding that in turn can affect and perhaps even improve practice. Case study has proven particularly useful for studying educational innovations, evaluating programs, and informing policy.[17]

This thesis adopts a qualitative case study methodology as its research approach.[18] It follows the research strategy that Marshall, Rossman, and Yin consider effective for case study research.[19] According to these authors, research requires the interpretation of both documentary evidence (primary sources) and interviews (secondary sources).[20] A number of methods were used to gather qualitative material. These included participation in meetings and workshops on African and South African foreign policy, empirical observation of political events, and in-depth interviews.

According to Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack, qualitative case study methodology allows a phenomenon to be revealed and understood from a multiple facets or lens.[21] Simply put,

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[17] "Tomorrow's Professor Mailing List, Desk Top Faulty Development, One Hundred Times A Year". Sponsored by The Stanford Centre for Teaching and Learning. http://cgi.stanford.edu/~dept-ctl/tomprof/posting.php?ID=1013.

[18] Baxter, Pamela, and Susan Jack. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report,* 13(4). December 2008.

[19] Marshall, C. and G.B. Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research***.** London: Sage Publication, 1995.; Yin, R. K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Beverley Hills: Sage Publication, 1984.

[20] *Loc. cit.*

[21] Baxter, Pamela, and Susan Jack. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report,* 13(4). December 2008. http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR13-

qualitative case study methodology is defined by Robson as "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence.[22]" In using a multiple-case studies methodological approach the thesis will gain more evidence as how South Africa's foreign policymakers define their country's role conceptions. In the period 1994–2008, South African leaders Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki intervened in Lesotho, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Burundi and Zimbabwe using different foreign policy strategies and tactics.

The advantage of applying multiple case study according to Yin is that it;

> Enables the researcher to explore differences within and between cases. The goal is to replicate findings across cases. Because comparisons will be drawn, it is imperative that the cases are chosen carefully so that the researcher can predict similar results across cases, or predict constraining results based on a theory.[23]

Yin further provides perhaps a much more comprehensive definition of qualitative case study methodology which informs this study. He stated that:

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. [It] copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a

4/baxter.pdf.

[22] Hsieh, Chih-en. *Strengths and Weaknesses of Qualitative Case Study Research*. 140.109.171.170/download.php?filename=51_544bcf1c.pdf&dir=paper&title.

[23] *Ibid*. 5.

triangulating fashion, another results benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.[24]

Like most research methodologies, qualitative case study have its own limitations. The researcher is the primary data collector and does the analysis. It therefore requires a great deal of training and skills to maintain the researcher's integrity as well as ensuring that sensitive information observed is abused. It is argued by scholars such as Shields and Hamel that, 'the case study has basically been faulted for its lack of representativeness…and its lack of rigour in the collection, construction, and analysis of the empirical materials that give rise to this study. This lack of rigour is linked to the problem of bias… introduced by the subjectivity of the researcher and others involved in the case.[25]"

1. 6 Participation and Observation

In order to become familiar with 1994 to 2007 subject matter, I became actively immersed in South Africa's informed foreign policy community. Experience as an intern at the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) in 1997 - 98 opened a plethora of formal and informal networks that handled foreign affairs matters, within governmental and civil society spheres. For example, I personally organised the civil society indaba seminar on South Africa's chairmanship and hosting of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Further to this, valuable experience was gained working for the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) from the 31st of August to the 3rd of September 1998, providing analysis when NAM was hosted in South Africa at the time. I was therefore provided with many opportunities to participate and

[24] *Op. cit.*

[25] "Tomorrow's Professor Mailing List, Desk Top Faulty Development, One Hundred Times A Year". Sponsored by The Stanford Centre for Teaching and Learning. http://cgi.stanford.edu/~dept-ctl/tomprof/posting.php?ID=1013.

observe high-level foreign policymakers engaging and interacting with their foreign counterparts.

I also participated in what became the first African renaissance conference held at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, Johannesburg on the 27 – 28 September 1998. This conference, organised by Professor Malegapuru William Makgoba from Wits University, attracted many Africanist black scholars. In many public and scholarly quarters, this conference was perceived to be all about Mbeki's intention to strengthen and consolidate an Afro-centric constituency within South Africa's foreign policy community. This was followed by participating and observing numerous Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), Department of Defence (DOD), academic and public briefings, and seminars that outlined in detail the future of South Africa's foreign policy, and especially its Africa policy.

As a member of the South African Election Observer Team in Zimbabwe's Presidential Election of 2002, I gained invaluable insights by observing both South Africa's foreign policy-makers' crisis management strategy and events in Zimbabwe's highly disputed election. I have testified before the South African Parliament Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs, on South Africa's foreign policy in Southern Africa. This activity provided me with an excellent opportunity to interact with this critical body that serves as an oversight of the then Department of Foreign Affairs turned Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) on the conduct of foreign policy. Lastly, I have extensively contributed to national and international print and electronic media, in which I debated alongside senior foreign policy actors on many issues concerning Africa's international relations.

As a methodological approach, 'participation' affords meaningful, usually first-hand, information. According to Marshall, the participatory approach originated in the fields of

Cultural Anthropology and Qualitative Sociology. It serves as both an approach to enquiry and as a data-gathering tool.[26] In my case, participation demanded that I become involved with the social worlds of the main actors of South Africa's foreign policy. Although I cannot claim that I have obtained all necessary official records related to my research area, I have however, gained some helpful insights into organisational and institutional lives of South Africa's foreign policy makers. This participatory approach was supplemented by in-depth interviews in which observation also played an important role.

I have benefited through both funding and mentor support by the Centre for Africa's International Relations (CAIR) located at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. Specifically, this support enabled me to undertake fieldwork in Lesotho and Zimbabwe. During these field trips, I was able to interview government officials, members of the civil society, and academics on their perceptions about South Africa's foreign policy in the region, and especially their views on Pretoria's interventions in their respective countries.

1.6.1 Interviews

Interviews obviously constitute a critical part of this thesis. These interviews can be described as 'conversations with a purpose'. I was able to access insightful and relevant information for the thesis through these interviews. However, limitations arise because many civil servants are bound by work-confidentiality agreements. Some respondents were unwilling or uncomfortable in sharing and discussing some of the sensitivities that arise in government-to-government negotiations and agreements. The main reason given for not divulging such information was 'national security' or the fact that such information was classified. Some of the information received through the interviews, therefore, is not used in this thesis. Some of the challenges that arise from such interviews are that they are often difficult to manage, as

[26] Marshall C. *Op. cit*. 75.

the source of the information may not be attributed. In many cases, the choice has been made to forgo using sensitive information that would be difficult to verify. This speaks directly to the question of ethics that need to be observed at all times in research.

Senior members of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the academic community have also been interviewed. This was a useful endeavour as it provided critical views about the performance of South Africa's foreign policy. Some of these individuals have vast networks and experience as either former employees of the apartheid or post-apartheid governments and sometimes both.

1.6.2 Review of Documents

Numerous documents were reviewed in the form of minutes of meetings, formal policy statements of the DIRCO, Presidential annual addresses to the national Parliament and the weekly letters that President Mbeki in particular wrote in his capacity as African National Congress (ANC) president. Newspaper and radio interview transcriptions documents from other government departments relevant to foreign policy have also been used. These include the Department of Defence (DOD) and the Ministry of Finance's annual budgetary allocation to Foreign Affairs. All of these data-gathering tools provide the thesis with a fairly sufficient pool of information for gaining an understanding of South Africa's foreign policy makers' perspectives on their country's leadership role and contribution to Africa's renewal.

1. 7 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters.

The *first chapter* has been covered already. It outlines the foundation of the thesis providing an introduction, context, methodology and the limitation of the thesis.

The *second chapter* provides the conceptual framework. It employs Kalevi Holsti's national role conceptions[27] and Joseph Nye's soft power[28] as analytical tools for understanding post-apartheid South Africa's Africa policy. The chapter further examines various existing interpretations of South Africa's power position in Africa, particularly within the Southern African sub region. Four main definitional terms used in literature on South Africa's foreign policy are given. These are 'regional hegemony', 'middle power' 'pivotal state', and 'sub-imperialist', The thesis furthermore, compares and contrasts the utility of these terms vis-à-vis that of national role conceptions and soft power as the most useful ways of understanding South Africa's Africa policy.

The *third chapter* sketches the historical overview of South Africa's foreign policy. The chapter charts the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy from the formative years of the Union of South Africa in 1910 to the birth of apartheid in 1948. It further documents the evolving nature of the apartheid foreign policy, especially regarding changing regional and international factors. For instance, apartheid South Africa started with foreign policy objectives of seeking the global acceptance of apartheid policy to one that became extremely defensive with the spread of self-determination in Africa. This eventually led to the demise of apartheid, entering a phase of transition in which the National Party (NP) and the ANC formed a Government of National Unity (GNU). In 1994, South Africa's foreign policy entered its current phase which found expression by the end of the Mandela presidency in the African renaissance vision articulated by his Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki.

The *fourth chapter* focuses on South Africa's intervention in Lesotho in 1998 as the thesis' first case study.

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[27] Holsti, K, J. *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis.* 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1983.
[28] Nye, J. *The Paradox of Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone*. New York, Oxford University Press. 2002.

The *fifth chapter* looks at Pretoria's interventions in Burundi and the DRC.

The *sixth chapter* examines South Africa's quiet diplomacy in Zimbabwe.

Chapter seven provides the lessons learned in South Africa's Africa policy particularly in its involvements in conflict resolutions in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Burundi and the DRC.

The thesis closes with a brief conclusion in *chapter eight*.

1.8 Conclusion

The main aim of this section was to establish clear parameters of the thesis. Having fairly covered sufficient ground as how the thesis shall progress, henceforth, it turns to the first chapter. The first chapter preoccupies itself with two main issues namely; it introduces Kalevi Holsti's national role conceptions as the theoretical foundation of the thesis and provides a wide range of literature on South Africa's foreign policy informed by three major schools of thoughts thus realist, liberal and Marxist in international relations.

CHAPTER TWO:

SOUTH AFRICA'S QUEST FOR NATIONAL ROLE CONCEPTIONS

South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have brought ruin to its various parts…

Nelson Mandela[29]

In the field of International Relations and Politics, a country's foreign policy is a valuable strategic tool used to advance its interest abroad. In a developing country like South Africa, getting this national role conceptions 'right' is critical - not only for positioning itself in the global arena, but for forging the types of global and regional partnerships needed to nurture South Africa as a new "active agent of progressive change".[30] In the founding years (1994 – 2008) of democracy, South Africa's relationship with countries within the African subsystem[31] has been viewed as a critical yet often misunderstood aspect of its foreign policy. The challenge of South Africa's foreign policy-makers was to define new national role conceptions for the democratic South Africa in Africa. In other words, what were the new national roles foreign policymakers in Pretoria envisioned their country playing in Africa in the post-apartheid? What are the useful conceptual, analytical and theoretical tools that inform such national role conceptions in the post-apartheid South Africa? It is against this

[29] Mandela, N. *Op. cit.* 89-90.

[30] This comment was made by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affair Aziz Pahad during a Cape Town 17-21 February 2005 strategic Heads of Mission Conference of the *South African Department of Foreign* Affairs when South African diplomats were asked to assess the Republic's foreign policy posture. For further discussion, see: Landsberg, C. and D. Monyae. "South Africa's Foreign Policy: Carving a Global Niche." *South African Journal of International Affairs*. Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2007.

[31] Louis J. Cantori and Steven L. Spiegel identify three variables crucial to the demarcation of the subordinate subsystem: (1) the nature and level of cohesion; (2) the nature of communication; and (3) the level of power. (Khadiagala, G. ***op .cit***. 2.)

backdrop, therefore, that this chapter discusses concepts and theories associated with the post-apartheid South Africa's position in the international affairs in a broader spectrum and to later pay more particular attention to Africa. The main aim of the chapter will be to simply provide a broad theoretical understanding of; a) national role conceptions, b) soft power, c) regional hegemony, d) pivotal state, and; e) regional imperialist. In doing so, the chapter will be able to provide a rich body of literature in which these concepts and theories are used specifically with reference to South Africa's role in Africa.

One very important opportunity for taking on a leadership role lay in exploiting various aspects of the country's 'relative power' in addressing Africa's long unfulfilled quest for peace and security. Strangely, while the country was capable of wielding considerable relative power in this realm, South Africa's foreign policy makers relied mainly on 'soft power' in seeking compliance from others in the region. The promotion of democracy and human rights were considered paramount in South Africa's foreign policy. What was not clearly stated however was the shared sense of national identity and the understanding of the country's purpose, role and value in international arena?

While national role conceptions are critical to the foreign policy making process, scholars have more often than not, labelled this part of foreign policy-making as a non-issue. Hence, limited comprehensive studies have been published on South Africa's foreign policymakers' understanding of their country's role in Africa. In seeking to understand what the elements of national role conceptions are in this respect, and to address gaps in previous research, the next section of the chapter offers an analysis of national role conceptions identified by Kalevi Holsti.

2. 1 Defining the Concept: National Role Conceptions

Holsti's conceptual framework of the "national role conceptions" has been chosen as a useful avenue through which to explore post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy. In a seminal 1970 article, Kalevi Holsti defined national role conceptions as:

> The policymakers' own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system.[32]

The decisions, commitments, rules and actions that Holsti wrote more than three decades ago contain general foreign policy norms and ideas, and yet are applicable to the formulation of national role conceptions which can help foreign policymakers anywhere in the world. Applied to the South African case, foreign policymakers did not only define the roles their country perform on a continuous basis in Africa and the world, but took into account more subtle roles which reflected basic predispositions, self-perceptions, fears, configurations and attitudes toward the outside world, while taking into account relevant systematic, geographic, and economic[33] frameworks. Holsti's view of role conceptions enabled South Africa's foreign policy scholars understand internal and external factors that influence foreign policy decision makers.[34]

2.2 The Origins of the Concept of National Role Conceptions

Holsti drew his national role conception framework from scholars outside the field of international relations. Generally, the concept of national roles derived from humanistic

[32] Holsti, Kalevi. "National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly, 14.* 1970. 245-6.
[33] *Loc. cit.*
[34] Hudson, Valerie M. "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations." *Foreign Policy Analysis, 1.* 2005.

debates and discourse originating as far back as in the 1920s and 1930s in social science disciplines such as social psychology, sociology, and anthropology. These fields at the time examined roles within the context of patterns of human conduct. The study of roles at that time was basically aimed at linking the functioning of the social order with the characteristics and behaviours of individuals. For instance, Parsons stated that, "the social system has a locative process by which the problem of who is to get what, who is to do what, and the manner and conditions under which it is to be done was made explicitly clear".[35] In this respect, Parson sees social systems as containing inherent mechanisms and 'solutions' which not only provide roles, but can predict and determine behaviour.

In 1934, Mead expanded the notion of roles by observing that in social, individuals work out their own role by taking on the role of 'the other'. Under Mead, socialising and 'role learning' was essentially the same thing, and through socialisation one could even develop one's self.[36] This led to the idea of role articulations, that enable one to find out whether a relationship is productive or not. In applying role theory particularly to the study of international relations and philosophy, Rousseau saw an opportunity to link the idea of 'expectations' as a predictor for. He saw roles as "the attitudinal and behavioural expectations that those who relate to its occupant have of the occupant and the expectations that the occupant has of himself or herself in a given situation".[37]

Foreign policymakers formulate decisions based on a number of factors. Key among them is the perception of the role they think their country/state should and must play with their constituents in the domestic, regional, and international arena. Role theory, therefore, is

[35] Parson, T. "The Social System." *The Free Press, Glencoe III*. 1951.
[36] Mead, G.H. *Mind, Self and Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.
[37] Rosenau, J.N. *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity.* City Princeton University Press, 1990.

useful in describing the of states and other collectivities. Therefore, it is sufficient to see role conceptions as nothing but, simply social phenomena.

To this end, Holsti was largely influenced by the role theory. He placed great emphasis on the role theory in his formulation of the national role conceptions. It is critical to acknowledge therefore that national role conceptions as conceptualised by Holsti, originated from other field of study such as social psychology, sociology and anthropology.[38] However, a national role conception has found much greater utility in international relations and politics in the post 1945 world order.

Holsti's 'typology of national role conceptions' was primarily developed to enquire about how foreign policymakers perceive the roles their states played in the international system. To do this, Holsti embarked upon a tedious task of reviewing volumes of speeches, parliamentary debates, radio broadcasts, official communiqués and press conferences of 71 governments. In so doing, he distilled seventeen role conceptions, from various sources generated by foreign policy makers. The four main assumptions Holsti came up with are:

I. Foreign policy makers have national role conceptions;

II. National role conceptions are more influential than the role prescriptions emanating from the external environment in shaping foreign policy;

III. The sources of national role conceptions are a complex mixture of location, capabilities, socio-economic characteristics, system structure and the personalities of leaders; and

[38] Thies, Cameron G. *Role Theory and Foreign Policy.* http://myweb.uiowa.edu/bhlai/workshop/role.pdf.

IV. The consequences of national role conceptions include both a constraining effect upon foreign policy for a particular nation as well as a type of input that affects stability and change in the international system.[39]

In his findings, Holsti divided these role conceptions into three specific categories; a) Cold War role conceptions, b) Non-aligned role conception, c) and, regionally oriented role conceptions.

2.2.1 Cold War Role Conceptions

Within the Cold War category, Holsti identified ten types of roles, countries played in support of either the US or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the two bipolar centres; a) faithful Ally; b) Anti-Imperialist Agent; c) Defender of the Faith; d) Bastion of the Revolution-Liberator; e) Regional Protector; f) Non-Aligned Orientations; h) Active Independent; i) Mediator-Integrator; j) Bridge; and k) Isolate.

Faithful Ally

According to Holsti, a country's role can be determined by the ideological orientation it pursues or ascribes to. For example, a country such as Britain was largely influenced by its strategic ally, the US in the pursuit of the containment strategy to counter the spread of communism in the world. Due to such ascribed national role, Britain was perceived to be a *faithful ally* to the US

An Anti-Imperialist Agent

In Holsti's typology, an anti-imperialist agent is a country that fully supported the USSR such as Cuba. Such a country perceived its role to be one of rolling back what it saw as an

[39] Holsti, K. *Op. cit.*

imperialist tide in the world. Cuba's intervention in Africa and especially one in Angola in 1970s is a classic example.

Defender of the Faith

This type of role, according to Holsti, was based on a foreign policy which favoured defence of an ideological value system, rather than defence of a clearly defined territory under attack. An example can also be the case of Cuba's intervention in Angola as in the *anti-imperialist*.

Bastion of the Revolution-Liberator

This was a role that befitted China during the Cold War. It hosted and trained various liberation movements throughout the so-called third world, often competing with the Soviet Union.

Regional Protector

This role entails a special leadership stance that the most powerful country within a region assumes. Holsti identified the 'protectee' as taking on a role that was based on expectations that others would defend them. This role is often taken up by countries that are relatively powerful within a given region. They perceive their countries as bound by history (given the economic, military, and political strengths possessed in relation to others in the region) to play an active role in the protection of the region. For instance, apartheid South Africa fell in this category of countries that perceived their role to be as *regional protectors* of 'western norms and values'.

2.2.2. Non-Aligned Orientations Role Conceptions

Holsti divided the notion of *Non-Aligned role conceptions* into five separate types. These are; a) independent, b) active Independent, c) mediator-integrator, d) bridge, and; f) isolate.

Below, descriptive explanation will be given to shed more light on their meaning as defined by Holsti.

Independent

In this role conception, according to Holsti, a country pursues its national interests within the context of a policy of *non-alignment and self-determination*. This meant that the country guarded jealously against any erosion of its autonomy or sovereignty by either the US or the USSR in the bipolar world order during the Cold War. Numerous countries considered themselves as independent during the Cold War However, the level of independence varied in degrees. For example, India, Egypt, Indonesia and Malaysia are some of the countries that projected themselves independent of global powers.

Active Independent

This role according to Holsti includes active participation of a country within the global arena without much fear of hindrance by global powers. It implied that a country would take an active non-aligned position on matters affecting the international system without or prejudice against any other country. It also involved possible mediation functions as well as diplomatic outreach to areas of the world otherwise considered unfriendly.

Mediator–Integrator

In this role, countries attempted to play a neutral third party role in global conflicts in which either the US or Soviet Union were actively involved.

Bridge

This role has become common among many middle powers in the world. Such powers saw their role as one of facilitating negotiations between developing and developed countries.

Like the *mediator-integrator* role, countries that perceived the role as one of a *bridge* in international are often involved in active multilateral forums. For different reasons, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and now the post-apartheid South Africa consider themselves to be playing such a role.

Isolate

The final role within the *non-aligned orientation* stressed avoidance of any contact with any country. Although fewer countries applied this role, it was an option when policymakers confront what they consider as hostility from outsiders.

2.2.3 Regionally-Oriented Role Conceptions

Regionally-oriented role conceptions, according to Holsti, are roles regional powers enact within a given regional subsystem. Holsti outlined six regionally-oriented role conceptions and these are; a) Regional Leader, b) Liberation supporter, c) Regional Subsystem Collaborator, d) Developer, and; e) Exemplar. What follows is a brief description of each category.

Regional Leader

This role conception refers to duties or special responsibilities that a country considers as solely its own, based on the fact that it is the most powerful within the sub-system.

Liberation Supporter

This definition does not differ much from the one of "bastion of revolutionary liberator" described above. Within the Southern African sub region, for instance, Tanzania played the role of supporting liberation movements from South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola throughout 1960s and 1970s. In turn, these countries embarked upon diplomatic

offensive against the apartheid regime in South Africa, in support of the liberation movements. All these efforts were considered by these newly decolonised countries to be supporting liberations struggles against racism and colonialism.

Regional Subsystem Collaborator

According to Holsti, this role has, "far reaching commitments to cooperative efforts with other states to build wider communities". The development of the European Union (EU) was considerably relevant in this regard. Significant efforts were taken by countries in Europe to build a shared norms and values as the basis of a common community. In doing so, European countries considered their joint efforts to build a united front against the encroaching communism.

Developer

This was a role that countries such as in Scandinavia, Canada, New Zealand, or Australia played. They attempted to channel developmental assistance to less developed countries.

Internal Development

This role also refers more or less to the previous role above. It entails the usage of foreign aid as diplomatic leverage.

Exemplar

According to Holsti, this national role conception is internally driven. A country will embark upon programmes within its own borders. The success of these programmes brings it national prestige that encourages emulation by other countries. As can be clearly seen, Holsti role conceptions were by and large defined within the confines of the Cold War. This does not however invalidate their usefulness in contemporary post-cold war global order. As will be

shown in this thesis, some of Holsti's role conceptions explained above remain useful. It is important to note at this stage that the post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policymakers often use loosely some of Holsti's role conceptions. The role conceptions found littered in post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policymakers are; *bridge-builder*, *mediator*, *independent* and *non-aligned* in reference to their country's role in Africa. It is within this context therefore that the study chose Holsti's role conceptions as the main theoretical framework to understand South Africa's policymakers own understanding of the role their country play in Africa. Before we dwell on South Africa's policymakers' usage of role conceptions, it is perhaps, important to follow the post-Cold War usage of Holsti's role conceptions framework in international relations literature.

2.2.4 Role Conceptions in the Post-Cold War Era

Philippe G. Le Prestre's book. *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition* captured six types of role conceptions to be critical in the reformulation of eight countries' role conceptions in the post-cold war.[40] The countries covered in the book are; the US, Russia, Britain, France, China, German, Japan and Canada.

President Bill Clinton was specifically quoted asking the Russians the following question:

> How will you define your role in the world as a Great Power? Will you define it in yesterday's terms, or tomorrow's?[41]

Le Prestre argues that:

[40] Le Prestre, P.G. "Change and continuity in foreign policy role conceptions after the cold war." *Role Quests in the Post-Cold War Era: Foreign Policies in Transition.* Ed. P. Le Prestre. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997. 251. See also, McCourt, David. "*Britain's Role on the International Stage: The Basis of Its Future Foreign Policy, European University Institute, Florence.*" Prepared for the BISA Workshop *What is the Future for British Foreign Policy?* University of Plymouth, 16-17 April 2009.

[41] *Ibid*. 3.

> What diplomats say is often as vital as what they do. It would not be far-fetched to go further and declare that speech is an incisive form of action.[42]

In yet another study Lisbeth Aggestam used the role conceptions as conceptualised by Holsti. The focus of Aggestam's study was Europe's three most powerful countries' foreign policies, (Germany, France and Britain) in the period 1990 to 1999. The question that was posed was how do these countries define their role conceptions? The following six role conceptions were found to be predominant in Europe's Big Three foreign policies; thus, a) European partnership, b) leader, c) Advocate/champion of wider Europe, d) NATO ally, e) Contributor to peace and security, and; f) Independent.

European Partnership

The European partnership according to Aggestam refers to the commitments foreign policymakers articulated towards the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It thus revealed the perceived quality of cooperation and integration in the making of the European foreign policy.

Leader

States are generally charged with the responsibility of providing leadership in aspects of security of their territories and people. However, states differ fundamentally in many respects when it comes to their ability to exert power. The idea of leader among states refers to one or more states that possess sufficient power in dealing with matters of common interest at regional level. For instance, leadership in the European Union (EU) involves Germany and France. These countries and their policymakers perceive themselves to command considerable influence and power in the broad integration of the Europe.

[42] *Ibid*. 14.

Advocate/Champion of Wider Europe

This role conception encompasses commitments and duties policymakers' pledge towards the enlargement of the EU to the countries formerly behind the Iron Curtain.

NATO Ally

This category includes commitments and duties foreign policymakers that perceive themselves as NATO members in general, and more particularly towards the role of the US in European security.

Contributor to Peace and Security

This is a general role, expressing a commitment to work against threats to peace and security in Europe. It relates to duties and responsibilities policy-makers perceive in promoting European stability, conflict prevention, and peaceful conflict management.

Independent

This role involves commitments and duties to retain independence of action and an emphasis on the primacy of national interest in foreign policy. It should be pointed out, however, that this role may also be conceived in a European discourse with an emphasis on the EU as an independent actor in world politics.[43] When nations undergo transitions, or are confronted by new challenges (as was the case with South Africa in the period 1994 to 2008) at regional and international levels, they often revaluate and adjust their national roles. This is often done to ensure that they respond adequately to the new challenges. The task of adjusting role conceptions was one of the main preoccupations of countries in both developed and developing countries at the end of the cold war. The democratic South Africa confronted

[43] *Ibid*. 7.

equally same challenges in 1994; it had to speedily redefine its role conceptions in the post-apartheid and post-cold war.

Post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy -makers' grappled with this task in 1994. Having illustrated the importance of national role conceptions framework in general, the following discussion attempts to define South Africa's foreign policy role conception, specifically.

2.2.5 Emerging National Role Conceptions in South Africa

Following the 1994 elections, the founding leaders of post-apartheid South Africa Mandela and Mbeki enthusiastically seized the opportunity to promote its culture of constitutionalism at home and abroad. Following protracted negotiations, the South Africa's leaders defined their national role conceptions[44] within the new constitution. It can be argued that South Africa's constitution is one of the most progressive in the world. Central to this constitution is the promotion of democracy, peace and security, development and stability in Africa. Any understanding of national role conceptions in South Africa should and must be understood, within the parameters of this constitution. According to Chris Alden and Maxi Schoeman:

> This revitalization has not altered the country's core foreign policy principles and objectives; rather, the search has been for ways in which to operationalise its enhanced standing in an internationally recognised leadership role. In other words, its conception of its own role is as a global player (which includes elements of mediator–integrator, bridge, anti-imperialist agent, developer, and regional leader and protector).[45]

[44] Alden, Chris, and Maxi Schoeman. "South Africa in the Company of Giants: the Search for Leadership in a Transforming Global Order." *International Affairs, 89 (1).* 2013

[45] *Ibid.*

Aware of the limits of its institutional capacity, South Africa's foreign policymakers forged partnerships with neighbouring countries through the SADC to advance 'collective leadership' on matters concerning conflict resolution, economic and political stability, democratic rule, and sustainable development.

Like most other countries, the new South Africa's foreign policymakers were largely informed by domestic, regional, and international factors in defining their national role conceptions. First, South Africa's policymakers were aware that efforts to contribute positively to Africa's renewal were informed by the democratic values and norms enshrined in the new constitution. Second, they understood that South Africa's democracy would be secured only if peace and security was extended to the rest of the continent. Third, they knew that globalisation process required the competitive and effective participation of South Africa and the rest of the African continent, in the global economy. In all these areas, foreign policymakers needed to redefine, reshape and redirect the country's identity and priorities. They drastically shifted it from its general orientation of being solely western aligned to be deeply Africa rooted and developing counties aligned.

As it will be demonstrated, South Africa's new national role conceptions under Mandela and Mbeki undertook similar directions as illustrated by Holsti thus; a) leader, b) African Partnership, c) Contributor to peace and security in Africa, d) Advocate/Champion of a wider Africa, and; e) Independent.

Regional Leader

Prior to assuming power in 1994, Mandela was unambiguous in rejecting any notion of hegemonic power excised by the apartheid regime in Africa. Mandela and his successor Mbeki, however, realised that their country was relatively developed compared to the rest of

the African continent. Its political, economic, and military power would therefore have to be put to the service of Africa's renewal.

African Partnership

South Africa's leadership role in Africa was perceived to be anchored within the collective leadership or partnership with fellow African countries. The African renaissance vision envisioned by President Thabo Mbeki spelled out five areas of African partnership:

I. The recovery of the African continent;

II. The establishment of political democracy on the continent;

III. The need to break neo-colonial relations between Africa and the world's economic powers;

IV. The mobilisation of the people of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands thus preventing the continent being seen as a place for the attainment of the geo-political and strategic interests of the world's most powerful countries; and

V. The need for fast development and of people-driven and people-centred economic growth and development aimed at meeting the basic needs of the people.[46]

2.2.6. Contributor to Peace and Security in Africa

South Africa's foreign policymakers regarded peace and security as their number one priority on the African continent. They saw peace and security as a major prerequisite for

[46] Mbeki, M. "The South African Renaissance." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs* 1998/9. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 1999. 212.

development. South Africa was and remains Africa's biggest contributor in UN peacekeeping missions on the continent. The promotion of human rights and democracy was identified as the major role of South Africa's endeavours in Africa.

2.2.7. Advocate/Champion of a Wider Africa

South Africa's foreign policy–makers used their country's long and well established relations with developed countries to champion African issues such as debt cancellation within the IMF and World Bank. These leaders' foreign policy priorities emphasised the imperative of transforming and restructuring institutions of global governance such as the UN and the Bretton Woods institutions.

2.2.8 Independence

South Africa enacted a role conception of independence to ensure that it could establish diplomatic relationships with countries all over the world, regardless of the western democracies' views. South Africa extended its diplomatic ties with countries such as Cuba, Iran, Libya, and even Iraq under Saddam Hussein. In the case of Libya, South Africa played a critical role in mediating the Lockerbie case[47] between Britain, the US and France on one hand, and Libya on the other hand.

These national role conceptions manifest themselves through different strategies, projects, activities, and responses. The African renaissance vision, NEPAD, mediation in African conflicts and peacekeeping missions are examples of ways in which South Africa has largely succeeded in defining the national role conceptions informing its foreign policy with regard to Africa. At the same time, this very role conception was used as a tool to analyse the

[47] http://plane-truth.com/Aoude/geocities/mandela.html.

strengths and weaknesses of its interventions in African conflicts, particularly in the cases of Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

Pretoria's post-apartheid policy vision towards the continent and the principles that guided this vision will be discussed in greater detail further on in this thesis; however it can be noted that throughout its history, South Africa has shown strong leadership in its interactions with other African states, as well as the developing and developed world. As a relatively developed African country with a functional economy and a stable political environment, South Africa has effectively used its strategic position as a leader with all countries. This was particularly pronounced under Mbeki's leadership, through initiatives such as the implementation of NEPAD, the Millennium Development Goals and Pretoria furthermore championed Africa's agenda in global forums.

2.3 General Literature on South Africa's Foreign Policy in Africa

2.3.1 South Africa's 'Power'

Before embarking on a discussion of South Africa as an agent of soft power, it is perhaps useful to first define the concept of power in international relations. When foreign policy - makers define the role of their country in the world, they consider among many things the relative power of their state compared to others. There is a rich body of literature on Great Powers in the international system such as the ancient Greek city-states (Athens), the Roman Empire, and Pax Britannica. The study of state power invariably invokes the ideas of dominance, hegemony, and leadership. Hedley Bull's book, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, defines these various concepts of power as follows:[48]

[48] Bull, H. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics.* London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1977. 214.

I. Dominance: Characterised by the habitual use of force by a great power against the lesser states compromising its hinterlands;[49]

II. Hegemony: The great power prefers to rely upon instruments other than the direct use or threat of force, and will employ the latter only in situations of extremity;[50]

III. Leadership/Primacy: A great power's preponderance in relations to a group of lesser states takes the form of leadership or primacy that the great power enjoys is freely conceded by the lesser states within the group concerned.[51]

What is power, and how is it measured when states interact in the international system? There In defining these forms of power, Alejandro Bendana said:

> *Relational power* means the ability of one actor to secure desired from another by way of direct or indirect coercion – when those would not otherwise take place. *Structural power*, on the other hand, is not a one-time lever, but an ongoing framework within which one actor has the capacity to determine the overall and punishes acts of (real or ascribed) resistance. In the international arena, structural power extends beyond the traditional nexus of state-state relationships or state- economic or political institutions. It also embraces thought, culture, and usage.[52]

With these definitions of power in mind, it is imperative to look at soft power concept.

[49] *Loc. cit.*
[50] *Ibid*. 215
[51] *Ibid*. 214
[52] Bendana, Alejandro. *Power Lines: U.S. Domination in the New Global Order.* Olive Branch Press, 1996. 103.

2.3.2 The Notion of Soft Power

Joseph S. Nye refers to the concept of 'soft power' as:

> The ability of a country to obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness…This aspect of power – getting others to want what you want.[53]

Nye further stressed that there were dilemmas and challenges in interstate relations during the 21st century with regards to the notion of leadership.[54] He argued that the sources of great power in the international system are no longer defined solely on the basis of 'states', 'strength for war', 'military force', and 'conquest' as was the case in the history of former Great Powers. The source of great power according to Nye has widely been broadened to encompass what he referrers to as 'soft power'.

Soft power can be summarised as a directing, attracting and imitating power, in other words, a *co-opting* power. Accordingly, Nye asserted that if a country's ideology and culture are attractive, others would like to imitate and follow it.[55] However, soft power cannot necessarily be divorced from hard power (military). What Nye clearly shows, is that while hard power is important, it should not and must not be used as the only foreign policy option. The changing nature of global powers require the usage of soft power to achieve ones foreign policy objectives.

Christian Wagner captures the hard-soft power dichotomy in international relations when she states:

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[53] Nye, J. *Op. cit.* 9.
[54] *Loc. cit.*
[55] Majie, ZHU. *Role of Power in International Relations*. http://www.siis.org.cn/English/journal/en20031-2/zhumajie.htm.

> The concepts of hard and soft power can be regarded as two poles on a continuum of power. They also imply different ideas, interactions and institutions for foreign policy when looking at the fields of politics, security, and economy.[56]

Hard power politics encourages reliance on military interventions, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions by foreign policymakers in the conduct of foreign policy. Contrary to this, soft power strategies are ones that employ a non-confrontational approach. In other words, Wagner's definition entails the adoption of common political values, peaceful means for conflict management, and economic co-operation as a foreign policy strategy to achieve national interests.[57] South Africa's foreign policymakers pronouncements, actions and inaction tend to align with the soft power concept.[58] A classic example of the use of soft power was Pretoria's interventions in Lesotho, DRC, Burundi and Zimbabwe. In all these cases, South Africa applied soft power effectively to achieve its foreign policy strategic objectives.

While hard power relies on coercive approaches, it has been well-documented that South Africa has employed soft power in its Africa policy in instances where coercive power may have been the more appropriate response to instability in the region. The following section looks at how South Africa's foreign policymakers have understood, and applied a very specific type of the soft power-power which has been informed by collective African unity, respect for African self-rule, and non-critics of leaders who have overthrown years of colonial domination. This particular type of soft power is not only embedded in states, but in national polity in the Southern African sub-region. South Africa's soft power, in this respect,

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[56] Wagner, Christian. "From Hard Power to Soft Power? Ideas, Interaction, Institutions, and Images in India's South Asia Policy." Heidelberg Papers in *South Asian and Comparative Politics, Working Paper 26*. March 2005. 2.
[57] *Loc. cit.*
[58] Chiroro, Bertha. "South Africa: Optimizing the Currency of Soft Power in the International Arena." *Africa Institute of South Afri*ca, Policy Brief, 79. 2012. 2.

is of particular interest to the study, as this role instils certain comparative advantages which enable it to play a leadership role in Africa and international arena.

2.4 What are Sources of South Africa's Power?

2.4.1 Soft Power

Undoubtedly South Africa has both tangible (hard) and intangible (soft) sources of power in Africa. The tangible sources of power are the ones traditional realist scholars highlight in international relations such as dominant economic resources and military capabilities. The intangible sources of South Africa's power comprise of the high moral ground gained in the struggle against apartheid. This was furthermore reinforced by the nature of South Africa's transitional arrangement and the adaptation of a liberal constitution.[59] South Africa has a vibrant democracy. It strives to meet most of the ingredients of democracy. These are:

I. Human rights and democracy;

II. Rule of law;

III. Public accountability and transparency;

IV. Free and independent press;

V. Decentralisation;

VI. Vibrant civil society and robust private sector and

VII. Political stability, peace and security.[60]

[59] Matlosa K. "Governance Research Agenda: Towards A Democracy Assessment Framework for Southern Africa." *Occasional Paper* 35. EISA, August 2005. 3.
[60] *Ibid*. 3.

South Africa's foreign policy can be characterised as one that relies more on intangible (soft) rather than the tangible (hard) sources of power.

2.4.2 South Africa's Economy in Relation to the Continent

Dan O'Meara once wrote that the notion of regionalism in Southern Africa is skewed. He explained:

> The central pole of accumulation was the mining and later agriculture, industrial and service sectors of the South African economy. All other countries in the region, except that of Angola, were locked into this regional economy as suppliers of cheap migrant labour, certain goods and services (water, energy, transport, etc.) to the South African economy, and as markets for its manufactures and capital.[61]

South Africa's economy constitutes seventy per cent of Southern Africa's total economy, and almost forty per cent of the entire economy of sub-Saharan Africa.[62] Meanwhile, it has two distinct economies that run parallel to each other. The so-called First Economy is highly developed, with a largely skilled White workforce that enjoys a livelihood comparable to those in western societies. Post-apartheid, there was a rapidly emerging black middle class of professionals in and outside government who are becoming an increasingly important segment of the First Economy. Otherwise, this part of South Africa's economy has generated a phenomenon of 'jobless growth' with its wings spreading right across the African continent. However, its counterpart, the Second Economy, was predominantly black, underdeveloped with an unskilled and unemployable workforce. This has presented South Africa with a challenge to overcome apartheid's legacy of economic inequalities accompanied by the

[61] Alden, C. and G. Le Pere. *South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy-from Reconciliation to Revival?, ADELPHI PAPER 362*. Oxford University Press, 2003. 56.
[62] Buthelezi, S. *Regional Integration in Africa: Prospects & Challenges for the 21st Century, 1.* Ikhewezi Afrika Publishing, 2006. 79-83.

HIV/AIDS scourge. Nonetheless, when comparisons are made between South Africa and most states in the rest of the continent, South Africa was at the apex. South Africa is relatively better positioned to deal and cope with most of its challenges.

2.4.3 South Africa's Military Power

South Africa has other conventional attributes of power. For instance, it has the strongest military capability on the continent, and is the biggest African contributor of UN peacekeeping presence on the continent. South Africa's industrial defence sector produces sophisticated, state-of-the-art weaponry, competing with the best in the world.[63] In recent times, it has bought large sums of combat submarine, corvettes, tanks, fighter jets – hardware that no other African country can possibly afford. Although some of the armament deals remain a subject of political controversy with one convicted case of corruption, the arms deal has further boosted South Africa's military capabilities.

When one looks at post-apartheid South Africa's political and economic status in Africa, there can be no doubt as to its commanding position on the continent. South Africa's foreign policy-makers deliberately avoided attempts to employ hegemonic relations with fellow African countries, as was the case under the apartheid regime. However, there are variations of interpretations regarding South Africa's power in Africa. When analysing the effectiveness of South Africa's soft power approach (quiet diplomacy and non-interference) towards its neighbours in Africa it is important to consider the country's reluctance to play a hegemonic role.

[63] Robinson, Tyler, and Jeffrey Boutwell. "South Africa's Armed Industry: A New Era of Democratic Accountability?" *Armed Forces & Society, 22 {4)*. Summer 1996.

2.5 Literature on South Africa's Position in Africa

There is a vast body of literature on South Africa's foreign policy. This literature can be divided into four broad clusters. Each cluster is in turn anchored within a theoretical framework. These are: a) South Africa as regional hegemony, b) South Africa as 'middle power,' c) South Africa as a pivotal state, d) South Africa as a sub-imperialist state.

2.5.1 South Africa as a Regional Hegemony

Much of the scholarship on South Africa's foreign policy refers to its pre-eminence in Africa. The literature locates South Africa as Africa's regional hegemony.[64] The history of apartheid South Africa's relations with the rest of Southern Africa since 1960s provides sufficient evidence of its hegemonic tendencies in terms of coercive dominance. But, what is a regional hegemon? The term regional hegemony emanates from the realist school. David Myers simply defines regional hegemony(s) as, "states which possess power sufficient to dominate subordinate state systems[65]". Much of the literature on South Africa's foreign policy locates South Africa within this realist orientation. Deon Geldenhuys and Sam C. Nolutshungu[66] represent two different, often clashing approaches to the study of South Africa's foreign policy within this regional hegemon framework. Geldenhuys has written comprehensively about apartheid South Africa's foreign policy makers' perceptions of being under siege from unfriendly independent black-ruled countries within the Southern Africa sub-region, the rest of Africa, and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) bloc within the UN. For instance, in a

[64] Prys, Miriam. "Developing a Contextually Relevant Concept of Regional Hegemony: The Case of South Africa, Zimbabwe and 'Quiet Diplomacy'." *GIGA Research Programme: Violence, Power and Security, 77*. May 2008.

[65] Myers, D. "Threat Perception and Strategic Response of Regional Hegemons: A Conceptual Overview." *Regional Hegemons: Threat Perception and Strategic Response*. Ed. David Myers. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991. 5.

[66] Nolutshungu, Sam C. *South African State and Africa.* http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Journal%20of%20Political%20Economy/ajpev1n1/ajpe001001008.pdf.

paper commissioned by the Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) in 1981, Geldenhuys suggested ways in which "South Africa (can) use its economic links for strategic purposes[67]".

Nolutshungu on the other hand, looked at how South Africa, under apartheid, attempted to extend the ideology of white supremacy into Africa. According to Nolutshungu, there was a systematic attempt on the part of South Africa, from the era of Jan Smuts to the Verwoerd era, to incorporate most of Southern African sub-region, particularly the British protectorates Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland into a 'Greater Union of South Africa.' Verwoerd once said:

> …the whole of my striving has been to ensure the knitting together of the parts of Africa, the parts of Southern Africa which belong to each other; parts that must work together for a stable future on the continent of Africa.[68]

Although these authors fundamentally differed in terms of their assessments of apartheid South Africa's foreign policy agenda in Africa, their work nonetheless points to the regional hegemonic power of South Africa. James Barber and John Barrett's authoritative book, *South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security 1945 – 1988*, argues that, "The overriding aim of South African governments in this period was the preservation of a white controlled state, although the means employed to maintain white power and identity changed as the challenges increased[69]".

Even post-apartheid, the question of South Africa's status as a regional hegemon continues to preoccupy foreign policy analysts concerned about Pretoria's relations in the continent. Although there were expectations that South Africa, under the ANC rule, would not behave

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[67] Davis, R. and D. O'Meara. "South Africa's Strategy in the Southern African Region: A Preliminary Analysis." *Development and Destabilisation in Southern Africa*. Eds. M. Sefali and J. Bardil. Roma, Kingdom of Lesotho: Institute of Southern African Studies, 1985. 26.

[68] *Ibid*. 35.

[69] Barberm, J. and J, Barratt. *South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security 1945-1988*. Cambridge University Press, 1990. 1.

in a coercively hegemonic fashion, in many public circles and scholarly quarters, South Africa continues to be perceived as a regional hegemony. For instance, in their article titled "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemonies," Adekeye Adebajo and Chris Landsberg argue that:

> The idea of South Africa and Nigeria as *potential* hegemonies in Africa often raises resentment among other African actors. They challenge the notion that two countries can arrogate to themselves the divine right to lead Africa. In some public and scholarly circles, South Africa and Nigeria are often associated with 'gigantism': they are perceived to be political, military, and economic giants who have the potential to use these resources in malignant and even destructive ways to threaten other states.[70]

Fred Ahwireng–Obeng and Patrick McGowan posed a critical question about South Africa's regional hegemonic power in the following way:

> Will South Africa use its influence and leadership to create public goods of benefit to the region, such as peacekeeping and a more liberal trade regime, or will it use its power selfishly to promote its own national interests by, for example, protecting its markets from SADC products?[71]

Maxi Schoeman has also written extensively about South Africa's role and position in Africa. In 2000, she had the following to say about South Africa bid for a seat within the reformed UNSC:

> It is doubtful whether South Africa has shown sufficient proof of its willingness to shoulder regional and continental responsibilities in a bid to become a regional big

[70] Adebajo, A. and C. Landsberg. "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons." *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Emerging Security Challenges.* Eds. M. Baregu and C. Landsberg. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2003. 174.

[71] Obeng, F.A. and P. McGowan. "Partner or Hegemon? South Africa in Africa, Part 1." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 16 (1).* 1998. 13.

power. To the extent that permanent membership of the Security Council would imply that the country is perceived to be able to play a bigger role, but that it is reluctant to do so.[72]

South Africa's economic and military might within the African context appears to be the main measurement of most scholars when applying the term "regional hegemony" to Pretoria's position in Africa. This category of scholars belongs to the realist school of thought. However, realism carries its own weaknesses as an analytic tool explaining the contemporary role of power in international relations. According to Hill, realism and neo-realism explain the existence of hegemony but its overall value remains unsatisfactorily comprehended in international relations. He further argued that this theory remains inconsistent, because it does not probe into decision-making and interests in domestic politics and how these factors influence policies that may have a bearing on a state's hegemonic posture or profile.

One could argue therefore, that the realist theory fails to understand some of the dynamics that determine power. On the question of dynamics, Kegley and Wittkopf[73] asked whether states were more prone to act aggressively when they are strong or weak. Realist theory aptly explains the nature and character of apartheid South Africa's hegemonic foreign policy, however it fails to adequately explain Pretoria's post-apartheid agenda. Whereas apartheid South Africa maximised military and economic power to dominate its and the rest of the African continent, during post-apartheid, it tended to derive its power through cooperation from the same states.

Realism suggests that maximisation of state power is a central goal of political elites, thus ignoring alternative, intangible sources of power. Foreign policy decision makers in the post-

[72] Schoeman, M. "South Africa's Emergence as a Middle Power." *Third World Quarterly, 19 (3).* 2000. 7.
[73] Wittkopf, Eugene R. and Christopher Martin Jones. *American Foreign Policy: Pattern and Process.* 7th ed. Cengage Learning, 2008.

apartheid era have relied heavily on multilateralism as a way to advance South Africa's foreign policy objectives. With this shift in post-apartheid foreign policy, the term of 'middle power' gained prevalence.

2.5.2 South Africa as a Middle Power[74]

South Africa played a critical role in the First and Second World Wars. It fully and actively participated in the formation of the United Nations (UN). As a result, the country was granted one of the territories under German colonial control, (South West Africa/Namibia), to occupy on behalf of both the League of Nations and UN in recognition of South Africa's special role in global politics as well as within Africa. However, this international recognition underwent radical change with the onset of decolonisation and discrediting of racially discriminatory regimes and notions of 'white supremacy'. Increasingly, as a result of apartheid policy, South Africa lacked sufficient credibility required within global multilateral structures to qualify as a middle power in the leadership sense of the term – responsibility that such states in this category are expected to undertake in the international system.

'Middle power' tends, however, to be one of the most-used concepts in referring to post-apartheid South Africa's position in world politics. Philip Nel, Ian Taylor, and Janis van der Westhuizen for instance asserted that, "South Africa can conveniently be termed a middle power, in terms of both its position in a hierarchy of power and influence in world affairs and the specific nature of its diplomacy[75]". The middle power concept is rooted in the writings of Andrew F. Cooper, John Holmes, Richard A. Higgott, and Kim Richard Nossal. These authors refer to middle power(s) as state(s) that immerse their foreign policy within multilateral fora. Robert O. Keohane states that, "A middle power is a state whose leaders

[74] Qobo, Mzukisi. "The Newly Emerging Powers and South Africa's Global Strategy." *Global Summitry Journal, 1 (1).* 2013.

[75] Nel, P., I. Taylor I. and J. van der Westhuizen. "Multilateralism in South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for a Critical Rationale." *Global Governance, 6.* 2000. 45.

consider that it cannot act alone effectively but may be able to have a systematic impact in a small group or through an international institution[76]".

Countries such as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia were traditionally perceived as middle powers in the post 1945 world order. The historic transition from apartheid to multiracial democracy in South Africa in 1994, witnessed concerted efforts by foreign policy decision makers to use multilateralism as a useful tool to leverage their foreign policy objectives. For scholars of South Africa's foreign policy, this was seen as the major qualification for the country's middle power status in global affairs. In their view, South Africa enjoys the status of a middle power because it has become "a global citizen". It follows and respects the principle of multilateralism. This, according to the proponents of the middle power conception is a useful analytical tool for understanding the role of states in international relations where accent is placed on the spirit of multilateralism (co-operation) instead of unilateralism on numerous matters concerning global peace and security.

It is also important to stress that the term 'middle power' derives from liberal international thought that gained increasing prominence in the post-WWI period. This school of thought encouraged the building of international institutions and the rule of law instead of power. Strongly influenced by it, 'Idealism' stressed the pursuit of objectives such as world peace. Liberal idealism came up with different ways of reforming the global system as the best means of stopping wars. The four main tenets of this school of thought are focused on international institutions, legal processes, disarmament and self-determination. These propositions are based on the following set of beliefs (assumptions) relating to human nature, war, ethics and democracy. They are:

[76] Nolte, Detlef. "How to Compare Regional Powers: Analytic Concepts and Research Topics." *Review of International Studies, 36*. 2010.

I. The anarchic nature of the international system and the absence of a supranational authority - Like realism, liberal idealism accepts this archaic nature, however, it does not believe in the reliance or maximisation of power by states as the best means of self-preservation. Liberal internationalist idealism believes that increased state interaction and interdependence enhance harmony between and among states in international relations. Therefore, liberal democracies compete with but do not go to war against one another. They would rather form a pacific union, since more is gained through cooperation than conflict.

II. Liberal idealism believes that states cooperate on various matters to attain what is considered as rule based global order. While states are considered as important actors in international relations, the school acknowledges the existence of non-state actors. Multi-National Corporations (MNC), individuals and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are some of the non-state actors' active in the international arena. These actors may work with governments to promote global cooperation, peace and security along with states. Additionally,

III. Liberalism believes that the establishment of international institutions, codes, norms, and values such human rights are a manifestation of the role of morality in the definition of relationships between and among states.[77]

[77] Aviles, William. "The Democratic Peace Thesis and The US Relations with Colombia and Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives, Issue 142, 32 (3).* May 2005.

2.5.3 South Africa as a Pivotal State

Much of scholarship in this category tends to move from a US 'spheres of influence' thesis. The pivotal states in this thinking are states considered critical within Washington's Containment Policy during the Cold War. For instance, Ronald Steel wrote that:

> Regional disturbances that do not threaten the world power balance should be dealt with by the major powers of the region, ideally with the endorsement of the international community. Instead of seeking an ephemeral global security, we should, as Charles Williams Maynes has argued in Foreign Affairs, encourage a policy of "regional self-reliance [that] would recognise that certain powerful states in each will inevitably play a special security role. In other words, we must accept the reality of the longstanding tradition of spheres of influence – a tradition that we scrupulously insist upon in the Western Hemisphere under our unilaterally imposed Monroe Doctrine.[78]

In terms of this 'sphere of influence', the post-Cold War world brought uneasiness on the part of the US, especially towards regional conflicts in Africa. The US intervention in Somalia's intra-state conflict left eighteen US troops dead. The high human and capital cost for such interventions, in turn, triggered some public backlash, and there was general hesitance on the part of the US to intervene in Africa's civil wars – especially since Africa, post-Cold War, was fast declining in its geo-strategic importance for the US It is within this setting that the pivotal state thesis re-gained ascendance within US scholarly circles. South Africa became one of the few African countries that were considered to be of pivotal importance to US interest in Africa (along with Nigeria).

Robert S. Chase, Emily B. Hill, and Paul Kenneth define a pivotal state as one:

[78] Conry, B. "U.S. Global Leadership: A Euphemism for World Policeman." *Cato Policy Analysis,* 267. http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa-267.htm. 5 February 1997. 16.

> So important that its collapse would spell trans boundary mayhem: migration, communal violence, pollution, disease, and so on. A pivotal state's steady economic progress and stability, on the other hand, would bolster [its] region's economic vitality and political soundness and benefit American trade and investment.[79]

In a paper published in *Parameters: US Army War College Quarterly*, Edwin S. Cochran placed post-apartheid South Africa in the pivotal state category. He argues that "South Africa's emergence as Sub-Saharan Africa's pivotal state is of strategic importance for the United States[80]". Other scholars such as Garth Le Pere, Adam Habib[81], Chris Landsberg and Jeffrey Herbst[82] have, in varying degrees, also identified the post-apartheid South Africa within the context of the pivotal state thesis. Radical scholars of South Africa's foreign policy, however, fundamentally differ with all of these forgoing conceptualisations of South Africa's status: regional hegemony, middle power, and pivotal state. Instead, they see South Africa nothing less than a sub-regional 'imperialist' state.

2.5.4 South Africa as a Sub-Imperialist Power[83]

Scholars leaning towards Marxism-Leninism view and analyse international relations differently from realists and liberal internationalists. Their starting point lies on what they consider as the negative aspects of capitalist production. Workers are exploited by the dominant class that own and control the means of production. These forms of relations exist among states. The nature and character of the global economy inherently produces unequal

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[79] Chase R.S., E.B. Hill and P. Kenneth "Pivotal States and U.S. Strategy." *Foreign Affairs, 75.* January-February 1996. 37.

[80] Cochran, E.S. "The Pivotal State: Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Parameter- US Army War College Quarterly, Winter*. 2000-01. 1.

[81] Habib, Adam. http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/english/content/rpn/conferences/habib.pdf.

[82] See also: http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/00winter/cochran.htm.

[83] Taylor, Ian. "A House Built Upon Sand: South African 'Imperialism' in a Region without Regionalism." *GIGA, Institute of Global and Area Studies.* Conference Paper, "Regional Powers in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Near and Middle East", December 2006. 11-12.

relations between states. Marxist-Leninist theory argues, therefore, that individual gain is prioritised over equity within and between nation states. There are rich states often described as imperialist, which occupy the core, sub-imperialist states occupying the semi-periphery and the poorest states stuck along the periphery of the world system. While imperialists' states exploit semi-peripheries and peripheries, the sub- imperialists exploit their peripheral. Assumptions of the radical school of thought further examine this exploitation chain. For instance:

I. There is an inherent struggle between countries at the core and peripheral states. This struggle often results in conflict. Therefore, the relationship between core states (North) and peripheral states (South) is one defined by conflicts over the means of production and natural resources situated in the periphery;

II. Structural economic power determines which state(s) control and dominate relations among states;

III. They acknowledge that non states actors such as MNCs are important players in international relations; and

IV. There are semi peripheral states that stand like a "middle class" working with or for core states in the exploitation of the peripheral states. These countries are sub regional imperialists as they maximise their power to exploit poor states both for themselves and for the imperialist core.

This school of thought gained currency during the cold war era when some countries followed the *dependency theory* carrying with it notions of "autarky" or "de-linking" which meant that developing countries can only secure development if they disengage from the

global economy shaped and dominated by the core states. There are many scholars that adopt the radical school of thought to define South Africa's role and position in Africa, particularly in Southern Africa, namely, Patrick J. McGowan, Patrick Bond, John Saul, Dale McKinley, and Hein Marais to name a few. The relative high level of South Africa's economy in comparison with the rest of Africa "provides it with a structural power[84]".

The distribution of power within the Southern Africa subsystem has been the focus of the radical school.[85] The demise of the apartheid system, according to this system, does not necessarily change the exploitative nature and character of South African business in Africa. These companies have invested aggressively across the African continent threatening local and foreign business ventures. Dale McKinley[86], for example, perceives a direct linkage between South Africa's "quiet diplomacy" towards Zimbabwe and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). In his view, there is unity between the new black and old white capital, which colludes with the South African government in Zimbabwe. In short, South Africa's failure to rein in the dictatorial regime of President Robert Mugabe can be best explained by a South African sub-imperialist logic.

Manuel Castells succinctly explains post-apartheid South Africa's sub-imperialistic connection:

> "The end of apartheid in South Africa, and the potential linkage between a democratic, black majority-ruled South Africa and African countries, at least those in eastern/Southern Africa, allow us to examine the hypothesis of the incorporation of

[84] McGowan, P.J, "The Regional Sub system of Southern Africa." *Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International Relations Textbook for Africa*. Eds. P. Nel and P.J. McGowan. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1999. 241.
[85] Khadiagala, G.K. *Op. cit.* 4.
[86] Southall, Roger. *South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa.*" HSRC Press. 2006.

> Africa into global capitalism under new, more conditions via the South African connection.[87]

For a nation emerging from apartheid, the determination to consolidate democracy at home and abroad was uppermost in the minds of the South Africa's foreign policy-makers. However, the country's apartheid history of coercive hegemonic tendencies in the region was widely perceived as an obstacle in rekindling new partnerships with countries. The establishment of a liberal ethos of interstate rules, norms and values of engagement with fellow states in the region became a priority. The ANC was also cognisant of the potential negative perceptions that this could generate. Promoting democracy throughout the region would, in some instances, undercut the principles of territorial sovereignty and Pan-African solidarity, acknowledging that, these differing points of views understandably generate tension. Our hope is that this can be creatively settled within recognised regional and international fora.[88]

Over the years, as these interests have competed in foreign policy, the multiple elite voices coalescing around the decision-making process has guaranteed a tenuous, but manageable balance among them. It is in this context that South Africa started to think carefully about finding creative means to encourage the democratisation of Southern African countries. Here, South Africa's approach to soft power is not openly declared, but it appears to be a major driving force in its Africa policy in the first decade of South Africa's democracy.

[87] Bond P. "Is South Africa Sub Imperialist? Pretoria, Neoliberal Imperialism and the Global Justice Movement." *Pambazuka News*. 622. 21 March 2013.
[88] *Loc. cit.*

2.6 Conclusion

In summary, extending Holsti's work on national role conceptions through theories such as social learning theory, Marxism, neoliberalism and other theories becomes especially important in understanding the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy. The arguments in this chapter have examined the nature, evolution and origins of role conceptions, and has covered key aspects of the concept that are largely ignored in a literature obsessed with the quest for immediate relevance – that of the need to formulate 'identity'. The adoption of this analytical framework is relevant because, in addition to helping assess the importance of identity in national role conceptions, the framework can also explain a country's need to highlight potential conflicts arising from the clash of roles masquerading as interests, because it accepts existing contradictions in prevailing roles. Since 1994, South Africa, has tirelessly demonstrated the ability to transform its foreign policy identity and national roles with regard to the rest of Africa. Pretoria's attempt to build a common consensus on matters of foreign policy objectives means that it has moved foreign policy decision-making toward an Afro-centric direction in line with the vision of an African renaissance guiding its Africa policy.

In understanding this shift to an African renaissance-guided approach to foreign policy, it is useful to process-trace the line of events that South Africa underwent in this transition to its approach. Holsti and Nye's frameworks are relevant in the sense that they help explain how South Africa's foreign policymakers conceptualised the country's changing and yet 'contradictory' roles in Africa. South Africa's quest for formulation of a national role conception also explains much concerning its intervention in Lesotho and Zimbabwe. While these issues will be elaborated fully in the case studies chapters. It can be noted here that, while these two cases raise questions about South Africa's leadership in Africa, they nonetheless demonstrate the reasons why a country might shift from the use of hard power to

soft power in the history of its foreign policy. Holsti's and Nye's works are imminently relevant and will be applied throughout the thesis to gain further insight into Pretoria's understanding of its varied roles, the nature of power useful to it in the country, and the most relevant type of power it needed to apply in the Southern African sub region.

CHAPTER THREE:

FROM AFRICAN PARIAH TO CONTINENTAL LEADER: SOUTH AFRICA'S JOURNEY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

"Considering South Africa's position of relative strength on the continent and in international affairs, the country has a responsibility to play a leadership role in Africa's socio-economic development agenda in terms of developing policy, correctly channelling resources, supporting implementation and directing NEPAD, as well as to play a role in international arena in negotiating a new partnership paradigm and ending Africa's marginalisation in the global community.[89]"

3.1 Introduction

South Africa's foreign policymakers have always grappled with the notion of national role conceptions. Throughout its history, South Africa's leaders both black and white from Smuts, Malan, Verwoerd, Botha, Mandela and Mbeki toyed with the idea of national role conceptions.

This chapter is essentially historical in its focus, and it aims to set the stage for the remaining chapters that follow by providing historical and contemporary background to the evolution of South African foreign policy. From apartheid, to the post-apartheid era, with particular focus on South Africa's intra-African relations on the continent. South Africa's Africa policy finds expression in the ANC and ANC government's commitment to advancing 'The African

[89] *ANC Today,* the official newsletter of the governing party in South Africa. 18 June 2004.

Agenda'.[90] In many respects, this commitment reflected South Africa's post-apartheid agenda of integrating South Africa into the Inter-African state system as a leading actor on the continent devoted to transforming that system in a manner that promotes Africa's development.[91] This is a radical departure from the apartheid era that set South Africa apart from and in opposition to most of the rest of Africa. Yet, here again, South Africa, in its own national interest of survival under an apartheid regime of minority racial dominance defined by Afrikaner nationalist ascendancy, deemed it necessary to interact with the rest of the continent as well.[92]

The concern then, in this chapter, is to explore how South Africa's inter-African relations on the continent have evolved from this defensive, survivalist period of apartheid rule to the post-apartheid contemporary period of the country's integration into the inter-African system. At the same time the chapter intends to identify change and continuity in South Africa's relationship with the rest of the continent, especially given the constant of South Africa's overwhelming dominance under both black majority as well as white minority regimes. This variable does not change and therefore, it is constantly operative in the way the rest of the continent perceives South Africa[93] which, in turn, conditions South Africa's sensitivities in how it relates to the rest of Africa. At present, South Africa's inter-African relations are predicated on the belief that the consolidation of its democracy and overall national interests are intimately intertwined with the continent's prospects for achieving peace, security and stability as preconditions for advancing Africa's sustainable development.

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[90] Landsberg, C. "The Birth and evolution of NEPAD." *The African Union and its Institutions*. Eds. Akokpari, J. et al. Sunnyside: Jacana Media, 2008. 208.

[91] *Ibid*. 209.

[92] Khadiagala, G. *Op. cit*. 4-5.; Barber, J. and J. Barratt. *South Africa's Foreign Policy: the Search For Status and Security 1945-1988***.** New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. 29-44.

[93] Alden, Chris, and Garth Le Pere. "South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy: From Reconciliation and Ambiguity." *Review of African Political Economy, 100*. 2004.

Advancing Africa's sustainable development occupies the heart of post-apartheid South Africa's 'African Agenda'.[94] This, however, was not always the case. The historical journey that South Africa has travelled from apartheid to its current post-liberation dispensation is the story of how South Africa's Africa policy, as a reflection of its relations with the rest of the continent, has undergone radical transformation. South Africa's Africa policy transformation continues to be accompanied by ambivalence between South Africa and its fellow African states as a function of the continuing reality of South Africa's overwhelming dominance on the continent. The remainder of this chapter, therefore is devoted to exploring the history of South Africa's inter-African relations, first under successive regimes of white domination both before and after the advent of Afrikaner nationalist ascendancy in 1948; secondly under the post-liberation regimes of African National Congress (ANC) governments led by Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki.

3.2 The Historical Background of South Africa's Africa Policy

In exploring South Africa's international relations, it will initially survey both the 'formal' (apartheid foreign policy), and the 'informal' (anti-apartheid diplomacy) foreign policy struggles waged between the apartheid regime and the country's liberation movement(s) with a particular focus on the African political 'battlefield.' This pre-1994 history lays the ground for examining South Africa's post-apartheid Africa policy transition toward the African Renaissance era that begins to emerge in the Mandela administration with Thabo Mbeki as deputy president, coming into full elaboration when Mbeki succeeds Mandela. In the process of this historical survey, four key research areas are examined. These involve, first, an initial over-viewing of the formative years of South Africa's foreign policy, from 1910 to 1948

[94] Landsberg, Chris. "South Africa's 'African Agenda': Challenges of Policy and Implementation." A paper prepared for *The Presidency Fifteen Year Review Project*. 2008. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/d-za/dv/3_african_agen/3_african_agenda.pdf.

followed by the attempted 'outreach' strategies of successive Afrikaner regimes – notably those of B.J. Vorster and P.W. Botha in particular – and the ensuing clash at the international level between Afrikanerdom and the anti-apartheid international relations of the liberation movements.

The third area looks at the transition toward a genuinely post-apartheid foreign policy under the leadership of Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk as they guided South Africa into its power-sharing government of national unity, which fundamentally changed the terms of South Africa's relations with its and the continent as a whole. This transition, in turn, lays the foundation for the Mbeki era in foreign policy with its Africa- focus on building stability in the region and further afield as necessary preconditions for advancing Africa's developmental and governance agenda. Here, it should be noted that while the national unity government of Nelson Mandela ended South Africa's legacy of racial supremacy and aggressive hegemony in its Africa policy, Mandela nevertheless created new problems. Chief among them was the dilemma of how South Africa could lead in constructing new partnerships with other countries in the Southern Africa without feeding perceptions or suspicions of continuing hegemony as a legacy of the apartheid era. Of overriding concern to South Africa's new foreign policy mandarins was how they could earn the trust of the Southern African region.

3.3 The Foreign Policies of 'White' South Africa: 1910-1994

South Africa's foreign policy under white leadership between Union in 1910 and the end of white rule in 1990 can be broken down into two periods. The 'Commonwealth Period' from 1910 to 1961, overlapping with the Afrikaner nationalist ascendency beginning in 1948, and, once South Africa withdraws from the Commonwealth[95], the 'Republican Period' and

[95] Secret Cabinet Document, Prepared for Her Britannica Majesty's Government. March 1961. http://filestore.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pdfs/small/cab-129-104-c-39.pdf.

growing international isolation, which effectively ends in 1990 with the unbanning of the African liberation movements which begins the reversal of South Africa's isolation in the international community. In a formal, official sense, the Republican era under white rule ends and the post-apartheid foreign policy era begins in 1994 with the election of the first democratic government.[96] During the Commonwealth period, the hallmark of South Africa's formative foreign policy was its subordination to and alignment with Britain. The main reason for this development, captured by James Barber was, "…the old 'imperial factor' in South Africa's history. Britain was the major colonial power in the continent, the central member of the Commonwealth, and the mother of many white South Africans[97]". South Africa's status within the British Commonwealth was sealed with the post-Anglo-Boer war settlement binding the British and Afrikaner colonies into the 1910 Union of South Africa, consolidating white minority domination over the region's African majority. Importantly, however, the Anglo-Boer or 'South African war' (1899-1902) was also seen as the beginning of the end of Pax Britannica and British hegemony over South Africa had to concede to Boer ascendancy albeit under a leadership that paid nominal tribute to the British crown.[98] During this early Commonwealth period, the pro-imperialist liberal internationalist leadership of Jan Smuts emerged as the distinguishing feature of South African foreign policy.

3.4 The Commonwealth Era

The country's mineral wealth and geographical positioning astride the Cape of Good Hope enhanced its strategic importance within the Commonwealth and made it the centre of the Southern African mining economy and a cheap migratory system. Yet the limit of this hegemony from a political standpoint was the regime's failure to incorporate the British

[96] Johnston, A. "Democracy and Human Rights in Foreign Policy." *South Africa's Foreign Policy Dilemmas of a New Democracy.* Eds. J. Broderick. et al New York: Palgrave. 2001. 12.
[97] Barber, J. "An Historical and Persistent Interest: Britain and South Africa." *International Affairs, 67 (4).* 1991.
[98] Davenport, T. *South Africa A Modern History.* 3rd ed. Johannesburg: Macmillan South Africa, 1987. 222-230.

Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland[99] into a greater South Africa and their eventual decolonisation into Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland respectively.[100] These limits foreshadowed the longer-term failure of successive white regimes to fashion diplomacy persuasive enough to overcome the racial supremacist fundamentals of white domination in South Africa itself with the aim of advancing the country's inter-African relations. The fact of the subcontinent's economic inter-dependence revolving around the Union's emerging mining sector, with its need for migratory from colonies – and eventually independent states – did not translate into political and diplomatic interdependence in terms of advancing early Commonwealth South Africa's regional diplomacy. South Africa's racial system was anathema to its and Britain was loathing facilitating the expansion of Anglo-Boer racial policies into its Protectorates. This failure in its immediate neighbourhood contradicted the growing international stature of South Africa under the leadership of General Jan Smuts.

Smuts elevated South Africa's global standing during and after the Second World War (WWII). However, his main priority, as far as Africa was concerned, was to continue a collaborative and friendly European colonial agenda in Africa.[101] This was based on the assumption that, over the long- term, South Africa's development and security rested on the European colonial 'civilising' mission in Africa. Due to his willingness to assist the Commonwealth in Britain's war with Germany, Japan, and Italy, General Smuts was appointed to sit in Britain's Imperial Cabinet. This was the highest form of recognition of Smuts and South Africa. Coupled with the management of South West Africa after WWI, this was seen as providing South Africa with a "quasi-colonial power status" in Africa.[102] It was within the context of this diplomatic ascendance that South Africa attempted to reinforce

[99] Mekenye, Reuben O. *The African Role in the Failure of South African Colonialism, 1902-1910: The Case of Lesotho*. http://www.ecu.edu/african/sersas/Mekenye400.htm.
[100] *Ibid*. 105; Nolutshungu, S. *South Africa in Africa: A Study of Ideology and Foreign Policy*. Manchester University Press, 1975. 27.
[101] Nolutshungu, S. *Op. cit*. 26.
[102] *Ibid*. 34.

such a notion of status by incorporating Southern Rhodesia as well as and the British High Commission Territories into a 'Greater Union of South Africa'.[103] The watershed elections of 1948 changed all of this, eclipsing Smuts' brand of proxy imperialism to the rest of Africa.

The year 1948 saw Smuts' ruling United Party (UP) lose the elections to the National Party (NP), a small Afrikaans-speaking ethnic party, ushering the system of apartheid.[104] As South Africa embarked on forty years of apartheid, it increasingly became a pariah state in the international arena, totally transforming the liberal internationalist imperialism that had erstwhile bound it to the West. White South Africa began to inexorably lose its respectability. The world had been taken by a surprise by the NP's victory and more importantly, the apartheid policy, which formed part of its electoral manifesto. Sobering from witnessing the WWII horrors of the holocaust, the global mood of the time was in of institutionalising a global consensus on matters of conflict prevention and common security.[105] The irony of NP's victory in 1948 was that member states of the UN signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into effect during that same year.[106] This document obliged all member states, South Africa included, to protect the human rights of individuals and minorities within their jurisdiction.[107] Apartheid, however, offered a policy institutionalised racism - one that moved against the global grain protections for individual rights regardless of colour, gender, class, and creed. The early Afrikaner nationalist regimes, however, tended to be inward looking rather than preoccupied with foreign affairs. However, under the D.F. Malan and Johannes Strydom premierships, three trends significantly changed and shaped their world outlooks: a) South Africa's rapid industrialisation; b) the imperial powers' desire to withdraw from

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[103] *Ibid*. 26-27.

[104] Geldenhuys, D. " South Africa's Foreign Relations." *Leadership in the Apartheid State from Malan to De Klerk.* Ed. R. Schrire. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1994. 249-250.; Boule, L. "The Head of Government and the constitution." *Leadership in the Apartheid State from Malan to De Klerk.* Ed. R. Schrire. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1994. 13 -17.

[105] Hartmann, F. "International Organisation." *The Relations of Nations*, 6th ed. Ed. F. Hartmann. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1983. 172-173.

[106] Geldenhuys, D. *Op. cit.* 249.

[107] *Loc. cit.*

Southern Africa; and c) with the gathering force of decolonisation, the threat of the emerging global cold war.[108]

In the first decade since the Nationalists assumed power, the South African economy boomed. Large State Corporations such as Eskom, Iscor, and Telkom were established during this time as giants in key strategic economic sectors. This 'Boer Boom' peaked in the mid-Sixties in what has been depicted as "The Apartheid Dream State," lasting from about 1964 to 1972.[109]

> Six years of sustained economic growth of 7 percent per annum, high capital inflows, a passive African population that appeared to have acquiesced in its own powerlessness, secure borders, reliable allies in the West (who used its vehement anti-Communist propaganda for its own purposes), and a growing rapprochement between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites.[110]

The economy required massive which, in turn, drove an accelerating process of black urbanisation in the emergence of townships that began to ring white urban-industrial centres. In turn, these processes attracted more foreign investors, skilled, and the general expansion of national infrastructure amid the growth in manufacturing and relative decline in the mining sector.[111] On the one hand, the NP wanted to restrict blacks from settling in urban areas as this could increase the competition for jobs for the poor Afrikaners, its main constituency. On the other hand, the demand for cheap overrode the logic of apartheid with long-term consequences for white rule, especially as the priority shifted to internal as opposed to

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[108] *Ibid*. 252-259.

[109] Seegers, A. " The Head of the Government and the Executive." *Leadership in the Apartheid State from Malan to De Klerk*. Ed. R. Schrire. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1994. 37-39, 46.

[110] O'Malley, P. *Shades of Difference: Mac Maharaj and the Struggle for South Africa*. New York: Viking-Penguin Group, 2007. 185.

[111] Seegers, A. *Op. cit*. 53.

external sources of. Massive industrialisation and urbanisation provided the ANC fertile ground for recruiting members, particularly within the force.[112]

Due to the increasingly repressive nature of the Afrikaner regimes, collective energies began mounting against the apartheid state in 1950s. At the United Nations meeting in… Malan and Strydom came under enormous pressure. Even countries in Asia such as India had attained independence. Indeed, India challenged South Africa's apartheid system openly in the UN General Assembly. This large, newly independent country opposed the ill treatment of people of Indian descent in South Africa, and became one of the first countries in the world to raise concerns about apartheid South Africa's violation of human rights, generally.[113] Under this fear of solidarity for previously oppressed groups, Malan and Strydom feared that the close ties of the South African Communist Party's (SACP) with the Soviet Union posed a security threat to South Africa. In 1950, the SACP was banned, and by 1956, Soviet Union's embassy in Pretoria had been forced to close.[114] Thus was set the basic template of Afrikanerdom's response to the gathering momentum of African nationalism as it began to find increasingly more militant expression in South Africa. African nationalism and various and sundry challenges to the racist edifice erected by the Nationalist regime were conflated with the threat of communism, propelling an increasingly elaborate anti-communist mobilisation as an emerging ideological feature of foreign policy articulation. The communist threat perception was, in part, fed by the European colonial retreat.

When Ghana became the first African country to attain independence from Britain, South Africa attempted to open up a diplomatic mission in Accra but this mission was soon aborted.[115] The immediate reaction to Ghana's independence was the move to strengthen

[112] Lodge, T. *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983. 33-343.
[113] Davenport, T. *Op. cit*. 403.
[114] *Ibid*. 476.
[115] *Ibid*. 479.

relationships with white governments occupying the British and Portuguese colonies in Southern Africa. Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah's eagerness for pan African unity was linked to anti-apartheid as well as anti-colonial campaigns. This only reinforced the fear of radicalism emanating from the ANC at home. The successor to Malan and Strydom, Hendrik Verwoerd further elaborated apartheid into a fully-fledged, institutionalised totalitarian system while laying the foundation for Afrikanerdom's foreign policy offensive in defence of apartheid based on the NP's response to African nationalism cantering on the ideology of Separate Development and the promotion of African ethno-linguistic homelands or 'Bantustans'.[116] On this basis, in foreign affairs, Verwoerd tried to convince the international community to accept apartheid as a legitimate response to African nationalism and decolonisation. In response, the liberation movements intensified their struggle against the apartheid regime. At first, these movements used passive resistance, however, when the Verwoerd government massacred peaceful demonstrators at a police station in Sharpeville in 1960, ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, and Olivier Tambo were motivated to embark on the armed struggle along with the breakaway Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) which was the initiator of the Sharpeville protest.[117] The ANC sent Oliver Tambo to London to open an external office to launch a diplomatic offensive against the apartheid regime. These leaders were stopped in their tracks, however, when the Verwoerd government arrested the critical mass of the top leadership, crippling the ANC's ability to counter the government's offensive.

Tambo and a few others escaped from the country and started to reorganise the movement in exile.[118] The same fate befell the PAC, however it never seemed to recover fully following

[116] Geldenhuys, D. *Op. cit.* 260.
[117] Kasrils, R. *Armed and Dangerous-From undercover struggle to freedom.* Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1998. 22-46.
[118] Callincicos, L. *Oliver Tambo-Beyond the Engeli Mountains.* Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 2004. 277-278.

Pretoria's onslaught. This signalled the weakest moment of the ANC as it was organisationally destabilised and failed to operate within South African borders for many years. Opposition to apartheid was effectively silenced internally through the intimidation, torture and killing of those asking for basic human rights. Mandela and others were incarcerated on Robben Island. The forcing into exile of the ANC and PAC political leadership, while reflecting the nadir of African nationalism internally, nevertheless, marked the beginning of the liberation struggle's development of its own counter-diplomacy of mobilising international opposition to apartheid aimed at isolating the apartheid regime.[119] British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech[120] in the South African Parliament in Cape Town marked an historical watershed for South Africa in its relations, not only with Britain, but also with the West in general.[121] Telling the regime what it did not want to hear, Macmillan emphasised three major issues that South Africa needed to recognise. Firstly that its racial policy of apartheid could not be supported, especially by Britain. Secondly that there was an urgent need to accommodate blacks in South Africa's political system. And finally that the "wind of change" which was blowing in the rest of Africa, wherein African nationalist movements were gaining political power in a momentum that was sweeping across the continent. South Africa would not be spared this trend.

Verwoerd, however, having embarked South Africa onto its own home-grown notion of 'decolonisation,' was not about to be persuaded by Macmillan's 'winds of change.' And with the momentum of decolonisation transforming the Commonwealth itself, it became increasingly clear to Pretoria that South Africa would face increasing pressure and isolation within what was becoming a post-imperial body of former African, Asian and Caribbean British colonies. This predictably led to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth

[119] *Ibid*. 241,573.
[120] Macmillan, Harold, British Prime Minister. *The Wind of Change Speech*. 3 February 1960. http://www.sahistory.org.za/wind-change-speech.
[121] Geldenhuys, D. *Op. cit.* 260-262.

in 1961. On the verge of expulsion, Verwoerd withdrew South Africa's membership.[122] Not only did this signal the first diplomatic attempts aimed at isolating the apartheid regime, it also the end of white South Africa's Commonwealth foreign policy governed by Britain and a 'White Commonwealth' including Canada, Australia and New Zealand. White South African foreign policy – and policy toward the rest of Africa – would now enter its Republican phase as South Africa, outside the Commonwealth, ceased being the Union of South Africa and was reborn, under Afrikaner nationalism, as the 'Republic of South Africa'.[123] Thus, just as other African states were declaring their independence, South Africa, under Afrikaner nationalist hegemony, declared its independence as well – from the British Commonwealth.

3.5 The Republican Era

As South Africa exited the Commonwealth and became a republic[124] amid the gathering momentum of decolonisation on the continent, internally, it intensified its defensive strategy of increasing its state capacity to counter perceived security threats. This strategy would ultimately take on an external dimension as well, both within Africa and internationally as the banned liberation movements, the ANC and PAC, took their resistance to the apartheid regime into the international arena and Pretoria faced growing isolation.[125] Thus, both movements' representatives in exiles attended the opening of the founding summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on May 25 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The struggle against apartheid and white minority rule was openly declared by the OAU as one of

[122] *Ibid*. 263.
[123] *Ibid*. 264-266.
[124] http://www.iwmi.cgiar.org/Publications/Working_Papers/working/WOR18.pdf.
[125] Callincicos, L. *Op. cit.* 277-278.

its premier objectives. The ANC and PAC meanwhile began attracting international financial assistance to advance their struggle, thereby widening the scope of Pretoria's enemies.[126]

Anti-African nationalist as the Afrikaner regime was, the radical change in its international fortunes forced South Africa to develop a foreign policy and national security strategy aimed at countering its growing isolation, with Africa unavoidably at the centre of its diplomacy. With Verwoerd's assassination in 1966, it would be left up to the successive regimes of B.J. Vorster, P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk to execute Pretoria's defensive outreach within Africa and the world with the immediate Southern African neighbourhood as the staging ground. After all, the overwhelming economic dependence of states on the white-dominated republic offered an obvious opportunity for Pretoria to leverage its dominance into African diplomatic and political gains. But this was easier said than done in as much as all states, in varying but unmistakable fashion, politically and diplomatically supported the ANC and PAC although they were in no position to offer open military support.[127]

Caught between Pretoria and the liberation movements, South Africa's would be caught in the middle of the rival diplomacies of both forces. This would increasingly exact great sacrifices upon them, leaving a legacy of distrust of South African power that would follow the country into its post-apartheid era. Confronted by the political threat of an expanding number of African states, South Africa pursued two interrelated foreign policy objectives aimed at achieving its strategic objectives within the Southern African region and beyond. The first was the 'Outward-Looking' policy or (outward policy),[128] extending well beyond the region, targeting especially such obliging West African states as Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana. Here, South Africa's confidence in its economic prowess on the strength of the 1964-72 'Boer

[126] *Loc. cit.*
[127] Khadiagala, G. *Op. cit*. 159-192.
[128] Monyae, David. "The Role of South African DFIs in Regional Infrastructure Development." *DBSA Policy Brief, 2*. 2011.

Boom' was on display. As francophone leaders in particular, such as Abidjan's life-president Felix Houphouet-Boigny and to a lesser extent Senegal's Leopold Sedar Senghor, an openness for 'dialogue' (which, in turn, coincided notably with the US Richard Nixon administration's 'dialogue for change' policy toward South Africa, under the influence of National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger). Closer to home, this policy facilitated the establishment of Southern Africa Custom Union (SACU), incorporating the newly independent British Protectorates, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland (BLS) into South Africa's economic sphere of influence. This was followed by attempts to establish close diplomatic relations with Malawi's Kamuzu Banda and other African states[129] to prevent them from providing sanctuaries for ANC and PAC exiles.

John Vorster's period in power from 1966 to 1978 – following Verwoerd's assassination -- brought with it, its own challenges. Prime Minister Vorster oversaw the beginnings of a sustained military build-up and strengthening of the South African Defence Force (SADF), coupled with the expansion and activation of intelligence and covert action capabilities.[130] Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the arm wing of the ANC meanwhile, had joined forces with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) – and ZAPU's armed wing, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) -- under Joshua Nkomo in fighting against Ian Smith's Rhodesian settler regime.[131] This spurred Vorster to prepare for anticipated regional conflicts and to institute proactive, pre-emptive strategies. South Africa was also trying to shore up white colonial regimes in Portuguese-ruled Angola and Mozambique as well as Rhodesia in their respective counter-insurgencies against African nationalist movements.[132]

[129] Preiss, David C. "The Bridge and Laager: South Africa's Relations with Africa, with Specific Reference to Malawi." *The South African Institute of International Affairs*. September 1973.
[130] Geldenhuys, D. *Op. cit.* 269-275.
[131] Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. "Reconstructing the Implications of Liberation Struggle History on SADC Mediation in Zimbabwe." *Occasional Paper Series, 92*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, September 2011.
[132] *Ibid*. 278.

When the Portuguese finally decolonised their Southern African 'overseas provinces' of Mozambique and Angola in 1974 and 1975 respectively, Pretoria began shifting its regional strategy. Its 'Outward Looking' diplomacy was not reaping major overt political breakthroughs in the continent at large.[133] In Southern Africa, Pretoria was having only limited success at best in persuasively engaging states to accept apartheid. Hence, it began to increasingly rely on more coercive political, diplomatic and military means to achieve these objectives. Not that elements of its 'Outward Looking' diplomacy were abandoned altogether as aspects of this strategy would be employed tactically in a dual approach to arriving at accommodations aimed at denying sanctuary to liberation movements. Destabilisation directed toward covert military support to dissident movements against incumbent regimes in states to foment civil wars could be employed as pressure to arrive at peace settlements of which the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique became a signature example.[134]

During the Vorster period, the SADF made its first military incursions into Angola in 1974 to assist Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in confronting Augustino Neto's MPLA during their post-independence power struggle. This Angolan civil war attracted other global players as the frontiers of the cold war were shifting from Indo-China to Africa.[135] The moment of panic had begun. Vorster did not succeed in negotiating a truce with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a staunch supporter of the ANC. Zambia had openly welcomed the exiled ANC on its soil with a potential of receiving more financial and military assistance from other parts of the world. On the other hand, President Kaunda also gave strong backing to efforts at finding negotiated settlements to conflicts between the region's white minority regimes and liberation

[133] Barber, J. et al. *Op. cit.* 5-6.
[134] Khadiagala, G. *Op. cit.* 193
[135] Pearce, Justin. "Global Rivalries and Local Politics in the Angolan Central Highlands." *Paper for the Working Expert Seminar on Southern Africa in the Cold War Era*. LSE Cold War Studies Centre / Instituto Português de Relações Internacionais, 20 May 2009. http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/programmes/africaProgramme/events/conferences/Southern%20Africa%20in%20the%20Cold%20War%20-%20May%2009/pdfs/papers/Pearce.pdf

movements.[136] Nevertheless, as Lusaka emerged as a major outpost for the ANC and other movements, Pretoria began to escalate its regional destabilisation offensive against states, Zambia and Zimbabwe – once it achieved independence in 1980 – included. The Minister of Defence at the time, and subsequent Prime Minister, P. W. Botha took over when Vorster was forced to step down because of corruption allegations emerging out of 'Infogate', the information scandal which, indeed, was a reflection on Pretoria's defensive diplomacy to buy acceptance of its apartheid policies.[137]

The twelve years of P. W. Botha accelerated South Africa's aggressive regional policy. As former Defence Minister, Botha aka 'Pete the Gun,' joined government in 1978 to implement the Defence White paper that he had had a leading role in writing. It was called the *Total National Strategy of 1977*. This defence document argued that "The mobilisation of economic, political, and psycho-social resources, as well as military resources, was necessary to defend and advance the interests of South Africa at the internal and regional levels.[138]" Perceiving South Africa to be under a 'total onslaught' by 'Soviet expansionism,' what was required of South Africa was a 'total strategy' of integrated internal and external dimensions.[139] On assuming the premiership, the Botha regime instituted both domestic reforms to the apartheid political edifice wherein he became 'State President' over a white-dominated 'tricameral' system of white-coloured-Asian parliaments complemented by the Bantustans and a still to be worked out arrangement for 'urban blacks' while installing a 'National Security Management System' (NSMS) presided over by a State Security Council (SSC).[140]

[136] *Ibid*. 29-31.
[137] Davenport, T. *Op. cit*. 435.
[138] Davies, R. "South African Regional Policy Before and After Cuito Cuanavale." *Moss and Obery*. 1989.
[139] *Ibid*.
[140] *Ibid*.

The SSC coordinated both external destabilisation in states as well as internal repression against a gathering momentum of black resistance post-1976. However, the survival of the apartheid status-quo also dictated a diplomatic negotiations tact. Hence, the Botha regimes' orchestration of the Rhodesia-to-Zimbabwe transition between 1976 and the Lancaster House agreement in 1980 where Botha forced Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front UDI regime (and its puppet 'Zimbabwe Rhodesia' rendition) to negotiate itself out of power,[141] thereby facilitating the emergence of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front majority-ruled regime led by Robert Mugabe; a development that made Mugabe the de facto leader of the Southern African Front-Line States (FLS).[142] Pretoria also attempted to counteract with its own counter-alignment of compliant states. The Botha regime confronted a united Southern Africa led by Zimbabwe under the 1979-established Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

SADCC was established as an "economic liberation" vehicle in the region to foster: a) regional economic cooperation and a lessening of economic dependence on South Africa; and b) the mobilising of a united African regional voice to rally global support against South Africa. While Botha wasted no time in effecting a militarising destabilisation response to the FLS/SADCC, he coupled this with a political counter-concept as well: his notion of a 'Constellation of Southern African States' as a development cooperation elaboration of SACU and the fictionally 'independent' Bantustans backed up by a Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). Thus, the new structure of antagonistic inter-state relations in Southern Africa became characterised by the Harare-led FLS/SADCC versus the Pretoria-led Constellation of Southern African States.[143] What featured most prominently, however, was Pretoria's coercive diplomacy. These included direct military interventions and 'proxy wars'

[141] Moocraft, P. *A short thousand years- The end of Rhodesia's Rebellion*. Salisbury: Galaxie Press, 1979. 223.
[142] Khadiagala, G. *Op. cit*. 203-205.
[143] *Loc. cit.*

aimed, especially, against Mozambique, Angola, and Lesotho: Renamo against the Frelimo regime in Mozambique; UNITA against the MPLA government in Angola; and economic pressure on Lesotho propelling it into an era of unstable regimes in the Kingdom.[144] In this regard, the sudden end of the cold war had a direct impact on South Africa and Southern African politics, particularly in conflicts in countries like Mozambique and Angola. As the cold war's ending began giving way to democratic transitions across the globe in 1989, P. W. Botha was manoeuvred out in of F.W. de Klerk within the ruling NP as negotiations over Namibia led to South Africa's withdrawal of troops from both Angola and Namibia and to the latter's independence.[145] The internal political dynamics within the NP that led to the change of power from Botha to de Klerk coincided with secret negotiations begun several years earlier with the ANC in exile and with Mandela on Robben Island.

With these events, South Africa entered into its transition from apartheid to democracy which, in turn, began laying the foundations for a new relationship that would emerge between South Africa and its in the region and farther afield in the rest of Africa.[146] When F. W. de Klerk took over as the leader of both the NP and government in 1989, the Berlin Wall had fallen. It was within this context of international support in overcoming political oppression that the NP leadership realised that there was an urgent need for a peaceful resolution to the racial conflict. Behind de Klerk's move was fear that anti- apartheid forces at home and abroad were gaining irreversible momentum in strength, credibility and support as the South African economy was beginning to feel the impact of international sanctions, disinvestment and isolation. South Africa had become completely isolated as a pariah state

[144] Hanlon, Joseph. *How the Cold War Shaped Mozambique Today*. Paper presented at Legacies of Conflict, Decolonisation and the Cold War, Lisbon, 28-29 May 2010.
[145] Geldenhuys, D. *Op. Cit*. 281-286.
[146] Vale, P. *Security and Politics in South Africa- The regional Dimension.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2003. 70-93.

globally.[147] Indeed, the country was literally coming to a halt due to internal unrest directed at the government and aimed at making the country ungovernable. Where the externally-based exiled liberation movements were unable to gain the same degree of momentum in South Africa that their counterparts had achieved in Zimbabwe, the internal resistance led by the ANC-allied United Democratic Front (UDF) managed to place the white government under sustained siege. This was achieved through the assistance of a plethora of anti-apartheid civil society forces such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), students' organisations and other civil movements. The use of force was no longer feasible against this momentum interacting with the white regime's increasing international isolation. Isolation was reinforced by the collapse of communism, robbing the ruling Nationalists of their main ideological raison d'être, the 'Total Onslaught' of Soviet 'expansionism' in Southern Africa. As articulated by de Klerk:

> [T]he first few months of my presidency coincided with the disintegration of Communism in Eastern Europe which reached its historic climax with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. Within the scope of a few months, one of our main strategic concerns for decades – the Soviet Union's role in Southern Africa and its strong influence on the ANC and SACP – had all but disappeared. A window had suddenly opened which created an opportunity for a much more adventurous approach than had previously been conceivable.[148]

3.6 The Post-Apartheid Era

Effectively, the transition to a post-apartheid South African foreign policy and an end to South Africa's isolation in the rest of Africa is ushered in with de Klerk's 1990 unbanning of

[147] Geldenhuys, D. *The Diplomacy of Isolation: South Africa's Foreign Policy Making*. Macmillan. 1984.
[148] Landsberg C. *The Quiet Diplomacy of Liberation: International Politics and South Africa's Transition*. Johannesburg: Jacana Press, 2004. 86.

the liberation movements and the stepping onto the political stage of the movement's leaders as they were set free from Robben Island and/or returned from exile. Officially, this era gets under way with the electoral transition to democracy in 1994, which continues to transition toward a post-apartheid foreign policy under the Government of National Unity. This complicated process required the inter-meshing of what had been two diametrically opposed foreign policy political traditions. Firstly a defensive strategy informed by an anti-communist, pro-Western agenda of containing African nationalism and 'third world revolution' accompanied by coercive overt and covert pressures on states and complemented by a private sector anti-sanctions campaign directed at counteracting South Africa's isolation via such institutions as the South Africa Foundation. The liberation counter to this strategy involving an alignment with the Soviet bloc, the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement complimented by a broad anti-apartheid campaign aimed at promoting sanctions against South Africa along with its international isolation.

Moreover, whereas, the apartheid regime and South Africa's private sector were avowedly pro-Western and Eurocentric in outlook, the ANC, PAC, SACP and black consciousness tendencies reflected foreign policy commitments informed by an anti-imperialist posture that was highly critical of the West if not anti-Western in actuality. Yet, the moral high ground occupied by what had become a global anti-apartheid campaign gave the liberation movements and their leaderships an international political legitimacy and entre in foreign capitals the world-over that was denied the apartheid government. Yet the 'apartheid regime' enjoyed the capacity of an entrenched diplomatic bureaucracy that awaited the new regime-to-be.

In terms of South Africa's relations with the rest of Africa, the early post-1994 period could be likened to one of trial and error. As the Mandela administration sought to find its footing in dealing with a continent where heads-of-state and government tended to self-protectively

close-ranks behind one another in instances where an OAU member state found itself the target of international pressure and criticism. This was on full display in President Mandela's experience of being brought up short in his public attacks on the brutal military regime of Sani Abacha in Nigeria, creating a 'lesson learned' that would be stored away by Deputy President Mbeki as a guide to his post-Mandela diplomatic forays in the continent and especially in Southern Africa. At the same time, however, South Africa's 'miracle' status and iconic leadership personified by Mandela gave it the political capital and international backing to increasingly assume a leadership role. Specifically in advancing a conflict resolution agenda on the continent, especially in the Great Lakes, starting with its diplomatic initiative aimed at easing out Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire's transition to becoming the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). South Africa's transition heightened international expectations of its leadership potential on the continent, especially in the West.

Conversely, these very expectations generated suspicions and uneasiness among Africans on the continent, especially in Southern Africa where the former Front-Lines States would have to adjust to a new South Africa that would still remain the overwhelmingly dominant force in the region. This ambivalence was underlined in the case of South Africa's military intervention in Lesotho and the tug-of-war between Nelson Mandela and Robert Mugabe over the structural terms of reference of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDSC), within SADCC's successor, the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It was against this background that Mandela's successor, Thabo Mbeki would fashion an African Renaissance strategy that would enshrine South Africa's continental leadership in conflict resolution within a broader African developmental agenda in which peace and security became acknowledged as a precondition to the continent's development under the terms of a new 'partnership' strategy that came to reside in the New Partnership for Africa's Development. This evolution of Tshwane-Pretoria's Africa policy under Mbeki

would form the backdrop of South Africa's difficult and protracted settlement diplomacy conflict resolution initiatives in Burundi, the DRC, and in Zimbabwe.

3.7 Conclusion

In summary, the post-apartheid era in South African diplomacy can be differentiated between a transitional phase overlapping the effective end of the 'republican era' in 1990 and the emergence of what might be defined as the contemporary 'African Renaissance era' of African Agenda promotion. Hence, the forgoing should be approached from the vantage point of setting the historical backdrop for exploring the case studies that follow in the remaining chapters of this thesis. In exploring this historical background, what this chapter has sought to establish is a context for distinguishing aspects of 'continuity and change' in South Africa's foreign relations spanning those periods of rule under white minority regimes and those regimes under African majority-rule. Whereas the periods under white rule – 'Commonwealth' and 'republican' – shared a basic commonality of commitment to defending the interests of 'Western civilization' in Africa, they differed in the challenges they had to face. The 'republican' period of Afrikaner nationalist dominance, in the Commonwealth and the early UN, had to increasingly respond to the dual pressures of African nationalism and the Cold War ideological struggle of US/Western-Soviet bloc competition, aligning the country in the anti-communist Western camp. The gathering momentum of African nationalism in the early 1960s forced an end to the 'Commonwealth era' as the Commonwealth became one more arena of opposition to apartheid driving South Africa into isolation.

While successive apartheid regimes, especially under Vorster and Botha, tried to accommodate post-independent Africa with 'outward looking' and 'constellation' strategies aimed at leveraging the Republic's economic might as an enticement for engagement with states in Southern Africa and farther afield, these attempts only encouraged counter-

mobilisations against such enticements of dependency in efforts to lessen dependence on South Africa. Independent African states would, under no circumstances, subordinate themselves voluntarily under a white-dominated South African system. The post-apartheid democratic transition beginning in 1990, formally installed in 1994, marked a sharp discontinuity in South Africa's diplomacy overall and relationship with the rest of Africa. The post-apartheid foreign policy era that began taking shape in earnest during the Mandela years reflected much of the initial international euphoric optimism and wishful thinking attached to South Africa. A country that was emerging as Africa's 'natural leader' embodying a human rights foreign policy grounded in its moral example as a 'Rainbow Nation' accompanied by universal engagement with North and South alike as well as with the West and the former communist bloc. The early Mandela foreign policy reflected an almost naïve idealism based on South Africa's experience of negotiated change and reconciliation as an exportable commodity.

But beneath the surface of this idealism a tug-of-war was being waged at the bureaucratic level of the Department of Foreign Affairs now DIRCO. This cold battle was between the pro-Western biases of the 'republican era' (and outside government, the 'Commonwealth era' residing in elements of the English-speaking business community tied to Anglo-American institutions in Britain and the US) and the decidedly anti-imperialist proclivities of the liberation movement-turned ruling party. South Africa's early post-apartheid foreign policy under Mandela, therefore, was something of a hybrid. However, as Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki began to systematically recast this hybrid into an increasingly more Afro-centric, pro-South expression of South Africa's identity as an African power situated in the global South while endeavouring to act as a 'bridging' power between North and South in advancing, not just South Africa's agenda, but the continent's agenda as well. With Africa as the centrepiece of South Africa's foreign policy, the Mbeki period of the post-apartheid foreign policy era can

aptly be described as the ushering in of the 'African Renaissance' with its revisionist focus on recasting the inter-African system.

As radical a break with the past as the Mandela and especially the Mbeki periods appear to be in historical terms, there has nevertheless remained one constant of continuity within these changes that remains a dilemma for South Africa: its ambivalent relations with its and the rest of the continent defined by its overwhelming economic power and industrial might. Under the white regimes of the 'Commonwealth' and 'republican' eras, this ambivalence was of a polarising magnitude due to the white supremacist racial challenge presented by a rich white-rule industrial power on an African continent populated by poor, underdeveloped and weak states. Yet the fact that South Africa made its much fought for transition to black rule did not end this ambivalence. It muted it into lower level expressions of envy, resistance and suspicion concerning how the new South Africa's power would be used and became an inhibiting bone of contention aimed at blunting South Africa's leadership. South Africa's leaders became obsessed with not allowing the country to come across as the hegemony of the region and the continent. It is this continuity of ambivalence interacting with the change from white to black rule that informs the comparative analysis of how South Africa has interacted with the rest of the continent in the experiences of engagement in Lesotho, the DRC, Burundi and Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER FOUR:

LEARNING TO LEAD: SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION IN LESOTHO IN 1998 AS A CASE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

South Africa entered the second decade of its freedom with much vigour to rebuild and strengthen its relation with countries in the Southern Africa sub-region. The first fourteen years of South Africa's freedom from colonialism and apartheid, 1994 - 2008 witnessed a profound transformation of its own domestic policy. The defining features of this remarkable transformation were the anchoring of democratic norms, institutions, and organisational processes, policies and practices.[149] The greatest challenge for post-apartheid South Africa, however, was how best to effectively engage and work collectively with others towards the integration of the Southern African sub-region. This task required the reformulation of an unambiguous regional foreign policy. In other words, South Africa realised that for it to be accepted in a, where it once played the role of a 'bully', it had to categorically reject regional hegemonic ambitions.[150] Using various regional platforms, South Africa maintained that it would rely on the collective leadership approach to matters concerning the region. Given its relative economic strength, Pretoria was however conscious that it would need to contribute 'more' in terms of resources to the achievement of regional peace and security.[151] Throughout the first fourteen years under Mandela and Mbeki, there were often tensions between the

[149] Landsberg, C. *Op. cit.* 159.
[150] Mills, G. "Prisoners of a Paradigm? Understanding SA's Foreign Policy." *South Africa Yearbook of International Affairs 2002/3.* Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2003. 2.
[151] Mda, N. "South Africa's Role in conflict Resolution in Southern Africa: Prospects for Co-operation with the US." *South Africa Yearbook of International Affairs 2003/4.* Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2004. 138- 139.

expected national role conceptions defined by foreign policymakers and the international community expected role the country should play in Africa. To borrow from Psychological concepts: South Africa had a 'canned role', meaning that while SADC expected non hegemonic and responses. South Africa, at times, wanted to drive its goals through their leadership - representing an internalised role on their part. This 'canned role' approach created paradoxical outcomes. Nevertheless, South Africa continuously assured its immediate about its honourable intentions to seek solutions that would be mutually beneficial for itself and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

A similar example can be found in the nature and character of regional schemes such as SADC. Although necessary, they are generally not harmonious, and are often fraught with power politics. This further complicated their relationship building ability, making it difficult to create trust between and among member states. This is particularly true in a region where one country is viewed as an 'outsider' or is physically isolated in terms of its political, economic, and social environment. The governing party, the African National Congress (ANC), describes South Africa's position within the broader African continent in the following way:

The ANC has correctly placed the African continent very high in its international policy and international relations. Such a priority is informed by the following considerations:

I. The fact that South Africa is part of the African continent, and that its economic development is linked to what happens on the continent as a whole;

II. The fact that South Africa has an important role to play in the economic and political revival of the continent;

III. The fact that the economic development of the African continent as a whole will be a significant step in overcoming the North-South divide.[152]

4.2 The Background of the Lesotho Intervention

The following historical overview sets the scene for a more detailed account and analysis of apartheid South Africa's regional foreign policy approach towards the Southern African sub-region, paying particular attention to its engagement with neighbouring Lesotho. South Africa has always been at the heart of the evolution of Southern Africa's modern state and capitalist systems. These processes were, of course, more advantageous to South Africa. To fully understand South Africa's role(s) within the development of the Southern Africa sub-region, one has to locate it within the development of capitalism and colonialism in Southern Africa. In this way, South Africa played different roles in Southern Africa throughout its history. These roles were not necessary all negative. They varied with each stage of the region's development. South Africa's role in the region, therefore, cannot be understood in vacuity. It was a role largely informed and influenced by global political and economic environments. South Africa's elites during the colonial and apartheid era used the country's economic advantages vis-à-vis its as a major source of their hegemonic ambitions. It is within this context that the post-apartheid South Africa rejected any form of hegemonic designs in its interactions with the region.[153]

[152] *Developing a Strategic perspective on South Africa's Foreign Policy.* http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/discussion/foreign.html.

[153] Adebajo, A. and C. Landsberg. "South Africa and Nigeria as Regional Hegemons." *From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges.* Eds. M.L. Baregu. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2003. 187.

4.3 South Africa's Lesotho Intervention

Lesotho is uniquely located within South Africa's geographical setting. It is a landlocked country surrounded by South Africa on all sides. The history between these two countries has produced one of the greatest dependent interstate relationships in international relations.[154] In 1998, junior military officers were on the verge of assuming political power in Lesotho's capital, Maseru in an unconstitutional manner. South Africa intervened under the banner of SADC alongside Botswana to prevent the coup from occurring.[155] Upon their arrival in Lesotho, South Africa's troops expected little resistance. Instead, Basotho junior troops opened fire from a strategic position in defiance of the South African-led SADC intervention. This resulted in scores of unnecessary deaths and massive destruction of property and public infrastructure.[156]

The crisis in Lesotho started in the early 1990s. Much of the challenges faced by this tiny country emanated from its extreme poverty and a lack of an industrial base. It had always depended on South Africa as it has no any other neighbour. Thirteen per cent of Lesotho's land is arable and the rest remains mountainous. There is a rich history between the two countries.[157] Cultural links between the Basotho people in South Africa and those in Lesotho run deep. They share the same language and cultural royalty and their interactions have been active regardless of the colonial and apartheid drawn geographical separation. Ever since Lesotho attained independence from Britain, apartheid leaders have wanted to incorporate it

[154] Khadiagala, G. *Op. cit.*
[155] Makoa, F. "The Challenges of the South African Military Intervention in Lesotho after the 1998 elections." *Lesotho Social Science Review-Special Issue: Lesotho's Recent Conflicts*, 5 (1). June 1999. 82- 88.
[156] Landsberg, C. *Op. cit*. 164.
[157] Matlosa, K. "Democracy and Political governance in Lesotho: Key issues and challenges." *Background Paper prepared on behalf of the APRM Secretariate-Midrand*. Johannesburg, 7 August 2006.

into South Africa. These hegemonic aims failed as the Basotho people defended their right to sovereignty.[158]

4.4 Post-Apartheid South Africa Relations with Lesotho

Lesotho falls within Pretoria's foreign policy strategy and priorities in the region. When South Africa was undergoing its transition, Lesotho was experiencing its own political upheavals. There was a serious constitutional crisis surrounding the role and functions of the monarchy. Into the political vortex created by this crisis were drawn the military and the political parties creating a generalised ungovernable environment.[159] Moreover, the Lesotho crisis was unfolding against a regional backdrop of major migratory flows of professionals and industries from SADC countries to South Africa.[160] This 'de-industrialising' trend was denying poor countries such as Lesotho access to capital, skilled and, indeed, financial investments. Coupled with the downturn in the global economy at the time, the Lesotho state was increasingly incapable of creating sufficient jobs to alleviate poverty. While South Africa was celebrating the birth of a new democracy and rejoining the international community, Lesotho was on the brink of falling apart.[161]

In this environment, King Letsie III staged what became known as a 'royal coup.' This event was caused by the military demanding a pay rise while making a bid for power. A petition had also been signed by the opposition in cooperation with the monarch calling for the restoration of King Moshoeshoe II to the throne and a convening of a National Dialogue

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[158] Ajulu, R. "Survival in a Rough Neighborhood: Lesotho's Foreign Policy in the Era of Globalization." *Globalization and Emerging Trends in African States' Foreign Policy-Making Process: A Comparative of Southern Africa.* Eds. K.G. Adar and R. Ajulu. Burlington Ashgate, 2002. 57.

[159] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the events Leading to the Political disturbances which occurred in Lesotho in 1998.

[160] *Lesotho and its Big Brother.* http://news.bbc.co.uk/z/hi/africa/177389.

[161] Van Nieuwkerk, A. "Implications for South Africa's Foreign Policy- beyond the Lesotho Crisis." *Occasional Paper, 3.* Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), 1999. www.accord.org,za/webinsf./olcc2004/05/31.

conference to forge a national consensus on numerous of issues affecting the government, opposition and civil society.[162] However, the government of Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle failed to respond to these demands. Consequently, the King dissolved the government and instituted a provisional government on August 17, 1997.[163] As can be expected, the entire country was thrown into serious political instability characterised by major civil unrest and matching use of military force to quell the dissent, resulting in at least five deaths. In response, local civil society groups banged together to form an 'Alliance for Democracy', and held a national strike for two days from August 22, and another three-day strike from 7 September.[164]

Attempts to contain the situation led to intervention by the then South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who flew to the Lesotho capital Maseru to hold a series of talks with the government, the opposition, and the two-army factions, respectively. South Africa's concerns were later communicated to countries Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Swaziland and to the various multilateral bodies; the UN, OAU, and Commonwealth. Upon South African appeals, the UN and the Commonwealth dispatched envoys to Maseru. These missions, according to Nthakeng Selinyane, were pursued on grounds that any unconstitutional change of government would not be countenanced.[165]

Subsequently, under SADC auspices, South African President Nelson Mandela and his Zimbabwean and Botswana counterparts; Robert Mugabe and Quette Masire banded together to form what later became dubbed as the 'SADC Troika' to assuage tensions and oversee the development of the Mountain Kingdom. Their main aim was to deal with the three major

[162] Selinyane, N. "Lost between stability and democracy: South Africa and Lesotho's constitutional crises of the 1990s." *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa.* Ed. R. Southall. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006.
[163] Kadima, Denis. "The DRC and Lesotho Crises: Some Lessons for the SADC." *Lesotho Social Science Review, Special Issue: Lesotho's Recent Conflicts*, 5 (1). 1999.
[164] *Loc. cit.*
[165] *Loc. cit.*

political constituencies in the kingdom, namely the monarchy, the political parties and the military. After some arm-twisting and horse-trading the then Director General of Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Rusty Evans was able to secure an agreement on the restoration of the government. Pretoria's resolve on peaceful negotiation to the constitutional crisis was therefore able to prevent a military intervention, which was reportedly favoured by President Mugabe and Lesotho's Prime Minister Mokhehle.[166]

The eight-point memorandum thus made the 'troika' guarantors of the agreement, which in turn gave them authorization to intervene in the country's internal affairs, and therefore "effectively reduced the country to a trustee state". However, Selinyane maintains that there was an implicit understanding that "such intervention could be subject to the initiative and permission of the government[167]".

For Pretoria, the pursuit of a multilateral approach in dealing with Lesotho's constitutional crisis was critical in allaying fears of South African regional hegemony and unilateralism, a perception that was a major concern of Pretoria. Between 1995 and 1997, the 'Troika' dealt with a host of political issues. These ranged from the powers of the monarchy and the military to the need for fresh elections to be held in Lesotho.[168] Throughout this entire process, Pretoria remained committed to the finding lasting solutions to the crisis in Lesotho and to these ends South Africa facilitated numerous internal peace talks among the Basotho. Notwithstanding all its diplomatic efforts, critics of Pretoria's foreign policy argue that the 'Quiet Diplomacy' in Lesotho produced only limited dividends.

In August 1998, Lesotho found itself in the midst of a second constitutional crisis, following cries by indignant opposition allies for the High Court to declare the May elections results

[166] *Loc. cit.*
[167] *Loc. cit.*
[168] Landsberg, C. *Op. cit.* 164.

null and void and dismiss the government. This would subsequently culminate on the 10 August, after a weeklong protests and vigil outside the royal palace, with a stranglehold of the capital by allied opposition parties forcibly closing down government offices and impounding government vehicles.[169] As a consequence, South Africa sent a mediation delegation led by the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, accompanied by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo and Defence Minister, Joe Modise to engage with representatives from both government and opposition.[170] An agreement was subsequently reached, calling for the formation of a commission to investigate the legitimacy of the election results and the authenticity of opposition claims that the elections had been rigged. The commission was to be chaired by South African Justice Pius Langa and its members drawn from the Troika of guarantors of the 1994 agreement.[171]

The Commission, however, was not as effective, as was initially intended and thus "proceeded at a painstakingly slow pace", which caused delays in the submission of the final report. The delays of Justice Langa's controversial findings fuelled unrest in the Kingdom, which culminated in small-scale armed conflicts between the supporters of the belligerent parties leading to deaths and injuries.[172] This also fed into suspicions that South Africa's Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki (the main negotiator) was doctoring the report in of the government. There was a major contestation concerning the prolonged period before the report's release. The main reason given for this delay was that the report needed to be presented to the SADC leadership before it could be given legitimacy and endorsement.

In the interim, the opposition parties went on a crusade of destabilising the government and rendering the country ungovernable. In pursuit of these objectives, the opposition instigated

[169] Selinyane, N. *Op. cit*. 67.
[170][170] Matlosa, K. "Conflict and Conflict Management: Lesotho's Political Crisis After the 1998 Election." *Social Science Review: Special Issue: Lesotho's Recent Conflicts, 5 (1).* A Journal of the Faculty of Social Science, National University of Lesotho. June 1999. 181.
[171] Selinyane, N. *Op. cit*. 67.
[172] Ajulu, R. *Op. cit*. 65.

'stay away' campaigns, resorting to terrorism, vandalism, road blockades and looting as a means to these ends. Compounding the situation was the series of violent confrontations in the capital between the armed youth gangs from both sides of warring parties, which led to the loss of lives and caused damage to property. The army's failure to curb the escalating instability only proved to make matters worse, as it presented the contending political elites the opportunity to manipulate the situation to further their political objectives.[173]

When the Langa report was finally released on September 17, it rejected the opposition's reputed view that the elections were fraudulent. It however, did, point to anomalies that had occurred in the run up to the elections. But it emphasised that they did not sufficiently necessitate an electoral re-run. According to the report, the elections represented the "will of the people", stating that:

> We are unable to state that the validity of the elections has been conclusively established. We point out, however, that some of the apparent irregularities and discrepancies are sufficiently serious concerns. We cannot, however, postulate that the result does not reflect the will of the Lesotho electorate. We merely point out that the means for checking this have been compromised and have created much room for doubt.[174]

The ambiguity of the report's findings therefore failed, as argued by Matlosa, to "give the electoral process a clean bill of health, but at the same time not making a definitive case for the opposition parties[175]". Matlosa further argues that the "Langa Commission thus played an insignificant role as a conflict management tool for its outcome did not bring the parties

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[173] Selinyane, N. *Op. cit.* 67.

[174] Matlosa, K. "Conflict and Conflict Management: Lesotho's Political Crisis After the 1998 Election." *Lesotho Social Science Review: Special Issue: Lesotho's Recent Conflicts, 5 (1).* A Journal of the Faculty of Social Science, National University of Lesotho. June 1999. 182.

[175] *Loc. cit.*

together to some mutually acceptable political settlement[176]". Consequently, the report only served as an impetus to the escalation of conflict and opened the floodgates to anarchy. The military and opposition parties openly challenged the authority of the government, thereby rendering it ineffective. Junior military officials arrested their seniors and it was increasingly becoming clear that the Basotho police had lost control of the situation, and thus provided clear signals that a coup was in the making.[177]

This led to Prime Minister Mosisili calling for help from fellow SADC members to stop the unconstitutional political power take-over in Lesotho. The SADC's response to Lesotho's constitutional crisis was propelled by the urgency in the Prime Minister's request that expressed in a letter as follows:

> The most serious tragedy is that the police, and in particular the army, are at best, spectators. The mutiny in the LDF (Lesotho Defence Force) is taking root. The brigadier who has been forced to be commander, has had to go into hiding because the mutineers have attempted forcing him to announce a coup. He has so far refused and fears for his life. In this instance, *we have a coup on our hands* (Author's emphasis).

Concerns of a looming civil war invoked Article 5, section 2 (ib) of SADC's draft protocol on PDS, which states that "one of the intra-state conflicts that could warrant a regional intervention is a threat to the legitimate authority of the government (such as a military coup by the armed or para-military forces)[178]". The need to intervene by SADC was also informed by the 1994 Agreement, which made the 'Troika' the guarantors of peace and stability in Lesotho. Article 1 of the Memorandum states that "the guarantors commit themselves to

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[176] *Ibid*. 183.
[177] Neethling, T. "Military Intervention in Lesotho: Perspectives on Operation Boleas and Beyond." *OJPCR*: *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2.2*. May 1999. www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/p2_2neethling.htm.
[178] Matlosa, K. *Op. cit*. 184.

remain directly involved in this understanding, and shall take all necessary measures to oversee the process to its successful implementation[179]".

On this basis, on September 22 1998, South African National Defence Force (SANDF) deployed 600 troops in Lesotho. The main objectives of this mission "were to prevent a military coup, to disarm the mutineers and to create a safe and stable environment for the diplomatic initiatives to find a peaceful solution to the political crisis in Lesotho[180]". They were backed by another 200 troops from the Botswana National Defence Force (BNDF), forming a SADC mission. The main targeted areas were the Makoanyane and Ratjomose barracks in Maseru, the royal palace and the Katse Dam. In a matter of hours, the capital Maseru was reduced to a ghost town, a result of massive looting and arson.

The situation quickly spread to the neighbouring towns in the south; Mafeteng and Mohale's Hoek also falling prey to the 'raids'. Although this mission was Pretoria's first direct intervention in SADC militarily to deal with conflicts, it raised eyebrows, with Pretoria being severely criticised for using massive force instead of the usual diplomatic channels and that a military solution was easily opted for before all avenues to finding a negotiated settlement had been exhausted. For many, the operation was reminiscent of apartheid South Africa's 'destabilisation' policy in the region and did not in any way "reflect an approach that elevates persuasion, conciliation, and nonviolent coercion above the use of force[181]".

Moreover, the operation was seen as a failure because the troops of the SANDF had "inadequate intelligence, orders and objective, with the result that angry protestors were not prevented from burning down South African-related and government buildings in the capital

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[179] *Ibid*. 185.

[180] de Coning, C. "Lesotho Intervention: Implications for SADC, Military Interventions, Peacekeeping and the African Renaissance." Presentation on 10 November 1998 at the University of Pretoria for *African Dialogue Series*.

[181] Neethling, T. "Military Intervention in Lesotho: Perspectives on Operation Boleas and Beyond." *OJPCR*: *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2.2.* May 1999. www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/p2_2neethling.htm.

Maseru[182]". Some contended that this operation was taken without the UN approval. Chapter VIII of the UN Charter states that no enforcement action can be undertaken by regional bodies, such as SADC, without prior approval by the UN Security Council. Accordingly, South Africa, Botswana and SADC failed to obtain prior authorization from the UN Security Council as required in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.[183]

The South African government dismissed these claims, however, insisting that the intervention in Lesotho did not constitute an invasion. Rather, that the intervention was justified in that it was carried out under the auspices of SADC on request by Lesotho's Prime Minister, Pakalitha Mosisili, and that such actions were mandated by the Agreement of 1994 and that all attempts at peacefully resolving the dispute had failed and therefore military intervention was opted for as a last resort.[184]

Most importantly, however, one can argue that this operation seems to have changed the way South Africa was perceived on the continent. One of the reasons behind this was the SADC response which saw this operation as an "apartheid-style military adventurism aimed at serving South Africa's economic interests", which includes securing the US$4 billion Katse Dam Project constructed to supply water to the industrial heartland of South Africa.[185]

Pretoria's intervention in this relatively poor country gave credence to perceptions that South Africa seeks to play the role of regional hegemony, thereby fuelling the possibility of isolation within the continent. However, for Pretoria, the developments in Lesotho were of great significance and not merely the actions of a "bully" exerting its dominance on a defenceless neighbour for furthering its aims of regional hegemony and economic interests.

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[182] "South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa." *Conference Proceedings*. Ed. R. Southall. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006. 21.
[183] Cilliers, J. "Lesotho Intervention Wasn't Strictly Legal." *The Sunday Independent,* 4 October 1998. 11.
[184] Neethling, T. *Op. cit.*
[185] *Loc. cit.*

Instead, the Lesotho crisis and subsequent intervention constituted a milestone in South Africa's foreign policy. Not only was this the first time the post-apartheid government ever deployed troops on foreign soil in a conflict situation, but also that it imparted very important lessons for future engagements and interventions within the SADC sub-region and the greater continent.

The importance of the Lesotho crisis in the evolution of South Africa's policy towards regional conflict and its management can best be appreciated in Pretoria's involvement in the Basotho Kingdom in the post-conflict period. Post-intervention, South Africa showed its resolve to promote constitutionalism in Lesotho as the guarantor of peace and security.

4.5 The Promotion of Constitutionalism in Lesotho

For South Africa, the military coup in Lesotho was viewed as being located right on its doorstep, not only threatening peace and stability at home but for the entire Southern Africa region. This was the major basis on which military intervention was pursued and justified. However, the Lesotho intervention, as controversial as it was, ironically produced one of the most successful examples of South Africa's diplomacy tactic in the region and in the continent. Initially, Pretoria entered into an intensive and inclusive Lesotho political dialogue. This brought on board the majority of the stakeholders into the negotiations, enabling a much needed overhaul of Lesotho's constitution and electoral laws. Subsequently, South Africa embarked on delivering financial assistance to Lesotho's development.

Although South Africa undoubtedly lacked diplomatic tact initially, it later managed to achieve credibility and legitimacy as a regional custodian of peace and security in spite of the sham of diplomatic military intervention. What scholars of South Africa's foreign policy often ignore are many examples of skilful diplomatic missions that Pretoria pursued to bring

peace and security in Lesotho. There were many South African negotiators, mediators, election experts and technical specialist teams assigned to Lesotho by the Mandela government. Chief among these were Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, the Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, experts in civil society and constitutional gurus.

The first move by South African diplomats in Lesotho's peace process was to ensure that the Basotho agreed on the formation of an Interim Political Authority (IPA). According to Thomas Mathoma:

> The IPA is a compromise agreement in that the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) agreed to the holding of fresh elections within 18 months, while the opposition alliance recognised the legitimacy of the LCD government in the period leading to new elections. The IPA is made up of two members from each of the 12 political parties in Lesotho. Its primary purpose is to ensure the holding of free and fair elections in Lesotho by creating and promoting conducive conditions band levelling the political playing field.[186]

Pretoria's diplomacy in Lesotho accelerated the moment the Basotho agreed to the IPA. The relevant stakeholders in the peace process took yet another bold step to rewrite their constitution with a special focus on changing certain aspects of the electoral laws. Lesotho's electoral processes and systems were inherited from their colonial power Britain at Independence in 1966. The 'winner takes all' system prevailed throughout elections in 1965, 1970, 1990, 1993, and 1998. In all these elections losers claimed that the elections had been unfair.[187] This was a major obstacle to stabilising Lesotho's democratic dispensation. South Africa's Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi chaired the negotiations.

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[186] Mathoma, T. "South Africa and Lesotho-Sovereign Independence or a Tenth Province?" *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 1999/2000*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2000. 75.

[187] Miti, K. "South Africa's relations with its SADC neighbours." *South Africa Since 1994, Lessons and Prospects*.

Various changes were made to the electoral laws. Members of the IPA agreed to create space for smaller political parties in Parliament, including the Senate. A system of proportional representation quite close to South Africa's electoral laws was instituted. The other fundamental agreement reached was on elections management. An Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was formed. These electoral reforms became a strong factor in facilitating confidence building and trust in Lesotho's body politic.[188]

The third phase of South Africa's Lesotho strategy was to financially underwrite the cost of the peace process as well as campaign for the international community to assist the Mountain Kingdom. South Africa enhanced peace in Lesotho in three areas. First, it granted Lesotho aid and a loan to rebuild its infrastructure. Second, it encouraged the IMF and World Bank to lend Lesotho financial assistance on terms. This meant Pretoria became the guarantor of those loans. Third, South Africa encouraged global investments in Lesotho.

In 2001, Lesotho went to the polls in what was considered by international observer teams as representing the will of the people. These elections were widely judged "free and fair." Peace had returned to Lesotho. The constitutional culture has been central in accommodating losers in the elections. These changes have extended freedoms to Basotho women and other sectors of society previously on the margins of politics in Lesotho. Today, Lesotho boasts a significant number of women in Parliament, civil society organisations and other important centres of power in their country. Lesotho has also benefited from the international community's support.

Eds. S. Buthelezi and E. le Roux. Africa Institute of South Africa, 2002. 156.

[188] Mathoma, T. *Op. cit.* 78.

4.6 Lesotho and its Road to Economic Development

The Gleneagles G8 Summit held in Great Britain in 2005 focused on poor African countries like Lesotho. Although the Basotho people deserve praise and admiration for the positive change they had achieved, it would be unfair and short sighted to discount and overlook the role Pretoria played in building a fledgling culture of constitutionalism in the kingdom. It was evident from the Lesotho crisis that the British electoral system and constitution were designed by the colonial power as a debilitating strategy. Especially given the pressures that the Apartheid regime had also exerted on the kingdom, which in turn exacerbated destabilising political polarisation. The system itself was inherently flawed.

The inclusive nature of the new constitution written by global constitutional experts, including South Africans, managed to accommodate a broad sector of stakeholders in Lesotho. Traditional leaders, especially the monarchy, were given ceremonial powers in what became a constitutional monarchy. The military was retrained and kept under civil control, limiting their chance to mount coups. These changes were possible because South Africa was able and willing to underwrite the cost of peace, help secure loans for the country, invest in its institution-rebuilding while assisting state capacity to manage the new constitutional mandate, most importantly in the conducting run of national elections.

Beyond its involvement in Lesotho's processes of the political transition and in the promotion of the rule of law and the establishment of institutions that buttress democracy, South Africa also made an undertaking to aid Lesotho in its reconstruction and development initiatives with the aims of securing a positive peace for the Basotho. To these ends, South Africa initiated talks that culminated in the establishment of a Joint Bilateral Commission for Co-operation (JBCC) at the 2001 inauguration, which saw President Mbeki pledging to pull Lesotho out of its status of least developed countries in a space of five years.

Through the JBCC Pretoria was also able to reopened talks for the next phase of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, and laid the foundation for future engagement in the and commencement of Phase B of the project, which has since been concluded. In addition, the JBCC has also identified possible areas of co-operation in an Entrepreneurship Development Project, where the South African government has made a commitment to create an enabling environment for direct cooperation with the relevant institution in South Africa and also to provide expert advice on improving local cooperative capacity and capability.[189]

With regard to capital, it was agreed that new financing schemes based on best practices are to be sought and put in place. As such, Pretoria will provide the necessary expertise within the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), including information and successful experiences in South Africa or concepts being pioneered. Furthermore, it was agreed that there was to be government-to-government facilitation and or promotion of collaboration between the DTI and MITM with respect to development financing for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs). This would entail providing pertinent information regarding the experiences of the DTI in promoting SMEs including success stories that can motivate improvements in Lesotho. A possibility of collaboration with regard to the extension of SME financing into Lesotho, is also being considered.[190]

Another area of possible engagement was the development of institutional support that made provision for the establishment of a marketing, Research and Development (R&D) institute in Lesotho to promote a marketing culture, sectoral product development and diversification and promotion of export capacities and capabilities. This led to an agreement to cooperate in

[189] Braude, Wolfe, and Pearl Thandrayan, and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos. The South Africa Case, *The South African Institute of International Affairs*. This is a summary of a research report prepared by South African Institute of International Affairs, see, http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Documents/Case-of-South-Africa.pdf

[190] The Lesotho/RSA Joint Bilateral Commission Cooperation. "Implementation Framework: Entrepreneurship Development Project Proposal." Compiled by *Basotho Enterprise Development Corporation* (BEDCO) PM and TTM. 15 January 2002.

providing wholly or partially, funding of the required studies and provide provision in the institution to work for both countries but located in Lesotho.[191]

The other project of cooperation between Maseru and Pretoria involved setting up the administration of Entrepreneurship and Industrial Development. This administration proposes the establishment of an umbrella organisation to oversee and coordinate this development. This was a necessary development in order to make the described three-pillar approach to work effectively in the long term. To these ends, South Africa provided expertise in the establishment of such organisation and assist with funding where necessary and appropriate.

The facilitation of these projects was critical in assisting Lesotho in achieving its goals of poverty reduction and improvement of the trade balance through industrial and entrepreneurship development.

The BNC has also led to the establishment of the Technology Innovation and Business Hub Project. Lesotho has a wide range of raw materials, which were either unexplored or exported without any value added. The Technology Business Hub was seen as a useful tool to process these raw materials for maximum benefit. 80% of the population relies on agriculture production, but the state of food processing and preservation is not encouraging due to low level of technological capability. Hence a need to establish Technology Business Hub and Entrepreneurship Centre to build a competitive food industry at all levels. Some of the intended benefits include: the establishment and manufacture products for local consumption and export; technological transfer and provision of funds for supporting local entrepreneurs residing in both urban and rural areas; and value will be added to locally available materials and business products will be provided for commercialization purposes.[192]

[191] *Ibid*.
[192] *Ibid*. 2.

It has also been established that energy provision in adequate amounts and at an affordable price was central to the improved performance of important sectors of the economy, as well as upliftment of people's standard of living. Therefore the availability of energy supply options to rural communities for income-generating activities, remained a major challenge in the country.

While regional cooperation in the energy sector already exists in prosperous petroleum (through SACU, the Southern African Custom Union, and electricity sectors ESKOM and SAPP, the Southern African Power Pool), bilateral cooperation between South Africa and Lesotho must remain on-going for much-needed electrification of neighbouring rural communities. In order to meet the national electrification target of 13% by the year 2010, it was estimated that an annual electrification budget of LSL52.5 million will be required.[193] Furthermore, the current developments in power sector reform clearly indicates that Government was still to play a major role in the electrifying the rural communities, an intensive rural electrification programme which involved various actors will only be possible, among others, within the framework of bilateral cooperation with South Africa. The long-term objectives were: encourage economic development in the country; improve the livelihoods of people in the rural areas; foster economic development in the rural areas; and to reduce the urban population influx.

Closely related was the establishment of the Joint Hydro-Power Development and Management Agreement. The hydropower potential of the country is estimated at 450MW. Even though there were various sites identified for hydropower development, only four mini-hydro plants have been developed. In order to meet the growing electricity demand in both countries, Pretoria should consider Maseru for its future expansion of electricity. The government needs both financial and technical assistance for future Electricity Generation

[193] http://www.dirco.gov.za/department/report_2009-2010/part%203%20annual%20report%202009-10-3.pdf.

Options by Independent Power Producers (IPPs) and the export market, (including the SAPP) and also the domestic market. The long-term goals of the project are to foster economic development in the country and aid access to regional electricity trade.[194]

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how South Africa's battled to bring peace and security in Lesotho. It became abundantly clear to South Africa's foreign policymakers that clearly articulated national conceptions such as leader, peacemaker, bridge builder and African partnership were difficult to be accepted by all in the Southern Africa region. South Africa was forced by circumstances on the ground in Lesotho to temporarily abandon peace negotiation in for a military intervention. The clearest lesson learned in Lesotho was that reliance on soft power without hard power was not sufficient to bring peace and security in Africa. The thesis now turns to its second case study (South Africa's interventions in Burundi and the DRC) in the next chapter.

[194] *Ibid*.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTIONS IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION: THE CASE STUDIES OF BURUNDI AND THE DRC[195]

"The Southern African region expects a positive contribution from South Africa in terms of their own development. They expect that we interact with them as a partner and ally not as a regional super power, so that what we achieve, in terms of political, security and economic relations, is balanced and mutually beneficial…"

Thabo Mbeki[196]

"In our current geopolitical terrain, we are confronted with the brutal coercion of unilateral force and subtle coercion of globalising co-optation. In these exchanges, "soft power" only seems weak. Our experience in South Africa, however, has taught us the "soft power" of recognising our diversity, negotiating through our difference, and imagining a common ground as no illusion that the resolution of our conflict in South Africa provides a model for the region, for Africa, or the world."

Professor Kader Asmal[197]

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[195] Monyae, David. "South Africa's Leadership Role in the Great Lakes: Burundi and the DRC." *Africa in the Global Power Play: Debates, Challenges and Potential Reform*. Ed, Bhekinkosi Moyo London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd, 2007. 200- 219.

[196] "South African Foreign Policy, Discussion Document." http://www.info.gov.za/greenpapers/1996/foraf1.htm.

[197] Asmal, K. "South Africa, the UN, and Human Rights." *A Dialogue of the Deaf: Essays On Africa and the United Nations*. Eds. A. Adekeye and H. Scanlon. Johannesburg: Fanele Publishing– an imprint of Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd, 2006. 238-239.

5.1 Introduction

The Great Lakes region has always been synonymous with phrases such as 'trouble spot', 'flash point', and littered with dysfunctional and failed states. Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) present a classical example of crises coming to head in post-colonial African states. The epicentre of the Great Lakes region's conflicts was Rwanda. In a dramatic twist of events, this low intensity ethnic conflict, led to an unprecedented genocide that claimed almost one million mainly Tutsi and moderate Hutu, in 1994.[198] This event triggered a domino effect that ushered in unprecedented waves of interstate conflicts making the Great Lakes an exceptionally unstable and violent region.

This chapter seeks to demonstrate, firstly the importance of South Africa's leadership role in Africa. It will argue that Pretoria played a significant leadership role in Burundi and the DRC peace processes. Although these countries battled to fully stabilise they nonetheless signed peace deals. The main task of the chapter therefore will be to provide an account of South Africa's diplomatic strategies of conflict resolution in Burundi and DRC peace processes. Secondly, the chapter will argue that what made Pretoria's diplomatic formula succeed where others failed in the Burundi and the DRC was its inclusive approach to African foreign diplomacy. The chapter will also show how Pretoria's post conflict state reconstruction strategy in Burundi and the DRC gained considerable support (albeit slowly), and guaranteeing sustainable peace.

In Rwanda,[199] Paul Kagame and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) made considerable military gains in July 1994 that ended the genocidal state's rule. Rwanda's civil war, however

[198] Kruger, F. "Kabila deal foils Mbeki Peace Plan." *Sunday Times.* 21 April 2002.
[199] Khadiagala, Gilbert M. "Tanzania Mediates Rwanda's Civil War, 1992-1993." *Meddlers Or Mediators? African Interveners in Civil Conflicts in Eastern Africa*. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007.

'continued extraterritorially[200]' into states. As is the case with bad anywhere in the world, their internal problems will often affect the. In the case of the Great Lakes region, the instability, and civil strife created Hobbes' state of anarchy, where life becomes 'short and brutal' and the strong and armed prey on the weak.

Conflicts ignited in Burundi and the DRC. In many quarters, the war in the DRC was considered to be post-colonial Africa's '*First World War*', which involved Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and Rwanda. South Africa refused to intervene alongside SADC members Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe that had come to the aid of the embattled Laurent Kabila's government.[201]

At the time, Pretoria argued that it preferred diplomatic instead of military intervention as the best means to resolve the conflict in the DRC. When South Africa intervened in Lesotho in 1998 (see the previous chapter), it was criticised for applying double standards, mainly by Zimbabwe.[202] The cause of disagreement between South Africa and Zimbabwe on the war in the DRC revolved around the question of SADC's evolving security architecture and leadership. Scholars wanted to know at what point SADC could justify intervening militarily in the internal affairs of fellow member states. There were questions over what constitutes legitimate reason for intervention, and whether SADC interventions should protect the state sovereignty or its citizens.

The major outcome of the civil war in the DRC was the division it caused among SADC members states. South Africa's calculated intentions to avoid direct involvement in the military caused major suspicions of its diplomatic motives and actions within SADC. The

[200] Reyntjens, Filip. "Governance and Security in Rwanda." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala.London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 30.
[201] Landsberg, C. "South Africa." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 123, 128.
[202] Nathan, L. "Uncertain Hegemon: South Africa's Foreign Policy in Africa." *Africa in the Global Power Play-Debates, Challenges and Potential Reforms*. Ed. B. Moyo. Adoni & Abbey Publishers Ltd, 2007. 191, 196; Landsberg, C. *Op. cit*. 165.

charge levelled against Pretoria was that of advancing the interests of the western colonial and imperialist powers in the DRC.[203]

As a result of the war in Burundi and the DRC, floods of refugee flowed into many countries far beyond the Great Lakes, with some reaching as far as the southern tip of Africa, Cape Town, South Africa.[204] At the time, the western countries demonstrated a great deal of indifference; African leaders were in a state of confusion. They were both unprepared to deal with the situation as well as incapable of acting due to the UN and the OAU's principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of a fellow member state. This was one of the worse moments of the postcolonial African international relations. Lake and Rothchild noted:

> The promise of the post-Cold War world is that the great powers, freed from the shackles of superpowers competition, can now intervene to mitigate ethnic conflicts by providing external guarantees of social order… [T]he paradox of the post-Cold War world, however, is in the absence of the bipolar competition that drove them into the far reaches of the globe, the United States and other powers now lack the political will necessary to make a sustainable commitment to this role.[205]

The dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994 presented numerous expectations and opportunities for the prevention and resolution of conflicts on the African continent. These expectations were mainly based on the relative power (hard and soft) South Africa possessed in relation to the rest of the continent.[206] The ANC-led government expressed in various policy documents that peace and security in Africa was its central foreign policy objective.

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[203] *Loc. cit.*

[204] Hammerstad, A. "Refugees and Conflict in the Great Lakes Region: A Vicious Cycle." *South African Institute of International Affairs 2002/3.* Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2003. 275-279.

[205] van de Walle, Nicolas. "International Responses to State Dysfunctionality." *Big African States.* Eds. C. Clapham, J. Herbst and G. Mills. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2006. 213.

[206] Bischoff, P. "Towards a Foreign Peacekeeping Commitment: South Africa to Conflict Resolution in Africa." *In Full Flight, South African Foreign Policy after apartheid.* Ed. W. Carlsnaes. Johannesburg: Institute for Global Dialogue, 2006. 147-149.

This newly found enthusiasm to abandon the apartheid regime's aggressive hegemonic in of building mutually beneficiary partnership with the rest of the African continent encouraged the international community that Pretoria would assume a responsible leadership role in Africa. For instance, the US made its expectations clear for Pretoria to play a pivotal role in Africa's conflict resolutions much earlier.[207]

Vice President Al Gore, who led the US delegation to South Africa to celebrate Nelson Mandela's inauguration on May 10 1994, made a slight commotion. He asked Mandela, "Mr. President, will you intervene in Rwanda"? Gore was unaware that the microphone next to him was on. The dignitaries present on this occasion were surprised to hear how desperate the US was to ask this of Mandela, who had hardly spent a full month at the Union Buildings,[208] or familiarised himself with matters of state diplomacy.

Patricia Daley describes peace as:

> An end of war, reconciliation and the establishment of civil order…. A peaceful society is presented as one in which conflict is resolved through debate and compromise and where the rule of law is effective, thus providing the conditions for stability.[209]

5.2 South Africa: The Makings of an African Peacemaker

President Thabo Mbeki devised a multi-pronged diplomatic strategy for conflict resolution in Burundi and the DRC that maintained peace through consensus building between internal and external stakeholders. Secondly, South Africa's foreign policymakers' fully understood the

[207] Mda, N. "South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa: Prospect for Cooperation with the US." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 2003/4*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2004. 138-143.
[208] The Union Buildings, located in Pretoria, South Africa, are the headquarters of the executive branch of the South African government.
[209] Daley, P. "Challenges to Peace: Conflict Resolution in the Great Lakes region of Africa." *Third World Quarterly, 27 (2)*. 2006. 304.

limits of their country's power in Africa, and the world. Henceforth, they capitalised on the high moral statue of Nelson Mandela, and South Africa's transitional arrangements as the basis in which to end the old, 'zero-sum game', in the region.[210]

South Africa's sustained involvements in these countries enabled various warlords to enjoy political space in their national polity. Thirdly, Pretoria managed to win the confidence of Africa as well as the developed western powers.[211]

In doing all of these things, South Africa's policymakers played a bridge - builder role that enabled massive resources, technical expertise, and logistics, to aid peace and security in Burundi and the DRC. What made South Africa's diplomatic strategy in conflict resolution in Burundi and the DRC successful, was its ability to draw its own resources and manpower, and to go beyond the signing of the peace deals and elections. Even though, South Africa was widely perceived to be the regional hegemony, Kuseni Dlamini argued that it ought to be exceedingly caution. For instance, he asserted:

> Pretoria needs to asserts its hegemony tactically … (it) must lead SADC and the new African Union in providing direction for the resolution of regional conflicts.[212]

Although there was unwillingness, or for some, disinterestedness on part of the democratic South Africa, to intervene in the Great Lakes region's conflicts, President Mandela and his successor Thabo Mbeki were aware that their national interest would be well served by a peaceful and prosperous African continent.[213] In the first four years of the Mandela government, from 1994 to 1999 South Africa was forced to balance competing imperatives;

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[210] Landsberg, C. *Op. cit*. 22.

[211] Punungwe, G. "Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building." *The Crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Ed. Mwesiga Baregu. SAPES Books, 1999. 149–150.

[212] Dlamini, K. "Hawks, Doves or Penguins? A critical review of the SADC military intervention in the DRC." *Institute for Security Studies, 88*. April 2004. 6.

[213] Mills, Greg. "Prisoners of a Paradigm? Understanding SA's Foreign Policy." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 2002/3*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2003. 1-6.

on the one hand to unite a racially fragmented nation and state (through reconciliation and economic empowerment of the previously disadvantaged black majority) at home; while on the other, to build mutually beneficial relations with fellow African countries after many years of apartheid's policy of destabilisation.[214]

The Southern African sub-region, identified as its major foreign policy priority area; thus the Great Lakes region did not feature as a major foreign policy priority area in 1994. First, the Great Lakes region is geographically located far away from South Africa's shores. Second, Burundi and the DRC in particular were colonised by Germany, France, and France,[215] falling outside the familiar Anglophone zones. Due to colonial and apartheid, South Africa was not as culturally and politically connected to the Great Lakes region as it was to English speaking countries or those that assisted the liberation movements (Mozambique and Angola) during its struggle against apartheid. These factors, however, did not provide sufficient ground for South Africa to turn its back on this vital African region. Indeed, the African renaissance vision was informed by the thought that South Africa's strategic interest lay in a stable Africa. The importance of a stable African continent was also noted by Francis Fukuyama, who believed that, "weak or failed states are close to the root of many of the world's serious problems, from poverty and AIDS to drug trafficking and terrorism.[216] South Africa's active involvement in Burundi and the DRC received wide global support in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in America. Chris Patterns argued that for America:

[214] Alden, C. et al. "South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy." *In Full Flight-South African Foreign Policy After Apartheid.* Eds. W. Carlsnaes. et al. Johannesburg: Institute of Global Dialogue, 2006. 52.
[215] Clapham, Christopher. "The Crisis in the Great Lakes Region." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 1997.* Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 1997. 326.
[216] Fukuyama, Francis. "The Imperative of State-Building." *Journal of Democracy, 15 (20.* April 2004. 17.

> Events of September 11 brought home to us that the existence of failed states something which contributes to both regional and global instability; that is a problem to which we must devote more time, more political energy and more money.[217]

Joschka Fischer the former German Foreign Minister echoed Patterns when he asserted that:

> Investments in peace are now more essential than ever in light of the threat from murderous international terrorists' network. That has to mean greater commitment to … the construction of civil societies.[218]

Fischer's view clearly demonstrated that conflicts in Africa had a direct bearing on global peace and security. This was the major idea Mbeki conveyed to the international community in 'selling' the African renaissance vision underpinning South Africa's Africa policy. This idea found further support continentally through NEPAD and the restructured AU. South Africa under Mbeki positioned itself as an African peacemaker and there was no place where it could have proved this better than in resolving the conflict in Burundi and the DRC.[219]

Pretoria has made great strides to shed the paternalistic foreign policy tendencies of the apartheid regime. There has also been significant transformation in its Africa policy since 1994, which saw a shift from a unilateral oriented policy to a more Africa- one dedicated to multilateral engagement with its. This change in policy is more in line with the continent's African Renaissance project, and promotion of NEPAD, which is premised on the assumption that 'peace' and 'good governance' are a fundamental requisite for the attraction of investment, domestic and foreign, that Africa needs.[220]

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[217] Dempsey, G. "Old Folly in a New Disguise: Nation Building to Combat Terrorism." *Policy Analysis, 429*. 21 March 2002. 1-2.
[218] *Loc. cit.*
[219] Alden, C. *Op. cit.* 56- 57.
[220] *Loc. cit.*

The promotion of the twin goals of democracy and peace across the continent is a core aspiration of South Africa's (particularly African) foreign policy, but it is acknowledged- as suggested above- that these goals cannot come to fruition without peace and security. The centrality of these aims also finds expression in the DIRCO's 2005-2008 Strategic Plan which asserted that:

> Our vision is of an African continent that is prosperous, peaceful, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, and united and which contributes to a world that is just and equitable.[221]

Pretoria was also mindful of the fact that the achievement of the above-mentioned objectives was highly dependent upon the promotion of multilateralism. This was, founded on construction of meaningful partnerships with both African and developing countries, regional cooperation and the strengthening of multilateral structures such as the AU and the SADC and supporting the implementation of the NEPAD programme. For Kagwanja,[222] South Africa's adoption of a 'soft power' approach, "through the instruments of persuasion, mediation, negotiation and peer pressure, compared with 'hard power' (was) represented notably by the use of military might[223]" in tackling continental challenges such as conflict and the reconstruction of societies has stood it in good stead in its aspirations of continental leadership.

This emerging activism on continental issues, lent South Africa 'continental weight'. Its growing influence, economic and military power, and experience negotiating of its own "miraculous", peaceful transition equipped South Africa to take a central role in conflict

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[221] Devon, C. "The South African Approach to Peacebuilding in the Great Lakes Region of Africa." *Constitutionalism and Democratic Transitions: Lessons from South Africa*. Eds. Veronica Federico and Carlos Fusaro. Firenze University Press, 2006. 159.

[222] Kagwanja, P. "Power and Peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for peacemaking." *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa.* Ed. R. Southall. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006.

[223] *Ibid. 29.*

resolution, peace building and peacekeeping in other African countries. Consequently, various South African role players have been involved in different conflict theatres across the continent including the Ivory Coast, the DRC, Burundi, Eritrea-Ethiopia, Sudan and Comoros, Nigeria, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe. While some scholars argue that the last three countries were not really theatres of conflict, South Africa was, however now seen as a respected mediator that could be used to prevent breakout of protracted conflict. Its military has also swiftly become one of the world's fastest growing troops within the United Nations' peacekeeping missions, particularly in Africa.

5.3 Background of the Great Lakes Crisis

The Great Lakes region, in the five decades following the attainment of political independence in 1960s from colonial rule, has been the centre of genocide, civil wars, coups, counter-coups, mal-governance, plunder and population upheavals. It was for these reasons that the region has in many years fallen under the spotlight and galvanised international action. Mediations, negotiations, peace building and peacekeeping by a multiplicity of actors and institutions (domestic and foreign) have become an integral part of the region in the hope of finding solutions to the ongoing crisis in the Great Lakes.[224] For South Africa's foreign policymakers, the Great Lakes region's conflicts were understood to be a result of:

> A complex and interconnected set of interacting and accumulated problem. These include bad governance, lack of democracy, monopolisation of political power by an individual or ethnic group, a policy of exclusion, widespread corruption, nepotism, violation of basic human rights and ever deepening poverty.[225]

[224] Schraeder, P. "Belgium, France and the United States." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 163-164.
[225] Landsberg, C. "South Africa." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 122.

'Multilateralism' summarises South Africa's strategy of engagement and management of the Great Lakes crisis. The promotion of constitutionalism through mediation has been a central part of Pretoria's strategy in dealing with both the situation in the DRC and Burundi which were largely influenced by the experience of its own negotiated transition. The goal according to Curtis "is to get everyone around the same table to compromise and agree on inclusive transitional political arrangements as part of a peace agreement[226]".

This approach to peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention has not been without criticism, as it is perceived by many (especially by African counterparts) as indecisiveness on South Africa's part. Landsberg and Masiza point out that many African states have been critical of Pretoria's stance on state intervention, as it was seen as being very quick in seizing economic opportunities that are presented by African markets, but does not display the same vigour when it was presented with political and strategic challenges on the continent, showing reluctance instead.

How then, in light of these perceptions and accusations can one explain South Africa's ever-increasing role and prominence in the continent's crisis management processes and centrality in the Great Lakes region? Naison Ngoma argues that, South Africa's superior economic, industrial, and military capacity, almost guarantees its involvement in continental issues. Furthermore, Landsberg and Masiza suggest that South Africa's political transition has led Pretoria to "being singled out by western powers and other African states as candidate to enforce peace where there is none: western powers believe South Africa is best placed to play the role of firemen in central and Southern Africa[227]". Indeed, the United States has long

[226] *Ibid*. 125.
[227] Landsberg, C. and Z. Masiza. "The Benevolent Giant: Can South Africa Contain the Great Lakes Crisis?" *Policy: Issues and Actors, 9 (8).* Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), International Relations Research Team, December 1996. 5.

identified South Africa as the primary candidate for burden shift in its post-Somalia foreign policy.

In as much as diplomatic pressure has influenced South Africa's response, it was not the only rationale. The security crisis in the Great Lakes region has the potential of turning into another Rwanda, which comes with dire consequences, including "spilling over into regional battles, generating hundreds of thousands of refugees, shattering states, and prompting economic dislocation, ethnic cleansing, and lawlessness[228]". As a result, Landsberg and Masiza argued that "South Africa cannot indefinitely assume that these consequences will remain far from its borders; it will have to accept greater responsibility for restoring stability in Africa[229]".

5.4 Burundi's Road to Peace and Democracy: Arusha Accords

Burundi was plunged into civil war in October 1993, following the assassination of its first democratically elected president, Melchoir Ndandaye. The conflict in Burundi was said to be rooted in politics of identity, as Ndandaye had been the country's first Hutu to serve as head of state following years of political dominance by the Tutsi minority.[230] Since then this Central African country has been the centre of conflict resolution processes by regional actors and the international community. Having said this, it was the African leadership that assumed the central role in brokering a peace in Burundi, notably Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Nelson Mandela of South Africa who laid the foundations for peace and democracy in the signing of the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement in August 2002.[231]

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228 *Loc. cit.*
229 *Ibid, Loc. cit.*
230 Southall, R. *Op. cit.* 105-6.
231 van Eck, Jan. "Mandela Mediation Breathes New Life into Burundian Peace Process." *Burundi Report, 2000/1.* February 2000.

The death in October 1999 of Julius Nyerere, who had been mandated by the United Nation's Security Council to broker peace and promote national reconciliation in Burundi, presented an opportunity for a new mediator "who could rise above the suspicions of the different participants[232]". Nyerere had been seen by some of the parties as lacking the necessary neutrality for such a role because of his regional connections and long-standing relations with some of the Burundian politicians. Nelson Mandela who had stepped down as the President of South Africa was chosen to take over the role of mediator in Burundi's peace process.

For South Africa, Mandela's appointment was seen as an indication of the world's confidence in its ability to settle the region's conflicts.[233] South Africa's newly awarded status as a principal actor in Burundi, presented it with the perfect opportunity to implement its continental diplomacy policy, premised on newly elected president Thabo Mbeki's vision of an African Renaissance. The latter, as was argued earlier in the chapter, saw an inextricable link between the continent's development prospects and the achievement of continental peace and security - which was being compromised by Africa's continuous conflicts. It is upon this basis that President Mbeki stated that, "South Africa would 'do everything' to assist Mandela in bringing an end to the conflict in Burundi[234]".

Mandela's appointment as Burundi's new mediator was welcomed by all the key stakeholders in the process -- regional leaders and different parties in Burundi alike, with the exception of the Hutu rebel groups. The latter rejected Mandela's mediation on the grounds that South Africa was supplying military assistance to the government of Burundi.[235] Mandela's general acceptance as new mediator can be attributed to a number of factors. Chief amongst these,

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[232] *Perspectives of The UN & Regional Organisations On Preventative and Quiet Diplomacy, Dialogue Facilitation and Mediation*: *Common Challenges & Good Practices*. Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, February 2011. http://www.osce.org/cpc/76015

[233] Landsberg, Chris, and Kwandi Kondlo. "South Africa and the 'African Agenda', Policy: Issues and Actors." *Centre for Policy Studies, 20 (13).* April 2007.

[234] *Op. cit*. 82.

[235] *Loc. cit.*

Southall suggested, was the fact that not only was he a "regional outsider, but was also famed as a reconciler of opposites as demonstrated by his key role in negotiating the South African settlement (1990–1994)[236]". Secondly, South Africa's personal experience having just emerged out of apartheid would provide important lessons that could be drawn upon, but also would act as a yardstick where progress could be gauged. Lastly, the government of Burundi also saw South Africa, as a much needed source of economic assistance.

Therefore both South Africa and Burundi alike had vested interests in working side-by-side and making a success of the process. Moreover, Mandela had a strong desire to conclude the negotiations and to the surprise of many Burundians, took a more heavy-handed approach toward the involved parties in comparison to his predecessor, and was blunt in openly criticising the different factions for squabbling in the face of such a humanitarian crisis. In an address delivered to the Burundian delegates, Mandela said,

> Why do you allow yourselves to be regarded as leaders without talent, leaders without a vision? ... The fact that women, children and the aged are being slaughtered every day is an indictment against all of you.[237]

Mandela's candidness soon gained him the respect of Burundians which in turn helped in legitimising the peace process in their eyes. Mandela was also insistent, borrowing from South Africa's experience, that there was a need for renewed efforts of re-engaging and including the excluded rebel groups in the ongoing peace process, as a lack of participation and agreement on their part would obscure the cease-fire.[238] This resulted in early talks with both the CNDD-FDD and FNL which paved the way for more talks later between Buyoya

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[236] Ajulu, R. *Governing the Global Market? South Africa's Engagement with Multilateral Institutions of Global Governance, Tactical Options, Strategies and Prospects, Prepared for the Presidency: Policy Coordination and Advisory Services*. http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/docs/pcsa/irps/ajulu.pdf.

[237] Fisher, Roger, and William Ury. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In*. New York: Penguin Books, 1983.

[238] *Op. cit.*

and these rebel groups in South Africa in March 2000. Mandela's efforts however would not yield immediate success as "constant prevarications" proved to be a major delaying factor.[239] Mandela working against time, resolved to continue the negotiations in their absence. Mandela's efforts did not prove futile however as his determination to include the excluded rebels in the peace process greatly enhanced the legitimacy of the subsequent Arusha Accord, and weakened the standing of the rebels internationally.[240]

While cautious in borrowing too much from South Africa's negotiation process, Mandela introduced the notion of 'sufficient consensuses'; a strategy that was utilised during CODESA negotiations in South Africa. It basically entailed in the event of stalemate, engaging with the major parties (FRODEBU, UPRONA and the military) in reaching a consensus "then presenting the agreement to the smaller parties as a fait accompli[241]" and thereby depriving the latter of the ability to block progress in committees. Mandela, unlike Nyerere was also more prepared to analyse the Burundian conflict along ethnic lines. Mandela was openly critical of the Tutsi minority elite's power domination and as such maintained that as long as the minority dominates politically, economically, and militarily, there can be no peace.[242]

Furthermore, using his international stature, Mandela also stressed the importance of involving the international community in the peace process at a conference held in Paris in December 2000. Using the "carrot and stick strategy", he placed emphasis on the need and importance of international financial assistance for addressing the country's humanitarian and development needs, while also impressing upon Burundian delegations the prospects for a better future.[243]

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239 *Loc. cit.*
240 *Ibid.*
241 *Op. cit.*
242 *Loc. cit.*
243 "South Africa's Peacekeeping Role in Burundi: Challenges and Opportunities for Future Peace Missions." *Occasional Paper Series,* 2 (2). Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD),

In yet another bid to accelerate the negotiations Mandela imposed a deadline of 28 August 2000 for signing the Arusha agreement, albeit tactics devised by various groups, notably the Tutsi hardliners, to stall the process.[244] On the set date, only 13 of the 19 delegates acceded to the Accord at a ceremony attended by regional heads of states; General Secretary of the OAU, Salim Salim, South Africa's Deputy President Jacob Zuma and US President Bill Clinton. As expected the six parties that did not partake were the Tutsi- dominated ones. However after being subjected to enormous regional pressure and condemnation from Mandela, they submitted and added their signatures at a summit in Nairobi on 20 September of the same year.[245]

The Accord provided for a 30-month power-sharing period, but many of the details of a transitional constitution were not decided until after it had been signed. After a series of negotiations, arm twisting and persuasion, an agreement was reached that the army general Buyoya would act as the interim president for 18 months from 1 November 2002, with Domitien Ndayizeye of FRODEBU serving as vice-president and then succeeding him on 1 May 2003.[246]

Following the signing of the Accord, Mandela sought to secure a ceasefire while preparing the ground for the establishment of the transitional government. It was during this period that the South African government took a more active role in the Burundian peace process. In that, whilst Mandela had enjoyed the full cooperation of Pretoria, he had undertaken the role of mediator in Burundi in his personal capacity. Hereafter, Pretoria was to take a central position in the Burundian peace process. South Africa's first major involvement came in October 2001, when President Thabo Mbeki announced that the country would deploy two of

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2007.

[244] *Loc. cit.*
[245] *Ibid.*
[246] *Op. cit.*

its battalions (1 500 troops) to Burundi, which were to form a key component of the international military force.[247]

This gesture was significant in that, no other African countries had either the capacity or willingness to undertake this key role. (Senegal, Nigeria and Ghana had all declined to participate in the absence of a ceasefire).[248] Pretoria's official engagement in Burundi was also a calculated policy move. Mbeki saw the peace process as a key component to the achievement of a peace in the DRC, which South Africa was also party to. Thus, the establishment of a lasting peace in Burundi and the neutralisation of its domestic politics would go a long way in the establishment of security for the greater Great Lakes region.[249]

The first detachment of South African troops arrived in Bujumbura in

November 2001. Their mandate was to provide protection for returning political exiles that were to take part in the transitional government, as provided for in the Accords. A mandate as limited as such meant that South Africa could not play a major peacekeeping role as yet even though its stabilising role was a critical one. However one of the stipulations of the Accord was that the South African contingent was to be reinforced by troops from Ethiopia and Mozambique, which were to form the core of the African Union's (AU) African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), which in time would assume responsibility for preserving peace between the army and the militias, and oversee the restructuring of the military.[250]

Mandela stepped down in 2001, which saw (then) Deputy President Jacob Zuma take over the reins as new facilitator of the Burundi peace process. Upon taking over the reins Zuma

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[247] *Loc. cit.*

[248] Sidiropoulos, Elizabeth. South Africa's Regional Engagement for Peace and Security, National Director of the *South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).* Johannesburg: PRIDE Comment, October 2007.

[249] http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/exceps/downloads/Ethnopolitics%20papers_No10_peen%20rodt%20-%20african%20union.pdf.

[250] Kutesa, Hon. Sam K., Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Uganda. *Peace and Conflict Resolution in Africa.* Tokyo: JICA, June 2009.

was faced with three daunting tasks according to Ajulu, namely; "1) ensuring that the Arusha agreements were implemented; 2) ensuring that the rebels signed an agreement to join the transitional government; and 3) securing a permanent cease-fire[251]". "Moreover, Zuma was also tasked with the mammoth task of ensuring that the transition does not collapse[252]".

He together with regional leaders who had regained their prominence in the process and thus began playing more active role following the departure of Mandela "whose international stature had dominate the process and unintentionally sidelined the regional leaders[253]" shared no illusions about the signing of the Accord. They were very conscious of the fact that it would not lead to any miracles, only that it would merely lay the foundations of the real work that lay ahead. These leaders were also aware of the importance of bringing the rebel groups to the negotiating table, as the possibility of reaching any settlement depended on their participation.[254]

What followed is best captured by Southall who states that "the subsequent peace process was one of bewildering complexity characterised by broken promises, violated ceasefires and continuing war between the rebel groups and the transitional government, which continued to bring untold misery to the population.[255]" A more pressing task for Zuma and his team at this point was to address the failure of the rebel groups to join the peace process. Conscious of the complexity of the task at hand and regional dynamics, Zuma used Museveni and Makapa's influence to hold talks and put much needed pressure on the rebels in order to fast track the process. These attempts were not in vain as they did yield some results, for one, that the talks

[251] *Ibid*. 88.
[252] *Loc. cit.*
[253] *Loc. cit.*
[254] *Loc. cit.*
[255] Bentley, Kristina A., and Roger Southall. "An African Peace Process: Mandela, South Africa and Burundi." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44 (30. 2006.

with Buyoya laid the foundation for future engagement between the predominantly Hutu rebel groups and the government.[256]

Further, Zuma and President Omar Bongo of Gabon also took the initiative to identify key players within the rebel groups. This was aimed at establishing further avenues of engagement and dialogue with other influential actors within these groups, so as to convince them to accept the terms of the peace agreement and also aid in the legitimization of the whole process. Subsequently, two meetings in January and April 2001 were held with Bongo as facilitation between the CNDD-FDD and the transitional government. The aims were to outline the agenda for negotiations, which was further discussed at the summit in Pretoria in October 2001.[257]

These efforts, however, would soon be complicated by divisions amongst the rebels themselves. For instance a dissident faction led by Jean-Pierre Nkurunziza in a summit held in Pretoria in October 2002, rejected the Original CNDD-FDD-- led by Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye, claiming that they were the legitimate CNDD-FDD. Further to this they argued that they could only conclude a peace deal with the army, as they perceived it to be the power behind the transitional government.

Another example was the major faction of the FNL under Agathon Rwasa, comprising of various religious elements. This group was the most stubborn of the lot and highly opposed to being part of the agreement, as it held strongly to the belief that the Tutsi dominated the transitional government. They accused those Hutu parties that had joined the government of being sell-outs and that it would only negotiate with the Burundian army.[258] As result of these splits and irreconcilable differences amongst the different factions, the government was left

[256] *Op. cit.*
[257] *Loc. cit.*
[258] "South Africa's Peacekeeping Role in Burundi Challenges and Opportunities for Accord Research Project." *Occasional Paper Series, 2.* Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), 2007.

with no choice but go ahead and sign a ceasefire in September 2002 with Ndayikengurukiye (CNDD-FDD) and Mugabarabona (FNL), leaving out the Rwasa's FNL and Nkurunziza's CNDD-FDD, who remained at war with Bujumbura for over two years after the ceasefire had been reached. It is for these very reasons that Pretoria and regional leaders insisted on the urgency of the implementation of the transitional process in Burundi.[259]

The transition period from Buyoya, who had been in power since November 2002, to Ndayizeye was not a smooth one. Instead it was clouded by fears that the army would intervene to prevent the scheduled transfer of power. Consequently in the lead-up to the hand over, symbolising the dawn of a new era of power-sharing for Burundi, enormous pressure was placed on Buyoya by no less than South Africa, regional heads of states, the AU, UN and the US urging him to ignore calls by those in the military and Tutsi political for him to retain his position.

This uncertainty resulted in an increase in the levels of violence around the country with major assaults being launched by the rebel movements, notably the FNL, upon the capital. Recognising the gravity of the situation and its potential of getting out of hand and therefore reversing the gains that had been won, Buyoya made a public announcements and gestures of assurance to the Tutsis that he would indeed step down.[260] Amidst an air of mistrust and tensions, Ndayizeye ascended to the presidency as scheduled.

On 27 January 2003 a meeting was held in Pretoria, an outcome of regional and international pressure and negotiations. With the assistance of Mbeki, the team of mediators was successful in coaxing the Burundian government and the three rebel groups into signing a memorandum of understanding and establishing a Joint Ceasefire Commission (JCC).

[259] *Op. cit.*
[260] *Loc. cit.*

Crucially, they also agreed that an AU peacekeeping force would be deployed.[261] The series of negotiations facilitated by Zuma and Mbeki in Pretoria culminated with a momentous victory on the 8th of October 2003 when the government and the CNDD-FDD agreed to implement the ceasefire of December 2002 and also signed the Pretoria protocol on Political, Defence and Security power sharing in Burundi.[262]

> A new constitution has since been drafted by Burundian politicians with the help of the Presidents of South Africa, Rwanda and Uganda. The new constitution includes quotas for both ethnic and gender representation. Initially, there were disagreements over the text of the constitution, which in turn delayed the constitutional referendum that was mandated by the Arusha Agreement. The referendum was finally held on February 28, 2005 and Burundians across the country voted overwhelmingly in of the new constitution.[263] Communal legislative and presidential elections were held later in the year.

The Burundian intervention demonstrated that South Africa's self-perceived and defined roles of peace and security guarantor in Africa gained enormous momentum and confidence for foreign policymakers. This success attained in Burundi by South Africa brought more trust in the country's ability to mobilise continental and global support for peace in Africa. It was in this context therefore that encouraged South Africa to step in DRC's peace negotiation as a mediator when the opportunity allowed.

[261] *Op. cit.*
[262] *Op. cit.*
[263] *Loc. cit.*

5.5 Inter-Congolese Dialogue: A Step Towards Peace and Democracy for the DRC?

The crisis in the DRC dates back to the rebellion of 1996, which led to the ousting of President Mobutu Sese Seko from his 32-year authoritarian regime.[264] Ironically, on 2 August 1998 Laurent-Desire Kabila, who had succeeded Mobutu, would be dealt a similar fate only two years in office by Banyamulenge leaders who had brought him to power. They accused him of authoritarianism, corruption, nepotism and tribalism. These developments would subsequently lead to an unprecedented interstate conflict involving about eight African states: Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Chad, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Libya,[265] International efforts by the Southern African Development Community (SADC), AU and the UN to settle the Congolese conflict culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Agreement and the holding of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue; the political negotiations that ended with the adoption of the Global Agreement and an interim constitution for the DRC.[266]

South Africa became increasingly involved in the process in 2002, when the inter-Congolese dialogue resumed in Sun City, South Africa from February to April. By this time there were 360 delegates participating in the process which included the DRC government, Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (RCD), Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo (MLC), Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie-National (RCD-N), Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie- Liberation Movement (RCD-ML), the Mai-Mai (Congolese militia), unarmed political opposition, and civil society representatives (Forces vives). South Africa became, "a constant diplomatic presence" and a principal

[264] Mangu, A.M.B. "From War to Peace: The Democratic Republic of Congo in Transition." *South African Journal of International Affairs, 10 (2).* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2003. 160.
[265] Mangu, A.M.B. *Op. cit.* 160.
[266] *Loc. cit.*

mediator in the DRC peace process, following its initial reluctance to get involved in the DRC crisis.[267]

Pretoria's earlier reluctance was informed by the fact that it did not want to be drawn into further military intervention following its disastrous intervention in Lesotho in 1998. Mandela, who was then the chairman of SADC was against the use of force in the DRC, advocating instead for dialogue and a negotiated settlement to the conflict. He insisted that SADC troops could only intervene in the DRC under the auspices of UN-sanctioned multilateral peace-keeping force.[268] His stance put him at loggerheads with then chairman of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC), President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who was determined to defend Kabila's regime with military forces.[269] South Africa's caution on the SADC's use of force can also be best understood from a historical perspective. Patrick Lekota, the then country's Minister of Defence, referred to the SADC defence pact, arguing that such a pact "provides guidelines to protect legitimate governments in the region from foreign armed forces". But that he did not envisage South Africa "behaving like a bull in a China shop rushing as the old South African Defence Force did[270]". South Africa's insistence on diplomatic solutions for the Congo created major tensions amongst SADC leaders, who criticised South Africa for being "rather removed from the region- a region that not only sweated but also bled for it South Africa prior to 1994[271]".

It is upon this basis that South Africa's involvement and subsequent prominence as a peace broker in the DRC was viewed with great suspicion. The view was that Pretoria was paving its way for deeper penetration of this enormously resource-rich country by its mining

[267] Tromp, B. "DRC: South Africans praised for Peace efforts." *The Star*. 27 November 2002.

[268] Fabricious, P. "SA adds Political will to Africa's Peace effort." *The Sunday Independent*. 4 August 2007

[269] Malan, M. and H. Boschoff. "A 90 day plan to bring peace to the DRC: an analysis of the Pretoria Agreement of 30 July 2002." *Report*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2002. 5-6.

[270] *Ibid*.

[271] *Ibid*. 7.

companies and other corporations within South Africa. The idea that South Africa may be driven by realpolitik, as opposed to its usual moralist tendencies cannot be dismissed all together. Pretoria does indeed stand to benefit from a more stable and secure DRC. The latter, as suggested by Kuseni Dlamini was an important trading partner for South Africa and vice versa. He stated that, 25% of the DRC's imports come from South Africa, while the latter receives 9% of the DRC's exports, thus making it the third biggest importer of DRC products after the Benelux countries and the US.[272]

Having said "South Africa's intervention in the DRC must be seen in the context of Mbeki's wider vision of an 'African Renaissance'" of ending Africa's violent conflicts and the promotion of 'good governance', so as to realise the continental twin goals of economic growth and sustainable development.[273] Besides that, the geopolitical ramifications of the DRC conflict, like those of previous case study, have significant implications for durable peace and security, not only in the Great Lakes region but also in Southern Africa. Much like the crisis in Burundi South Africa could not afford to take a backseat in the hopes that the central African leadership will deal with it, as there are no guarantees that this conflict may have a domino effect throughout the continent and that it would emerge unscathed.

Pursuant to the Lusaka Agreement, Congolese parties of the ICD resumed talks in Sun City, South Africa, having been revived by the new leader Joseph Kabila following his father's (Laurent Kabila's) assassination.[274] Under the guidance of Sir Ketumile Masire the former President of Botswana, who was appointed as mediator of the Congo crisis in December 1999, 37 resolutions were adopted. Despite this, no agreement had been reached on the critical issue of the establishment of a consensual political dispensation for the country during

[272] Dlamini, K. "Assessing South Africa's Diplomacy in conflict Resolution." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 2001/2*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2002. 68.
[273] Malan, M. and H. Boschoff. "A 90-day plan to bring peace to the DRC: an analysis of the Pretoria Agreement of 30 July 2002". *Institute for Security Studies, 61*. September 2002. 5-6.
[274] Fabricious, P. *Op. cit*. 6.

the transitional period. This created major tensions and delayed the negotiations and subsequently led to a granting of an extension of the negotiations for a further seven days. To break the deadlock, the Congolese parties and Masire requested President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa to assist in the process of reaching an agreement.

Being the host country, South Africa had a vested interest in the success of the dialogue and failure would reflect negatively on its reputation as a successful peace broker. Through various tactics of international pressure and skilful negotiations Mbeki was able to put the negotiations back on track.[275] Upon recommencement, Mbeki then suggested two plans for power-sharing during the transition in the DRC. The first proposed a presidency to be held by Joseph Kabila and a second executive organ to be named the High Council of the Republic consisting of the president, the RCD and MLC leaders, and a Prime Minister to be appointed by the political opposition. Civil society was offered the presidency of Parliament, which was to act both as the legislative and the constitutional assembly during the transition.[276]

Furthermore, it was suggested that provisions should be made during the transition for the establishment of autonomous of institutions that would buttress; namely a Constitutional Court, Human Rights Commission, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, National Electoral Commission, and High Authority of the Media.[277] The defence, police, security and intelligence services and the Reserve Bank were also to be apolitical and autonomous. However, the RCD and Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), the leading political party, accused this plan of the Kabila government.

In response to the shortcoming of the first plan, the second arrangement gave vice-presidency positions to MLC and RCD leaders, who were to also hold important ministerial portfolios.

[275] Fabricious, P. *Op. cit*. 6.
[276] Mangu, A.M.B. "From War to Peace: The Democratic Republic of Congo in Transition." *South African Journal of International Affairs, 10 (2)*. Johannesburg: SAIIA Press, 2003. 165.
[277] *Loc. cit.*

The first vice-president would be in charge of the economy and finances, while the second was to be responsible for defence, internal affairs and elections. However, discussions of the second plan were interrupted by the discovery that the DRC government and the MLC had concluded a bilateral deal between themselves. Kabila would remain president while the MLC leader Jean-Pierre Bemba, would become prime minister and head of the transitional government.[278] Needless to say, this agreement received major criticism and was opposed by the RCD, UDPS and some other parties, on the grounds that it was concluded outside the ICD and violated both the spirit and letter of the Lusaka agreement. Whatever gains that had been won during 52 long days of negations were reversed and no agreement was reached on the scheduled day of adjournment, Friday 19 April 2001.

On Masire's recommendation and with Mbeki's backing, a follow-up committee was set up to remain in South Africa and continue negotiations on the formation of the transitional government of national unity.[279] Subsequently, a meeting was held in Sun City on 22 April 2002 to set up the Alliance for the Defence of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ASD). According to its constitutive act, the main aim of the Alliance was "to undertake anything possible to bring the DRC government and the MLC back to the negotiating table to achieve an inclusive and consensual agreement on the transitional government[280]".

Mangu asserted that "there was no alternative to the ICD, whatever form it took. An inclusive and sincere political dialogue resulting in power-sharing based on a constitutional act that protects and promotes human rights remained the best way to address the crisis of constitutionalism and democracy in the DRC[281]". This initiative was supplemented by pressure from the Congolese people and international community within SADC, the AU and

[278] *Loc. cit.*
[279] *Loc. cit.*
[280] *Loc. cit.*
[281] *Loc. cit.*

the UN also for the Congolese parties to return to the negotiating table. In the meantime, the DRC government and the MLC failed to implement their own agreement, as Kabila had come to realise that he had conceded too much and did not want to be a figurehead president.[282] It was the failure of the DRC government – MLC agreement that would pave the way for a return to the negotiating table and the reopening of the ICD.

Subsequently, an amended Mbeki plan for power-sharing during the transitional period was presented to the Congolese parties in August 2002. The plan provided for a presidency, consisting of President Joseph Kabila (PPDR), and four Vice-Presidents from different groups and factions: Jean-Pierre Bemba (MLC), Abdoulaye Yerodia Ndombasi (PPRD), Azarias Ruberwa (RCD-G), and Z'Ahidi Ngoma (the civilian opposition). Ministerial portfolios were divided proportionally between the armed groups, the unarmed opposition, civil society and the Mai-Mai. The plan also made provisions for a bicameral Parliament (National Assembly and Senate), an independent judiciary and a number of institutions that buttress democracy. [283] The revised plan was accepted by the DRC government and endorsed by the RCD, MLC and the political opposition, subject to a number of amendments.

At the same time, there were diplomatic attempts to resolve the question of the withdrawal of foreign forces. This led to the signing of a landmark agreement between Rwanda and the DRC in July 2002. In September 2002, Uganda and Rwanda reached a similar agreement where they established a 100-day timetable for the withdrawal of Uganda's forces and the establishment of the Ituri Pacification Committee in north-eastern DRC. Subsequently, Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe reached bilateral agreements with the DRC government calling for troop withdrawal in October 2002.[284]

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[282] *Loc. cit.*
[283] *Loc. cit.*
[284] Baregu. *Op. cit*. 68.

The laborious months of consultations, shuttle diplomacy and negotiations culminated on December 17, 2002 with the signing of a global and inclusive peace agreement by all Congolese parties in Pretoria. These momentous talks were facilitated by Mbeki and UN Special Envoy Moustapha Niasse.[285] The Agreement consisted of eight parts, and the foremost concern that was addressed first was the cessation of hostilities. The parties renewed their commitment to ceasing hostilities and seeking a peaceful and fair solution to the crisis facing their country in accordance with the Lusaka agreement, various disengagement plans and relevant Security Council resolutions.[286]

The parties with fighting forces agreed to commit themselves to the process of forming a national, restructured and integrated army in line with a resolution adopted during the ICD on April 10, 2002.[287] All the parties agreed to combine their efforts in the implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions on the withdrawal of foreign troops from the DRC, the disarmament of the armed groups and militia, and safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the DRC. They also committed to taking the necessary measures to ensure the security of the population and the transitional leaders.

On 2 April 2003, the Congolese parties adopted a draft constitution for the transition, in line with the Pretoria agreement. Article 204 of the constitution provided that it would enter into force "on its promulgation by the President of the Republic within the three clear days that follow its adoption". Accordingly, President Joseph Kabila promulgated the transitional constitution on 4 April 2003.[288]

On the 7th of April, Kabila was sworn in as president for the transitional period, while the transitional government was inaugurated in May 2003 and was scheduled to govern for two

[285] Baregu, M. "Congo in the Great Lakes Conflict." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 68.
[286] *Loc. cit.*
[287] *Loc. cit.*
[288] *Loc. cit.*

years. Furthermore, the country's first elections since 1965 were scheduled for March 2005, but would be delayed till 2006. The adoption of the transitional constitution concluded the ICD and marked the formal end of the Congolese conflict.[289]

Of particular concern was the lack of progress on establishing the five institutions that buttress democracy envisaged in the agreement. These included Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the National Human Rights Observatory, the high authority for media the national Electoral Commission, and the Commission on Ethics and the Fight Against Corruption.[290] In addition to that, the ongoing conflict in Ituri between Lendu and the Lema ethnic groups has also raised fears about the sturdiness of the peace process.

5.6 Post-Conflict Engagement in the Great Lakes Region

The grand continental vision of an African Renaissance has linked the achievement of Africa's prospects of sustainable development to continental peace and stability. Mindful of this reality African leaders have gone about their ways to find means of conflict prevention and resolution. Substantial gains have been achieved in this regard, the resolution of conflicts in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Burundi and DRC, amongst others, is a testimony of these achievements. However, President Mbeki was adamant that "silencing guns by signing peace agreements was not enough to ensure countries emerging from armed conflicts enjoyed stable and durable peace[291]", speaking at the second General Assembly of the African Forum he expressed this concern saying: "I have a sense that as we deal with

[289] *Loc. cit.*

[290] Mthembu-Salter, Gregory, Elana Berger and Naomi Kikoler. "Prioritizing Protection from Mass Atrocities: Lessons from Burundi." *Occasional Paper Series.* Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 2011.

[291] President Mbeki's speech at the Second General Assembly of the Africa Forum (Kaninda, J. "Mbeki calls for new approach to heal scars of conflict." *Business Day.* 1 November 2006.)

peace issues, we don't go all the way to ensure countries emerging from conflicts do not revert to violence[292]".

Mbeki further stated that when conflicts broke out, efforts tended to focus on finding a way back to peace by sending in peacekeeping troops, installing a transitional government and organising elections, pointing out that "once this has been achieved, many think that it is over[293]". He was, of the view that more should be done to heal the scars of war and to have Africa look beyond relative peace and go to the roots of the conflict to find lasting solutions that will reinforce reconstruction.[294]

Mbeki's call for a new approach for healing Africa's conflict scars underlines the importance of the establishment of 'positive peace' in the continent. Such an approach goes beyond the mere signing of ceasefire and peace agreements, but rather necessitating for continued commitment to achieving sustainable peace by all major stakeholders by adopting both structural and non-structural measures to advance these aims. The structural measures make reference to political democratisation, social and economic reconstruction.[295] On the other hand, non-structural measures centre on strategies towards national reconciliation, such as the granting of amnesty, reconciling of values, and fostering of trust and national unity.[296] This suggests that, as pointed out by Hussein Solomon, "Peacemakers need to approach the issue of conflict resolution far more strategically, where the peace agreement is intimately related processes of democratisation, economic development and nation-building[297]".

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[292] *Loc. cit.*
[293] *Loc. cit.*
[294] *Loc. cit.*
[295] Schoeman, M. "South Africa." *Security and Democracy in Southern Africa.* Ed. G. Cawthra, G. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2001. 155.
[296] Solomon, H. "Ten principles of best practice engagement for Africa and South Africa." *South Africa's role in conflict resolution and peacemaking in Africa.* Ed. R. Southall. Pretoria: HSRC Press, 2006. 222.
[297] *Loc. cit.*

Pursuant to its Africa policy objectives and the advancement of the goals of NEPAD, Pretoria has been preoccupied with the resolution of the continent's conflicts and peacekeeping initiatives. South Africa also recognises that an end to Africa's conflicts does not end with ceasefires but rather as suggested in the foregoing sections that it is in the process far beyond the transitional period. Thus South Africa has sought to play a meaningful and prominent role in assisting in the re-building those societies that have destroyed by these ongoing conflicts.

5.7 South Africa and Post-Conflict Stabilisation and Nation-Building in Burundi

Burundi has been ravaged by years of conflict and whilst the country has scored a resounding victory in holding what were deemed to be 'free and fair' elections in 2005, this accomplishment is not sufficient in itself to solve the country's problems.[298] A review of Burundian history from a historical perspective reveals that elections were held on three different occasions (1961, 1965, 1993), and in each case were followed by unrest, which Marc Manirakiza attributes to the fact that "most of the political actors were not mature enough to accept the democratic culture[299]".

It was against this backdrop, that the international community that played a pivotal role in brokering peace in Burundi continues playing a central role in the post-transition period. This has been done by in seeing to the establishment of a sustainable peace and a successful project of national reconstruction.[300] South Africa's continued presence in Burundi was of paramount importance in guarding against possible failure of the newly elected government and any destabilisation attempts by negative forces within the region. This, too, highlights the

[298] *Loc. cit.*
[299] Manirakiza, M. "Nation-Building in Burundi. History and its Impacts on the Future." *Conflict Trends*. Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), February 2002. 47.
[300] *Loc. cit.*

importance of Pretoria's concurrent peace project in the DRC, as continued violence in this country poses a threat to Burundian peace and security, and thus exposes it to the possibilities of backsliding. It was therefore paramount that the crisis in the DRC is resolved if sustainable peace was to be realised in the Great Lakes region.[301]

In recognition of the fragility of the peace South Africa deployed its own 1 511 troops under the banner of the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB), which was recapped at the time as the United Nations Operations in Burundi (ONUB). The main aim of these troops among many was to protect politicians who had abandoned armed struggle.

The significance of Pretoria's role in peacemaking in Africa emanated from its past experience, as South Africa was also a transitioning state, no so long ago and its democracy is still in its infancy. South Africa can therefore provide critical lessons for its Burundian counterparts on how to manage the various aspects of transition and those of a fledgling democracy. Critical to this was the process of reconciliation, economic recovery and post-conflict reconstruction.[302]

Based on its own experience of political transition and nation-building, South Africa has advanced the issue of national reconciliation between the disaffected groups as one that requires urgent attention.[303] Any possibilities towards a sustainable peace and the achievement of social justice for the Burundian masses could only come about through tolerance, unity and a commitment to a better future, which is consistent with the Arusha Agreement. Manirakiza was of the view that the project of reconciliation was not an impossible one when taking into consideration the fact that, historically the Burundian problem is actually political and economic. It would largely be dependent on the nurturing of

[301] Ajulu, C. *Burundi Peace Building and Reconstruction*. Johannesburg: Wits University, Master's Thesis, 2006. 107.
[302] Ajulu, C. *Op. cit*. 107.
[303] *Loc. cit.*

an enlightened leadership that was committed to the effective and efficient administering of distributive, impartial and repairing justice for this democracy to succeed.[304]

One of the mechanisms identified for the purposes of national reconciliation was a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. However, progress in setting up the commission has been slow. Commissioners were only nominated in early January 2004, and the institution has been described as still being in the 'embryonic stage'. Furthermore, the commission does not yet have a mandate, and consequently it is unclear as to how it might address competing claims for both justice and reconciliation.[305]

Political reconstruction was also of paramount importance. This makes reference to the above-mentioned structural measures that are advanced towards the establishment of the rule of law that are crucial for the project of national reconstruction. These included democratisation of institutions, support for parliament, civil society and the media, reforming the judiciary, and popular participation—with a particular emphasis on the empowerment of the previously marginalised groups (i.e. the advancement of women).[306]

It was against this backdrop that the South African government came up with a comprehensive reconstruction programme that was in line with the Arusha Peace Accords and had since made fundamental strides in pursuit of these objectives. The first major step in this regard, has been the establishment of bilateral cooperation between Pretoria and Bujumbura. This follows a series of talks that were held in the DRC between the 13 and 15 of February 2004 that would subsequently lead to the signing of a Joint Cooperation Agreement by the Congolese and South African government.[307] The latter Agreement would make

[304] Manirakiza, M. "Nation-Building in Burundi. History and its Impacts on the Future." *Conflict Trends.* Durban: African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), February 2002. 47.
[305] Jooma, M.B. "'We can't eat the constitution' Transformation and the socio-economic reconstruction of Burundi." *ISS Paper 106*. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, May 2005. 9.
[306] *Ibid*.10.
[307] *Loc. cit.*

provisions for: Mutual Protection of Investments; MOU on Economic Cooperation; Agreement on Enhancement of Capacity; Agreement on Defence and Police Cooperation; MOU on Judicial Cooperation; and Review of the Agreement of Civil Aviation signed in 1992.[308]

The security sector of Burundi presented a key challenge for Burundian government, especially since the success of the peace settlement reconstruction projects and much desired economic development are dependent on the maintenance of peace and stability for the country.[309] As such the transformation and capacitating of the police was seen as a matter of urgency. The police force both in its structure and organisation will need significant transformation if it is to become a police service, more so since it has in the past been geared towards inculcating fear and intimidating the general populace. To this end, South Africa has offered to share information on issues of doctrine and policy with the Burundi counterparts with the aims of setting up a new police force.[310]

Pretoria committed itself to trilateral cooperation with Burundi and Belgium with the aims of developing projects to revamp and capacitate Burundi's government sector, as enshrined in the Arusha Accords that speaks to the principles of democratic and civil liberties, as its current state has been identified as an impediment to the government's ability to coordinate development assistance in a strategic and focused manner.[311] To these ends, the following areas of involvement have been identified cooperation between the three governments: Organisational development; Institution building and training in development and strategic planning as well as policy formulation.[312]

[308] DPSA. 14 June 2006. 3.
[309] *Loc. cit.*
[310] *Ibid*. 2.
[311] *Loc. cit.*
[312] *Loc. cit.*

South Africa also committed itself to provide training in the following areas: good governance and anti-corruption; training of trainers; monitoring and evaluation; human resource management; HIV/AIDS training for managers; and gender training. The Department Public Service and Administration (DPSA) and Statistics South Africa conducted a Census of the Burundian public service and also assisted in setting up an E-data base governance system to manage records and archives in Burundi.[313]

Economic development was also key in the sustainability of peace and security in Burundi. South Africa's engagement in the country's different projects was aimed at economic development and at equipping Burundi with whatever means necessary, so that it becomes self-reliant and less dependent on South Africa and thus steer its own processes of economic and political development.[314] The attainment and sustainability of the above-mentioned twin goals of economic and political development were central to nation-building in Rwanda was highly depend on the Burundian government and those instrumental in the brokering of peace in that country.[315] This was essential in that it will address the skewed nature of the country's wealth that has been concentrated in the hands of one ethnic group at the expense of the other and thus creating ethnic cleavages that are making the country more susceptible to protracted conflict.[316]

Ensuring equal access to wealth and resources that translates into to equal access to political power and participation in the day-to-day functioning of the state, will contribute to the general state security. To this end, Stavenhagen forwards the notion of 'ethno-development', which he describes as "redefining the nature of nation-building and enriching the complex,

[313] *Ibid*. 12.
[314] *Ibid*. 4.
[315] *Loc. cit.*
[316] *Op. cit.* 222.

multi-cultural fabric of many modern states, by recognising the legitimate aspirations of the culturally distinct ethics that make up the national whole[317]".

Article 16 of the Arusha Accords sets out certain guidelines for governing economic development that include: macro-economic stability; solving the problem of external and domestic debt; structural reform of social sectors; creating an environment conducive to private investment; efforts to create new jobs and compliance with criteria of equity and transparency in employment; and promotion of the role of youth and women in development.[318]

In response, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) on behalf of the South African government and the DRC government, jointly produced a strategic framework for accelerating economic growth and poverty reduction. The IDC evaluated the viability of three projects identified by the government of Burundi that includes the Verundi glass manufacturing project, development of a port and Cement project.[319] The development of the agricultural sector was given primacy as the main engine of economic growth. However, numbers of challenges have been identified and need to be addressed if the desired economic growth and development are to be achieved, such as the need to bolster secondary sectors. There was also a need to strengthen the tourism industry, which could also become a significant source of revenue. In addition, South Africa has also offered its assistance in the development of an Investment code in Burundi, which was currently under construction with the aims of increasing the revenue base for the government that was very low.[320]

[317] *Loc. cit.*
[318] *Op. cit.* 11.
[319] DPSA. 14 June 2006. 11.
[320] *Ibid*. 1.

5.8 South Africa and the Reconstruction of the State in the DRC

The situation in the DRC in the aftermath of signing of the ceasefire remained tenuous. The transition was susceptible to collapse, largely due to "spoiler elements" which act as a deterrence to a successful peace implementation.[321] These included, "state collapse, the existence of more than two belligerent groups, the presence of armed combatants that number over 50, 000 soldiers, the presence of hostile states or regional networks, and the existence of disposable natural resources[322]". Further compounding the instability that has become characteristic of the post-conflict environment in the DRC was the fact that many ordinary citizens became dependent on the war economy. The ongoing insecurity in the DRC therefore posed a threat to the established peace accords, but also for the peace and stability of the greater Great Lakes region.

Reconstruction therefore was a critical task for the future peace and prosperity of the DRC, and efforts to date have achieved some major successes. Reconstruction efforts have been multi-pronged, involving a multiplicity of international players and different projects. At the top of the agenda there has been the Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration, Repatriation and Resettlement (DDRRR) and the Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration (DDR) programmes by the MONUC and the UNDP respectively. By March 2005 MONUC had seen the disarmament of 9 012 belligerents, which a sizable number of whom were able to make use of reintegration programmes and jobs promised to them.[323] However, more still needs to be done in this regard, so as to ensure that all combatants were disarmed and reintegrated into Congolese society. Within the SADC context, South Africa

[321] Kisangani, E.F. "Legacies of the War Economy: Economic Challenges for Post-conflict Reconstruction." *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace. International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series.* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2006. 117.
[322] *Loc. cit.*
[323] Department of Foreign Affairs. April 2006. 2.

was also been instrumental, in collaboration with the DRC and Belgian governments to create a new Congolese army.

Beyond conflict resolution efforts, Pretoria had forged new partnerships and engages with Kinshasa through the South Africa-DRC Bi-National Commission (BNC). The commission came into being after the signing of a General Co-operation Agreement on January 14, 2004, in Kinshasa aimed at the promotion of political, economic and social cooperation between the two governments. In accordance with the General Co-operation Agreement, sectoral commissions, namely Politics and Governance, Defence and Security, Humanitarian and Social Affairs, and Finance, Economy and Infrastructure were established with technical committees.[324]

These developments have since yielded a number of successes towards the advancement of the goals of national reconstruction for the Congo. On the 15-16 March the Third Session of the BNC was convened in Kinshasa between South Africa and the DRC where three agreements were signed: the Agreement on Co-operation in the Field of Maritime Transport, Agreement on Decentralisation and the Memorandum of Understanding on Education Co-operation.[325]

The Agreement between South Africa's Department of Transport and the Transport and Communication in the DRC, led to a number contributions by the South African ministry towards the election mechanism effort, some of these include: a commitment by the DOT to assist its counterpart in the rehabilitation of five airports in the Congo that were to provide linkages and access to remote areas during the elections, these including amongst others, Lubumbashi and Ndjili International Airports. A substantial donation to the value of R 7million was pledged by the South African Maritime Safety Authority (SAMSA), towards

[324] *Ibid*. 1.
[325] http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2013pq/pq16ncop.html.

repairs for 9 vessels and 3 barges that are to be used for improvement of mobility and access through the Congo River. Spoornet has also agreed to transfer ownership of 100 passenger coaches to the Congolese rail agency, La Sociale Nationale des Chemins De Fer Du Congo (SNCC) scheduled for completion by March 2006 and also committed to provide the latter with spares to the value of R 2.5 million.[326]

The MOU on decentralisation which was signed by Ministers Sydney Mufumadi (SA) and Theophile Mbemba (DRC) identified the following areas of cooperation between the two ministries: the development of an organic law dealing with Decentralised Administrative Entities and support with capacity building and setting up of appropriate organisations, equipment, information technology systems and infrastructure. The aims of this project are to assist in the reformation of systems of governing institutions and the promotion of good leadership in the DRC.[327]

The signing of the MOU by the Ministries of Education (SA) and Higher Education (DRC) led to several initiatives by South African institutions. The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) made progress in the establishment of partnerships with the University of Lubumbashi and the University of Liege in Belgium. The University of South Africa (UNISA) and the Education Foundation Trust have also expressed interests in developing relations with the DRC and considering possibilities of establishing education centres in the DRC. In turn and, in cooperation with the Education Ministry the DRC, developed an Education Management Information Systems (EMIS), support training and research to facilitate policy development, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation through the use of EMIS.[328]

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[326] http://www.dpsa.gov.za/article.php?id=202.
[327] *Ibid*. 15.
[328] *Ibid*. 42.

Other achievements included the DIRCO initiative of capacity-building for the DRC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation which took place in April, 2005. The aims of this project were to reform the ministry, provide diplomatic training for senior diplomats and administrators, and the development of information and communication systems.[329]

The DPSA was instrumental in the setting up of a public service census project in the DRC. Progress was also made with the conducting and timely completion of the Kinshasa census of public servants. An initial head count of all ministries with the exception of EPSP and ESU, Health and Research has been completed and data is currently being captured on database. The second headcount, where biometrical information will be captured is currently underway. The second phase of the census—provincial—began at the end of May 2005 and census forms for the Bandundu and Bas-Congo provinces are currently being captured. The census for the other eight remaining provinces is also scheduled to take place very shortly, as census forms and sorting has begun.[330]

The DPSA was also involved in the development of the Anti-corruption project. The latter was made up of two sub-projects; equipping the DRC's Observatory for Professional Ethics (OCEP) to roll out the Code of Conduct for public officials; and a tri-lateral memorandum of understanding has been signed by South Africa, the DRC and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime to facilitate the establishment of an anti-corruption framework for the DRC.[331]

Pretoria made significant strides in the establishment of economic programmes in the DRC, which emanate from the Agreement of Economic Co-operation entered into by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the DRC's Ministry of Industry; Small and

[329] *Ibid*. 2.
[330] *Ibid*. 10.
[331] *Ibid*. 11.

Medium Enterprises. Following a BNC held in Pretoria in April last year, the two governments have agreed to set up a Regional Spatial Development Initiative Programme in the DRC, which was targeted at the promotion of large-scale infrastructure development and sectoral economic investment projects.

One of the most momentous projects to come out of SDI is the Bas Congo Scoping Study. The significance of this SDI rests on the fact that the Inga Hydroelectric project was Africa's and possibly the world's largest hydro-electric power potential. This led to the current projects aimed at the rehabilitation of Inga I and Inga II and ones aimed at the development of Inga III which stand to generate power capacity to the excess of 40 000 megawatts.[332]

The success of a project of this magnitude will open up a world of other possibilities that stand to benefit a wider range of sectors, for instance this project provides the basis for possible minerals exploitation and processing in the SDI area as well as the export power to a number of major demand centres across the African continent and the rest of the world. Through the link between the potential availability of very cheap electricity from Inga, an opportunity was created for a series of mining and minerals processing projects within the Bas-Congo SDI. A number of possible initiatives of this nature have since been identified: an aluminium smelter mooted for Matadi based on large bauxite deposits in the DRC, a magnesium smelter at Point Noire based on mineral deposits at Kouilou in the Republic of Congo (Congo-Brazzaville) and a possible aluminium smelter in northern Angola. The cross-border nature of the economic linkages between elements of the Bas-Congo SDI suggests that it be promoted as a three-country initiative between the DRC, Congo and Angola. In so

[332] Department of Foreign Affairs. April 2006.

doing, the SDI has the potential to serve as a catalyst for improved regional integration consistent with the objectives of NEPAD.[333]

A sub-committee was established to promote joint mining ventures between South African and Congolese companies. A number of possible projects were identified by both parties, such as the mining of copper, cobalt, zinc and lead, amongst others. The DRC government has also asked South Africa to assist (both financially and in technical expertise) in the promotion of the country's new mining legislation, supporting the development of the Mining Cadastre (Unit working in the granting of mining and quarries tittles), and supporting the DRC in mining environment issue.

The revitalization of the natural resource sector was seen as key to the reconstruction project, as issues on the war economy have been a major challenge for both the attainment and maintenance of peace in the DRC, thus necessitating for improved regulation and management of that sector. This has subsequently led to the establishment of a new investment code for the mining industry and a National Investment Promotion Agency that was "designed to be a one-stop window for processing investment applications and information.[334]"

Also in the energy sector, a MOU was signed between the DRC's SENEL and South Africa's Eskom. The project will facilitate the Kimbanseke Electrification project, which was aimed at connecting 10 000 new customers at an estimated 10MW and it was estimated to come at a cost of approximately US$ 14 million.

[333] *Ibid*. 25-6.
[334] Kisangani, E.F. *Op. cit*. 117.

5.9 Final Thoughts and Lessons Learnt for South Africa.

Pretoria has played a critical role in the restoration of peace and security in the conflict ridden region of the Great Lakes. South Africa steered the peace processes in Burundi and the DRC from December 1999 and February 2002, respectively. Mandela's mediation in the Burundi process led to the historic signing of the Arusha Agreement on August 28, 2000 (Bentley & Southall 2005). Another milestone for South Africa in the peace process was witnessed when, under the guidance of then Deputy President Jacob Zuma, the Burundians held a referendum on the new power-sharing constitution on 28 February 2005.

In the case of the DRC, South Africa secured a peace agreement between the government and the various warring factions when the Global and Inclusive Accord was signed in Pretoria on the 17 December 2002. The agreement made provisions for a transitional constitution and a power-sharing government. This paved the way for the drafting of a new constitution in the DRC, which was unanimously adopted by the National Assembly in May 2005. Whilst there were initial delays, leading to the postponement of the presidential and parliamentary elections that had been scheduled for June 2005, in August 2006 the country held its first national election in 40 years.

Pretoria's involvement in these two Great Lakes nations has provided it with important lessons. Perhaps the most important was that the peace processes are for the long haul and cannot be achieved overnight. They require patience and will by all parties concerned, as Southall (2006) rightly puts it, "a kind of painstaking 'babysitting' is necessary if most of Africa's deadly and protracted conflicts are to be successfully resolved".

Similarly, while there can be no doubt on the fundamental contribution South Africa and other external actors have played in the brokering of peace and the move towards the establishment of constitutionalism within Burundi and the DRC, however the importance of

local ownership of the transition and reconstruction processes cannot be overemphasised. Parties to the conflict need to actively participate in ensuring that these projects are successfully realised, however, this is subject to the external actors taking a step back, so as to provide them with the necessary ground to do so.

Another lesson learnt has been that, whilst very useful as a guiding tool, there are dangers in transposing external transition and peacekeeping models, which South Africa is guilty of, especially in Burundi. Whilst Mandela tried not to impose South Africa's transition model on the Burundians, but there were instances when he "stuck too narrowly to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) model" (Southall, 2006:), and as such failed to acknowledge local "complexities and specificities" particularly the resource base of the conflict. The DRC model had a similar shortcoming in that it also failed to reconcile the economic dimensions of the conflict with the imperatives of peacemaking

With regard to the promotion of constitutionalism in the Great Lakes region, the transition and peace processes have culminated with the hosting of elections in Burundi and the DRC, with Burundi being more successful at it. These developments were hailed as having marked an important step on the road to a more secure and democratic Great Lakes region. However, it was not that simple; anyone familiar with the history of the region can understand that the Great Lakes region has certain complexities and challenges facing it when it comes to building a stable democratic apparatus.

Some of these challenges are specific to Burundi and the DRC, and the region in general, while others are typical of most aspiring democracies. It is generally accepted that in transitioning from one governmental system to another, there are almost unavoidable conflicts, as recent events in the DRC have shown us mainly various interest groups competing for the control of political power and economic resources.

Whilst both these nations have hosted democratic elections, one more successful than the other, what needs to be kept in mind is that elections in themselves do not produce democracies as our own continent's history clearly demonstrates. A number of our African counterparts have held elections in the last decade and yet democracy has remained an unattainable dream. Thus, the sustainability of the democracy in Burundi and that which was proposed for the DRC, including the envisioned democratic revolution in the Great Lakes was dependent on a number of things being taken into consideration.

The first relates to the promotion of a political culture, which was seemingly lacking in the DRC. Such a culture is characterised by, amongst other things; a commitment to moderate political participation and a belief in the legitimacy of officialdom, which in turn influences political actions. This however has more to do with broad attitudes towards political institutions, authorities and processes in society that is imperative for the development and maintenance of a secure democracy. Equally important and closely related was, the empowerment of the civil society which in the case of Africa has to be strengthened, as it has been weakened by colonialism and authoritarianism which became a feature in the post-independence era but will also lead to the motivation of civil servants and the recognition that they are the most important stakeholder in the process of reconstruction.

Another major concern for South Africa and international community was that of establishing and ensuring security within the DRC and its monitoring of peace in Burundi in order to prevent the country from sliding back into conflict. To this end, South Africa has made great strides in Burundi through its insistence on the necessity for what it refers to as "developmental peacekeeping". This entails the deployment of peacekeepers together with

multidisciplinary teams of development economists, civil engineers, public development managers and policy developers, in support of the post-conflict reconstruction.[335]

The DRC would also greatly benefit from the creation of a credible, multi-year plan of reconstruction, which has struggled to take effect due to the continuing of conflict in other provinces in the country. Thus, as suggested above, the termination of conflict and consolidation of peace becomes of critical importance. Such a mammoth task requires for as a prerequisite the disarmament of all armed forces, as they are a major impediment in the peace process and constitute a major threat to national security. Related to this, was the need for the formation of a new national army that will serve and protect all the Congolese irrespective of political affiliation. In addition, its existence will secure the DRC sovereignty and territorial integrity, which has been eroded by the constant presence of foreign rebel

5.10 Conclusion

Finally, any real solution regarding the political future of Burundi and the DRC, and the greater Great Lakes region, cannot lay solely on the shoulders of South Africa—it requires the participation of the entire global community. Therefore, the onus was on Pretoria to involve other global actors and multilateral institutions such as the UN, AU and the regional leadership in the funding and administering of the reconstruction projects. This involvement by the other players would also help in the altering of Congolese perceptions and the legitimization of the process, so that it is not viewed merely as a project of South African expansion.

More importantly, South Africa's foreign policymakers registered successes in both Burundi and the DRC. Due to relative peace gains in the Great Lakes region, South Africa won

[335] http://www.polity.org.za/article/madlalaroutledge-african-defence-summit-13072004-2004-07-13.

accolades globally. The major lesson learned by Pretoria was that the more it collaborates with the international community the more it realises its national role conceptions. Increasingly, South Africa was identified by the US, the European Union, Japan, China and numerous multilateral fora as an African leader to enter into strategic partnership with on matters concerning Africa. Hence, South Africa's national roles especially 'peacekeeper', 'developer, 'bridge builder' and 'African partnership' proved to be useful in its interventions in Great Lakes region. The next chapter covers South Africa's intervention in Zimbabwe as our final case study for the thesis.

CHAPTER SIX:

SOUTH AFRICA'S ZIMBABWE QUAGMIRE: 2000 - 2008

"Whatever the setbacks of the moment, nothing can stop us now! Whatever the difficulties, Africa shall be at peace! However improbable it may sound to the sceptics, Africa will prosper!"

Thabo Mbeki[336]

"Africa must rebel against the tyrants and the dictators, those who seek to corrupt our societies and steal the wealth that belongs to the people."

Thabo Mbeki[337]

6.1 Introduction

The post-apartheid South Africa's governing elite have long recognised the direct interplay or link between peace and security (as popularly referred to as democracy) on one hand, and development on the other hand. Thabo Mbeki's Presidency came into effect on the 16th of June 1999, on the banner of an African renaissance vision[338]. This vision epitomised a rather

[336] Statement of Deputy President Thabo M. Mbeki, on behalf of the African National Congress, on the Occasion of the Adoption by the Constitutional Assembly of: "*The Republic of South Africa, Constitutional Bill 1996.*" Cape Town.

[337] Le Pere, G. and A. Van Nieuwkerk. "*The Evolution of South Africa's Foreign Policy, 1994-2000.*" *Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa*. Eds. P.J. McGowan and P. Nel. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2002. 254.

[338] Mbeki's African renaissance vision was largely inspired by: the Ghanaian Pan Africanist Kwame Nkrumah, Edward Blyden, James Africanus, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Julius Nyerere, Seklou Toure,

rhetorical attempt at giving South African foreign policy a new Afro-centric posture. In essence, the African renaissance idea sought to achieve, "democracy, good political and corporate governance, and respect for the rule of law.[339]" South Africa's Africa policy under Mbeki assumed a much larger leadership role on the continent. This was particularly true in the area of peace and security.[340] South Africa worked tirelessly within Africa's multilateral structures such as SADC and the AU to respond decisively on matters of peace and security. Furthermore, Pretoria reached out to the international community through structures such as the United Nations (UN), Group of Eight developed countries (G8), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and the Commonwealth to assist Africa in attempts to resolve escalating conflicts and underdevelopment.[341] This Afro-centric policy approach raised wide support for South Africa to assume a leading role in Africa. It was expected that Pretoria's leadership would largely be underpinned by the African renaissance vision reflected in the continental programme of the New Partnership for Africa's Development NEPAD. In these documents, Africa's leadership pledged to respect human rights and the democratic form of governance.

When Mbeki was confronted by Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis, he chose what has been widely, and redundantly (since diplomacy is inherently 'behind-the-scenes and out of the public glare), billed as 'Quiet Diplomacy' as South Africa's preferred foreign policy option. In so many ways, this approach seemed fundamentally at odds with post-apartheid South

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Kenneth David Kaunda and other Africanists. The central objective of African renaissance as propagated by Mbeki was to appeal to Africa's elite that they must exercise a great deal of responsibility for their actions. A special focus was particularly placed on leaders to avoid resorting to force in order to remain in power. Landsberg, C. & F. Kornegay. "The African Renaissance : a Quest for Pax Africana and Pan-Africanism." *Occasional Paper 17*. Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 2001. 16.; Habib, A. and N. Selinyane. "South Africa's Foreign Policy and a Realistic Vision of an African Century." *Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy: 1994-2004.* Ed. E. Sidiropolulos. Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), 2004. 50.

339 Nwonwu, Francis. "NEPAD: A New Agenda or Another Rhetoric in Africa's Political Adventurism?" *Africa Policy Journal,* 2. Fall 2006. 2.

340 Kagwanaja, P. "Power and Peace: South Africa and the refurbishing of Africa's multilateral capacity for Peace making." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 24.* ISS, Ma, 2006. 159-184.

341 Nathan, L. "South African foreign policy framework on peace initiatives in Africa." *Paper prepared for second workshop with civil society, Draft Policy Paper on Peace support operations.* Pretoria: DFA, 11 November 1997 http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/staff-papers/laurie_dfa.html.

Africa's African renaissance vision[342]. Indeed, setbacks and inconsistencies of President Mbeki's 'Quiet Diplomacy' towards Zimbabwe illuminated two important aspects for purposes of analysing of South Africa's foreign policy. This chapter seeks to critically assess and analyse the aims and rationale of Pretoria's Zimbabwean diplomacy. It asks: 'to what extent has 'Quiet Diplomacy' advanced or hindered South Africa's Africa policy in the period 1999 – 2008 articulated as promoted Africa's renaissance within the context of NEPAD?' and 'what are the lessons learnt from South Africa's diplomacy towards Zimbabwe?' To fully appreciate this strategy towards Harare, one should and must, put the nature and character of the country's political, economic, and social ills into its historical perspective.

6.2 Defining Quiet Diplomacy

For Mbeki and his lieutenants, South Africa was expected to play a critical role in Africa's regeneration. Mbeki defined the country's role conception[343] (See Kalevi Holsti in Chapter Two) as one of a 'midwife in the rebirth of the African continent'. This meant South Africa was poised to play a leadership role in achieving democracy and development on the continent. Central to this objective was the idea of building 'partnerships' with both the northern and southern countries, particularly those in Africa.[344] South Africa's national role conceptions envisioned by Mbeki required Holsti's foreign policy options such as persuasion, the offer of rewards, the granting of rewards, the threat of punishment (which can be divided into two types: positive threats and threats of deprivation), the infliction of non-violent

[342] Nathan, L. "Consistency and inconsistency in South Africa's foreign policy." *International Affairs, 81 (2)*. 361-372.

[343] Holsti, Kalevi. "National Role Conception in the Study of Foreign Policy." *International Studies Quarterly*, *14*. 1970. 245-6. 'National Role Conception' was defined as, "The policymakers' own definition of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and of the function, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system".

[344] Nel, P. et. al. "Multilateralism in South Africa's Foreign Policy: the Search for a Critical Rationale." *Global Governance,* 6. 2000. 43- 60.

punishment and finally force.[345] Holsti's foreign policy option of persuasion (commonly known as Quiet Diplomacy) appeared to be the defining feature of South Africa's Africa policy thrust. It is within this context that the chapter critically looks at Mbeki's 'Quiet Diplomacy' towards Zimbabwe.[346]

It's perhaps important to provide a brief historical context in which the term quiet diplomacy arose. Henry Kissinger asserts that,

> Those who seek eagerly for a diplomacy victory will invariably lose since a unilateral victory has no hope of being maintained, as no country will want to adhere to an agreement that is against its own interests.[347]

Henceforth, moderation and pragmatism in diplomatic practice can be termed 'quiet diplomacy'. In simple terms, Collin defines quiet diplomacy as, "discussing problems with officials of another country in a calm way.[348]" Additionally, quiet diplomacy can be seen as an essentially behind-the-scenes process; one that eschews public diplomacy. The two can be complementary wherein the one leverages the other.

'Quiet diplomacy' can be traced to many global incidents which helped to define and shape the current international order. One such major event that raised heated debates surrounds the causes of the Second World War (WWII). There are numerous terms that are often used in scholarly circles with meanings almost similar to 'quiet diplomacy. For instance, criticisms against 'quiet diplomacy' largely stems from British Prime Minister Chamberlain's responses to Hitler's hegemonic ambitions in Europe.[349] Chamberlain's attempts to engage Hitler 'constructively' to avoid war, however, was perceived to be 'appeasement.' Chamberlain was

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[345] Holsti, K. "The Concept of Power in the Study of International Relations." *Background, 7 (4).* 1964. 190.
[346] *Ibid.*
[347] Graham, V. *A comparison of South Africa's quiet diplomacy towards Nigeria and Zimbabwe.* 1. ujdigispace.uj,ac.za:8080/dsace/bitstream/3/victor.agraham.pdf.
[348] www.politcsdictionary.com/definition/diplomacy.html
[349] Comment: in light of the above definition it is certainly clear that appeasement is equal diplomacy.

seen as too 'soft'. What has not been fully resolved in international relations was the question of when a country should deviate from quiet diplomacy.[350] Oftentimes it was more appropriate to not take a high visibility public approach to problem-solving in international relations. Further to this, how and under what circumstances can discrete, quiet diplomatic engagement interact in complementary fashion with public diplomacy?

Quiet diplomacy towards Zimbabwe was widely associated with the customary approach of African leaders toward political problems on the continent. However, South Africa's modern self-identity as a bridge-builder between the developed world and developing countries, (particularly Africa), soon became a defining feature of its Africa policy conundrum – otherwise known as the crisis in Zimbabwe. In the post-Cold War and post-apartheid era, South Africa successfully reshaped and redefined the content and identity of its foreign policy.[351] Thus, Pretoria, according to the architect of its post-apartheid Africa policy – Thabo Mbeki – was supposed to, 'walk on two legs', one in the developed world, and other in the developing world.[352] This role definition required Pretoria to play a leadership role on the African continent with the assistance of developed countries, while trying to assert its independence vis-a-vis on the continent as well as the western states. In other words, South Africa found itself caught between the demands for human rights and democracy enshrined in its own constitution and enforced by developed countries - and an increasingly dictatorial President Robert Mugabe, former liberation champion and Pan-African hero.[353] In walking this tight-rope and bridging the African and Western diplomatic divides, South Africa, under Mbeki, chose to pursue its own national interest (pragmatism) at the expense of emphasising

[350] Hamil, J. et al. "Quiet diplomacy or appeasement? South African policy towards quiet Zimbabwe." *The Roundtable, 98 (402)*. June 2009. 373-384.
[351] www.cps.org.za/cps%20pdf/syn8-2-june2006.pdf.
[352] Williams, R. *Beyond old Borders.* www.iss.co.za/pubs/asr/8no4/williams.html.
[353] www.news24.com/africa/zimbabwe/zimbabwe-QA-20080404.

the normative values of democracy. Values that have been instilled in its African Agenda, African Renaissance and NEPAD.

As a leader of the African developing world, Pretoria moralistically insists it could never exploit weaker states.[354] As its power and wealth grew, however, South Africa was increasingly judged for its actions than its foreign policy rhetoric. South Africa wanted to play a constructive role in Africa and provide a useful model for the successful modernization of a developing country, (including military–to-military contacts), and long-standing relationship with many nations on the continent. Like South Africa, Zimbabwe political dispensation came about through negotiation which produced the Lancaster Agreement signed among the warring parties in London in 1979. The thorny issue in the Lancaster Agreement was the land question, a matter that haunted the county thirty years in freedom from colonialism.

6.3 The Land Question

Zimbabwe's political crisis and economic meltdown was by and large rooted in the Zanu-PF regime's fast-tracked land redistribution policy. The land crisis in Zimbabwe had its roots in the country's colonial history.[355] The land question was a source of great political conflict both within indigenous black communities and the so-called white settlers. The colonialists, first under British colonial rule and later under the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) regime, seized control of the vast mass of good agricultural land, leaving black peasants to scrape a living from marginal tribal reserves.[356] The land issue would subsequently become the inheritance of the independence government, which, as suggested

[354] *Loc. cit.*
[355] Moyo, S. *The Zimbabwe crisis, Land Reform and Normalisation*. www.hsrcpress.ac.za.
[356] Human Rights Watch. 2002.; Paulo, W. *Land Reform in Zimbabwe*. 2004. UIR.UNISA.ac.za/bitstream/10500/2249/1/oodissertation.pdf.

above, came into power after a protracted war of liberation; one in which land was a critical issue of major contestation. This would subsequently lead to a settlement known as Lancaster House Agreement (1979), and would, in turn, lead to the elections of 1980.[357]

Whilst the land question had been successfully negotiated, and allowed for a ceasefire and elections, this was only a temporary measure for it did not solve the land question. Robert Mugabe's government was bound by the "sunset clause" in the Lancaster House Agreement that gave special protections to white Zimbabweans for the first ten years of independence.[358] Due to the provisions of the clause, Moyo suggested that land reform in Zimbabwe, at least until 1996, had to be pursued within a state-centre but market-based approach.[359] According to the provisions, the new government would not engage in any compulsory land acquisition and when land was acquired the government would "pay promptly adequate compensation" for the property. Additionally, land distribution would also take place in terms of "willing buyer, willing seller".[360] Thus, from 1985 every vendor of land was required to obtain from the government, a "certificate of no present interest" in the acquisition of the land concerned before going ahead with the sale.[361]

About 65% of the land acquired on the market was procured by 1985, through the Normal Intensive Resettlement programme. In support of this initiative Britain provided grants worth approximately £33 million (US$44 million) during the 1980's for market land acquisition as well as for various resettlement inputs.[362] This money was viewed as aid rather than reparations and provided as a matching grant to Government of Zimbabwe's own inputs.

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[357] *Loc. cit.* Human Rights Watch. 2002.
[358] http://www.Unhcr.org/reform/topic.459e72982
[359] Moyo, S. *The Land and agrarian Question in Zimbabwe.* http://networkideas.org/feather/dec2004/conference_papers/land_agrarian_question_zimbabwe_sm.pdf

[360] Adams, H. "Redistributive land reform in Southern Africa." *Natural Resource Perspectives, 64.* 2001. 4.
[361] *Loc. cit*. Human Rights Watch. 2002.
[362] Moyo, S. *Land reform in South Africa: constructive aims and positive outcomes.* 2004. 62. http://wwikas.de/wf/doc/kas_18654_544-1-30 pdf.

Nonetheless, there were many challenges associated with this programme. The primary problem was that many of the farms purchased on the market included those which had been illegally occupied by peasants though an official programme, then called 'the Accelerated Land Resettlement Programme', aimed at complementing the 'normal' programme. As a result, this initiative was met with severe opposition.[363]

Furthermore, the market-based land acquisition approach did not meet up with expectations, as land reform in the period 1980 and 1986 was very slow. During this time about 430,000 hectares were acquired each year, including land abandoned by white farmers in the liberated zones during the war. This land was resettled to about 70,000 families, but failed to reach the set target of 162,000 families for resettlement.[364] This shortfall can largely be attributed to government policy, as it tended to place greater emphasis on agrarian reforms and rural development within the peasant sector. Thus agricultural research, extension services, roads, and marketing depots, education and health became the focus, as opposed to land redistribution and national agrarian restructuring.[365]

When the Zanu-PF government was finally released from the constraints of the Lancaster House Agreement in 1990, it amended the provisions of the constitution concerning property rights, thus creating opportunity for the compulsory acquisition of land for redistribution and resettlement. The Land Acquisition Act of 1992 further strengthened governmental powers to acquire land for resettlement, subject to the payment of 'fair' compensation.[366] This was fixed by a committee using set non-market guidelines, and included powers to limit the size of farms and introduce a land tax. A 1994 land tenure commission also recommended that the

[363] Moyo, S. *African Land Questions, Agrarian Transition and the State*. Dakar: Codesria, 2008. 109.
[364] *Ibid.*
[365] *Ibid.*
[366] Masiiwa, W. "2009 - the fast track resettlement programme in Zimbabwe: disparity between policy design and implementation" *The Roundtable, 94 (379).* April 2005. 217-224.

best way to achieve vital redistribution was through a land tax, although no tax was in fact put in place.[367]

Despite the new laws, the government land acquisition and resettlement in practice, like in the first decade after independence, was fairly limited. Moyo argued that by the end of the second decade of independence, the pace of land reform had declined; pointing to the fact that less than one million hectares was acquired for distribution during the 1990s and fewer than 20,000 families were resettled.[368] Thus by the end of what was referred to as 'phase one' of the land reform and resettlement programme in 1997, the government had resettled 71,000 families, instead of the set target of 162,000 on almost 3.5 million hectares of land. As a result, more than one million families still eked out an existence on sixteen million hectares of poor land, thus making Zimbabwe one of the most unequal countries in the world.[369]

6.4 The International Dimension of the Zimbabwe Land Crisis

However, we cannot downplay the role of the international community in, initially, creating or aggravating the situation in Zimbabwe, and subsequently in its failure to change the racially skewed nature of the country's land ownership. Moyo argued that the major gap in the international relations and development assistance cooperation between the government of Zimbabwe and the international community since 1980 has always been their limited collaboration over and funding of land reform.[370] As such, land acquisition and infrastructure were thus under-funded by both Harare and the donor community. Another contributing factor has been that Zimbabwe's land reform has largely been seen by the international

[367] *Op. cit.*
[368] *Loc. cit.*
[369] *Loc. cit.*
[370] *Op. cit.*

community as a bilateral UK-Zimbabwe issue, and thus has not received the necessary attention and commitment, as had been negotiated in the Lancaster Agreement.[371]

The differences between the government of Zimbabwe and the international community, particularly Britain, over land reform reached a height in 1997. President Mugabe and British Prime Minister Tony Blair openly disagreed about Zimbabwe's responsibility for redressing land reclamation. Subsequently, Britain's Minister for International Development Clare Short wrote to the Zimbabwean government stating that, "we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe.[372]" As a result, Zimbabwe accused the new British government of following the same racist policies as its predecessors.[373]

In the wake of the government's notice of compulsory acquisition of 1,471 farms-about 3.9 million hectares and increasing confrontation between the British and the Zimbabwean government over the financing of land transfers, an international donors' conference on land reform and resettlement was held in September 1998. A set of principles was adopted to govern "phase two" of land resettlement in Zimbabwe and a promise of donor funds, but there were conditions though, including improved governance of the land reform process, a poverty reduction approach the implementation of, market friendly land reform programmes and, the use of the rule of law.[374]

These conditions were seen by the Zanu-PF led government as a stalling strategy. Consequently, relations between the concerned parties reached an all-time low in 1999, when the conference failed to deliver economic aid or finance for land reform. This escalated when the Mugabe saw the international community as having embarked on a coordinated political

[371] *Op. cit.*
[372] Mandy, B. "Zimbabwe: fast track land reform in Zimbabwe." *Human rights watch: sub-Saharan Africa, 14 (1).* 2002. 7.
[373] *Op. cit.*
[374] *Op. cit.*

regime change track, rather than on a development dialogue process, given its alleged support for the new Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the opposition party and its civil society alliance.[375]

These differences between Harare and London and the latter's failure to meet the costs of land purchase were to have profound impact on the Zimbabwean community. By 1999, eleven million hectares of the richest land were still in the hands of about 4,500 commercial farmers, the great majority of them white. Moreover, some farms purchased for redistribution had in fact been given to government ministers and other senior officials rather than to the landless peasantry.[376] Most rural black Zimbabweans continued to suffer immense poverty. In the face of government failure to deliver, grassroots land occupations were already taking place in the 1980s and 1990s; in many cases government security forces then removed people from the land with some brutality. This was particularly the case in the context of the conflict in the 1980s in Matabeleland between Zanu-PF and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the other main liberation movement, which drew its support base from among the Ndebele people. By late 1997 and 1998, much larger scale occupations took place.[377]

6.5 Structural Adjustment: The Beginning of an Economic Meltdown

Exacerbating these problems was a growing economic crisis in the country, which was the same in most African countries. Zimbabwe was once considered the most successful democracy in Africa, with a strong economy. The country's economic growth surpassed the average global growth rate in the 1980s, expanding at much higher than the average growth of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, Zimbabwe found itself in the midst of a security dilemma—overwhelmed by mismanagement, corruption, political violence and economic

[375] *Op. cit.*
[376] *Op. cit.*
[377] *Op. cit.*

crisis.[378] A question that begs an urgent answer was; what went wrong in Zimbabwe and what were the major factors at play?

The situation in Zimbabwe can largely be attributed to the introduction of the International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programmes. Unlike other developing countries, Zimbabwe was not suffering from an unsustainable foreign debt crisis when it turned to the IMF for help with its budget deficit in the late 1980s. However Jean Shaoul argued that, far from helping Zimbabwe's economic development, the aim of the SAPs outlined in the Framework for Economic Reform (1991-95), was to remake Zimbabwe's economy in the interests of the transnational corporations.[379]

To understand the role of the IMF and its policies in Zimbabwe in setting the stage for future instability it's useful to briefly examine post-independence Zimbabwe's economy. Independent Zimbabwe inherited an economy with a diversified productive base that was more industrialised than most countries in Africa, a well-developed infrastructure and a relatively sophisticated financial sector. The average growth rate in the first decade after independence (1980-89) was 5%, up from 4% in the previous decade; the comparative growth rates for the global economy and Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1980s were 3.1% and 2.3% respectively.[380]

However, Zimbabwe, like its counterparts, was also experiencing the usual disparities in income and wealth distribution, a labour force needing skills, and heightened shortages of basic needs - ranging from land to housing to water and energy – and all this by a large part of its population. In other words, it faced the customary developmental challenges in the African context. Overall, however, the Zimbabwean economy had a great deal going for it in

[378] Parsons, R. "The Political economy of Zimbabwe 1996-2002." *Economic History of Developing Regions, 17 {1 & 2).* September 2002.
[379] Shaoul, J. "IMF Tightens the Screws on Zimbabwe." *World Socialist Website*. International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). 18 August 1999. www.wsws.org/articles/1999/aug1999/zimb-
[380] *Loc. cit.*

the first decade of independence. Foreign investors, bankers and aid agencies ignored the official Marxist-Leninist policies and were prepared to invest in, or lend to, Zimbabwe. Indeed, towards the end of that decade GDP (admittedly aided by recovery from drought) grew faster than at any time since the 1960s – 7.4% (1988), 5.4% (1989) and 6.4% (1990).[381]

The collapse of Communism and the end of the Cold War forced the Mugabe government into a policy U-turn in 1991, which saw the abandonment of its socialist-inclined policies in exchange for market-driven economic policies in the form of an Economic Structural Adjustment Plan (ESAP).[382] The decision to adopt the ESAP in 1990/91 was driven by a combination of donor pressure – the World Bank had virtually withdrawn from lending to Zimbabwe because of its economic stance in the late 1980s – and by local business pressure. The ESAP followed the same logic as those imposed by the IMF all over the world in the 1980s. It basically liberalised the country's economy, cutting social spending, privatising publicly owned companies and above all opening up the economy to foreign capital.[383]

The introduction of the ESAP, as with the rest of Africa, had devastating effects on Zimbabwe. It struck at the very heart of the political and economic programme followed by Mugabe's government since independence. This was to expand social and public services while leaving the white settler community's share of the country's land, wealth and income intact. By cutting social provision, structural adjustment removed the very limited safety net for the nation's people at the same time as increasing the overall level of poverty.[384]

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[381] Davies, Rob. "Memories of Underdevelopment: A Personal Interpretation of Zimbabwe's Economic Decline." *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. Eds. Brian Raftopoulos and Tyrone Savage. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004. 19-34.

[382] Ayittey,G. "Why structural Adjustment failed in Africa." *Contemporary Economic Issues in Developing Countries.* Eds. B. Baffoe and M. Khayam. London: Praeger, 2003. 167-184.

[383] Mumvuma, T., Mujajati, C. and Mufute, B. "Understanding Reform: The Case of Zimbabwe." *Global Development Network*. 2004. http://www.gdnet.org/pdf/global_research_projects/understanding_reform/country_studies/proposals/Zimbabwe_proposals.pdf.

[384] *Op. cit.*

By 1994, the cost of financial "liberalisation", devaluation, hikes in interest rates and the other measures that come with SAPs, meant that the cost of government debt more than doubled from 13 percent of domestic revenue in 1989 to 27 percent in 1994.[385] Since the payment of this debt to the international banks could not be avoided, and tax revenues had fallen, the burden of adjustment fell on non-debt expenditure. All factors combined, Zimbabwe experienced led to a massive contraction, (equal to 15 percent of GDP between 1992 and 1995) in order to meet the IMF's fiscal targets. In absolute terms, the fiscal deficit actually increased over the period.[386]

Social services suffered deep cuts. The effects on education were catastrophic. Over the period 1990-94, there was a 20 percent decline in real spending on primary education. Taking into account increased enrolment, real expenditure per pupil fell by about 40 percent. The deterioration in social provision and rising costs have also led to the re-emergence of diseases such as cholera, malaria and yellow fever, and the spread of new ones such as HIV/AIDS. With 25 percent of those aged 15 to 49 infected with the HIV virus, Zimbabwe is the worst affected country in Africa.[387]

The deterioration of social conditions in Zimbabwe has been aggravated by increasing poverty, especially in rural areas. During the first half of the 1990s, poverty increased dramatically in rural areas. Urban poverty has also intensified. This was as a result of the increasing rates of urban unemployment, largely attributed to the lowering of tariff barriers in the economy. This had devastating consequences, as it led to the closing down of a number of factories and destroying more than 50,000 jobs. Manufacturing output also plummeted from 32% of the GDP to 14.5% in 1992; real wages went down, inflation went up and economic

[385] *Loc. cit.*
[386] *Loc. cit.*
[387] *Loc. cit.*

growth stagnated. The economic crisis was compounded by a drought in 1992 and another in 1995.[388]

By 1997, Zimbabwe was in the throes of a serious economic and political crisis. Spiralling food and fuel prices inspired opened the floodgates for a massive movement of all sections of society against the government's neoliberal inspired economic policies, as advocated by the World Bank and the IMF. Growing militancy, especially amongst workers became the order of the day and as a result between 1997 and 1998 there were a record number of strikes involving more than 1 million workers.[389] Despite the domestic financial problems, in June 1998, the government sent the first of what would eventually be 11,000 soldiers from the Zimbabwean army to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to fight in support of the government of President Laurent Kabila, thus further exacerbating the country's economic problems.[390]

What followed was an unprecedented economic crisis. The economy took declined tremendously and the Zimbabwean dollar was devalued by more than 80% as a result of these moves. The international lending institutions refused, or chose not to acknowledge, the devastation caused by their policies on the Zimbabwean economy and the effects it had on society in general. Instead they went on to demand more cuts, more privatisation and an end to food subsidies, despite the fact that this approach had already caused "IMF-riots" all over the world. However, this was now more than the government could bear. Mugabe was fast realising that the state was beginning to lose its legitimacy because of the failure of the neo-liberal policies. Thus the government increasingly refused to implement the plans of the IMF

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[388] Martorell, J. *Zimbabwe: The Failure of 20 years of Capitalism.* 14March 2002. www.marxist.com/africa.asp
[389] *Loc. cit.*
[390] http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1092:dollarisation-in-zimbabwe-cause-and-effect-&catid=87:african-finance-a-economy&Itemid=294.

and at the end of 1999 both the IMF and the World Bank suspended their loans, culminating in a threat of expulsion in 2005.[391]

In its bid to service its large debt burden the Zimbabwean finance ministry, from 2001, solicited US$1.4 million each quarter to make token payments on the debt, and from mid-2003 through 2004 found US$16.5 million to send to the IMF.[392] It was also at this point that the country ran out of petrol and many other essential imports. As a result, by mid-2005, Mugabe had run up repayment arrears of US$295 million to the IMF, and more than US$1 billion to other lenders, including the World Bank and the African Development Bank. The total foreign debt that was either in arrears or about will come due in the next decade is US$4.5 billion, far more than the national GDP in a given year.[393] What was regrettable about the country's high indebtedness was that it was the Zimbabwean masses that have been hardest hit by the crisis, as it was their economic security that has been, and continued, to be sacrificed in order to prevent their government from sinking further into insolvency. This serves as an indicator (not only for Zimbabwe, but for much of Africa) that, not only have the remedies of the IMF been bitter, but the patients are clearly not recovering, and chances of ever recovering look very bleak.[394]

6.6 The Failure of Structural Adjustment and the Genesis of a Security Dilemma

It was clear that political consequences would follow in the shape of a loss of political support for the Mugabe government. Civil discontent led to an outcry for economic and political reform, eventually leading to a banding together of representatives from a wide

[391] Bond, P. "Catalyzing a New wave of Resistance: Will Thabo Mbeki revive Robert Mugabe and reinstall the IMF?" *Pambazuka News*. 20 October 2005.
[392] Bond, P. *Zimbabwe: Mbeki to Mugabe's Rescue.* http://www.solidarity_us.org/curent /node/218
[393] *Loc. cit.*
[394] *Loc. cit.*

range of interests groups to form a new political party, the MDC in 1999.[395] The creation of the MDC in 1999 was the first time in Zimbabwe's post-independence history that an opposition party had succeeded in creating a genuinely national movement, and thus represented a real threat to the ruling party.[396] In particular, the MDC was the first party to attract support from white Zimbabweans, and received significant financial support from the white business and commercial farming communities, whose interests were being threatened by the increasingly radical speeches of the government regarding the land question and therefore saw the party as the only political tool they could use to defeat Mugabe.[397]

From the onset there were different groupings with different political and ideological orientations within the broad MDC formation. On the one hand, there were the workers who wanted an independent political voice in order to fight against what they perceived as neoliberal policies implemented by the government. On the other hand, there were forces from the middle-class, the Church, and NGOs, who opposed Zanu-PF's undemocratic tendencies. These factions within the party contributed to their limitations in forming a formidable force against the Mugabe government.[398]

The effects of the unstable economy on the domestic political balance of power came as no surprise, as a government's legitimacy rests on its ability to secure a minimum standard of living and the effective distribution of resources for its citizens. Government's failure to do so led to fierce competition especially when, as in the case of Zimbabwe, the available surplus of these resources was limited. This was especially the case where there was an absence of strong institutions in areas of governance, the judiciary, and social investment to absorb

[395] *Op. cit.*
[396] Human Rights Watch. 2002; Maroleng, C. 2003.
[397] Maroleng, C. *Situation Report: Zimbabwe: Smoke Screens and mirrors.* 2003. http://www.iss.co.za/pgcontent.php?uid=6721.
[398] Human Rights Watch. 2002.

economic shocks and manage and satisfy competing resource demands, including national elites' own predation on resources.

6.7 The Third Chimurenga

The crisis in Zimbabwe was set in motion by the watershed constitutional referendum held in February 2000, which was met by major opposition culminating in its rejection by a majority 'no' vote. The constitution was rejected on a number of grounds. Chief amongst these was that it made provisions that would greatly strengthen the executive at the expense of parliament; increase executive powers with respect to military intervention within or outside Zimbabwe; introduce compulsory national service; allow for an unlimited presidential term of office for the present incumbent; and absolve government from having to pay compensation for any expropriated land if Britain did not make funds available.[399] In addition, according to Brian Kagoro, "It was a protest vote against the manner in which the constitution-making process had been carried out by the government[400]", as well as "an angry protest against the performance of the government and parlous state of the economy[401]".

This unprecedented defeat of the Zanu-PF government by the MDC and others increasingly outspoken critics of his government, precipitated the largely state-sponsored land invasions, political violence, institutional interference and economic decline. It also and the beginnings of what the ruling party refers to as the third Chimurenga.[402] The starting point was the run-up to the June 2000 elections where the ruling party used the land reform issue, as a tool to regain political support and legitimacy which was on a decline. "Land is the Economy; the Economy is Land" became the Zanu-PF campaign slogan, which revived the call for radical

[399] Human Rights Watch. 2002; Hammar. 2005.
[400] Kagoro, Brian. "Constitutional Reform As Social Movement: A Critical Narrative of the Constitution-Making Debate in Zimbabwe, 1997-2000." *Zimbabwe: Injustice and Political Reconciliation*. Eds. Brian Raftopoulos and Tyrone Savage. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004. 236-250.
[401] Kagoro, B. 2004. 249 in Hammar. 2005.
[402] *Ibid.*

land redistribution to fulfil the promises made at independence.[403] This in turn gave official blessing to a new wave of land occupations led by members of the War Veterans Association that had rapidly accelerated following the referendum result. Members of the army were also involved in coordinating and facilitating these occupations, which saw an occupation of more than 1,000 of the country's 4,500 commercial farms.[404]

It was at this point that Mugabe became an international pariah in the eyes of what he considered as imperialist powers, particularly Britain. They complained about violence against white farmers, having previously been silent on the face of widespread repression against workers during the 1997-98 strike movement, and opposed the 'fast-track land reform'. However, it is worth noting that the 'fast track' resettlement programme has largely been unsuccessful, as it did not realise its set objectives. It was hoped that this programme would lead to the stimulation of successful small- and medium-scale capitalist farming, but this never materialised, due to, according to Hammer, the government's failure to deliver critical farm inputs, technical services, infrastructure and security to new black settlers.[405]

What had begun in Zimbabwe, as a working-class party resisting Mugabe's neoliberalism, bad governance, and need for economic security, had escalated into a politico-military security problem. The onset of the crisis had given rise to patterns of authoritarian repression in Zimbabwe, mainly directed at people claimed by government to be members or supporters of the political opposition.[406] This period has also been characterised by the introduction of draconian legislations that severely restricted political freedom, such as the Public Order and Security Act, and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act. These are aimed at curtailing freedom of expression led to the closing of political space and the closing down

[403] *Op. cit.*
[404] *Op. cit.*
[405] *Loc. cit.*
[406] *Op. cit.*

of independent newspapers and persecution of independent journalists.[407] Furthermore, there has also been an increase in 'de-professionalisation' of the bureaucracy, politicisation of the security services and armed forces, and militarisation of everyday life. The compulsory introduction into educational syllabus of 'patriotic history', Mugabe-ism'; and the inculcation of an ethic of suspicion and fear amongst ordinary citizens[408] were indicative of this new era in Zimbabwe.

Associated with both extremes of economic and political decline since 2000, was the wide scale internal displacement and severe impoverishment especially of ex-farm workers and also, increasingly, of opposition supporters. An even greater security issue concerns the mass exodus of citizens as both political and economic refugees to countries within the Southern Africa region, particularly South Africa.[409] The integration of immigrant communities had become a major challenge not only for the South African government, but also for the entire SADC region. These immigrants, especially those that entered Zimbabwe's neighbouring countries illegally, were often socially excluded from these communities- where safety nets were not provided to ensure even their basic welfare, which was further exacerbated by problems of xenophobia that even barred them from securing any form of employment.[410]

6.8 Enter Thabo Mbeki and South Africa

There has never been any foreign policy issue that was so tied up to the South Africa's leader than the Zimbabwe's crisis. When Thabo Mbeki assumed leadership in 1999, all signals were clear that at the rate Zimbabwe was going, it could explode. This was due to the deteriorating

[407] Mazango, E. *Media games and shifting of spaces for political communication in Zimbabwe.* http://sockom.helsinkifi/polcom/mazango.pdf.
[408] http://monthlyreview.org/2005/12/01/labor-the-state-and-the-struggle-for-a-democratic-zimbabwe.
[409] *Op. cit.*
[410] Valji, N. *Creating the nation: the Rise of violent xenophobia in the new South Africa*. York University: Unpublished Masters Thesis, July 2003. http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/104980/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/0709AB0F-D4A6-4DCB-AF6F-0616EED57157/en/riseofviolent.pdf.

political and economic environment. As stated above, the land occupations and the 2000 election campaign that followed the referendum and the defeat of Zanu-PF government were characterised by widespread violence and lawlessness.[411]

The Zimbabwe situation posed a difficult challenge to the Mbeki presidency—as it did to SADC. The series of initiatives that South Africa took in pursuit of its quiet diplomacy may be subdivided between those undertaken between 2000 and March 2002 to date. Throughout 2000 there was some hope that the land question could be resolved once the parliamentary elections were out of the way. The position of South Africa appeared to be that Zimbabwe had a genuine grievance in the land issue, and that the British government and white farmers should play facilitative roles in resolution of the issue. At the same time, Mbeki called for an end to the violence in the land reform programme and in the 2000 election campaign.[412]

There was a series of four visits to Harare by President Mbeki, and another to Bulawayo, to open Zimbabwe's International Trade Fair. Bilateral meetings after the 2000 elections included the participation of senior South African ministers with their Zimbabwean counterparts on post-election plans for economic recovery, and a possible South African contribution to such a programme, with a particular focus on trade and finance issues.[413] More such ministerial meetings followed in 2001. South Africa also played a role in persuading the UN to dispatch an envoy to Harare to discuss possible assistance for the land reform programme. The envoy, Mark Malloch Brown, visited Harare in December 2000 for high-level talks relating to the land issue.[414]

The Mbeki government also sought to draw upon a third party from outside the region to weigh in on its diplomatic overtures. It was President Obasanjo of Nigeria who accompanied

[411] Sachikonye, L.M. *South Africa's quiet diplomacy: the case of Zimbabwe*. 577. www.hsrcpress.ac.za.
[412] *Loc. cit.*
[413] van Wyk, J. *The Saga continues, The Zimbabwe Issue in South Africa's Foreign Policy*. 2002. http://www.alternativesjournal.net/volume1/number4/wykpdf.pdf.
[414] *Loc. cit.*

Mbeki to Harare to discuss both the land question and breakdown of the rule of law. This was the first of such visits by Mbeki and Obasanjo during 2001, 2002 and 2003. There was a sense in which the drawing of Obasanjo into the discussions with Harare was either an admission by Mbeki that he did not have the clout to convince Mugabe to change course, or an astute move to cover himself in case there was some negative fall-out from the discussions (particularly criticism of South Africa playing 'big-brother').[415] Indeed, there was a not unreasonable assumption that Mugabe would take seriously the overtures of the two largest powers on the African continent. A great deal was at stake: the credibility of NEPAD was partly dependant on whether Mugabe would be nudged towards an abandonment of repression and lawlessness.[416] This was because in the NEPAD document, it clearly stated that:

The first priority is to address investors' perception of Africa as a "high risk" continent, especially with regard to security of property rights, regulatory frameworks and markets. Several key elements of the New Partnership for Africa's Development will help to lower these risks gradually, and include initiatives relating to peace and security, political and economic governance, infrastructure and poverty reduction. Interim measures for risk mitigation will be put in place, including credit guarantee schemes and strong regulatory and legislative frameworks.[417]

In 2001 and 2002, both Mbeki and Obasanjo—through the Commonwealth - pursued the same goal, by difficulty, trying to restrain the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting's then chairperson, John Howard of Australia. Howard, as a representative of the so-called 'White Commonwealth,' was prone to support those who pushed for tougher measures

[415] Zacarias, Agostinho. *Southern Africa's Security Architecture and Its Implications for the Conference on Cooperation and Stability in Africa.* Luso-American Foundation, 2005.
[416] Ezeoha, Abel and Chibuike Uche. "*South Africa, NEPAD and the African Renaissance.*" *ASC Working Paper 64/2005*. Leiden: African Studies Centre.
[417] *Ibid*. 12.

against the Mugabe government. It fell to the two African leaders to restrain the Commonwealth from taking a more hard-line position, such as the expulsion of Zimbabwe from the organisation.[418]

Meanwhile, there was little to show for these diplomatic initiatives by the Mbeki government, or those in conjunction with the Obasanjo government. It was not Mugabe's intention to reciprocate these overtures. He was bent on procrastinating on the issues of ending political violence and implementing land reform in an orderly and transparent manner. Sparks has observed that:

> Mugabe felt that he could twist Mbeki around his little finger. He seemed to enjoy publicly humiliating him. He did so right after the Victoria Falls summit of 2000. [A]t that meeting, Mbeki thought he had negotiated a deal in which Mugabe agreed to withdraw the war veterans from the farms they had started invading and occupying, in return for South Africa interceding with Britain to reinstate a 1998 donors' agreement to provide money to compensate those whose land was to be expropriated. But a few days later, Mugabe reneged on the deal by publicly encouraging the war veterans to continue occupying white farms.[419]

This episode underlined what has been a consistent pattern: playing for time by the Mugabe regime in order to retain power and its consolidation, irrespective of efforts by Pretoria and SADC to defuse and/or resolve Zimbabwe's crisis must have been quite frustrating, for Mbeki. In 2001, there appeared to be a shift in the focus of quiet diplomacy approach. The new focus was on a possible post-Mugabe arrangement. Having identified Mugabe's leadership of Zanu-PF and his unreliability as a negotiating partner as problems, the shift was

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[418] *Ibid*. 578.

[419] *Blood and Soil: Land, Politics and Conflict Prevention in Zimbabwe and South Africa*. International Crisis Group, 2004. 151-154.

to identify moderate and pragmatic elements in Zanu-PF that could be prepared to work out a deal with the MDC. This would become the path to Zimbabwe's recovery – with international assistance. This shift would form the basis of the concept of inter-party dialogue that could lead to a government of national unity, or at least a transitional administration that could restore normalcy and prepare for legitimate elections.[420] The current end game search for a post-Mugabe scenario is defined by the March 29, 2008 elections won by the main MDC and its leader-in-waiting, Morgan Tsvangirai. This calls for Zanu-PF/MDC negotiations as the latest in inter-party dialogue.

Several developments, beginning in March 2002 would put South Africa's mediating approach to severe test. The first related to Pretoria's assessment of the 2002 presidential election; the second its response to the Commonwealth's suspension of Zimbabwe in 2002 and extension of suspension in 2003. Both the assessment and response by South Africa were widely perceived as tactically siding with the Mugabe government. This marked the beginning of a sustained criticism of the quiet diplomacy, both within South Africa, Zimbabwe the wider international community.

Prior to the 2002 Zimbabwe's Presidential election South Africa's approach to the Zimbabwe question had still appeared even-handed, befitting its potential role of mediator between Zanu-PF and the MDC. However a puzzling development was the endorsement of the conduct and outcome of the election by a government-sponsored South African observer mission, headed by Sam Motsuenyane. The verdict that the result was 'legitimate' was made fairly quickly after the publication of the election outcome. This was contradicted by the assessments of the SADC Parliamentary Forum, the Commonwealth Observer Group and the Zimbabwe Election Support Network. They concluded that the election conduct and outcome were deeply flawed. Significantly an examination of SADC's norms and standards for

[420] Landsberg, Chris. *The Diplomacy of Transformation: South African Foreign Policy and Statecraft*. 2010. 158.

elections indicated that 11 of the most significant standards were flouted in the 2002 election.[421] The readiness of the South Africans to whitewash the election conduct and outcome was quickly followed by the undertaking (together with Nigeria) of a rapid initiative to persuade Zanu-PF and MDC to enter negotiations for a government of national unity.

A similarly puzzling position was South Africa's stance on Zimbabwe during the Commonwealth summit in Abuja in December 2003. As a matter of principle, it was against the suspension of Zimbabwe from the Commonwealth. The Mbeki government in fact pushed for the lifting of the suspension on Zimbabwe, despite the fact that the latter had ignored the corrective measures on governance and electoral reform recommended by the Commonwealth. Pretoria preferred a quiet diplomacy approach to ensure that Zimbabwe remained within the Commonwealth, instead of the extension of Zimbabwe's suspension.

The extent to which South Africa opposed the line orchestrated by most Commonwealth states stirred surprise in many quarters. Not only did South Africa unsuccessfully back a Sri Lankan candidate against the incumbent Secretary General, Don McKinnock, but also denounced the Commonwealth's extension of Zimbabwe's suspension together with several other SADC states, to the disappointment of Obasanjo. By the end of 2003 there was not much to show for quiet diplomacy as the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe showed no signs of abating. There were still no formal talks underway between the ruling Zanu-PF and the opposition MDC. The succession issue in Zanu-PF had been neutralised at its December 2003 conference, and repression continued.

[421] *Ibid.*

6.9 Understanding South Africa's 'Softly, Softly' Approach

According to Elizabeth Sidiropoulos and Tim Hughes,[422] Mbeki raised South Africa's foreign policy stakes far higher, both in potential reward and in risk with regards to its policy in neighbouring Zimbabwe. South Africa's stance on the spiralling crisis in Zimbabwe was a reflection of the difficulty powerful states had in applying principle to situations on their doorstep. It is very clear that there was very little consensus among other regional players on the need for principled action, partly because the problem ailing Zimbabwe had not been seen by most states in the region as one of bad governance and corrupt leadership, but rather of addressing the unfinished business of its colonial legacy.[423]

From the outset South Africa and President Mbeki were involved in developments in Zimbabwe. The President adopted a 'quietly, quietly approach', which as crisis progressed, emphasised principles of sovereignty in preference to South Africa's global vision for the continent. Implicit in this vision was the compromising of sovereignty in favour of pan-African interdependence. Here, Zimbabwe's crisis and South Africa's predicament in trying to defuse it required that Pretoria deviate from this vision. This was informed partly by Mbeki's concern that he might lose influence over Mugabe in the protracted negotiations over the delicate resolution of the conflict in the DRC, where Zimbabwe still had troops.[424] Hence a DRC/Great Lakes settlement took precedence over resolving Zimbabwe's crisis. It was also clear, given Mugabe's personality that it would be naïve to think that Zanu-PF would be compliant in the event of a concerted push to force it into an agreement with an opposition which could result in the government's removal from power and loss of its substantial

[422] Sidiropoulos, E. and T. Hughes. "Between Democratic Governance and Sovereignty: The Challenge of South Africa's Africa Policy." *South Africa's Foreign Policy 1994-2004: Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future.* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2004. 77.

[423] *Loc. cit.*

[424] Dlamini, K. "Assessing South Africa's diplomacy in conflict resolution." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 2001/2.* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2002. 67; Sidiropoulos, E. *Op. cit*. 78.

economic perquisites. Hence quiet diplomacy which allowed the target to save face was believed to be the most effective way of dealing with the crisis.[425]

South Africa undertook much of its foreign policy engagement with Zimbabwe through a multilateral framework under the auspices of SADC. The possibility of sanctions was ruled out. Concern was expressed that any form of economic boycott could lead to an even greater flow of refugees across the Limpopo, South Africa's Northern Province bordering Zimbabwe and that it would harm the country's business interests in Zimbabwe. South Africa provided a lifeline to the Zimbabwean economy, which included extending credit lines for power supplies through its parastatal power supplier, Eskom. South Africa also acted as an intermediary between Zimbabwe and the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and also the UN Development Programme, especially on the issue of land reform. In addition, South Africa worked through SADC to find ways of resolving the crisis. However, it was only at the SADC Summit of August 2001, "where the tone of the final communiqué stressed the importance of respect for law and property in Zimbabwe", that the organisation could be said "to have begun to publicly recognise the damage that Mugabe's policies were doing to the region.[426]" In the ensuing period, Pretoria has announced on many different occasions that a breakthrough in talks between Zanu-PF and the MDC was imminent, only to have this refuted by one or other of the main actors.

Critics of 'quiet diplomacy' identified the reasons for the policy's failure as being that the South African government did not gain domestic support, especially from the constituencies most affected by the Zimbabwean crisis. The unemployed in South Africa felt threatened by economic refugees from Zimbabwe, and therefore wanted to see decisive action from their

[425] *Loc. cit.*
[426] *Loc. cit.*

government to ensure that this threat does not materialise… similarly, South African business suffered major losses in Zimbabwe.[427]

Indeed, Moeletsi Mbeki (brother to President Mbeki) argued that it was the South African government's conception of South Africa as a 'weak, poor, black African country', which was at odds with the perceptions of South Africans of all races that it was a 'rich', 'strong democratic country surrounded by weak countries, many of them ruled by incompetent and/or corrupt governments', and that it should therefore 'kick butt' in Zimbabwe.[428]

It was not unreasonable to personalise South African policy on Zimbabwe. It was clear from research interviews and indeed all public pronouncements that South Africa's position on Zimbabwe has been formulated within the Presidency. This confirms the point that there are both costs and benefits accruing to Mbeki's stewardship of NEPAD.

The upside was the political stature accruing from the leadership he had shown at international summits, especially those of the G8. The downside for the president was the heightened expectation in the international community and the G8 in particular that the architect of NEPAD will take all steps necessary to ensure that his brainchild was not damaged. This referred not so much to actions by African states that defy the principles of NEPAD, but more specifically to the presumption that Mbeki can make every effort to be seen to be exercising decisive leadership with recalcitrant leaders within Southern Africa, and in particular with respect to South Africa's most important trading neighbour.[429]

That Mbeki failed to act decisively on Zimbabwe (or perhaps more accurately had failed to make any positive impact on the Zimbabwean crisis) was perplexing and damaging to NEPAD. That a raft of South African cabinet ministers who had paid official visits to

[427] *Ibid.*
[428] *Ibid.*
[429] *Ibid.*

Zimbabwe , including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, failed to speak out against its human rights abuses and the threat to regional stability that Zimbabwe represents was equally disturbing. How can South Africa's seemingly paradoxical positions on NEPAD and Zimbabwe be explained?

This was an opaque and complex question, but a number of points can be made. The first related to an existential question regarding NEPAD, and indeed its promotion within Africa. This question was not about what the document said, but rather what NEPAD wanted to achieve and what leverage it had to enforce its principle objectives. There are basic assumptions made within the NEPAD document about the common aspiration to peace, security, development, good political governance, sound corporate governance, and fiscal and economic discipline. Yet the achievement of these desiderata requires profound changes in the behaviour of some governments and elites in Africa. Did NEPAD represent a threat to such regimes; a threat without any leverage to back up its agenda? Despite NEPAD's adoption by the AU as its blueprint for Africa's recovery, the depth of Africa's commitment to its core principles across the continent was at best mixed. Demonstrably this was the case within the Zanu-PF government and for President Mugabe in particular. Simply put, NEPAD compliance is too high a domestic political price for despotic, corrupt and authoritarian regimes in Africa to pay.

The second assumption was that South Africa had both the desire and the capacity to bring about fundamental political change in Zimbabwe, or at the very least, that it recognised the threat to NEPAD that Zimbabwe represented (as opposed to the threat that NEPAD represented to Zimbabwe's status-quo) and act in a manner that was designed to protect and promote the programme. There are a number of elements to this argument. The first related to South Africa's desire to see political change in Zimbabwe. This was far from obvious. Although the ANC enjoyed strong fraternal ties with the Zimbabwe African People's Union

(ZAPU), since its absorption into Zanu-PF the mantle of the party-to-party relationship had been transferred. Whilst the ANC recognised the Zanu-PF as the Zimbabwean party of liberation, this sentiment was not fully reciprocated by elements of Zanu-PF, who remained sceptical of the ANC's 'struggle credentials', particularly during the Rhodesian civil war. Also apart from reluctance of the ANC government to criticise a party with whom it enjoyed fraternal ties, it had worked extensively since 1994 not to be viewed as the political behemoth of the region. Given the country's massive economic size and increasing penetration and dominance by South Africa's private sector in Southern African region, this was an increasingly difficult position to maintain.

Furthermore, there was a simplistic assumption made by some Western governments and activists that the Mugabe government and its policies were unpopular within South Africa and Southern Africa. Of late, this indeed became the case, especially in the wake of March 29th elections won by the MDC and the lack of African legitimacy of the run-off 'won' by Mugabe. But it was not always the case, looking back over the years. Mugabe's enthusiastic reception at the World Summit on Sustainable Development Summit held in Sandton, South Africa surprised many his critics.

Mugabe had, indeed, been an iconic popular figure in Africa, and received support (at least at the political level) from Angola, Namibia and on occasion Mozambique and Malawi. The only country to openly and consistently criticised the Mugabe government was Botswana, which in turn, had been accused by Harare of providing a military base to enable the US and Britain to overthrow the Zimbabwe government. South Africa was cognisant of Mugabe's African popularity, and Mbeki's power to act was further inhibited by domestic political considerations. These constraints relate to the fact that the ANC was elected to office as part of a tripartite alliance that had shown increasing signs of rupture because of the unpopularity of governmental economic policy. This last point had some bearing on the situation in

Zimbabwe, whose opposition MDC was a broad alliance of popular, business, civic and union movements. These groups are likely to enjoy stronger sympathy from the ANC's alliance partners than Zanu-PF itself. The South African government is publicly sceptical of the MDC on the grounds that it may be 'unfit or unprepared to govern'. Interestingly, this was an epithet used by many about the ANC before the party came to power in South Africa.

There was also the inevitable accusation that the MDC was a front for, or supported by, white and Western interests. However the ANC government's real fear regarding the MDC was that if it came into power in Zimbabwe it could embolden the populist and union element within the tripartite alliance in South Africa that sought a fundamental departure from current government policy - or even a dissolution of the alliance - in favour of the establishment of a fully-fledged stand-alone political party that could contest elections against the ANC. Indeed a successful MDC in Zimbabwe might exert a worrying domestic demonstration effect on the ANC-led government.[430]

Seldom discussed by foreign policy analysts attempting to understand South Africa's so-called 'quiet diplomacy' towards Zimbabwe – largely because it was difficult to assess - is the issue of interpersonal dynamics between President Mugabe and President Mbeki and, MDC faction leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. Mugabe once enjoyed regional and international status as 'first amongst political equals' in the region, this position was usurped by President Mandela after 1994 much to the apparent bitterness of Mugabe. During Mandela's presidency, a notable example of antagonism that arose between the two countries was that of the role and function of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation (OPDSC). Mugabe wanted to keep the OPDSC entirely independent of the SADC summit of the heads of state. He wanted to chair it himself; while Mandela believed it should be accountable to

[430] http://www.mmegi.bw/index.php?sid=6&aid=34&dir=2013/August/Thursday22.

the summit.[431] To add insult to injury, the special trade relationship that had existed between South Africa and Zimbabwe was phased out by Mandela's new post-apartheid government. Mandela's globally iconic charismatic stature however was too much for Mugabe to overcome, generating tensions that spilled over into other areas of regional inter-state relations within SADC.

When Mbeki became president, reports held that the personal relationship between him and Mugabe was not good. Questions of traditional respect, age, seniority, struggle credentials, political philosophy and indeed competing intellects no doubt played a part Mbeki's failure to make a breakthrough with Mugabe. This may in part have accounted for the apparently increasingly active role played by Nigerian President Obasanjo during 2003 in attempts to resolve the Zimbabwean crisis. This included elements of shuttle diplomacy between Abuja, Pretoria and Harare.[432] This came to an end when Obasanjo hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Abuja and Mugabe pulled Zimbabwe out of the body.

Whatever tensions were observed between Mbeki and Mugabe, the South African president's relations with MDC leader, Tsvangirai was seen as troubled. Tsvangirai, in many perceptions, had evoked the experience of Zambia's controversial labour leader-turned-president Fred Chiluba. Chiluba's Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) had by electoral votes ousted long-sitting and a hero of the struggle against colonial and apartheid in Southern Africa, Kenneth Kaunda, who had mentored Southern Africa's liberation movements. Chiluba's farcical administration soon undermined his credibility, deepening suspicions of Western support for challengers of liberation movement regimes who had not emerged out of the struggle. This appeared to settle on relations between incumbent governments emanating from liberation movements and labour movements, with the emergence of the MDC out of

[431] Solomon, Hussein. *Critical Reflections of the African Standby Force: The Case of Its SADC Contingent, 1 (2).* Southern African Peace and Security Studies, 2012.
[432] *Ibid.*

Zimbabwe's liberation movement coalition more or less coinciding with increasingly contentious relations between South Africa's ruling ANC and its COSATU alliance partner, reinforced by the fraternal ties between South African and Zimbabwean labour movements and the antagonistic relations that developed between them and their respective Zanu-PF and ANC regimes.

For this reason, while Mbeki may have had troubled relations with Mugabe, he was accused of being biased against Tsvangirai. Moreover, some observers suggested that Mbeki and the ANC preferred an alternative Zanu-PF leader to Mugabe as opposed to seeing a Tsvangirai-led MDC come to power. However, such a scenario had not materialised in Zimbabwe as former finance minister Simba Makoni's bid as an independent flopped, which left no real alternatively acceptable leader within Zanu-PF who could inspire international support. Hence speculations that Mbeki as well as Mugabe did not mind seeing MDC faction leader, Arthur Mutambara fill this role. Thus, even as MDC-Tsvangirai was perceived to have won the March 29, 2008 elections, leading to a round of Mbeki-led negotiations mandated by the AU and SADC to come up with a national unity government, speculation has been rife about the possibility of an Mbeki-Mugabe-Mutambara deal that could end up side-lining Tsvangirai, though this placed in jeopardy international support for Zimbabwe's recovery. This latest episode in Zimbabwe's endgame saga was strongly suggestive of critical importance of the inter-personal 'chemistry' operating as a major influence on 'quiet diplomacy,' and whether or not such an approach to conflict resolution can bear fruit, even with the African multilateral interventions of SADC and the AU.

In light of the above, South Africa's handling of Zimbabwe had shown that there were limits to what can be achieved through a multilateral framework backstopping a bilateral political intervention aimed at mediating a political stalemate. South Africa regarded the establishment of an effective multilateral structure as the best way of dealing with conflicts in Africa. This

inspired its support for the creation of the current Peace and Security Council under the AU, which was the standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. Yet multilateral frameworks invariably produced a lowest common denominator consensus in situations which required quick and decisive action which were often politically difficult to take. The failure to make any substantial progress on a return to normality in Zimbabwe was also a clear marker that while a 'softly, softly' approach may be a good starting point for engagement, it may not be the ultimate way resolve the situation if there was insufficient political will in place, or political bias acting as leverage.[433] In the wake of the latest SADC Summit installing Mbeki as the Chair as he neared the end of his term as president, there was concern that SADC's acquiescence in allowing Mugabe to reconvene a parliament, even though Zanu-PF was now in the minority, will generate yet another round of manoeuvres and manipulations that undermined the negotiations which were underway between Zanu-PF and the MDC.

6.10 Conclusion

South Africa learned more lessons about its foreign policy in Zimbabwe. The more obvious lesson was that it succeeds when its national role conceptions of leader, peacekeeper, bridge builder and African partnership converge with that of those most powerful states in the global arena, especially the US, Britain and other western countries. Although Mbeki achieved limited successes in his diplomatic approach towards Zimbabwe, his approach by and large, was in direct conflict with some of his African renaissance vision. It also further demonstrated sharply limitations of the country's national role conceptions. In a nutshell, national role conceptions, regardless of their perceived clarity or goof intentions, for a country in the middle global power ranking such as South Africa, tend to be either propelled

[433] *Ibid.*

to higher heights or constrained by bigger powers. The next chapter serves as the thesis' conclusion; it focuses on the fourteen years of the Mandela – Mbeki presidencies (1994 – 2008) a period specifically covered in this thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

LESSONS LEARNT: SOUTH AFRICA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AFRICA?

7.1 Introduction

Before embarking on this discussion, it is imperative to emphasise that post-1994 South African foreign policy and implementation can be seen as falling into two phases. The first phase of the Mandela Presidency from 1994 - 1999 was based on the belief that a universal commitment to the promotion of human rights, democracy, justice and conflict resolution Africa's interests, "should be cornerstones of South African foreign policy.[434]". During this phase, South Africa was readmitted back into the international community, resuming its seat in the UN General Assembly in June 1994 and other relevant political and economic institutions of global governance.

The second phase was during Mbeki Presidency's from 1999 to 2008 focused more on playing an influential role in world affairs by prioritising Africa's interests and focusing on the continent's links to a broader agenda of South-South cooperation. Packaged within the visionary call for an African Renaissance, priorities emphasised peacekeeping initiatives on the continent and the reform of African institutions and approaches to governance.[435] In achieving these objectives, South Africa found itself in a conundrum. Scholars at the time noted that it still had much to learn:

[434] Wheeler, T. et al. *The Role of South Africa in Global Structural Policy*. German Development Institute: Discussion Paper, July 2006. 18.
[435] *Loc. cit.*

In African terms, South Africa was still the newest African nation, so how could it assume a leadership role without causing offence to entrenched interests? If it were to deploy its considerable diplomatic, economic and military weight to pursue contentious foreign policy goals throughout the region, would it not be accused of acting like its bully apartheid regime? If it indeed walked a tight rope thus supporting democratic aspirations and condemned African tyrants on one hand, while stitching strategic partnerships with Western countries avoiding at the same time being labelled "blue-eyed boy of the West".[436]

Furthermore, there was an ongoing debate among countries of the South, especially in Africa, that South Africa was perceived to be "too western, both in life-style and its support of issues considered to be the agenda of the North such as the observance of human rights and promotion of good governance.[437]" In an effort to better understand the dynamics that these dual roles created, this section reviewed the experiences analysed in the forgoing chapters involving countries where South Africa was directly involved in conflict mediation efforts and peacekeeping initiatives. The aim is to elicit lessons that may be gleaned from these experiences in Lesotho, Burundi, the DRC and Zimbabwe for what they conveyed about South Africa's post-apartheid diplomacy as a legitimately recognised African power. What are the lessons learned in Lesotho?

7.2 South Africa's Military Incursion and Peacekeeping Missions in Africa

7.2.1 Lessons Learned: Lesotho 1998

Apart from President Nelson Mandela being brought up short in his effort to isolate Nigerian dictator Sani Abacha after the execution of Ken Saro Wiwa in 1995, the military intervention

[436] *South Africa's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa: Conference Proceedings*. Ed. R. Southall. HSRC Press: Cape Town, 2006. 16.
[437] *Op. cit.*

in Lesotho culminated in a lengthy period of mediating the Kingdom's political crisis, which was a defining moment for South Africa's African diplomacy. Without drawing too much on the historical background between South Africa and Lesotho, it is important here to revisit the 22 September 1998 South Africa and Botswana deployment of around 8 000 troops under the SADC banner of "Operation Boleas". Its aim was to suppress unrest and prevent what looked like a coup in the making by junior officers of the Royal Lesotho Defence Force (RLDF).[438] There were reported to have been casualties involving eight South Africans and 58 Basotho troops. South Africa came in for withering criticisms from other SADC countries and the United Nations. Viewed from operational standpoint, it was seen as a failure because South African National Defence Force (SANDF) troops were deployed on the basis of "inadequate intelligence, orders and objectives, with the result that angry protesters were not prevented from burning down South African-related and government buildings in the capital Maseru.[439]". Some contended that the operation was taken without the UN approval. Chapter VIII of the UN Charter states that no enforcement action can be undertaken by regional bodies, such as SADC, without prior approval by the UN Security Council. Accordingly South Africa, Botswana, and SADC failed to obtain prior authorization from the UN Security Council as required in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.[440]

One can argue that this operation seems to have changed the way South Africa was perceived on the continent. One of the reasons behind this was that the intervention evoked 'the bad old days' of "apartheid style military adventurism aimed at serving South Africa's economic interests". More specifically, it entailed securing the US$4 billion Katse Dam Project needed to supply water to the industrial heartland of South Africa.[441] This 'motivation', one can argue, regarding Pretoria's intervention in a relatively poor country, led to the perception that

[438] *Op. cit.*
[439] *Op. cit.*
[440] Cilliers, J. "Lesotho Intervention Wasn't Strictly Legal." *The Sunday Independent*. 4 October 1998. 11.
[441] *Loc. cit.*

South Africa sought to play the role of regional hegemon, thereby fuelling the possibility of isolation within the continent. Pretoria would soon learn what it meant to be perceived as inspiring 'less than legitimate intent' by other African states.

Notwithstanding the criticism directed towards this new nation, South Africa's intervention in the Mountain Kingdom was viewed at home with a different eye to that of the world. For Pretoria the Lesotho saga was seen as a milestone for its policy in the region, a form of initiation in the continent's conflict resolution and management arena. South Africa's intervention in the Basotho crisis marked the first time that the post-apartheid government ever deployed troops on foreign soil in a conflict situation. Of greater significance was the fact that the exercise served to impart invaluable lessons for future engagements and interventions within the SADC sub-region and farther afield in the continent.

The controversy surrounding the legitimacy of the intervention in the Lesotho crisis in 1998, even though carried out under SADC auspices, underscored the urgency of the formulation of a policy on extra-territorial deployments of the type that occurred in Lesotho by both Pretoria and other SADC-member states. This was critical for preventing a reoccurrence of the Lesotho debacle. This would entail a number of things being taken into consideration, including:

The extent to which all the major role players within the government have been informed and/or involved both the preparation and planning for and subsequent execution of such a mission should be determined. Informally a number of allegations have been made by prominent government representatives that they were either not informed or scantly informed of the plans for the Lesotho intervention. This raised the need, in line with the pronouncement of the White Paper, to identify the relevant role players in government and

ensure the institution of appropriate standard operating procedures at the highest level of the executive.[442]

Beyond the domestic front it is also imperative to note that there is a 'check and balance system' at a sub-regional level that is used as a guideline for deciding involvement in continental peacekeeping missions. In this regard, Rocklyn Williams placed an emphasis on the importance of clearly set "legal and procedural mandates governing the participation of countries in peace missions" at different levels, namely the UN, the domestic mandate and, where applicable, regional and sub-regional mandates.[443] Adhering to such guidelines would, in future, serve to legitimise peacekeeping operations. Involvement would have to be authorised by key actors at different levels. Such actions would thus prevent another Lesotho scenario and prevent scenarios where decision-making is sought from only one regional grouping, or that excluded other levels in the decision making process.[444] Indeed, learning these lessons would reinforce South Africa's essentially anti-hegemonic tendencies in over-reaction to the apartheid regime's destabilisation campaigns.

Further, lessons learned for South Africa and the region included acknowledgement that any possibility for securing lasting peace and stability in Lesotho was highly reliant upon the formulation of a well-structured post-conflict reconstruction and development plan; one that would re-establish constitutionalism and nurture a conducive environment for the Kingdom's economic development.

South Africa's intervention in Lesotho went far beyond military, it has contributed enormously in stabilising political, economic, and social issues bedevilling the country. Since 2008, President Jacob Zuma has continued strengthening diplomatic relations with Maseru.

[442] Williams, R. "Challenges for South and Southern Africa: Towards Non-Consensual Peace Missions?" *From Peacekeeping to Complex Emergencies: Peace Support Missions in Africa*. Eds. J. Cilliers and G. Mills. Johannesburg: SAIIA and ISS, July 1999. 172.
[443] *Loc. cit.*
[444] *Ibid*. 172-173.

On the 12th of August 2010, President Zuma paid a state visit to Lesotho under theme; consolidating the African Agenda. This visit demonstrated the continuation to what Mandela and Mbeki had committed to Lesotho. Key among these was the joint venture on the Phase II of the Katse Dam and US$100 million South Africa committed to the construction of yet another water dam. South A

7.2.2 Lessons Learned: Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

This section argued that South Africa's involvement in the peace processes in Burundi and the DRC to a larger extent reflected South Africa's commitment to peaceful conflict resolution, even if this view was not widely shared in the African continent. The discussion on 'lessons learned' will be predicated on this argument.

The Burundian war dates back to 1993, when the first democratically elected president Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated. He was the first Hutu to serve as Head of State in a country where the minority Tutsi had historically been dominant. Since then many attempts were made to resolve conflict between the Hutus and the minority Tutsis.[445] South Africa's involvement in Burundi began in August 1998, when Nelson Mandela became mediator in the peace process that subsequently led to the historic signing of the Arusha Agreement on August 28, 2000. Another milestone for South Africa in the peace process was when, under the guidance of then Deputy President Jacob Zuma, Burundians held a referendum on the new power-sharing constitution on 28 February 2005.

Southall also argued that South Africa played a key mediation role in Burundi based on their capacity and neutrality as 'honest' brokers:

[445] Solomon, Hussein. The Poverty of Pretoria's Preventive Diplomacy in the Great Lakes Region." *South African Yearbook of International Affairs 2002/3.* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2003.

> The deployment of South African troops as the key component of the International military force, on the grounds that no other African countries had either the capacity or willingness to undertake this key role…It was seen as an honest and neutral broker, and one that was prepared to commit to peace through its deployment of troops, by the UN, EU and IMF/World Bank.[446]

The DRC experience is critically important due to its intertwining with South Africa's increasing involvement, at the time, in Zimbabwe's unfolding crisis which, in some degree was linked to Mugabe's DRC intervention. Hence, the other reason: the fact that Tshwane-Pretoria and Harare came to occupy different, indeed adversarial, roles in the DRC/Great Lakes crisis. In the DRC, South Africa continued the role of 'honest, neutral broker' it was playing in Burundi. This was in an attempt to end the protracted conflict that had dominated the DRC since the collapse of Mobutu Sese Seko's Zaire. South Africa was criticised for refusing to intervene militarily in the DRC alongside Angola and Namibia as well as Zimbabwe. According to Landsberg, this move was seen by the DRC alliance as a double standard after South Africa refused to intervene on the side of the 'beleaguered' Kabila.[447] Landsberg further notes the serious tone of accusations and tensions at the time:

> Together with Mugabe, Dos Santos and Namibian president, Sam Nujoma, Kabila accused South Africa of promoting regional apartheid policies. The four leaders charged Pretoria with siding with Uganda, Rwanda and the Congolese rebels in an effort to topple Kabila and of harbouring Congolese rebels.[448]

South Africa's involvement in the DRC had also been treated with suspicion that it was motivated by its commercial and trade interests in this mineral rich country. Further, some of

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[446] *Op. cit.*
[447] Landsberg, C. *The Quiet Diplomacy of Liberation: International Politics and South Africa's Transition*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2004. 165.
[448] *Ibid.*

South Africa's companies were also accused of playing upon South Africa's lead in the peace process to take unfair advantage in securing contracts and business deals.[449]

It has often been argued that South Africa's sole motivation for continued commitment to the peacemaking process in the Great Lakes is based on the rich economic opportunities available in the Great Lakes region, particularly in the DRC. The possibility that Tshwane-Pretoria might view the DRC/Great Lakes stability in strategic stability terms linked to a broader African agenda is indeed, in Mbeki's renaissance vision, a possibility that has received little focus against the obvious economic dimension of South African capital. In South Africa's view, the crisis in the region underscored the importance of democratic governance, security and economic development to building African stability. It is for these very reasons that this section of the paper argues that Mbeki placed great urgency in the finding of a sustainable peace to Africa's conflicts as the foundational basis for envisioning an African Renaissance. According to this vision a 'new developmentalism' had emerged on the horizon for Africa:

South Africans have in recent years elevated this notion to an ideology referred to as the "new developmentalism." For Mbeki, the 'new developmentalism' can only come about through a linkage approach to politics. Mbeki appears genuinely committed to economic takeoff and development in Africa. He has consistently articulated the view that South Africa can only prosper if the broader Southern African and African regions prosper. For South Africa to be stable, the rest of the region has to be equally stable.

Despite criticisms over its true intent, South Africa's position eventually saw the withdrawal of a number of countries' troops from the DRC. These included troops from Zimbabwe, and

[449] AISA/CCR, "The Peace Process in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The Role of South Africa." *Africa Institute of South Africa and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes.* Pretoria: Hamilton Conference Centre, 16 September 2002.

the signing of the Global and inclusive Accord by the warring factions in Pretoria on the 17 December 2002. The warring factions made provisions for a transitional constitution and a power-sharing government. This paved the way for the drafting of a new constitution in the DRC, which was unanimously adopted by the National Assembly in May 2005. Whilst there were initial delays, leading to the postponement of the presidential and parliamentary elections that had been scheduled for June 2005, multi-party elections which were held in July, leading subsequently to a second round on the 29 October since neither Kabila nor Bemba gained 50 percent of the votes during the first round.

Tshwane-Pretoria's involvement in these two Great Lakes nations provided it with a platform to put its Africa policy to the test and to build on the foundations that were laid by its problematic intervention in Lesotho. Drawing on its own experiences, and lessons learned, the Great Lakes crisis afforded Tshwane-Pretoria the opportunity to develop a philosophy of peacekeeping for the region. South Africa having just emerged from its own negotiated settlement gave the presidencies of Mandela and Mbeki a more holistic perspective on conflict resolution. At times, it also allowed it to broaden the 'conventional parameters' when necessary in comparison to its counterparts.[450] Beyond the reliance on home grown methods of conflict resolutions, South Africa's successes in the Great Lakes was also based on the fact that its diplomacy gained support from within Africa through the African Union and the Western world, particularly major global players including the former colonial powers. Henceforth, South Africa balanced its legs as it walked cautiously in both the "South and the North" in seeking peaceful resolutions in Burundi and the DRC. The direct benefits of such diplomatic strategy deployed in South Africa's mediations efforts in the Great Lakes region

[450] Nhlapo, W. "South Africa and Peacekeeping: Looking to the Future." *From Peacekeeping to Complex Emergencies: Peace Support Missions in Africa.* Eds. J. Cilliers and G. Mills. Johannesburg: SAIIA and ISS, July 1999. 129.

were two-fold. First, Tshwane-Pretoria sought and gained trust within Africa (shedding off the lingering mistrust caused by the apartheid South Africa's destabilising hegemonic roles)

At the heart of this newly established philosophy was the belief that, conciliatory forms of conflict resolution are the most viable methods for achieving durable peace and stability in the context of civil wars and similar crises on the continent. This position stems from the success of South Africa's negotiated settlement and from Mbeki's personal style of politics. He prefers the art of persuasion, and negotiations that he can direct, and has consistently been opposed to the blunt instruments of coercive diplomacy, accenting the use of force. Hence, mediation and facilitation of dialogue have emerged as a primary strategy of Pretoria in the brokering of peace deals in the continent's conflicts.

Whilst they were very useful as a guiding tool, there were real dangers in using foreign transition and peacekeeping models. South Africa was certainly guilty of this, especially in Burundi. While Mandela tried *not* to impose South Africa's transition model on the Burundians, there were instances when he "stuck too narrowly to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) model.[451]" As such, he failed to acknowledge local "complexities and specificities," particularly the resource base of the conflict. The DRC model had a similar shortcoming in that it also failed to reconcile the economic dimensions of the conflict with the imperatives of peacemaking. This highlights the importance of local ownership of the transition and reconstruction processes, so as to guarantee both the success and sustainability of the peace projects, which is of course subject to the external actors taking a step back, so as to provide them with the necessary ground to do so.

The crisis in the Great Lakes region, with particular reference to the DRC case, has shown another lesson learned. Securing of peace agreements is a critical step in conflict resolution,

[451] *Op. cit.*

but it is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Further, it does not necessarily signal an end to conflict. Drawing this lesson learnt shows that there is more to peacemaking than the mere signing of agreements; a lesson learnt by Mbeki personally. This same lesson can be applied to the hosting of elections. Whereas both nations, Burundi and DRC, had held democratic elections; elections in themselves do not produce democracies. Indeed, the entire continent's history clearly demonstrates that a number of African leaders have held elections in the last decade, but that democracy has remained an elusive dream.

These lessons and achievements however minimal, have been hailed as having marked a critical step towards a more secure and democratic Great Lakes region. It is not that simple, however. Anyone familiar with the history of the region understands that the Great Lakes has certain complexities and challenges facing it when it comes to building a stable democratic apparatus. Some of these challenges are specific to Burundi and the DRC, and the region in general while others are typical of most aspiring democracies. It is generally accepted that in transitioning from one governmental system to another, there are almost unavoidable conflicts, as recent events in the DRC have shown, due to various interest groups competing the control political power and economic resources.

All of this highlights the lesson of continuous engagement by Tshwane-Pretoria and the international community during the post-transition phase. It is important for these players to oversee reconstruction in these countries so as to prevent any chances of sliding back into conflict, as the stability and the maintenance of a fully functional democracy, is reliant upon it. To this end South Africa has embarked on a project referred to as "developmental peacekeeping". This entails the deployment of peacekeepers together with multidisciplinary teams of developmental economists, civil engineers, public development managers and policy developers, in support of the post-conflict reconstruction. This involves engaging other South African ministries and departments in the process in addition to foreign affairs. Tshwane-

Pretoria's efforts in this regard have culminated in the establishment of bilateral cooperation between Pretoria and both the governments of Bujumbura and Kinshasa.

South Africa's successes in the Great Lakes region rest on its continued commitment to using a multilateral approach. Multilateralism is both a primary goal and primary strategy of South Africa's foreign policy. This approach is consistent with the country's negotiated settlement and pluralist politics and with the emphasis in African state politics on unity and solidarity. Given the history of apartheid destabilisation, South Africa is acutely sensitive to being perceived by other African countries as a bully. Mbeki is determined to build effective multilateral institutions on the continent in collaboration with strategic partners like Nigeria. The AU is the principal vehicle for multifaceted co-operation and NEPAD is intended to secure international partners and strengthen Africa's voice in global forums. More generally, South Africa promotes multilateralism in the international system as the best means of maintaining global order, addressing global problems, mitigating the domination and unilateralism of powerful states, and empowering weaker countries.

It can be argued, however, that the commitment to multilateralism in Africa is sometimes substantially at odds with the commitment to democracy and respect for human rights. Paradoxically, *African* multilateralism, which is intended in part to overcome South Africa's constraints of limited capacity and influence, may, itself be a significant constraint in the pursuit of its objectives.

Many scholars have aimed criticism at South Africa for its reluctance on intervention and conflict resolution, and for its reluctance in taking up the peacekeeping challenge on the continent. Tshwane-Pretoria is seen on the one hand as preferring to play a peacemaker role, but not that of a peace enforcer. In spite of its painstaking efforts to be an 'honest broker' in

African conflicts, it does not have natural allies to help bolster that role. In fact, South Africa appears to be marginalised in Southern and Central Africa.[452]

Ironically, this pacific foreign posture has been a source of much friction in Southern Africa, the shambolic Lesotho intervention notwithstanding. In the 1990s the efforts of SADC to set up a viable security regime failed because member states were polarised around incompatible pacific and militarist approaches. One camp, led by South Africa and supported by Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania, wanted a common security regime whose primary basis for multilateral co-operation and peacemaking would be political rather than military. The other camp, led by Zimbabwe and supported by Angola and Namibia, preferred a mutual defence pact and prioritised military cooperation and responses to conflict. This polarisation was largely defined by each camp's differences over military versus non-military/diplomatic means of intervening in the DRC. Thus, in 1999 a Zimbabwean defence official claimed that Pretoria's opposition to the use of armed force in peacemaking was the major reason for the impasse around the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation.[453] In fact, this was self-serving from the Zimbabwean perspective at the time in as much as Mugabe and Zimbabwe wanted autonomy within SADC as the key 'command and control' state overseeing regional security, something that South Africa and other SADC members were not willing to concede. However, had Mugabe and Zimbabwe had their way, this would mollified Zimbabwe's sense of being overshadowed by the new South Africa and its iconic leader, Nelson Mandela who had the added advantage, within the African political-cultural context, of being Mugabe's elder!

The war that commenced in the DRC in 1998 revealed the strategic import of this division, as the pacific group promoted a diplomatic solution while Namibia, Zimbabwe and Angola

[452] *Ibid.*
[453] *Ibid.*

deployed troops in support of President Kabila. The DRC imbroglio damaged relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe, cripple the Organ and gave rise to the notion of two SADCs.

It was through its peacekeeping attempts in the Great Lakes region that Tshwane-Pretoria has emerged as a regional power. This has enhanced its role as a serious middle-ranked power in world affairs. South Africa has also invested considerable political capital in forging strategic partnerships with key countries in realising continental and international goals, notably Nigeria, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. To assert itself in the Great Lakes, it has attempted to embrace all parties to the conflicts. The Mbeki government's decision to become involved in peacekeeping operations has further bolstered its image as a major power in Africa and has enhanced its credibility as a genuine peacemaker.

7.2.3 Lessons Learned: Zimbabwe.

Perhaps it is useful to first give a brief overview of Zimbabwe's economic conditions. It should be emphasised that Zimbabwe was once considered a very prosperous country with modern roads and infrastructure, strong education system, low crime rate and diversified economy. It was argued that one of the reasons behind this prosperity was its sophisticated commercial farming sector.[454] Vast tracts of large-scale farms produced thousands of acres of tobacco, cotton and other cash crops. About 4 500 white families owned these farms. In contrast, 840 000 Black farmers made their living on small and relatively infertile plots in the communal lands, producing maize, ground-nuts and other staples.[455] By the late 1990s there was increasing pressure from the British, the Zimbabwean government, and white commercial farmers that land reform and redistribution take place. One of the motivations

[454] Financial Mail. 5 May 2006.
[455] *Loc. cit.*

was to improve agricultural productivity and simultaneously increase wealth for the Black majority as well as for food security contingencies.

However, the grave mistake made by Mugabe was on the method used to redistribute the land. Since the commercial farming sector provided much of the country's foreign exchange; created thousands of jobs and produced the essential staple of maize.[456] In the beginning of the year 2000 Zimbabwe's economy was to change dramatically. Zimbabweans began to seize control of white-owned farms with no compensation for its owners, and then redistributing it to political cronies in the Zanu-PF party. In class terms, fast-track land reform turned out to be a blatantly elite project of accumulation using the poor as 'shock troops.' This was the beginning of the crisis since most of the new owners were not knowledgeable on farming and this resulted in a drastic drop in agricultural productivity. Combined with the financial demands of war veterans who were used by Zanu-PF to spear-head land confiscations, the formula was set for bankrupting the country.

To arrest the unfolding crisis South Africa, as the regional power and Zimbabwe's neighbour, was expected to exert its influence to bring about a stabilising change of policies in that country. According to a Financial Mail story at the time, South Africa's economic strength on the Continent, seemed to be quite good:

> The South African economy is medium-sized by global standards, albeit a giant in the African context. In constant 2000 US dollars, South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and GDP per capita in 2003 were about 139 billion and 3000, respectively. The next largest African economy is Egypt, whose GDP and per capita income in 2003 were, respectively, almost 30 billion and 1500 dollars less than South Africa's.

[456] *Loc. cit.*

> Further underlining South Africa's pre-eminence in Africa is the fact that in 2003 it accounted for about 38% of total sub-Saharan Africa's GDP.[457]

Given the volatility of the rand and its vulnerability to external perceptions of developments in South and Southern Africa, Zimbabwe increasingly unfolded as a risk liability for South Africa. Thus, the first lesson: to do nothing about a crisis on one's border is not an option for a variety of reasons. The crisis in Zimbabwe could not be ignored in terms of Tshwane-Pretoria's need to influence external perceptions of South Africa that might negatively impact the Rand's valuation. As much as it was loath to intrusively intervene in Zimbabwe's politics, Tshwane-Pretoria's quiet diplomacy unfolded against this backdrop. It is against this background that Pretoria's relations with Harare have possibly been the most challenging and contested area of its Africa policy. Despite criticism from international and domestic observers against Mbeki for his posture on Zimbabwe, as rightly pointed out by Tim Hughes of the South African Institute of International Affairs, "with the exception of Nigerian President Obasanjo who enjoys far less leverage than Mbeki, no other African leader has consistently attempted to mediate in the Zimbabwean crisis.[458]"

In keeping constant with his preference for constructive engagement and, while rejecting coercive means, Mbeki has stuck to his policy of 'Quiet diplomacy' in attempting to bring about change in Zimbabwe. Quiet diplomacy in this forms entails a style that is characterised by "Skilful negotiations, conducted with tact, persistence, and impartiality, but without fanfare.[459]" Several observations and lessons emerge from this experience that relate to the intractability of arriving at a political solution to Zimbabwe's crisis. A second lesson from the Zimbabwean experience of settlement diplomacy underlines how quiet diplomatic behind-

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[457] *Op. cit.*

[458] Hughes, T. "South African Foreign Policy Towards Zimbabwe." *Composers, Conductors and Players: Harmony and discord in Southern African Foreign Policy Making.* Johannesburg: Konrad-Andenauer-Stiftung, 2004. 123.

[459] Benner, A.R. *International Organisations: Principles and Issues.* 6th ed. Engelwood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1995. 157.

the-scenes engagement can become complicated by a regional and international political atmosphere of polarisation around a country experiencing the kind of crisis that has affected Zimbabwe and deep division over its resolution. While the West has tended to view the Mugabe government as a corrupt, repressive regime, a human rights violator with no respect for the rule of law and private property; African perceptions throughout the continent and in South Africa tended, until recently to view the actions of Mugabe and Zanu-PF as legitimate expressions of the politics of redress addressing the unfinished business of overcoming the country's racist white settler-colonial legacy.

Given the recent election results, however, which in the first round of polling on March 29, 2008 saw the opposition led by the MDC gain a majority in the voting, the terms of legitimacy have changed. The lesson from this experience is that in the diplomatic quest for a political settlement where an opposition succeeds in overcoming the odds of power wielded by an incumbent regime. It is clear that broad-based African support among governments as well as civil society can be mobilised for changes that can benefit from and energise diplomatic mediation efforts. Hence the MDC's support within the region and on the continent has expanded while the African legitimacy of Mugabe has significantly diminished. Flowing from this however, is a realisation that such shifts do not guarantee diplomatic a break-through in a situation that can become ever more complicated. Hence a fourth lesson to be drawn is that the overwhelming power of a neighbouring state caught up in quiet diplomatic mediation is not guaranteed to yield desired results and is more likely to involve a protracted, open-ended political process before a satisfactory resolution of the crisis materialises. Here South Africa in its relations with Zimbabwe is not unique as China's interaction with North Korea can be cited as can the complicated US-Cuba relationship.

7.3 Substantive Conclusions

South Africa's military intervention along with Botswana in Lesotho and its current politico-diplomatic intervention in Zimbabwe can be viewed as 'book-ends' in Tshwane-Pretoria's experience in trying to establish peace and security in its Greater SADC. In spite of the military nature of the intervention in Lesotho, this experience does not necessarily detract from South Africa's preference for 'soft-powered' non-military means in effecting conflict resolution. Apart from the fact that the Lesotho experience differed substantially from the nature of the crisis in Zimbabwe, Burundi and DRC in that Tshwane-Pretoria and Gaborone were intervening to pre-empt a threatened coup d'état, the fact of the matter is that this intervention culminated an already lengthy mediation process spear-headed by South Africa and was followed by a resumption of that process which finally did succeed in bring political factions in the Kingdom into a workable accommodation. Moreover, it can also be argued that South Africa could not allow for an independent political entity embedded in the heartland of the South African republic to implode within its midst. Lesotho's crisis represented a clearly destabilising security threat in South Africa.

As a neighbouring country mired in its own internal political dynamics and with an insignificant military machine of its own, Zimbabwe presented a different kind of crisis, albeit one in which like Lesotho, the question of regime legitimacy was paramount. Otherwise, Tshwane-Pretoria's efforts in Zimbabwe have also tended to be undermined by inconsistencies between South African rhetoric and actions. On the one hand, within the framework of NEPAD, it preaches a commitment to constitutionalism and a respect for human rights. Yet at the same time it is seen as being in cahoots with President Mugabe who has, in the eyes of many, displayed a total disregard for the rule of law and promoted state

repression in Zimbabwe.[460] While such criticism is not without merit as the Zimbabwean scenario has unfolded, it has become clear that to the extent that certain political trends in Zimbabwe such as the political rise of a-based opposition are perceived as mirroring similar tendencies in South Africa itself, other realpolitik considerations have intruded into Tshwane-Pretoria's political calculus driving its 'quiet diplomacy' in Zimbabwe. The lesson here is that to the extent that a country's domestic politics becomes a factor in mediating tensions and conflicts in a neighbouring state with similar political dynamics, will complicate politico-diplomatic intervention in the service of conflict mediation. South Africa's intervention in Zimbabwe's crisis therefore has revealed certain political biases that have complicated its efforts and contributed to contradictions and inconsistencies in spite of South Africa's own anti-apartheid struggle and negotiated political settlement. This is an experience that has tended to enhance South Africa's moral-political capital in its conflict mediation efforts elsewhere in Africa. South Africa's experience in this regard has tended to place it in an awkward position in relation to the rest of the continent where high-minded moral-politik has had little impact.

South Africa's quiet diplomacy has been driven by the lessons learned in Nelson Mandela's abortive political intervention in Nigeria. South Africa's failure to prevent the execution of Nigeria's activist and playwright Ken Saro Wiwa in 1995 is exemplary in this regard. Thus South Africa learned something from its unilateral approach to the Nigerian crisis when it pursued a tough position on the Abacha dictatorship. Mandela took a position to apply sanction on Nigeria without consulting the Commonwealth, SADC, and OAU now AU. The

[460] Nathan, L. "Uncertain Hegemony: South Africa's Foreign Policy in Africa." *South African Journal of International Affairs.* Johannesburg: SAIIA, 2008. 5.

response was that everybody distanced themselves from South Africa's position and Pretoria was left looking "exposed and ineffective.[461]" Mbeki's own response was that:

> Never again would South Africa go it alone in opposing belligerent African despots. This issue [Saro Wiwa's execution] highlighted the potential limits of our influence as an individual country…and the need to act in concert with others and to forge strategic alliances in pursuit of foreign policy objectives.[462]

Mbeki's observation reinforces the argument that South Africa has tended to be cautious in its African diplomacy, lest it be seen as a 'bully boy' on the continent because it needed to value the importance of cooperation with other African countries and leaders. Lesson: South Africa's African conflict resolution diplomacy cannot fall outside the inter-African politico-diplomatic culture of vetting such initiatives within the African-accepted framework of political intercourse among African states. To the extent that South Africa, under Mbeki, has desired to accelerate its integration into the continental system by learning and applying these lessons has been paramount and have tended to take South Africa off its immediate post-apartheid moral pedestal.

Beyond its constant struggle with denouncing its 'bully boy' image Pretoria has had to contend with regional politics. This is particularly relevant in light of Mbeki's commitment to multilateralism in pursuit of his African agenda, which demands for regional co-operation and partnerships. This commitment to participation in multilateral issues was reiterated by Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana-Zuma when she stated, "We declare our readiness and preparedness to serve the people's of Africa, the South and the world in this capacity.[463]"

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[461] Field, S. "When neighbours stray: Political implications for the SADC region of the situation in Zimbabwe." *Unfinished Business: The land crisis in Southern Africa.* Eds. K. Colvard and M. Lee. Johannesburg: African Century. 575.

[462] *Op. cit.*

[463] Staff reporter. "South Africa Honored to get UN Seat." *Mail and Guardian* 17 October 2006.

Much of Pretoria's engagement with Harare is dictated by the dynamics within SADC, which are largely driven by camaraderie and the need to maintain a united front. It is in this spirit that SADC has tended to avoid interfering in member states' domestic affairs in the hopes of avoiding "adversarial relations that might jeopardise trade and functional co-operation,[464]" which has been the general posture towards the situation in Zimbabwe. As such it would be unfair to expect Pretoria to deviate from this position more so with lessons learnt with the Lesotho and Nigerian debacles. South Africa can never be too cautious, especially when cognisant of the legacies of colonialism and apartheid and more importantly the power struggles within SADC. Moreover, South Africa has been very much a part of these power-struggles rooted in the divisions opened up by the DRC/Great Lakes crisis; divisions that continue to be in play up to the present in determining how SADC responds to the crisis in Zimbabwe and how much leeway South Africa has in its AU-SADC mandated role as mediator. Going back to the DRC/Great Lakes crisis, Tshwane-Pretoria had to proceed cautiously in how it related to Zimbabwe, given Zimbabwe's leadership as a military intervener in the DRC civil war and the need for South Africa to get the entirety of SADC on-side in resolving the war in the Congo. Tshwane-Pretoria could ill-afford to ostracise Zimbabwe if it was to succeed in its twin project of resolving the conflict in the DRC while navigating Zimbabwe's problems as well. South Africa's uncomfortable position in this regard was best captured by Chris Landsberg, who stated that:

> South Africa could not hope to ostracise Mugabe for his autocratic rule in Zimbabwe while hoping to achieve its regional objectives in the DRC. These were uncomfortable trade-offs that South Africa had to make in its decision to pursue 'quiet diplomacy.[465]

[464] *Op. cit.*
[465] Landsberg, C. "South Africa." *Security Dynamics in Africa's Great Lakes Region*. Ed. G. Khadiagala. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006. 136.

Tshwane-Pretoria was indeed under pressure between incompatible goals and as awkward as the situation was, the success of the Congolese project and the security of the greater Great Lakes was riding on Mbeki's aptitude to involve all the power-brokers in that region. Mugabe was an integral part of this 'delicate solution', having deployed troops to the DRC in support of Kabila. It was for this reason, according to Landsberg, that "the pursuit of South Africa's strategy toward the DRC saw Mbeki singling out Mugabe and Kagame as the regional balancers of powers, holding the key to a settlement of the war in the DRC.[466]" Such a gesture was seen as critical for strengthening regional partnerships and more importantly Tshwane-Pretoria's fragile relations with Harare. This pattern was undoubtedly instrumental in setting the stage for the kind of continuing interaction between South Africa and Zimbabwe that would unfold as the latter's crisis deepened and South Africa became ever more caught up in its mediating role between the incumbent Zanu-PF regime and the MDC.

Finding a solution to the crisis in Zimbabwe has proved elusive. Mbeki's 'quiet diplomacy' policy has only recently begun to bear fruit in the wake of SADC conferring upon him the formal mandate as mediator. The fact that he was able in July 2008 to get Zanu-PF and the two MDC factions to sign a negotiating framework agreement was an achievement in itself although, at the time of writing resulted in a final settlement. Yet the fact that the situation has gotten this far is a reflection on the complex interplay between diplomatic efforts to resolve a crisis, on the one hand, and actual political developments on the ground that change the dynamics on the other. After all Mbeki's much maligned 'quiet diplomacy' did have the salutary effect of guaranteeing a sufficiently transparent election, enabling Tsvangirai and the MDC to win the presidential and parliamentary poll. This outright MDC win in turn changed the internal and external political dynamics in the of an MDC that had been on the verge of being totally written off as a serious opposition force. The fact that Mugabe and the Joint

[466] *Loc. cit.*

Operations Command (JOC) tried to reverse matters in the presidential run-off with a brutally repressive campaign resulting in African election monitors from the AU, SADC and the Pan-African Parliament judging it to be unfree-and-unfair further eroded the Mugabe regime's support within Africa and regionally. Thus, have the dynamics of interplay between South African-SADC diplomatic intervention and political developments on the ground in Zimbabwe driven an unfolding process that has steadily narrowed Mugabe's options.

In a further example of the unintended consequences that can result from such interplay, SADC's decision to relent in allowing Mugabe to reopen parliament in breach of the negotiating framework agreement, in spite of the results of the March 29th poll and facilitate a deal between Zanu-PF and the breakaway faction has backfired. Yet another new 'on the ground' development has occurred with the main MDC's candidate for speaker of parliament Lovemore Moyo being elected into that position, apparently with some support from a few Zanu-PF members of parliament. This could well open up renewed deep divisions within Zanu-PF. The lesson to take from these latest Zimbabwean developments is that the outcome of any variant of 'quiet diplomacy' in a situation like Zimbabwe is likely to be contingent on a dynamic situation wherein the 'balance of forces' on the ground begin to shift in a manner that allows for diplomatic intervention to break log-jams sufficiently to further a momentum of change with unpredictable consequences that may or may not move stalemates toward a conclusion. Thus the verdict of 'quiet diplomacy's' efficacy in Zimbabwe is still out other than the observation that can be made that such a diplomatic intervention strategy is not one guaranteed to deliver quick solutions. And indeed some situations like Zimbabwe's crisis are not about to lend themselves to quick fixes in any case. Hence a corollary lesson of 'quiet diplomacy' in such a situation is the requirement of patience and endurance to see such a protracted scenario through to whatever conclusion it leads to and in the process, take

advantage of opportunities to direct where the process goes in hope of arriving at a credible, internationally accepted accommodation.

Finally, the fact that SADC and the AU have deferred to South Africa to take the lead in resolving the crisis in Zimbabwe is testimony to the realist acknowledgement that South Africa enjoys a 'sphere of influence' such that with its status as the hegemon of Southern Africa, Tshwane-Pretoria is the only actor that can credibly navigate a solution to Zimbabwe's crisis. This has not prevented Mugabe and Zanu-PF and the military junta in the JOC from trying to outmanoeuvre both Mbeki as well as their MDC opponents. Undoubtedly part of Mbeki's frustrations has been the fact that he has constantly been subject to such humiliation from Mugabe and Zanu-PF. On the other hand, the fact that he and his negotiating team influenced by South Africa's own domestic politics and an aversion to seeing liberation movement regimes ousted from power, have not been enthusiastic about Tsvangirai's prospects of becoming Zimbabwe's head-of-state has also feed into Mugabe's manipulation. But the interplay between the dynamics 'on the ground' in Zimbabwe and how those dynamics are shifting the 'balance of forces' underlines the ultimate lesson that no amount of politico-diplomatic intervention short of the Lesotho military option will bring things to a head unless the people themselves 'on the ground' are ready, capable and willing to take their own initiatives in their own interest in resolving their crises whatever they may be. In that sense Mbeki's simple refrain that only the people of Zimbabwe can resolve their own problems is being proven correct by the unfolding of events. In this vein South Africa's 'quiet diplomacy' plays the role of facilitator which, apart from crisis management, has been about all that South Africa could perform in its intervention.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

CONCLUSION

At the time of submitting this thesis (September 2013), much has taken place in South Africa's foreign policy towards Africa. The era of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki covered by the thesis, i.e. 1994 – 2008, remains a subject of great interest in the academic arena. It is also a highly contested period of South Africa's foreign policy commonly referred as the 'golden period of the country's foreign policy'). Mandela and Mbeki played a critical role in the formulation and definition of the country's national role conceptions. It was under these leaders that 'human rights became the cornerstone' of South Africa's foreign policy. South Africa's foreign policy under their leadership became more predictable and orientated towards Africa and the Global South.

Mbeki was unseated by Jacob Zuma as the President of the ruling party ANC in December 2007 and recalled as the President of the country in August 2008. In no little amount of irony, on the heels of the former President's presiding over the signing ceremony of a precarious political settlement in Zimbabwe in 2008, Mbeki was ousted amidst ongoing political tension at the time within the ruling African National Congress (ANC). Against this backdrop it is important to reflect on South Africa's post-apartheid Africa policy over the past nineteen years of freedom and democracy. It has been aptly characterised as a 'learning to lead' apprenticeship during a period of 'trial and error' experimentation. This characterisation attempts to capture the sometimes contradictory mix of idealism and pragmatic realism that Pretoria has sought to balance in navigating a series of fine lines. The reality of the natural regional hegemon that it is in African and especially Southern African context, its past as regional destabiliser along with its early projection of itself as champion of human rights on

the one hand, champion of an Afro-centric South-South solidarity commitment on the other as well as bridge between North and South.

The contradictions emerging from this set of priorities has formed the backdrop of the case-studies in South Africa's pursuit of the peace and security dimension of its renaissance African Agenda in Lesotho, the Great Lakes conundrums involving the stabilising of the DRC and Burundi and the pursuit of a negotiated power sharing deal aimed at resolving Zimbabwe's political stalemate and economic meltdown. At least during the immediate post-apartheid aftermath, South Africa enjoyed such a 'high moral ground' of international standing as a 'miracle' transition to democracy, that it approached its increasingly pronounced African commitment with very high initial expectations regarding its capacity to work its will in conflict-ridden areas of the continent. This would be a reflection of the natural leadership that much of the world and the West in particular assumed it would fulfil. In so doing, South Africa would in a sense take on burden-sharing division of between itself and the West. South Africa was therefore seen as a point of reference on matters of peace and security by most developed countries.

At the same time as these high expectations were influencing international perceptions of South Africa, the new post-apartheid political leadership had to come to terms with a number of mitigating realities that would increasingly prove to be constraints as it navigated its way through the politico-diplomatic landmines of the African continent. The incoming successor elite to the National Party (NP) regime was after all an untried and untested leadership in the fine arts of governance and statecraft in spite of the fact of the newly ruling ANC being the oldest African nationalist movement on the continent. Moreover, as Pretoria under the founding administration of Nelson Mandela's Government of National Unity (GNU) sought to navigate its way into its leadership niche on the continent, it was faced with the urgent need of integrating South Africa into the inter-African system as another independent African

nation-state on a continent of jealously sovereign post-colonial governments that were increasingly ambivalent about the 'new' South Africa.

This ambivalence was particularly pronounced during the Mandela period when South African foreign policy overall had yet to jell into its Afro-centric identity that it would assume under the administration of former ANC leader Thabo Mbeki. South Africa during this period projected a universal progressive internationalism that paid tribute to countries that had supported the liberation movement in the spirit of Third World solidarity while projecting a human rights liberalism accompanied by a penchant for being drawn into mediating other conflicts in different parts of the world. An example being East Timor in its struggle against Indonesia, Northern Ireland and the Israel-Palestinian conflict as well as increasingly a raft of African conflicts in need of conflict resolution in the Great Lakes and elsewhere.

It took being brought up short in the Nigerian political crisis presented by the brutal Sani Abacha military regime to begin bringing the Mandela government 'down-to-earth' as to the limits of its leadership potential on an African continent that demanded a certain protocol of protectionism among the African heads-of-state leadership club comprising the OAU. President Mandela discovered a much steeper 'learning curve' in the diplomatic politics of inter-African relations than originally anticipated as the Abacha transgressions were so egregious that it would have appeared that much of the rest of Africa's leaders would have lined up behind him in his denunciation of the Nigerian junta. Yet, Mandela found himself out on a limb. This experience had to have made an indelible impact on his understudy, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as the latter moved toward the articulation of an African Renaissance vision aimed at accelerating South Africa's integration into the continent as champion of its renewal. It is against this backdrop that South Africa's military intervention into the troubled Kingdom of Lesotho unfolded under the aegis of the South Africa-

Botswana-Zimbabwean 'troika' that foreshadowed the eventual Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) establishment of its OPDSC dimension, but not before another confrontation ensued between Mandela and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe over differing strategies to be employed in the resumption of conflict in the DRC.

Apart from the fact that Mandela objected to the military counter-intervention of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola in the DRC in of a negotiated process that would lead to the withdrawal of Ugandan and Rwandan troops and their rebel proxies. Mandela opposed Mugabe's NATO model for a prospective SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation – the current OPDSC – in of a model that would remain under the SADC Summit and accountable to it, a position that ultimately won out over Mugabe's Southern African 'NATO'. But this political tug-of-war further heightened tensions between South Africa and Zimbabwe and Harare's allies in Windhoek and Luanda which would ultimately carry over into South Africa's controversial politico-diplomatic intervention in Zimbabwe's crisis under the rubric of Quiet Diplomacy.

It is against this background that this thesis has sought to analyse South Africa's 'rights of passage' into continental leadership in terms of its performance in Lesotho, the Great Lakes crises of DRC and Burundi and in Zimbabwe. As such, it can be concluded that South Africa defies neat categorization within the theoretical framework of such constructs as 'regional hegemon,' 'middle power,' 'pivotal state' and purveyor of 'soft power' vis-à-vis its identity as an African 'great power' on the one hand, and in terms of its role in the international system on the other. These considerations pertain to how we characterise South Africa in its African and broader international context and whether or not these different contexts reinforce or detract from how South Africa's niche is interpreted.

As South Africa has navigated its stage of learning to lead, it has exhibited a mix of characteristics in consonance with several of these conceptual paradigms. The role of 'regional hegemon' in the case of its Lesotho intervention, as regionally-based 'middle power' in assuming lead conflict resolution and political mediation roles in African conflict and post-conflict situations while limiting external intervention. However, South Africa as an African hegemonic power and a 'pivotal state' played a critical role in mediating conflicts, strengthening democracy and bringing peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo Lesotho, Burundi and Zimbabwe. Put another way, South Africa's role in Africa and vis-à-vis the continent and the international community is a multi-dimensional. In paradigmatic theoretical terms, its engagement in the case-studies explored in this thesis; all from South Africa's perspective as articulated by former President Mbeki and his lieutenants, rationalised under the vision of an African Renaissance wherein ending Africa's conflicts and promoting post-conflict recovery and stabilisation were deemed pre-conditional imperatives to the continent's economic developmental momentum.

As South Africa has navigated this policy expression of Mbeki's Africa vision, there were at least two problematic areas of implementation that this policy has encountered based on the nature of the specific African conflict resolution/mediation in question. There was an external dimension having to do with how South Africa's diplomacy in specific African conflict resolution and mediation instances has either converged or diverged with the Great Power interests of the West and of non-Western and/or emerging state actors like China. Then there was an internal dimension having to do with the extent to which South Africa's leaders have cultivated a supportive domestic constituency for its Africa policy and commitments and how domestic contradictions have complicated Pretoria's African agenda. This latter concern has been of particular importance in the case of Zimbabwe as reflected in controversy surrounding Mbeki's Quiet Diplomacy strategy of engaging Zanu-PF and the MDC. Another

dimension of this has been reflected in the explosive magnitude of xenophobic violence unleashed in South Africa's townships during May and June of 2008; violence on such a scale that caused a mass exodus scramble by non-South African Africans to leave South Africa. Further compounding South Africa's dilemmas has been Western ambivalence encountered by Pretoria regarding its politico-diplomatic approach to priority items on its African agenda such as Zimbabwe.

As a 'middle power' within Africa, South Africa has emerged as the international community's foremost 'pivotal state' in addressing Africa's challenges, including the continent's conflicts. In deference to the dictum of 'African solutions to African problems,' there has been a natural inclination for the US and its European allies to defer to South Africa in conjunction with other key African powers like Nigeria or the AU, to take the lead in trying to resolve conflicts or political stalemates on the continent. The problem however was that within the larger global geopolitical context, South Africa's approach to resolving African problems has not always been in synch with Western priorities. South Africa's approach to the situations cited in this thesis have sometimes converged with and at other times diverged from the interests of the West. The tensions that have flowed from this convergence-divergence context in South Africa's external relations in regard to its approach to African crises reflected a very fundamental principle in South African foreign policy under an ANC government: they were a 'middle power' and 'pivotal state' it may be within the larger global context of interacting with the Great Powers, South Africa refuses to adopt a 'sub-imperial' role as a regional power doing the West's bidding in Africa.

The liberation movement heritage of the ANC and its alliance partners grounded in the global 'Third World' struggle against Western imperialism has entrenched within the ANC an anti-imperialist reflex that guarded against South Africa being perceived as a 'pro-Western' or 'pro-US' proxy for their various Great Power agendas on the continent. To do otherwise

would, among other things, undermine South Africa's objective of integrating its identity into the larger fabric of inter-African relations in a manner that would allay suspicions (rightly or wrongly held) that South Africa's power on the continent was deployed at the service of Western as opposed to African interests. South Africa's leaders were and have been acutely aware of the extent to which the country's interests converge with or diverge from Western interests. Given South Africa's domestic and external interests and imperatives, pragmatism dictates that it not over-do an approach to its international relations where it diverges with the West for the sake of it less convergence be misinterpreted as actually aligning with the West. South Africa's governing elites defined their own national role conceptions within these contexts.

Convergence after all does not reflect a complete identity of interests. From the West's vantage point, staying out of African crises as much as possible was much preferred to being drawn into such predicaments. France may be an exception as there were instances when it has complicated Mbeki's mediation efforts in the Cote d'Ivoire situation where Paris' vested interest in maintaining its 'sphere of influence' has been of paramount importance. Otherwise South Africa's political, diplomatic and military in Lesotho and in the Great Lakes have been non-controversial instances of convergence of interests between South Africa and the West. The West, however, has been very ambivalent about South Africa's Quiet Diplomacy in regard to Zimbabwe; a situation where there has been a clear divergence of interests between the punitive approach of the US and EU and South Africa's emphasis on non-punitive engagement; emphasising diplomacy and negotiation irrespective of set-backs due to the internal dynamics of Zimbabwean politics which South Africa refused to try to exert any kind of coercive influence over.

The Zimbabwean case of South African divergence has tended to reinforce a larger picture of South African convergence if not alignment with such non-Western 'emerging' powers as

China in a Western 'threat perception' of competition with Beijing for influence and even external hegemony on the continent. Thus South Africa's stance on Zimbabwe has been seen as one of a piece with South Africa's alignment with Russia as well as China in their UN Security Council vetoes over sanctions against Sudan, Myanmar and Iran while Beijing and Moscow have similarly backed Pretoria up on its resistance to more intrusive prospects of Western involvement on the issue of Zimbabwe. South Africa's objective was to place limits on Western politico-diplomatic intervention in the continent, especially in its Southern African where issues of economic autonomy arise where a return of Western imperialism,' may appear to be facilitated by the West's attempts to influence events such as in the case of arriving at a Zimbabwean settlement. Still, there are limits to what South African politico-diplomatic strategy aimed at shielding Zimbabwe from Western intrusion could be accomplished as was reflected on the conditionalities of recovery aid and investment pending the MDC being assured of a meaningful share of power in the prospective unity government arrived at under Mbeki's mediation.

For an African Renaissance to be credible Africa must be able to dictate its own fate, meaning it must be able to manage and place limits on external 'interference' in the continent's affairs. This underlines the importance of the convergence-divergence dichotomy as a framework for analysing how South Africa's role as a pivotal 'middle power' vis-à-vis the rest of Africa and non-African external actors plays out in various case-studies and situations. Having explored this dimension the question becomes, how does this diplomacy and extent of engagement in the continent play out in the South African domestic context? This was especially pressing given Thabo Mbeki's exit from the scene as South Africa's President amid a continuing range of commitments Pretoria had underway in the rest of Africa, including all the countries focused on in this thesis. There was already a growing concern as to whether or

not the renaissance will continue post-Mbeki even though this was a policy embedded in successive national congress resolutions of the ANC and its alliance partners.

In other words the primary constituency for South Africa's exercise of leadership in Africa was the ANC itself and the Tripartite Alliance. Although the extent to which the ANC and its alliance partners become actively involved in the African agenda had much to do with their specific interests in the rest of the continent. Closer to home, in Southern Africa, there has been a growing ANC-Tripartite Alliance interest and involvement in less indulgent settlement diplomacy in Zimbabwe with regard to Zanu-PF with COSATU enjoying a close alliance with the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in opposition to continued Zanu-PF rule. Similar interests animate the Tripartite Alliance – especially COSATU's – interest in the democratisation of Swaziland. Nevertheless, apart from these instances, there was concern about the staying power of South Africa's level of engagement and commitment on the continent now that Mbeki was no longer President. Thus the new Defence Minister (and former Minister for Safety & Security) Charles Nqakula was at pains to stress Pretoria's unchanging commitment to the DRC's post-conflict recovery.

When Nqakula handed over the first of three battalions that the Defence Department trained in terms of an agreement between South Africa and the DRC, he made the following comment: "Although this was a difficult time for everyone in our country, the changes proved that our democracy has matured over the past 14 years," while assuring that "the South African government will continue to honour its obligations in respect of the bilateral and trilateral commitments," stressing the Congo's "strategic importance" to South Africa.[467] Still questions abound given the xenophobic violence against African immigrants by impoverished South Africans in urban townships and settlements that exploded all over the country in May and June of 2008.

[467] "Nqakula Reassures Congo of Continuing Support." *Business Day* 6 October 2008: 3.

A situation reflecting a disconnect between South Africa's external African agenda in the continent and its urgent need to close the widening gap between rich and poor in South Africa; the fact that even though there has been a burgeoning black middle class, there was also an expanding black under-class not benefiting from the fruits of South Africa's transition to democracy. This was a state of affairs that also raised questions about how effective South Africa's leadership in the rest of the continent was if South Africa and South Africans are not tangibly benefiting from the fruits of its diplomacy, especially in such a resource-rich mega-state as the DRC. For all the effectiveness and commitment shown by South Africa's diplomacy of conflict resolution and mediation in the continent, where, some ask was the economic diplomacy to go along with such interventions to ensure that South Africa benefits. To what extent was the African Renaissance satisfying the national interests? The answer to this question and how it could be answered in the years to come may well contain the final verdict on the legacy of Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in their guidance of South Africa's 'learning to lead' as an African power and the extent of continuity in Pretoria's engagement in the continent.

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