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University of the Witwatersrand

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Faculty of Humanities

Analysing and tracking the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy in the democratic era through parliamentary debate.

MA Research Report

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Signature:  Date: 09/07/2020

Table of Contents

Abstract

List of Abbreviations

Introduction **6**

Research Motivation 8

Literature Review **11**

Analytical Framework and Methodology **18**

Analytical Framework 18

Methodology 20

Analytical Limitations 26

Geographic Analysis **29**

Geo-political Analysis 29

Global Analysis 31

Regional Analysis 33

Sub-regional Analysis 36

States Analysis 38

Word Frequency Analysis **63**

Sentiment Analysis 64

Word Cloud Analysis 65

Bag-of-Words Analysis 68

Political Party Analysis **73**

Sentiment Analysis 74

Bag-of-Words Analysis 76

Conclusion **80**

Appendix **84**

Reference List **86**

Abstract

The year 1994 marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa as the country became a democracy, stepping out of the international isolation that dogged the Apartheid government. The question must therefore be asked what evolution has South Africa's foreign policy undertaken over the first 25 years of South Africa's democracy and what changes have occurred? Data analysis through the use of text mining will be done on the budget vote speeches delivered by the South African ministers of foreign affairs/international relations to the South African parliament and the subsequent participation of political parties in the budget vote debate. This analysis will be conducted through a geo-political study of the data, sentiment analysis and a thematic analysis in order to track evolution of South Africa's foreign policy for the period 1994-2018.

List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress	**IFP**	Inkatha Freedom Party
AU	African Union	**IGO**	Intergovernmental Organisation
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China	**IMF**	International Monetary Fund
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa	**IORA**	Indian Ocean Rim Association
CAR	Central African Republic	**MP**	Member of Parliament
DA	Democratic Alliance	**NAM**	Non-Aligned Movement
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Co-Operation	**NP**	National Party
DP	Democratic Party	**OAU**	Organisation of African Unity
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo	**PAP**	Pan-African Parliament
DTM	Document Term Matrix	**SADC**	Southern African Development Community
EU	European Union	**SANDF**	South African National Defence Force
G20	Group of 20	**UN**	United Nations
GNU	Government of National Unity	**USA**	United States of America
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency	**WTO**	World Trade Organisation
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa		

Chapter 1: Introduction

The year 1994 marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa as the country became a democracy, stepping out of the international isolation that dogged the Apartheid government. As a result, 1994 is often seen as a watershed moment in South Africa's foreign policy, as the country embarked on a new foreign policy outlook. As the South African democratic era is only in its third decade, the country's approach to the international stage is still a new one.

The question must therefore be asked what evolution has South Africa's foreign policy undertaken over the first 25 years of South Africa's democracy and what changes have occurred? As the country's democracy is young, its foreign policy is more likely to be subject to changes particularly in regards to areas South Africa looks to prioritise and the relationships it wishes to cultivate. The Department of Foreign Policy/ Department of International Relations and Co-Operation (DIRCO) is the primary driver of the South African state's foreign policy from a government perspective and it is therefore an influential entity when it comes to the formulation and implementation of South Africa's foreign policy. While the implementation of foreign policy is done through the government, a foreign policy is representative of the state as a whole and not just the government. Foreign policy must therefore look to engage all areas of civil society as well as opposition political parties in its formation and policies.

Thus, the question posed by this research report is; What is the major focus, themes and overall objectives of South Africa's foreign policy and has there been any significant changes in these areas between the different administrations and ministers in the democratic era from 1994-2018? And how much do political parities' foreign policies vary and differ from each other and that of the state? In addition, a hypothesis must be expressed in regards to the research question. The hypothesis for this research report is; that changes have occurred in South Africa's foreign policy as it has evolved during the democratic era. It is also hypothesised that the governing party, the African National Congress (ANC) will have a foreign policy that is most similar to that of the states, but that positions of political parties in the opposition will vary from the state's foreign policy.

This research report aims to track the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy by looking at the budget vote speeches delivered by minister of foreign affairs and members of parliament (MPs) who participate in the debate. By looking at the speeches delivered by ministers this will allow for the analysis of changes in focus of South Africa's foreign policy from a

government perspective. The aim of this research report is likewise to compare and contrast the foreign policy positions of South Africa's political parties in order to determine where and how they differ from the government's foreign policy. This will allow for an assessment of how South Africa's foreign policy would change if and when different political parties come into power in South Africa and comment on whether or not the governments' foreign policy is reflective of a broad range of interest groups or a narrow range of interests.

In addition, the aim of this research report will be to illustrate the use of data science techniques in the study of international relations and analysis of foreign policy. More specifically in this research report the aim will be to illustrate the contributions that text-mining can make in analysing foreign policy documents and drawing out information that would be difficult to extract from reading the documents. This report thus aims to extract information from the text documents, the budget vote debates, and produce visuals of the data extracted in order to showcase the contributes of text-mining can make to the study and understanding of foreign policy documents.

The budget vote speeches of the international relations ministers are a body of work that has not been greatly studied despite being an outline of the international relations departments' key priorities for the upcoming year. As a result, it is the budget vote speeches that have been chosen as the basis for this research report and the key material that will be used to track the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy in the democratic era. The budget vote speeches, and more broadly the budget vote debates, serve as an opportunity for parliamentary discussion around government departments plans, priorities and targets for the upcoming year as well as an evaluation of the departments performance in the previous year. Parliament then votes to either support or reject the department's budget. As these debates take place in parliamentary sessions and are therefore open to the public, they also serve as an opportunity to inform the South African public of the way in which the department will serve the people and the manner in which public money is spent (PMG. 2018).

The manner in which the budget votes will be analysed will be to make use of text-mining. Text mining will be used in order to illustrate the potential role and value that data science, and more specifically text mining, has the capacity to play in the study of international relations and foreign affairs. Text mining is a form of automated computer processing whereby the unstructured nature of language and text is transformed into structured data (Guerreiro, Rita and Trigueiros. 2016). Text mining therefore allows text documents, such as the budget vote

speeches, to be analysed in a statistical manner to draw out more information than might be obtained from reading the documents. Text mining helps to draw out the frequency of words used, or clusters of words used and helps in analysing the sentiment used in the documents, thus producing a more in depth understanding of the texts (Aggarwal and Zhai. 2012).

The work done on the budget vote speeches and debates will be divided into two different dimensions. The first dimension will be to look at the geographical aspects of the speeches delivered by the ministers, such as the number of times countries are mentioned and the focusses placed on international and regional organisations relevant to foreign policy. The second dimension that will be looked at is the comparison between words placed in a peace/security cluster and words placed in an economic cluster. This comparison will be conducted in order to determine if ministers placed a greater emphasis on issues relating to peace and security or matters relating to the economy and trade. Political parties contributions to the budget vote debates will also be analysed, however, this analysis will be restricted to data relating to the second dimension of the data analysis.

This analysis will be done in order to determine the changes that have taken place in South Africa's foreign policy in the democratic era and when they changes occurred. A study of ministers speeches would serve to enhance the understanding of South Africa's foreign policy and the way in which South Africa represents its foreign policy to the South African people and the rest of the world through parliament. This research report will further serve to enhance the existing body of work around the study of South Africa's foreign policy by analysing a body of work, the budget vote speeches, that has not be widely studied.

Research Motivation

While a great deal of work is dedicated to studying South African foreign policy, not much attention is paid to the department of foreign affairs/DIRCO's budget vote speeches in parliament. The budget votes take place annually and are the official avenue in which ministers and the department outline how they plan to spend their budget in the year ahead, in addition to outlining the major focuses of South Africa's foreign policy at the current time. The budget votes are therefore important in determining the path that South Africa's foreign policy will take in the year ahead. However, there is little to no scholarly works on the budget votes and the ministers speeches are not a focus of much attention in terms of journal articles. Therefore, the limitations exist in regards to the amount of work available that relates to the budget vote

speeches. There is thus not a lot of information to draw upon for this research report in regards to the impact that the budget votes might have on the expectations of the state's foreign policy in the coming year.

As South Africa is a parliamentary democracy, the role of parliament in governing and law making in South Africa is an important one. Parliament also serves as an important mechanism for oversight of the actions of the executive, ministers and government departments. Ministers, when delivering their budget vote speeches, need the support of the House in order to proceed with the business of their department in the coming year. It is therefore important that Ministers give a detailed outline of the direction their departments will take in the year ahead in order for their budgets to be approved. The budget vote speeches of the Ministers for International Relations and Co-Operation are therefore significant speeches that outline and detail South Africa's foreign policy in the year ahead and are thus important documents when it comes to outlining South Africa's approach to foreign policy. In addition, while parliament cannot force ministers and MPs to be truthful, what is said in parliament is on record and members are therefore accountable for what they say in the House. Therefore, while there is no assurance that the speeches delivered by the ministers and those participating in the debate are completely accurate, as there are repercussions for lying, this increases the likelihood that what is presented to parliament is an accurate representation of South Africa's foreign policy.

As there is not a large body that exists around the budget vote on South Africa's foreign policy, there is a gap in knowledge around what exactly the budget votes contribute towards the understanding of South African foreign policy. As this research report will focus on the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy through the budget votes in the democratic era, it will make a contribution towards addressing that gap in knowledge. This research report will, through the study of the foreign policy budget vote speeches and debates, look to contribute to the discussion on the changes that have occurred to South Africa's foreign policy by looking into an area that has been largely ignored by scholars of South Africa's foreign policy. In addition, this research report will also look at the foreign policy of political parties whose foreign policies are often not the topic of much debate. This research report will therefore make a contribution to the broader understanding South Africa's foreign policy from the voices of political parties by looking at the different approaches to foreign policy amongst South African political parties as compared with each other and the state.

While limitations exist in so much as there is little to no work done on the budget votes, and therefore there is little to no prior knowledge to draw upon, by studying each of the budget votes of the democratic era in detail, these limitations may not be an issue. By using text-mining to analyse the budget vote speeches, more information can be drawn from the speeches. As a result a more in-depth analysis can be done on South Africa's foreign policy using an area of foreign policy that is not the subject of a great deal of attention. By analysing the speeches themselves this circumvents the lack of existing research done on the speeches as the focus of the research report will be to create a primary source of data for analysis.

The structure for the remainder of this research report is as follows; chapter 2 is a literature review looking into the existing texts surrounding South Africa's foreign policy, chapter 3 is the analytical framework, and the methodology which includes a breakdown of the data being used. Chapter 4 is a geographical analysis of the data, which is broken down into global, regional and sub-regional spheres of analysis. In chapter 5, a thematic analysis can be found, which been done on the budget vote speeches delivered by the ministers. Chapter 6 consists of the same thematic analysis, however, in chapter 6 the analysis is done on the speeches delivered members of political parties. Finally, chapter 7 will serve as the conclusion of this research report.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

As this research report looks to track the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy, its main focuses and if any changes can be found, there already exists a large body of work on this subject. An important article in regards to understanding South Africa's foreign policy is one that appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, in 1993, attributed to Nelson Mandela. While the article is published with Nelson Mandela as the author, this article was not written by him. The article was written by Peter Vale, not Mandela, however, the ANC approved the article and allowed Mandela to be named as the author so that the principles of the article would be associated with Mandela (Graham. 2012). While the article many not have been written by Mandela himself there was still a desire on the part of the ANC for the article to be associated with Mandela and the ANC and as such the *Foreign Affairs* article is still an important article in understanding South Africa's foreign policy.

While the *Foreign Affairs* article was not written by Mandela, as he is published as the author, this research report will continue to cite him as the author. The *Foreign Affairs* article lays out the future presidents' vision, and by extension that of the ANC, of the principles and aims of any future foreign policy in the post-Apartheid era. Mandela (1993) explained that South Africa would have to forge a new path in the international community and out of the isolation that Apartheid South Africa found itself in. This suggests that South Africa would essentially be starting again in regards to foreign policy, as it did not inherit anything from the Apartheid government that the ANC and Mandela believed was in line with the new principles of a democratic South Africa (Mandela. 1993).

The Mandela article outlines what these core principles of South Africa's new foreign policy will be; namely that human rights and issues around human rights will be at the centre of South Africa's foreign policy, Africa and African issues and interests should be reflected in South Africa's foreign policy, the promotion of democracy around the world, respect for international law, peaceful solutions to conflicts and multilateralism, both regionally and internationally. In addition, South Africa should look to promote diversity around the world in pursuit of a world society that is inclusive of all people (Mandela. 1993). This Mandela article is an important and influential document in the formation of South Africa's foreign policy as it forms the cornerstone of South Africa's foreign policy and what South Africa hopes to achieve on the international stage. Mandela (1993) provides an understanding of the future of South Africa's

foreign policy while also distancing the ANC and the new, democratic South Africa from the foreign policy of the Apartheid government.

Siko (2014) also notes that a lack of interest in foreign policy both from ANC officials and from the South African public, who were more engaged with domestic affairs, resulted in less debate around the formation of South Africa's foreign policy. The formation of the ANC's foreign policy is significant to the formation to South Africa's foreign policy, as Siko (2014) suggests that there is a blurring of the lines between ANC structures and states structures. Within the ANC, structures created for foreign policy discussion had limited access to resources resulting in a limited ability to carry out tasks and hindering debate within the party. The ANC did make attempts to engage members in the lower levels of the party, however, this opportunity was not taken by these structures. As a result, discussions around foreign policy within the ANC, during the Mandela and Mbeki years, was limited to the upper echelons of the party, thus rendering foreign policy being formulated by the elites of the party (Siko. 2014). However, Siko (2014) notes that while there is limited discussion on foreign policy within the ANC, this is not due to a hindering of wider participation but rather a lack of interest and as such the formulation of ANC foreign policy by elites is by consent.

The positions outlined in the Mandela article (1993) on South Africa entering into a new foreign policy are shared by Cooper (1998) in so much as the end of Apartheid, and a drastic change in domestic politics, policies and interests meant that South Africa would essentially have to embark on a restructured foreign policy. The difficulty that has arisen however, is the need to balance South Africa's foreign policy and the avenues available to South Africa on the international stage with domestic pressures. This has resulted in South African foreign policy adopting "multiple faces" while trying to find its place in the international community (Cooper. 1998). When South Africa re-emerged on the international stage as a democracy, Pretoria very much tried to position itself as a model global citizen that adopted global norms and practices according to Cooper (1998). Simultaneously, South Africa needed to grow its economy and find its place in the international economy, while adopting the norms of the global economy and multilateral organisations, further distinguishing the new South Africa from the old. However, domestic forces did not allow for such compliance with multilateral organisations, especially with calls for the nationalisation of the mines and for the state to play an active role in the economy. This has made it hard for South Africa to carry out the utilitarian foreign policy it hopes too and has thus seen South Africa contradict itself on the international stage resulting in the country's foreign policy having "multiple faces" (Cooper. 1998).

It is also argued that South Africa has struggled to put into practice its core principles. However, it is not through a lack of trying that a gap exists between action and principle according to Barber (2005). The ANC government adopted an approach to foreign policy that is idealistic and have therefore found it hard to operate in a not ideal world, thus producing a gap between principle and approach. This has resulted in South African foreign policy often falling short of expectations and lacking in strong principles (Barber. 2005). Barber (2005) therefore makes an argument that is not too dissimilar to that of Cooper (1998) in that South Africa, while wanting to be a model global citizen, has found it hard to translate that desire into a consistent foreign policy due to the realities South Africa finds itself facing.

The "multiple faces" of South African foreign policy is similar to the thinking of other scholars. The time when inconsistencies were most apparent was during the Mandela presidency according to Nathan (2005). Nathan (2005), similar to Cooper (1998), attributes these inconsistencies to the fact that South Africa was a new democracy and the government's attention was drawn more to the domestic issues of the country rather than towards the construction of a strong consistent foreign policy. As a result, South Africa's foreign policy is criticized as one that changes with the wind and is often forced to adapt to the current situation, rather than a policy being guided by principles. However, Nathan (2005) makes the argument that during the Mbeki presidency Pretoria was able to produce a consolidated foreign policy. However, it is acknowledged that contradictions continue to exist in South Africa's foreign policy which has a detrimental effect on the country's standing on the international stage (Nathan. 2005).

A degree of leeway was given to President Mandela and foreign affairs minister Alfred Nzo in regards to the inconsistencies that arose in South Africa's foreign policy given that democratic South Africa's foreign policy was still in its infancy. South Africa's foreign policy was not always met with enthusiasm as the country attempted to find its footing on the continent. While South Africa championed the multilateral approach to dealing with issues, Vale and Maseko (1998) highlight the mostly unilateral actions that South Africa took in regards to Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during the Mandela presidency. The peace initiative by Pretoria in regards to the DRC was conducted unilaterally by Pretoria and was unclear in its objectives and preferred outcomes. In addition, Pretoria's call for sanctions on Nigeria and the Abacha regime were labelled "unafrican" (Vale and Maseko. 1998).

Crawford (1995) points to the potential that South Africa can play as a military power on the African continent in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. The Mandela government inherited a large, well trained and equipped military with the South African military being one of the strongest on the continent. This has seen South Africa being willing participants in peacekeeping operations in Africa in the 1990's, with involvement in Mozambique and Angola as well as more independent involvement in Lesotho. This means South Africa has the prerequisite military capabilities to play a major role in interventions in African conflicts (Crawford. 1995). This would allow South Africa to pursue its agenda of assisting in conflict resolution in Africa, ensuring that Africa is able to deal with its own issues and creating conditions that allow for development and stability on the continent. However, Evans (1996) argues that while the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) may be one of the strongest in Africa, failures in the 1980's and issues facing the SANDF in the 1990's has hindered South Africa's ability to utilise its military as a peacekeeping force resulting in South Africa favouring diplomacy and negotiations over military intervention (Evans. 1996).

Mbeki's adoption of the vision for an African Renaissance had a large effect on South Africa's foreign policy and was a defining concept of Mbeki's administration. The idea of the African Renaissance is that of a united continent which is developing under neo-liberal principles as understood by Taylor and Williams (2001). Bongmba (2004) has a similar understanding of the African Renaissance in which Mbeki hopes to bring about social, cultural and economic growth and change on the African continent. It is also argued that Mbeki hoped to change the global perception of Africa, challenging the idea that Africa is a war torn continent with little potential for growth. Instead, Mbeki hoped that an African Renaissance would show the rest of the world Africa's potential for growth, democracy, sustainability and peace. Mbeki called for an end to tyranny in Africa and the implementation of democracies on the continent. In addition, the international community was called on to invest in Africa rather than give aid and charity as the former would drive growth and sustainability instead of dependency. It was this approach of the African Renaissance that formed the cornerstone of the Mbeki administration's foreign policy (Bongmba. 2004).

However, the African Renaissance cannot prosper when wars continue to persist in Africa. Taylor and Williams (2001) place expectations on South Africa to play an active role in conflict resolution given that South Africa could be considered a superpower on the continent and without whose input it cannot be expected that the necessary conditions for the African Renaissance can exist. Writing in 2001, Taylor and Williams argue that South Africa needs to

play an active role in conflict resolution in the DRC's civil war, with South Africa favouring diplomacy over military intervention. However, Pretoria is criticised for its approach to the conflict, as Taylor and Williams (2001) believe that South Africa exhibited a lack of understanding of the nature of the conflict and would therefore find it difficult to negotiate an end to the conflict. South Africa also faced questions about their neutrality in the conflict resulting in tensions and divisions in SADC. Pretoria's willingness to use force in Lesotho but not in the DRC was also seen as contradictory and inconsistent by other SADC members. This illustrates that South Africa faces difficulties in implementing its own foreign policy agenda of the African Renaissance and that South Africa has found that limits exist to its power and influence in Africa (Taylor and Williams. 2001).

The stance that South Africa took in regards to Sudan and Darfur were criticised by the international community as South Africa turning its back on its core value of protection and promotion of human rights. However, Nathan (2011) argues that South Africa's attempts to block sanctions being imposed on Sudan and Zimbabwe can be viewed not as South Africa allowing human rights abuses to go unpunished, but rather through the lens of the African renaissance. The Mbeki administration favoured quiet diplomacy over the use of force or any extreme measures and this is helpful in explaining South Africa's stance on Darfur where Pretoria was accused of appeasing Sudan rather than taking action against the Sudanese government. However, Mbeki was of the opinion that quiet diplomacy would be more effective than public criticism and so South Africa took a softer stance on Bashir and his government with the intention of securing peace and stability in the state so that the African renaissance might flourish instead of sanctions and foreign involvement. It is also argued that South Africa chose to exhibit solidarity with another African country rather than siding with Western states. Nathan (2011) further argues that the stance of African solidarity points to an anti-imperial lens that South Africa views the global world order through and therefore saw South Africa side against sanctions on states such as Sudan and Zimbabwe (Nathan. 2011).

In regards to South Africa's desire to promote multilateralism and international co-operation, there was a clear change from the old South Africa into the new. South Africa quickly opened 124 missions around the world, a large increase from the 30 missions that existed at the end of Apartheid, widely growing South Africa's presence around the world. In addition, South Africa also became keen participants in global bodies such as the United Nations (UN), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the South African Development Community (SADC) and the Commonwealth. This likewise was a break from the previous dispensation, as Apartheid South

Africa was largely banned and/or expelled from international bodies (Barber. 2005). While the Government of National Unity was able to make strides in this regard, Nel, Taylor and van der Westhuizen (2000) argue that the reason behind South Africa's preference for multilateralism is because South Africa is what is termed a middle power. Cooper (1998) agrees with this assessment of South Africa's position in the global hierarchy, with middle power states opting for collaborative efforts because these states do not have enough power individually to influence the world order, but are still capable of playing significant roles. Therefore, middle power states attempt to enhance their power through collective means, with South Africa's support of multilateralism an attempt to enhance South Africa's power and the role it can play on the international stage (Nel, Taylor and van der Westhuizen. 2000).

Following the administrations of Mandela and Mbeki, Jacob Zuma became the next president of South Africa and went about forging a new path for South Africa. In an article written by Zuma for the *Harvard International Review* 2013, Zuma wrote that the Freedom Charter of 1955 played an important role in underpinning the path that South Africa's foreign policy takes. The Freedom Charter states that there should be "peace and friendship" in South Africa and Zuma explains that this goal should be extended to the rest of the world, reiterating South Africa's commitment to peace and conflict resolution around the world (Zuma. 2013). However, an argument is made that under president Zuma, South Africa has lost the moral authority it once held and thus fails the principles of the freedom charter.

Saunders (2014) argues that given a number of domestic issues surrounding the rise of Zuma to the presidency, such as the corruption charges that were once laid against him and the xenophobic attacks that occurred in 2008, Zuma and South Africa started to lose the moral authority and its voice as a leader on the African continent that it once enjoyed. The xenophobic attacks in particular saw South Africa lose goodwill amongst other African states given that the majority, if not all, of the attacks were carried out on foreign nationals from African countries. In addition to these issues, South Africa's actions in the disbanding of a SADC tribunal that ruled against Zimbabwe saw South Africa receive criticism from the tribunal's chief judge, who believed that South Africa was failing to lead and provide a moral guide to the other SADC nations (Saunders. 2014). However, while Saunders (2014) sees South Africa's actions as undermining to the country's moral authority and its powers as a leader in Southern Africa, and Africa in general, South Africa used its status as a leader on the continent in gaining membership of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China).

Matthee (2016) argues that under the leadership of Jacob Zuma South Africa has pivoted to the East, specifically towards China and Russia which is clearly manifested in South Africa's membership of BRICS. Saunders (2014) understands this pivot as South Africa positioning itself as a gateway to Africa as well as the leader on the African continent. However, this may only serve to increase tensions between South Africa and the rest of the continent as it can be viewed as South Africa giving itself increased importance on the continent. However, membership of BRICS may also be a result of trade, with China becoming more important to South Africa and as such South Africa's relationship with China takes on greater significance (Saunders. 2014). The increase of trade with China over the years coupled with China being South Africa's largest single trading partner is also cited as a reason for South Africa's pivot east by Matthee (2016).

While trade is an important aspect of relations with countries around the world, South Africa has come under criticism for the states it has cozied up to under president Zuma. In the BRICS group, both China and Russia have questionable human rights records and neither state can be considered to have strong democracies, despite the promotion and protection of human rights and democracy around the world being cornerstones of South Africa's foreign policy (Mpungose. 2018). The increase in trade with China and joining of the BRICS grouping is indicative of South Africa's shift away from the West. In the past during the Mandela and Mbeki presidencies there was a greater willingness to turn to the West for support. However, under the Zuma presidency, South Africa has shown a preference for the East over the West. This, according to Matthee (2016) illustrates South Africa's pivoting towards China and the East in its foreign affairs (Matthee. 2016).

Chapter 3: Analytical Framework and Methodology

Analytical Framework

This research report looks to track the evolution of South Africa's foreign policy through the parliamentary budget vote speeches delivered by the ministers of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the debate that follows the ministers' speeches. The speeches lay out the foreign policy for the year ahead, and while the department may have financial constraints, it is safe to assume that what is outlined in the speeches are the major priorities of the department in the year ahead. Each budget vote from 1994 to 2018 will be analysed in order to answer the research question on what significant changes have taken place in regards to South Africa's foreign policy, to track its evolution over the 25 year period and to compare and contrast the approach of the different political parties, all using the data science technique of text-mining.

With the major criticism of South Africa's foreign policy being that it is inconsistent this research report will look track the evolution of the foreign policy in order to determine what changes have occurred during the first 25 year period of South Africa's democracy. This will include an analysis of which countries ministers mention most often in their speeches which would suggest these countries hold a great deal of importance to South Africa. The same can be said of continents and regions most frequently referenced in the speeches. An analysis will also be done on what issues South Africa focuses on and whether South Africa's foreign policy leans more towards economic issues or issues of peace and conflict. By analysing these components of South Africa's foreign policy it will be possible to determine if any major changes in policy occur and if this evolution is in contrast to the professed core principles of South Africa's foreign policy. In addition, by analysing the contributions of the political parties in the debates at parliament this allows for a better understanding of domestic opinions of the direction of South Africa's foreign policy. While political parties do not represent the opinions of all spheres of South African society they do possess the ability to influence and change foreign policy.

The analysis done in this research report will be divided up into two dimensions of geographical and thematic work done on the data. The main component of the thematic dimension is done in the form of word frequencies. Word frequencies will be conducted on both the ministers speeches and the political party speeches. The initial word frequencies that will be done are in the form of word clouds which will show the most frequently used words by the ministers in

their speeches. The word frequencies will then be developed in order to extract certain words so that a comparison can be conducted. Words relating to peace and security will be extracted to form one cluster of words, while words relating to the economy and trade will be extracted to form a second cluster. These two clusters of words have been chosen as they form two important aspects of foreign policy namely, peace and economics. Peace and economic clusters were chosen for analysis in order to determine which aspect of South Africa's foreign policy is given greater attention by the ministers in their budget vote speeches and thereby help determine which is of greater focus of South Africa's foreign policy. The same analysis will be done on the speeches delivered by the political parties in order to make the same determinations.

In regards to the geographical dimension this will consist of analysis on the countries mentioned throughout the ministers' budget vote speeches, the number of times countries are mentioned as well as the number of Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) and the amount of times they are mentioned. The IGOs will be further divided up on an international, regional and sub-regional basis in order for analysis to be done on the data extracted from the speeches. The geographical work done on the data will only be done on the ministers speeches and not on the political parties contributions to the debates. This is because the main focus of this research report is South Africa's foreign policy and not the foreign policy of South African political parties.

In a democracy such as South Africa, parliament is an important structure for law making and public accountability. The budget votes require government departments to outline how their budgets will be spent in the coming year, what the department hopes to achieve with its budget as well as seek parliamentary approval of the budget. In these budget vote speeches, the Minister for International Relations outlines South Africa's foreign policy before parliament. This is because the departments function is foreign policy and the departments achievements are foreign policy in nature. The budget votes constitute a prominent discussion on South Africa's foreign policy by the ministers of the department and members of the parliamentary committee thereby making the budget vote speeches and debates an important source of material for understanding South Africa's foreign policy. It is for this reason that the DIRCO budget vote debates have been selected as the topic of this research report.

This focus of this research report is not an evaluation of theories of foreign policy and international relations, however, broadly speaking there are two theories that were used to

understand South Africa's foreign policy and international relations; realism and liberalism. Realism, which is the more popular of the two theories, understands the international arena as being characterised by anarchy. Anarchy exists as sovereign states do not recognise any entity as having authority over states, with international politics therefore becoming an arena where states compete for power against each other. As the international stage is inherently anarchic a states' security cannot be assured and as such states' must act in a way that will best ensure that states survival. A states' self-interests and the balance of power are, according to realist theory, the two best tools to understanding the actions of states on the international state. (Dunne and Schmidt. 2014).

Conversely, the theory of liberalism does not view the international stage through the prism of anarchy. Liberalism is born out of idealism and the enlightenment age, with the notion that values, ideals and norms are what characterise the international system. Liberals argue that the ideas and value of states, that create the state's identity, are projected onto the international stage. Therefore, foreign policy and international relations are shaped by the ideas and principles of states rather than anarchy and the balance of power. International institutions such as the UN are viewed as forums for international co-operation rather than arenas for the competition of power (Dunne. 2014). Broadly, these are the two theories used to understand South Africa's foreign policy, with the use of the word liberal used in reference to the theory of liberalism.

Methodology

The material required to conduct this research report are the budget vote speeches from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs/International Relations and Co-Operation and members of Parliament from 1994-2018. All 25 of these speeches have taken place within parliament and are therefore a matter of public record. This means that the data material needed for this research report is publicly available to everyone and thus removes the need for ethical clearance in order to obtain this data. Parliament has an obligation to make debates and dealings in the House accessible to the public while Hansard records all that is said in the House for official record. This therefore ensures that the data required for this research report, i.e. the speeches, are not out of reach. The official transcripts of the ministers speeches from 2000-2018 are all available for download on Parliament's website as well as DIRCO's website and where thus easily obtained. However, electronic copies of the speeches for 1994-1999 do not exist and

therefore are not as easily found. A number of hard copies exist of the speeches, such as in the Wits Library and the Parliament Library, with copies of the 1994-1999 budget vote speeches being sourced from Parliament's library. It was therefore possible to obtain the hard copies and digitise these speeches so that they can be used in this research report.

Table 1

Number of debates	Average word count	Average number of participants
25	22031	16

Table 1 is a break-down of the data showing the number of debates that will be analysed, the average word count of all debates in their entirety and the average number of MPs who participate in each debate which includes the minister and the deputy minister/s .

In regards to the political parties from the period 1994-1999 the parties that will been analysed are the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the National Party (NP). These three parties were selected because it was the ANC, IFP and NP that constituted the government of national unity which governed South Africa during this period. The following years from 2000-2018, the parties that will be analysed are the ANC, IFP and Democratic Alliance (DA). The ANC has been chosen because it is the governing party during this period and therefore the most influential in parliament. The DA has come second in every election since the 1999 elections, where they competed at the Democratic Party (DP), and as the DA in elections from 2004 onwards. The IFP is the only other political party that has consistently been in the top 4 performers in every national election in South Africa's democracy which is why the IFP has been selected for analysis. Other political parties that have competed in the elections have been unable to show the same level of consistency in terms of results that the ANC, DA and IFP have been able to and as a result their level of participation varies in each of the debates, thus making is difficult to evaluate their contributes to the debate around South Africa's foreign policy.

The ANC, as the governing party, receives more debate slots and greater time allotments than the other parties, while the official opposition receives more debate slots and time allotments than the other opposition parties, with the amount of slots and time available to other parties decreasing in relation to the number of seats the party has and position the party came in the

elections. It can be seen in the table below that the ANC has the highest number of speakers and the highest number of average words per speech, indicating that the ANC receives the greatest allotment of time. The NP, during 1994 through to 1999 had an average number of three speakers per debate, but did not give speeches a long as the ANC, showing a smaller allotment of time. The same can be said of the DA and IFP, with both parties on average across the period 1994-2018 having less speakers and a lower allotment of time.

Table 2

	ANC	**NP**	**DA**	**IFP**
Average no. of speakers	5	3	2	1
Average no. of words	1290	950	1029	745

Table 2 shows the average number of speakers each parties has in the budget vote debates.

The analysis that will be done on the budget vote speeches will be conducted on R Programming Software using text-mining. Text-mining allows for a more in-depth analysis of speeches and looks for amongst other things, trends and patterns in the word documents. This will be applied to the budget vote speeches of the ministers and MPs in order to deeply analyse what is being said and the changes and similarities of the speeches over time. The text-mining that will be used will be in the form of natural language processing of sentiment analysis and a bag-of-words analysis. This will be done in order to track the common sentiment of the speeches and the debates. In addition, this will allow for the tracking of the changes of focus of South Africa's foreign policy by looking at regions and countries that are mentioned, the frequency with which they are mentioned and their changes over time. This will help in determining the focuses of South Africa's foreign policy and that of political parties.

The ministers budget vote speeches will be broken down into terms in line with the national election cycle and therefore parliamentary terms. This means that the ministers budget vote speeches will be analysed in 5 year periods. Word frequencies will be produced using R programming software and to produce results that show the most frequently used words by the ministers in their budget vote speeches. The word frequencies assist in the identification of the major focuses of the minister in each year's budget vote speeches and therefore enhances the ability to compare and contrast the minister's budget vote speeches.

A more in depth sentiment analysis will also be conducted in order to determine the levels of positivity in both the ministers speeches and those of the political parties. The sentiment analysis will include work done to determine the levels of positivity in the speeches delivered as well as a bag-of-words evaluation of the speeches and responses. The levels of positivity or tone will be done using a package in R called Lexicoder. Lexicoder is a package developed to analyse political and policy language to determine the sentiment of speeches delivered (Young and Soroka. 2012). Lexicoder will thus be used to look at the levels of positivity of each of the ministers speeches as well as the levels of positivity of political parties in five year parliamentary terms.

Pre-processing was done on the text documents in order to produce the results. All the text documents, the corpus, were imported into the R programming software, with each speech forming its own document. The pre-process entails initially a degree of modification to the data. The first of the modifications on the data is the converting of each word into lower case so that R does not treat a word starting with a capital letter as a different to the same word starting in lower case. After that, words and phrases that are commonly repeated but do not have much bearing on the information delivered in the speeches were removed. The words removed are commonly used in parliamentary convention and include words and phrases such as; honourable members, speaker, Mr speaker, madam speaker, chairperson and applause. Following the removal of these words the documents were tokenised.

Tokenisation instructs R to treat each word as an individual unit not associated to the words that come before or after the individual word. Once the words were tokenised stop words, which mainly consist of articles, pronouns and certain verbs for example; the, is, it, he, she and you, were also removed from the data. Once again stop words are words that commonly appear in the text but do not convey sentiment and/or information in this study and were therefore removed. Furthermore, in order not to interfere in the extraction of information from the data, punctuation, numbers, hyphens and symbols were also removed. The word clouds are graphical representations of the most frequently used words in each of the ministers speeches. In order to produce the word clouds a document-term matrix (DTM) was created for each speech. A DTM produces the frequency of words used and is thus the data input for the word clouds produced.

However, for the sentiment analysis, the level of positivity in the speeches, less pre-processing is required as tokenisation of the words is not required. This is because, in order to determine

sentiment, words need to be treated in relation to others as opposed to individual units. Lexicoder was at this point used and produced data that showed the scores for both positive and negative sentiment in individual speeches. This is then plotted into a graph in order to illustrate the results produced.

The second half of the sentiment analysis is the use of word frequencies divided into two clusters or grouped words. This word frequency approach entails creating groups of words, or cluster, and isolating those groups of words from the data. This assists in identifying patterns in the speeches delivered to parliament. Two clusters were created in order to determine which of the two areas is of greater focus to South African foreign policy as communicated by the ministers as well as by the political parties. The two clusters that were created are words grouped together to form a peace cluster and words grouped to form an economic cluster. The words for each cluster are as follows;

Peace cluster: Peace, Mediation, Conflict, Democracy, Violence, Freedom, Military

Economic cluster: Underdevelopment, Economics, Trade, Investment, Poverty.

The words for each cluster were chosen as they relate to the overarching themes of promotion of peace and economic development. These two clusters were selected as they speak to two important themes in foreign policy. South African foreign policy aims to promote peace and democracy around the world and particularly on the African continent. The words selected for the peace cluster all relate to peace and the promotion of peace or the lack there of, which is why the words violence, conflict and military are selected to be part of the peace cluster of words.

The words peace, conflict, violence and military are words that reference either a state of war or a state of peace and in an international relations context are not open to other interpretations of the words. The word mediation was selected as it refers to the process of negotiations that take place between warring factions. The words negotiations or dialogue were not selected as these words may be used in reference to a number of different issues, such as trade negotiations or multilateral and bilateral interactions, and therefore it cannot be assured that the word negotiation is being used in reference to peace and conflict. However, the word mediation is more often used to refer to peace and conflict over other aspects of international relations and was thus selected for the bag-of-words cluster. The word resolution was likewise not selected as it is a word that does not always reference conflict or peace. While resolutions made by the UN are often about conflicts the UN also takes resolutions about a number of different of issues,

such as environmental issues. In addition, the word resolution may also refer to decisions that have been made, such as cabinet resolutions, which can refer to a wide range of issues and decisions, which makes it difficult to assert that the word resolution is being used in association with peace and/or conflict in the budget vote speeches.

The words freedom and democracy were also selected as they are words associated with peace times. In many instances the transition to democracy is preceded by violence and conflict. This supports that notion that democracy is often referenced in relation to areas either having just been in conflict or areas where there is a threat of violence. Furthermore, established democracies are often associated with areas experiencing peace, thus making the word democracy relevant to the peace and conflict cluster. The word freedom was likewise used due to the association that freedom has with peace, while a lack of freedom can be a cause of war and was therefore selected for the peace and conflict cluster.

Words relating to economics and trade were selected because often areas relating to economics and the economy represent states self-interests and often states pursue foreign policy objects with the states self-interests in mind. As a result, an economics cluster was created in order to ascertain how much focus trade and economics receives during the budget vote debates. Once again, the words selected for the cluster include words that relate to economic development or the lack there of. The word finance was not used in the economics cluster as the word finance may be used in a number of different contexts, such as the finances of the department of international relations. The economics cluster in the bag-of-words was created to determine the role that economic diplomacy plays in South Africa's foreign policy on a broad scale, while the use of the word finance may be used in a domestic context and not necessarily in an economic diplomacy context and was therefore not used in the bag-of-words analysis.

The coding that was done for this section of the data analysis made use of the pre-processing done for the word frequencies. A dictionary of all the words that were to be extracted from the speeches was created and applied to the DTM previously created and using R programming software the words in the dictionary were extracted from the speeches. Graphs were then created in order to represent the results produced from the coding work. A similar process was followed in order to produce the data pertaining to the number of IGOs mentioned in the speeches, however, the data was extracted from each individual document and so a DTM was created for each year that a speech was delivered and not one DTM containing all the budget vote speeches. The other aspect of the geographical analysis, the countries that were mentioned

in speeches, follows a similar process, however, it was not necessary to create a dictionary of country names. This is because a dictionary of countries names exists as a package in R and so the package was used to extracted the country names from each individual document. For both the country names and IGOs the data produced was then made into spreadsheets and these spreadsheets were then read back into R in order to produce graphical representations of the data.

The bulk of the research report will consist of an analysis of budget vote speeches. However, further information is needed in order to augment this research report. This information will be sourced from journal articles, newspaper articles and official government statements in order to place the budget speeches in context. Further sources of information will assist in the interpretations of the budget vote speeches and the results of the work done on the speeches. This will assist in producing a comprehensive analysis of the budget vote speeches and South Africa's foreign policy.

Analytical Limitations

While the budget votes serve as an insight into South Africa's foreign policy there are however, limitations to the insight offered by the budget vote speeches. The budget votes are delivered once a year and the ministers have a limited period of time in which to deliver their speeches. Ministers are sometimes unable to finish their speeches in the time allotted to them, thereby delivering incomplete speeches as the ministers run out of time. The time constraints on the speeches more broadly may result in issues not being discussed in great detail or the omission of other issues in an attempt to meet the time constraints. The time allotted to the ministers may therefore limit the scope and detail of the ministers speeches and may result in the speeches only containing details the ministers wish to highlight.

In regards to the limitations in the scope of the budget vote speeches, as a result of the limited time afford to the minsters, the time constraints would lend itself to the understanding that the topics and issues discussed in the budget votes are the ministers' foreign policy priorities. This is due to the fact that the ministers do not have the time to discuss every aspect of South Africa's foreign policy, suggesting that the ministers are required to identify the major aspects of South Africa's foreign policy in the year ahead, to be delivered in the budget vote speech. The time constraints may therefore have the effect of streamlining the budget vote speeches to focus on

the larger aspects of South Africa's foreign policy rather than limiting the issues addressed by the ministers.

The issues addressed and highlighted by the ministers may also be influenced by ministers attempts to represent their efforts in the best light. This may result in ministers spending more time on issues that may not be a priority in South Africa's foreign policy but may, in the eyes of the minister and government, represent a success on the part of the government. The budget votes therefore present an opportunity for government and ministers to highlight instances of good performance. Given that the budget vote speeches are delivered to a domestic audience the government therefore has an interest in addressing issues that portray government performance in a positive light and less incentive to discuss issues that may indicate poor performance on the part of government, the minister or the department. As such it can suggested that the portrayal of South Africa's foreign policy delivered to a domestic audience is different to the foreign policy South Africa presents to an international audience. This is due to the different aims and objectives the government has in presenting its foreign policy to the different audiences thus limiting the scope of the foreign policy presented in the budget votes.

However, it is unlikely that the major components of South Africa's foreign policy change between its presentations to domestic and international audiences. The domestic and international audiences are not mutually exclusive in so much as, speeches delivered to a largely international audience such as the UN General Assembly will still be observed by the South African audience, while speeches delivered in a domestic context, such as the parliamentary budget vote speeches, are still accessible to an international audience. The inconsistency that would arise from delivering different focal points of South Africa's foreign policy is not in the interest of the government as it would lead to mixed messaging and confusion. Therefore, while the budget votes may be tailored to a domestic audience, the speeches are unlikely to be a misrepresentation of South Africa's foreign policy.

It is in the interest of both the government and the ruling party to represent the efforts of government in the best possible light. As such, issues that can be viewed as failings on the part of the government may not be addressed by the ministers in the budget vote speeches. In other instances, ministers may address problem issues but not in great detail in an attempt to downplay the issues. As such, some speeches can give the impression that certain issues are not of importance to South Africa's foreign policy, however, their omission from the budget vote speeches may be choice on the part of the ministers not to address failings on the part of

the government rather than as a result of lack of importance to South Africa's foreign policy. The budget vote speeches offer the minsters an opportunity to explain failings on the part of the government, however, in some instances this opportunity is not taken, with the ministers preferring not to address issues that may be failings on the part of the government. Ultimately, this may result in the budget vote speeches delivered by the ministers being one sided in relation to certain issues in South Africa's foreign policy.

However, the budget vote speeches are subject to debate by the political parties in parliament. As opposition parties are likely to find points of contention in South Africa's foreign policy, as parties have the obligation to hold government to account in parliament, it is unlikely that ministers are able to avoid issues that are failures of the government. Ministers would therefore need to address issues of poor performance at the very least in an attempt to downplay and/or explain the actions of government in an attempt to pre-empt opposition parties responses'. While in some instances it may be the true that ministers do not address issues of poor performance on their part, it is unlikely that ministers are able to avoid these issues completely, suggesting that the budget vote speeches are not limited to instances of positive performances alone.

Chapter 4: Geographic Analysis

The data analysis section of this research report will consist of an analysis of the minister's budget vote speeches from the years 1994-2018, followed by an analysis of the speeches made by different political parties over the same period. In election years the budget votes are delivered after the elections by the recently elected government and not by the outgoing administration. This is true for the years 2004, 2009 and 2013, however, this was not the case in 1999, where Alfred Nzo delivered the budget vote speech for that year before the elections. This means that Alfred Nzo delivered six budget votes speeches and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma delivered four budget votes during her first tenure in office as foreign affairs minister.

Geo-Political Analysis

> Were it not for multilaterals, the gains we have made, the experience we have accumulated and the relationships that we have strengthened with practically all the countries of the world would have been impossible in such a short span of five years. Above all, multilateralism allows the weaker or smaller countries to participate on an equal footing on the world stage (Budget vote 1999, pg 1137-1138).

The extract above delivered by Alfred Nzo in his 1999 budget vote speech underlines South Africa's support of multilateralism and the role that multilateralism plays in South Africa's foreign policy.

An important component of a state's foreign policy is the countries, regions and IGOs that states focus on which helps to give clear indications of the focuses of foreign policy. All the countries and IGOs mentioned across the 25 speeches were extracted in order to gain a clearer understanding of South Africa's geo-political focuses and how they have changed over 25 years, given the importance that South Africa has placed on multilaterals as highlighted in the extract above. This indicates that the role that multilaterals play in South Africa's foreign policy is an important one.

Figure 1

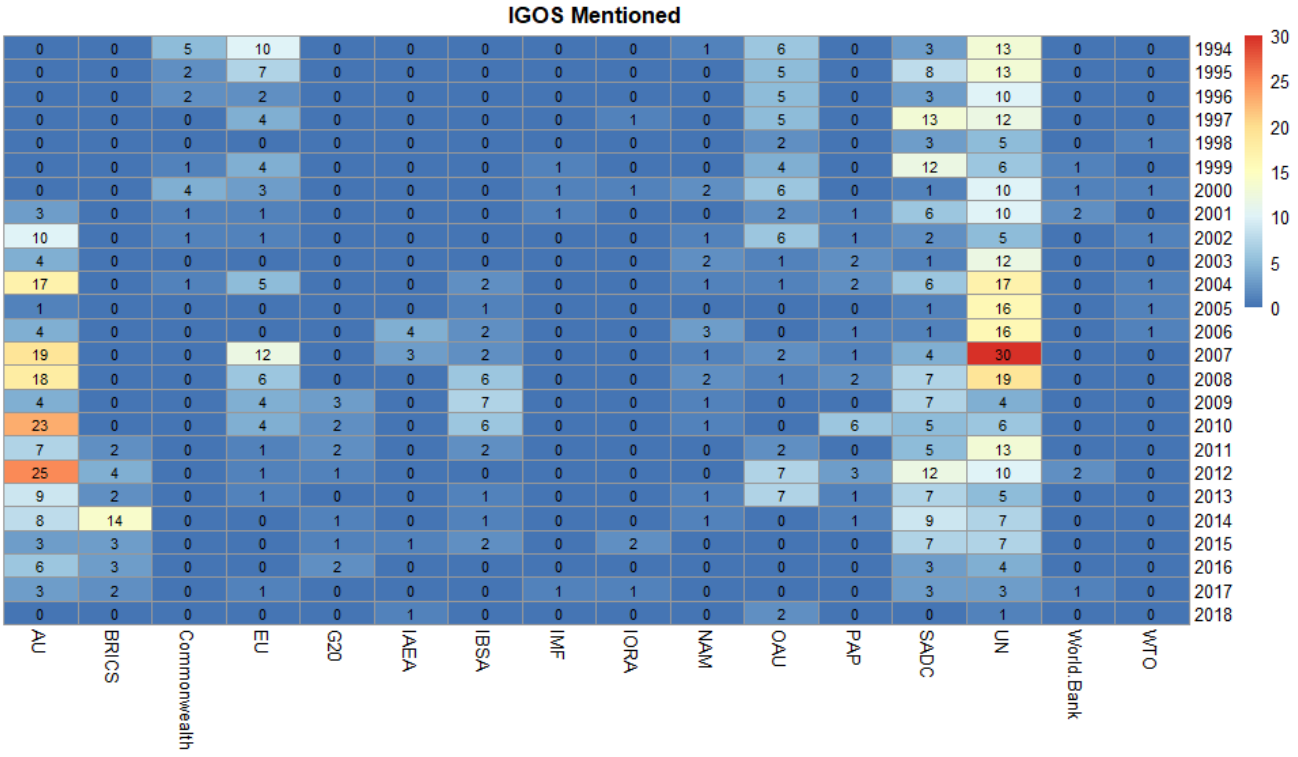


Figure 1 is a heat map showing all the IGOs that have been mentioned over the 25 speeches and the frequency with which they are mentioned each year. The numbers inside each of the individual blocks indicates the number of times the IGO was mentioned that year. The year that the IGO was mentioned can be found on the right hand side of the graph, while the IGO in question can be seen at the bottom of the graph. The results that can be found in *figure 1* have been broken down into global, regional and sub-regional sections that follow. *Figure 1* shows all the IGOs that were extracted from the budget vote speeches and allows for a visual representation of the tracking of the number of times IGOs that were mentioned across the 25 budget votes.

From *figure 1* it can be seen that the number in in the red block, the UN in 2007, is the highest number of times any single IGO was mentioned across the 25 years. In addition, it can be seen from the graph that UN was often the most mentioned IGO in any single budget vote. However, there are occasions when the AU is the most mentioned IGO during the budget vote speech. The third IGO that receives a number of mentions over the 25 year period is SADC. From *figure 1* it can clearly be seen which are the three most mentioned IGOs by the ministers in the budget vote speeches and which IGOs do not receive a lot of mentions across the speeches, while also tracking the years in which they were mentioned.

Figure 2

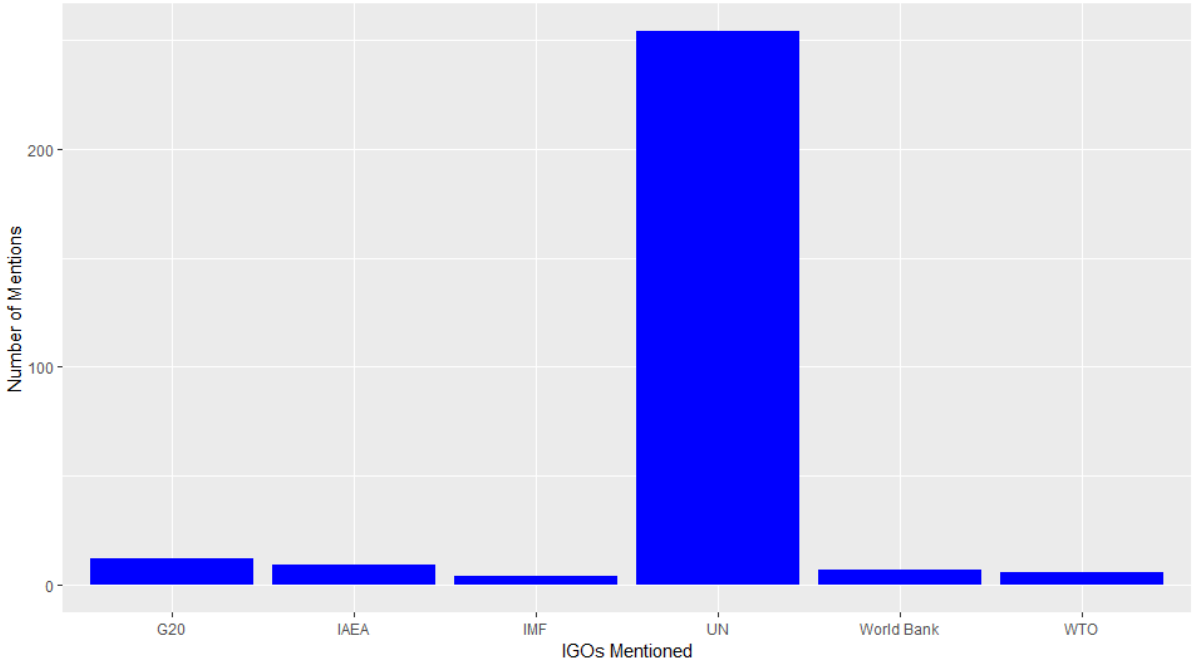


Figure 2 is a bar graph showing number of mentions that global IGOs received across the 25 year period from 1994-2018.

International economic organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF are only mentioned a handful of times throughout the budget vote speeches. In addition, the WTO is another entity that is seldom mentioned by the ministers. This suggests that these three entities are not influential in the formation of South Africa's foreign policy. However, it must be noted that as the World Bank, IMF and WTO pertain to economic and trade policies it is likely that South Africa interacts with them through the finance and trade and industry ministers rather than through the minister of international relations. The G20 is another entity that has only a few mentions in the budget vote speeches. This would be expected for the first 5 years as the G20 did not exist until 1999, however, the first mention of the G20 was in 2009, as can be seen in *figure 1* (McBride and Chatzky. 2019). Once again the G20 deals primarily with issues of the economy, however, as it is a meeting of world leaders, it is of relevance to foreign policy. The G20 was first mentioned in 2009 this would suggest that president Zuma and his foreign minister Nkoana-Mashabane placed greater significance on the G20 than president Mbeki and minister Dlamini-Zuma, as during their time in office the G20 summit was not mentioned and thus not placing great significance on the G20.

The IAEA, tasked with monitoring atomic energy use around the world, is another organisation which does not get mentioned frequently. South Africa is consistent in its call for nuclear non-proliferation around the world and mentions of the IAEA are made in relation to that call. 2006 and 2007 are the years that saw a spike in the number of mentions of the IAEA and this was in regards to the situation surrounding Iran's nuclear programme, with Dlamini-Zuma being of the opinion in 2006 that the Iran "matter can be resolved within the IAEA" (Budget vote 2006, pg 12). Given that the IAEA is mentioned during times of tension around nuclear programmes it can therefore be suggested that South Africa recognises the legitimacy of the IAEA and the role that the agency has the potential to play in times of nuclear crisis, but that South Africa does not greatly concern itself with the IAEA, in terms of foreign policy, when crises do not exist around nuclear programmes.

Finally, the global IGO with the highest number of mentions is the UN and is mentioned 254 across 25 speeches, which also makes it the most mentioned of all IGOs. The UN is an important entity in global affairs and it would therefore be expected that the UN receives a large number of mentions. The UN is important to peacekeeping missions and development on the African continent as well as issues around global governance and poverty. In addition, South Africa's ministers are consistent in their calls for reform to the UN Security Council across the 25 years. This adds to the number of mentions the UN receives, with South Africa supporting "efforts to make the Security Council more democratic and reflective of the current international reality" (Budget vote 1997, pg 13). The UN being the most mentioned of all the IGOs shows the significance of the entity to South Africa's foreign policy and likewise illustrates South Africa's desire to involve itself in global affairs outside of Africa given that the UN is mentioned more often than the AU. However, since 2010 the general trend in the number of mentions of the UN has been on the decline, however, this decline is true of all the IGOs mentioned in the budget vote speeches as can be seen from *figure 1*.

Regional Analysis

Figure 3

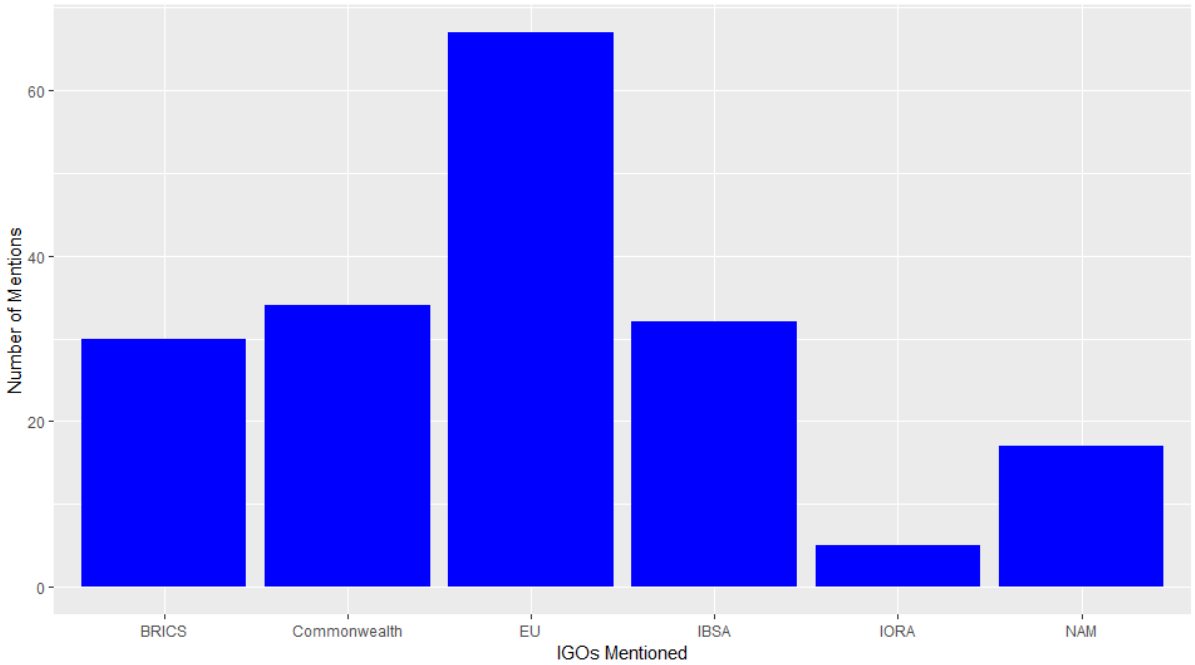


Figure 3 is a bar graph showing the number of mentions that regional IGOs received during the 25 year period from 1994-2018.

The regional IGOs that are analysed in this section are the IGOs that are still global but are formed for specific membership or specific interests that are not applicable to every state in the global community. Of the regional IGOs, the one that is mentioned the least amount of times is the IORA. The IORA, is an association of 22 states which have an Indian ocean coast line set up in order to foster co-operation between these states (IORA. 2017). The IORA is not mentioned often, implying that it is not an association that South Africa views as being largely significant to South Africa's foreign policy.

From the regional IGOs, the mentions of the Commonwealth serve as an example that illustrates a change in focus of South African foreign policy. The commonwealth is a grouping of states who are former colonies of Great Britain of which South Africa is a member. The Commonwealth is mentioned relatively often in the first five years since democracy, however, after 2004 it is never mentioned again. This indicates a movement away from the sphere of influence of South Africa's old colonial power as South Africa shifted its focus towards the global south. This is illustrated by the mentions of the NAM in the budget vote speeches. The NAM is not an organisation that is mentioned a large number of times, however, it is mentioned more consistently across the 25 years than the Commonwealth. Despite the NAM's formation

being in response to the Cold War, the movement has continued to exist with its membership consisting of developing countries. This indicates South Africa's continued commitment to the NAM and by extension South Africa's commitment to the developing world rather than South Africa aligning itself to the western world and western spheres of influence such as the Commonwealth.

However, in regards to the Western world, the EU is the fourth most mentioned IGO and is mentioned 67 times across the 25 speeches. The EU is South Africa's largest trading partner and a large investor in South Africa, with relations with the EU being described as "critical" (Budget vote 1996, pg 3) to South Africa, and an important relationship in regards to investment, jobs and trade. In addition, the EU has competency in conducting foreign affairs and diplomacy on behalf of its member states which places greater significance on engaging with the EU directly on diplomatic levels as oppose to its member states. However, it can be seen in *figure 1* that the majority of the EU's mentions came prior to 2007, with the number of mentions for the EU being on the decline since 2007. This does suggest a pivot away from the EU, likewise with the Commonwealth, and thus more broadly from the western world, since 2007, as less emphasis is being placed on South Africa's relationship with the EU in the budget vote speeches. The EU, however, remains important to South Africa's trade despite the decrease in the number of mentions of the EU.

Figure 4

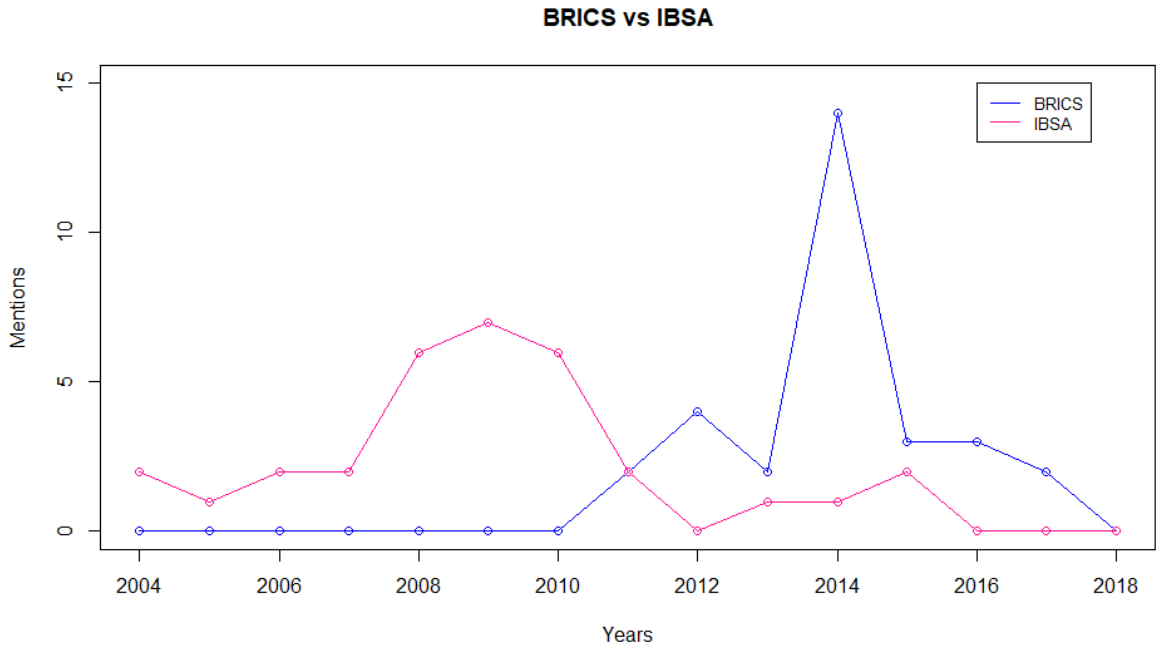


Figure 4 isolates the mentions of BRICS and IBSA from the year 2004, the year after IBSA was formed, through to 2018.

The India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA) grouping was formed in late 2003 and seeks to promote co-operation between the three states (SA Government. 2019). On the other hand the Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa (BRICS) grouping was formed in 2006, with South Africa joining the group in 2010, and which likewise seeks to promote co-operation between the 5 states particularly in areas of the economy and development (Koba. 2011). All the members of IBSA are likewise members of BRICS which has led to questions around the continued existence of IBSA given that the two groupings have similar functions. *Figure 4* shows that as the mentions of BRICS increases so the mentions of IBSA decreases which does support that notion that BRICS has rendered IBSA less important to South Africa's foreign policy.

The major increase in the mentions of BRICS in 2014 was due to the announcement of the establishment of the BRICS development bank. However, after 2014 the number of mentions of BRICS has been on the decline. IBSA experienced an increase in mentions between 2013 and 2015, however, IBSA has also experienced a general decline and has not been mentioned since 2015. The decreases in mentions of both BRICS and IBSA since 2014 and 2015 respectively does indicate that less significance is being placed on the groupings. The general trend is a declining number of mentions and this would not be the case if greater significance was being placed on South Africa's membership and participation of the groupings as they would occupy a greater portion of the budget vote speeches.

Sub-regional

Figure 5

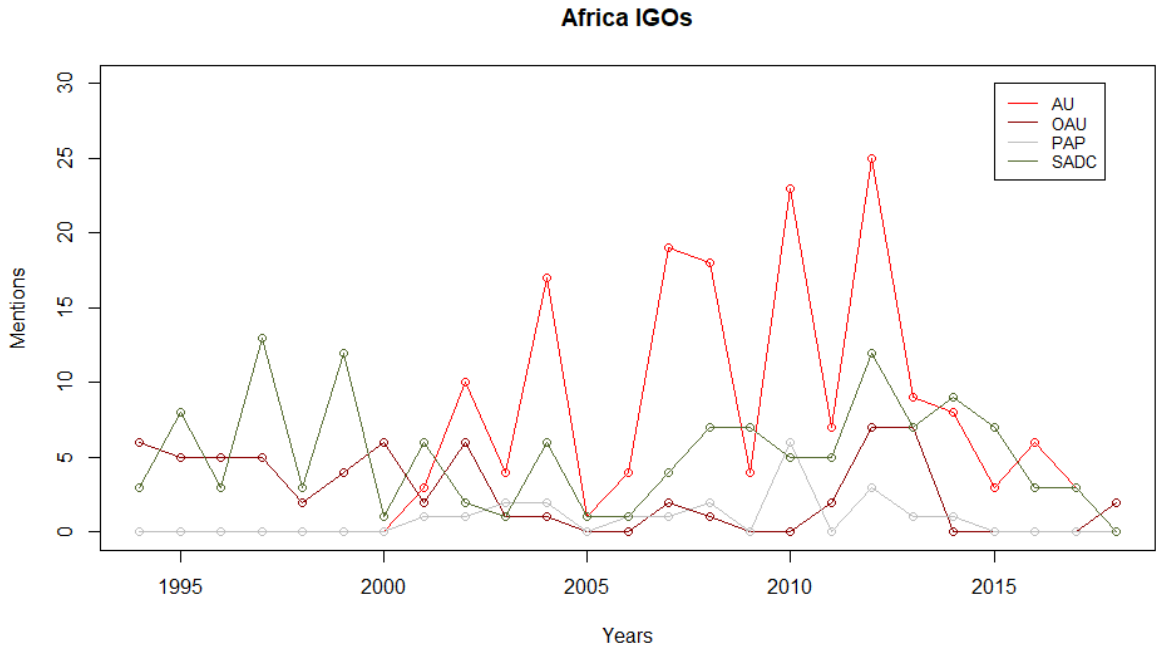


Figure 5 shows the African organisations that were mentioned by the ministers from 1994-2018.

Of the African organisations that South Africa is a member of, the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) is the one mentioned the least amount of times. The PAP was not mentioned during the 1990s as the entity was established in 2004, with its first mentions occurring three years prior in 2001 (PAP. 2019). After 2001 the PAP is mentioned consistently across the years up until 2015 which suggests that, whilst the PAP is not a hugely influential organisation, it is an enterprise that South Africa supports. The SADC is mentioned the second most number of after the AU and is the third most mentioned all of the IGOs. SADC is mentioned a number of times throughout the ministers speeches which points to the importance that SADC has in South Africa's foreign policy. Southern Africa is a region of influence for South Africa and SADC, as an entity, is likewise influential in regional affairs making SADC important for South Africa's foreign policy objectives in the region. However, since 2014 the trend has been a decreasing number of mentions in the speeches which could point to a shift in South Africa's focus away from the Southern African region.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is the precursor to the African Union (AU) with the AU being founded in 2002 (AU. 2019). Therefore, the OAU is mentioned more frequently

between 1994 and 2000 before it was overtaken by the AU from 2001 onwards. The OAU during the 1990's however was not mentioned as often as the AU has been in the years since its formation. While the amount of times the AU is mentioned varies from year to year it is the most frequently mentioned African institution by the ministers. This serves to indicate the significance South Africa attaches to the AU and it is evident that South Africa views the AU as an important entity to South Africa's foreign policy formation. However, like SADC, the AU has also seen a decline in the number of times it is mentioned in the budget vote speeches since 2013 to the point where in 2018 the AU, like SADC, is not mentioned once by the minister. This likewise suggests that South Africa has slowly turned its attention away from Africa. Despite the OAU not being mentioned as often as the AU during its time of operation, the OAU has continued to be mentioned by the ministers. This would suggest that the OAU has had a lasting impact on South Africa's foreign policy thinking.

Of the 5 most frequently mentioned IGOs, three of them are African IGOs, namely, the AU, SADC and the OAU, which signifies the importance that the African continent has in South Africa's foreign policy. Once again, despite the OAU not being functional since the formation of the AU, the OAU is still mentioned enough times to rank as the fifth most mentioned IGO across the 25 speeches. SADC is the third most mentioned entity and is mentioned 128 times in 25 speeches. While SADC does not experience a year in which the frequency with which it is mentioned is very high, mentions of SADC are consistent across the budget vote speeches. This indicates that South Africa does view SADC as important to South Africa's foreign policy objectives although not the most important entity in South African foreign policy.

There is a common trend amongst many of the IGOs of a declining number of mentions in the budget vote speeches. The decline of mentions has been particularly evident since 2010, to the point where there was a total reference of 3 IGOs in the 2018 budget vote speech. This indicates a possible decreasing emphasis placed on multilateralism in South Africa's foreign policy given the decline in mentions of IGOs. If South Africa intends to use multilateralism to influence global affairs, as outlined by Mandela (1993), then it would not be expected that the number of mentions of IGOs would be declining to the point where very few are mentioned in 2018. A fewer number of mentions of IGOs indicates that less IGOs were deemed to be significant to South Africa's foreign policy formation with less time being spent discussing South Africa's involvement in IGOs by the ministers in their budget vote speeches. Suggesting that over time the emphasis that South Africa has placed on IGOs has waned.

This decline in the mentions of IGOs comes about despite South Africa continuing to commit itself to multilateralism. In 2018 President Ramaphosa indicated that South Africa remains committed to rules-based multilateralism and multilateral institutions as a forum where developing countries can highlight issues facing the developing world. President Ramaphosa has further highlighted the need for international co-operation in tackling conflicts and unrest around the world (SA Govt News. 2018). This rhetoric from the president is not reflected in the budget vote speeches, with president Ramaphoa's international relations minister, Sisulu, having the lowest number of mentions of IGOs in any of the budget vote speeches. The budget vote speeches have seen a general decline in the mentions of IGOs and thus a decline in the discussion around IGOs in the budget vote speeches despite the president re-enforcing South Africa's commitment to multilateralism.

While the declining mentions of IGOs suggests a declining emphasis placed on IGOs in South Africa's foreign policy, this decline comes at a time when there is a decline internationally in the emphasis placed on multilateralism. With South Africa's election to the UNSC and the rhetoric from president Ramaphosa further promoting South Africa's commitment to multilateralism it can be said that South Africa has attempted to further entrench the values of multilateralism in its foreign policy (Mbete. 2020). However, the declining number of mentions of IGOs in the budget vote speeches would suggest that rather than entrenching multilateralism in South Africa's foreign policy, South Africa is following the global trend that is seeing declining support for multilateralism (Dervis. 2018).

States Analysis

In addition to IGOs, the names of states and the number of times they are mentioned has also been extracted from the budget vote speeches in order to track and study the changes in South Africa's relationships with countries and regions. This analysis has been broken down into the five parliamentary terms. Heat maps of all the states mentioned and bar graphs showing the ten most mentioned states during each period has been produced to present the data. In regards to the heat maps the country mentioned the most number of times is in red with the number of mentions fading out from red the fewer times they are mentioned. States that are white have not been mentioned. The mentions of South Africa have been removed from the maps, as it would be expected that South Africa is mentioned a number of times in the speeches and would therefore skew the results represented on the maps.

Figure 6

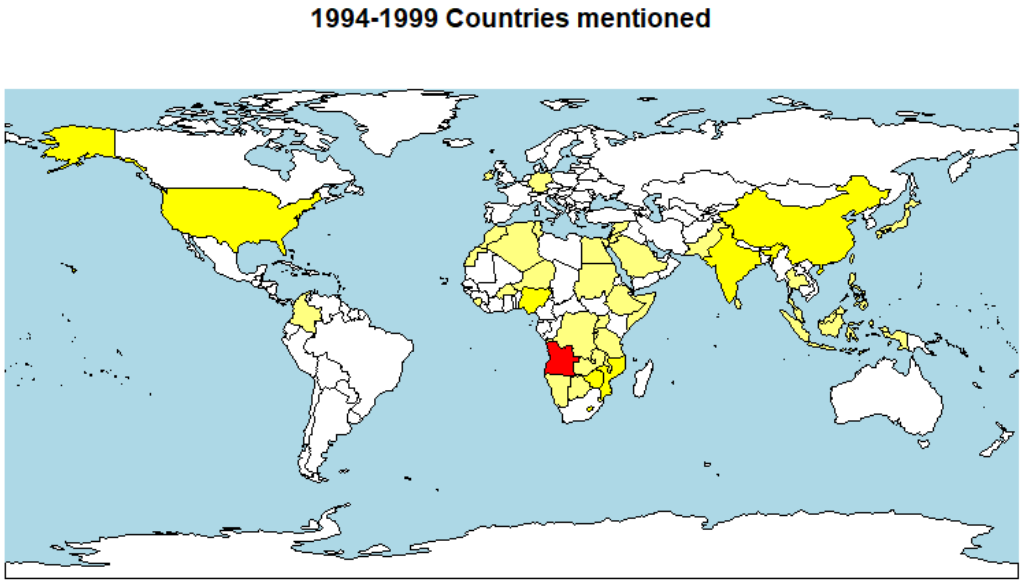


Figure 6 is a heat map of the all the countries mentioned from 1994-1999 which are the five years in which Alfred Nzo is minister of foreign affairs and Nelson Mandela is president.

Figure 7

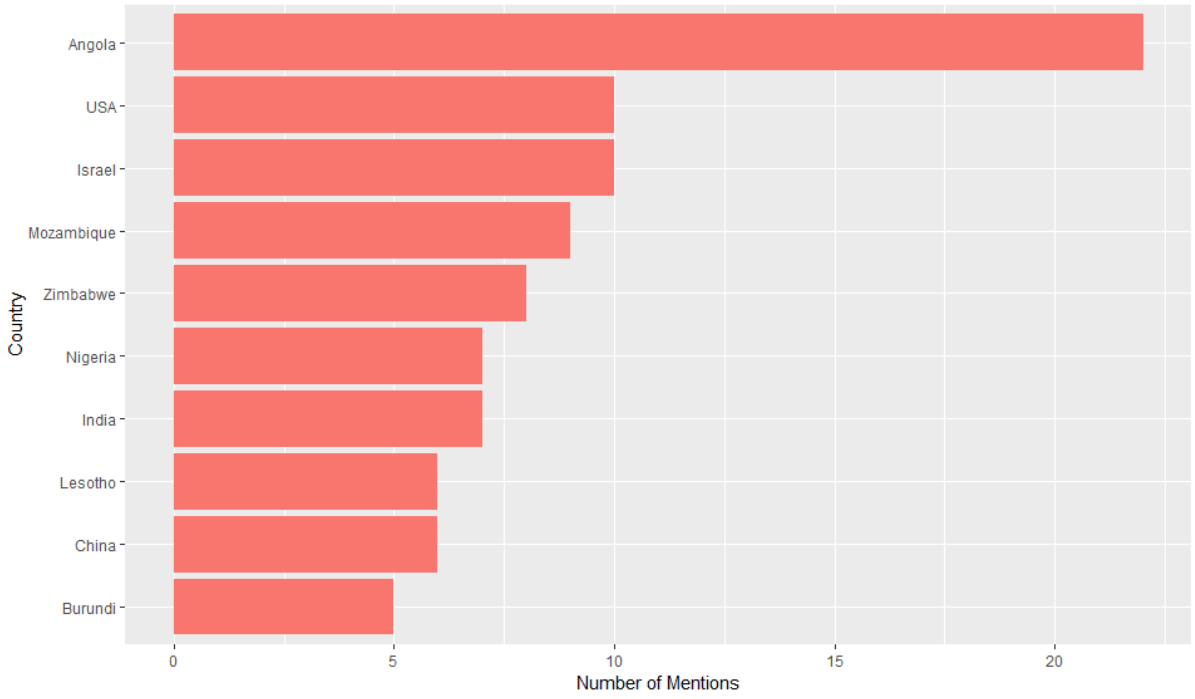


Figure 7 is a bar graph showing the 10 most mentioned states during the period 1994-1999.

The country mentioned most often during Nzo's tenure as foreign affairs minister is Angola as can be seen in both *figure 6* and *figure 7*. This is likely due to the role that South Africa was playing in the peace processes at the time, with the peace processes in Angola being described as "in the vital interests of the entire subcontinent" (Budget vote 1998, pg 1836) by Alfred Nzo in 1998. President Mandela was involved in negotiating peace between UNITA and the MPLA thus rendering Angola an important part of South Africa's foreign policy during the five year period (Maier. 1994). South Africa's involvement in Angola is also an example of the role South Africa wants to play in establishing peace on the African continent, thus making Angola an important issue of South Africa's foreign policy in the 1990s.

In addition, all of South Africa's neighbours are mentioned during this time, with Mozambique being the most mentioned and Zimbabwe the second most. Both Mozambique and Zimbabwe are states that experienced unrest during this period and South Africa would be concerned about unrest on its borders and the effects this unrest would have on South Africa. It would thus make both Zimbabwe and Mozambique key areas of concern in South Africa's foreign policy during the period 1994-1999. The large number of mentions for the countries of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe across this 5 year period supports the notion that "South Africa can and is prepared to play a constructive role in Africa" (Budget vote 1994, pg 10) as stated by Nzo in his 1994 budget vote speech.

However, South Africa's other neighbours are not mentioned every year with Botswana and Swaziland being mentioned once across the five years and Namibia twice. Lesotho is mentioned six times with half of the six mentions coming in 1999. This is significant because in September 1998 South Africa, through SADC, became involved militarily in the intervention in Lesotho and is therefore the likely reason for the increased number of mentions in 1999. South Africa was involved initially diplomatically and then militarily in Lesotho, with the Lesotho defence force labelling the SANDF an invading force (Mail and Guardian. 1998). . Despite South Africa being directly involved in Lesotho, Lesotho is only the 8th most mentioned state during this period and does not point to Lesotho occupying great portions of the budget vote speeches during this period. Given the degree to which South Africa was involved in Lesotho at the time it would be expected that Lesotho would occupy a greater portion of the budget vote speeches. This would suggest that while peace and stability in Lesotho were of concern to South Africa, the issue of Lesotho was not central to South Africa's foreign policy during this period to the same extent that Angola was.

South Africa's relations with its neighbours are important for trade, migration and business expansion with southern Africa serving as a sphere of influence for South Africa. It was also the opinion of Nzo that "South Africa's welfare is inextricably linked to that of our region. We cannot be an island of prosperity surrounded by a sea of poverty" (Budget vote 1995, pg 5). However, while promoting co-operation in the region, due to the lack of mentions of these states it would suggest that South Africa is not hugely involved with its neighbours affairs unless there is some form of crisis in a neighbouring state. This would further suggest that while neighbouring states are important to South Africa they are not the priority of South African foreign policy.

Most states found in the central African region are not mentioned in this five year period and states in east, west and north Africa are mentioned once or twice over the same period, with the exception of Nigeria. Nigeria is mentioned seven times during this period, with most of the mentioning coming in 1999. 1998 was the year that Sani Abacha died and elections were held in 1999 which is the reason for the increased mentions of Nigeria during the 1999 budget vote speech (BBC. 2019). However, during the previous five years, Nigeria is mentioned four times with the low number of mentions being significant given that many peopled looked to South Africa and Nelson Mandela to involve itself in preventing the executions of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other dissidents. South Africa was criticised for not acting sooner and was seen as being soft on Nigeria at the time (Mail and Guardian. 1995). The lack of mentions of Nigeria at the time would suggest that issues in Nigeria were not a priority for the department of foreign affairs despite the strong stance that president Mandela took to Sani Abacha's rule in Nigeria during the 1990s, a stance that isolated South Africa from the rest of the continent on the Nigerian issue (Mbeki. 2016). However, the minister did not take the opportunity of the budget votes to discuss in detail the issues in South Africa's foreign policy that arose as a result of South Africa's approach to Nigeria during this period.

The two mentions that Western Sahara receives during this time illustrates South Africa's support of the sovereignty of Western Sahara from the outset of South Africa's democracy. While Western Sahara does not occupy a large part of the speeches, the few mentions of Western Sahara does indicate an awareness to the issue. Despite South Africa's commitment to pursuing peace on the African continent states during this period that were currently experiencing conflict are not mentioned often. Somalia is mentioned once, the DRC is mentioned twice, while states in west Africa experiencing conflict and civil war are not mentioned. This maybe as a result of Minister Nzo looking at conflict resolution more

holistically than looking at individual states currently experiencing conflict. In 1997 Nzo highlighted the joint peacekeeping exercises South Africa undertook with Zimbabwe as "…reflect[ing] a growing awareness of the necessity for SADC to prepare itself for participation in international peacekeeping" (Budget vote 1997, pg 5) indicating South Africa's intentions to contribute to peacekeeping forces while also placing emphasis on the need for a multilateral approach to peacekeeping.

The USA is the second most mentioned country, a position it shares with Israel. The USA emerged from the Cold War as the most powerful state in the world, making relations with the USA important for any state. It is therefore expected that the USA is mentioned a number of times over the five years. Israel is mentioned the same amount of times as the USA, mainly in relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and points to the interest that South Africa has taken in regards to the conflict between the two, although Palestine is not mentioned as often as Israel. The ANC has historic ties to Palestine and has often voiced its support for the Palestinians (Oneka and Schwikowski. 2019). However, the South African government has taken a more balanced approach to the conflict and supports the two state solution as the preferred outcome to the conflict.

Many states in Asia receive mentions over the period, and this makes the Asian continent the second most referenced after Africa. China is mentioned five times during this period, however, all the mentions of China occur in two years, 1996 and 1997, which suggests that at this point relations with China are not of great significance given that the number of mentions are few and that China is not mentioned consistently across the budget vote speeches from 1994-1999. The less frequent number mentions of China may be as a result of South Africa entering world affairs in 1994 with a 2 China policy that was subsequently revised in 1997 to a one China policy. This saw South Africa

> "… establishing diplomatic relations with China … into line with the resolutions of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Nonaligned Movement, the Southern African Development community and international law and the diplomatic practice of the overwhelming majority of states" (Budget vote 1997, pg 11).

With South Africa's shift to a one China policy being a "… reflection of the prevailing realities in world affairs…" (Budget vote 1997, pg 11) and a significant change in South Africa's foreign policy in the first four years of South African democracy. The extract above does indicate that initially South Africa and China did not have close ties, with relations with China

only being established in 1997, explaining the low number of mentions of China during this five year period.

States in South America do not receive any mentions except for Colombia, which was mentioned once in 1997. This points to South America not being a region of great importance to South Africa, with relations with Africa and Asia taking precedent over South America. Despite Europe being an important region for South African trade, and a "…primary source of finance, technology and tourism" (Budget vote 1997, pg 7), only Ireland and Germany receive mentions. However, this might be offset by the fact that the EU received a number of mentions during this time. This suggests that South Africa engages with the EU more so than it does with individual members. However, states that are not members of the EU likewise do not receive mentions, including Russia, during this period of time. This supports the notion that South Africa places greater emphasis on South-South co-operation, with relations with countries of the South taking precedent over relations with the Western world. However, South Africa's South-South relations during Nzo's tenure seem to be focused more on relation with Asia and Africa and less so on relations with South America, whose states are also considered to be part of the global South.

Figure 8

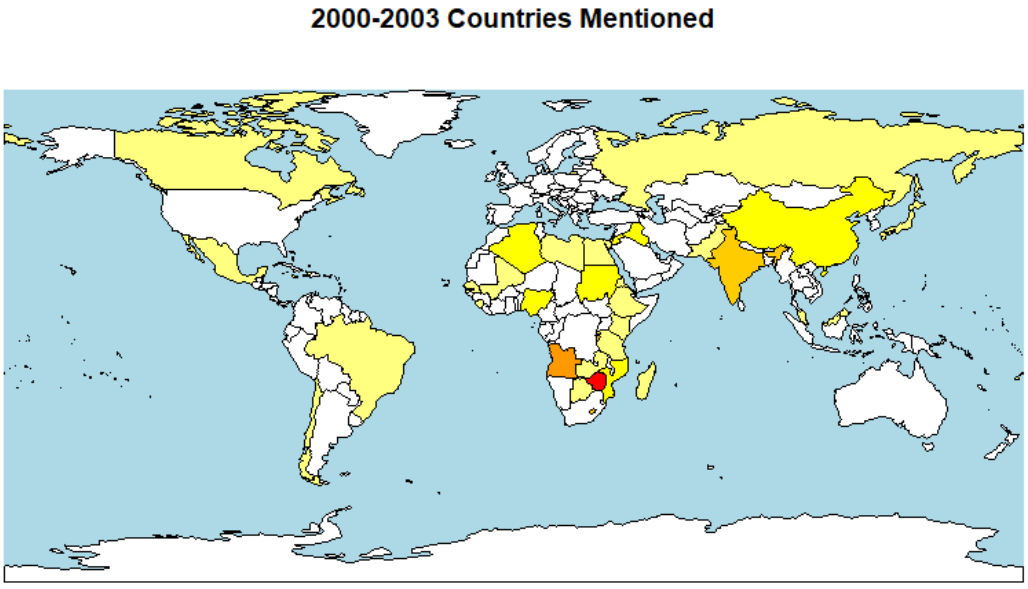


Figure 8 is a heat map of the states that were mentioned by Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma during her budget votes from 2000-2003.

Figure 9

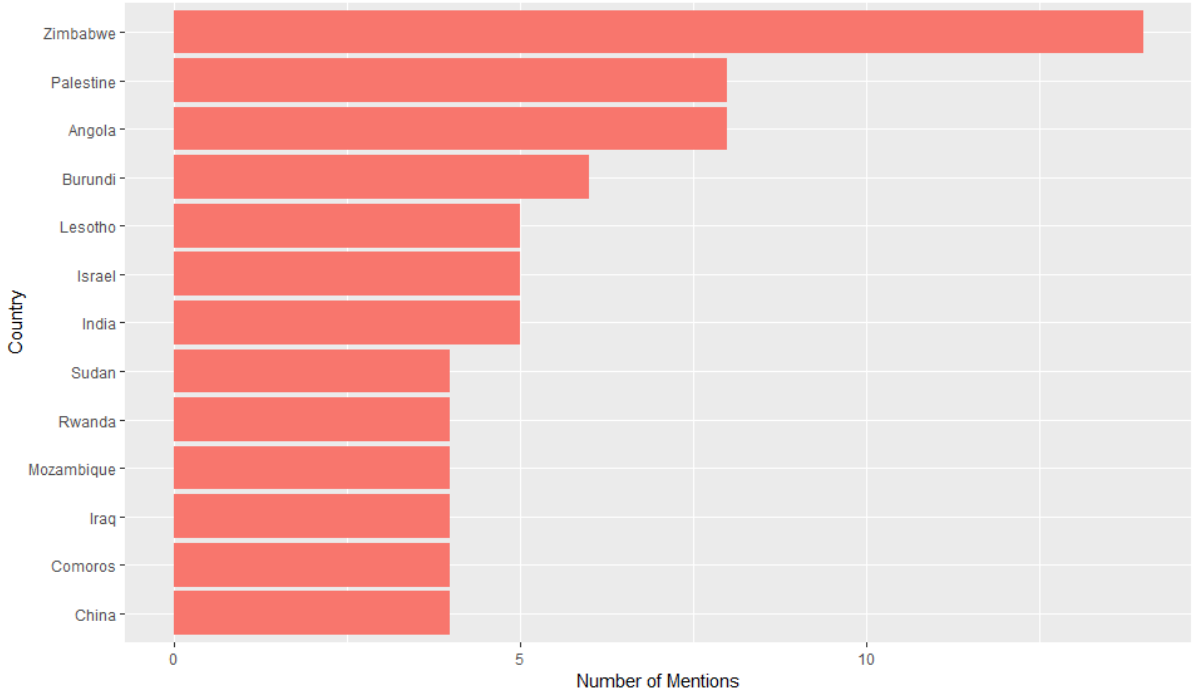


Figure 9 is a bar graph showing the ten most mentioned states during the period 2000-2003.

Once again Angola is a state that receives a high number of mentions across the five years, as seen in *figure 8* and *figure 9*, indicating the interest that South Africa has taken in Angola particularly in the first 10 years of South Africa's democracy. However, on this occasion Angola is the second most mentioned country and Zimbabwe is the most mentioned. Zimbabwe sees a spike in the number of times it is mention as compared to the previous five years. During this period states from around the world started to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe, which was something president Mbeki opposed (BBC. 2019). This saw South Africa take a greater interest in Zimbabwe with Mbeki opting to negotiate with Mugabe rather than impose sanctions, thus seeing South Africa take an active role in the crisis in Zimbabwe. In 2003, Dlamini-Zuma expressed South Africa's intention to "continue to work with the people of Zimbabwe to find a solution to these challenges" (Budget vote 2003, pg 15) and a hope that Zimbabwe chooses "the path of peaceful dialogue rather than the route of confrontation" (Budget vote 2003, pg 15). This sentiment expressed by the minister indicates South Africa's position in regards to the situation in Zimbabwe while the high number of mentions of Zimbabwe over this period also indicates that Zimbabwe was a focus of South Africa's foreign policy.

Of South Africa's neighbours Mozambique receives a number of mentions which is consistent with the previous five years, Botswana does not receive many mentions while Namibia and Swaziland likewise also do not receive any, which is also consistent with the previous year's budget votes. Lesotho is once again receives more mentions than some of South Africa's other neighbours, however, there are less mentions than during 1994-1999. Lesotho's five mentions come in the years 2001 and 2002 with 2002 being the year that elections in Lesotho took place which were largely peaceful (BBC. 2019). Once again this suggests that South Africa's neighbours are not a key concern during the budget vote speeches and that the neighbours that are mentioned more frequently is often due to unrest in those states.

In regards to the rest of Africa, once again the map shows that the continent of Africa is the focus area of South Africa's foreign policy, with a number of African states mentioned over the 5 year period. Dlamini-Zuma, at the beginning of her 2000 budget vote speech spoke of it being "the dawn of the African century" (Budget vote 2000, pg 2) and with the intention to "make real the dream of the African renaissance" (Budget vote 2000, pg 2) which highlights from the beginning her intentions to make the African continent and the African renaissance priorities of South Africa's foreign policy in the coming years. However, during this time there is a decrease in the number of African states mentioned, from 27 in 1994-1999 to 22 in 2000-2003. While there are less African states mentioned by Dlamini-Zuma, she did deliver one less budget vote speeches than Nzo in this comparison which may have an effect on the number of African states mentioned. What this does indicate is that between Nzo and Dlamini-Zuma there is no significant changes in focus in regards to Africa and that there is a consistency in South Africa's approach to the African continent as neither ministers is shown to place greater or lesser emphasis on Africa.

Unlike in the previous years the USA does not get mentioned once over this five year period, as can be seen in *figure 8*, despite the USA remaining the world's most powerful state, while Canada receives one mention. The low number of mentions of North American states indicates that North America is not a region of focus for Mbeki and Dlamini-Zuma. This can be extended to the rest of the western world as not a single European state is mentioned, with the exception of Russia. With less western countries mentioned under Dlamini-Zuma than Nzo this does seem to indicate a movement away from the West. While Russia is mentioned for the first time, Russia is only mentioned once over this period, so it cannot be said that the relationship with Russia was given greater emphasis under Dlamini-Zuma. There is an increase in the number of times that South American countries are mentioned, however, this count is up by

2, from 1 to 3, which does not indicate an increase in emphasis placed on relations with South America during this period.

In regards to the Middle East, Iraq is mentioned a number of times, but all of these mentions came in 2003, which is the same year the USA invaded Iraq, indicating that references to Iraq were made as a result of the conflict. However, this does indicate that South Africa took an interest in the conflict and was concerned with the outbreak of war in Iraq. This concern was acted upon by President Mbeki who attempted to convince both President Bush and Prime Minister Blair not to invade Iraq (Smith. 2015). Once again both Palestine and Israel receive a number of mentions, however, this time Palestine received more mentions than Israel, although the difference is not great with 8 and 5 mentions respectively. During this five year period, as stated in the 2001 budget vote speech, South Africa considered the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as being "the most serious crisis in the world at present" (Budget vote 2001, pg 5). Dlamini-Zuma on a number of occasions voices her support of Palestinian sovereignty and considered the "security of Israel is also linked to the security of the Palestinians" (Budget vote 2001, pg 5) which does illustrate South Africa's commitment to the two state solution while also showing support to the Palestinians

As was the case in the previous years, Asian countries receive emphasis during the budget vote speeches. India is the most mentioned Asian country during this period and suggests that the relationship with India is an important one to South Africa. China receives one less mention in this period than it did in the previous period. This indicates that the relationship with China is a steady one but that the relationship with China does not receive any greater significance during Mbeki's first term than it had during Mandela's tenure.

Figure 10

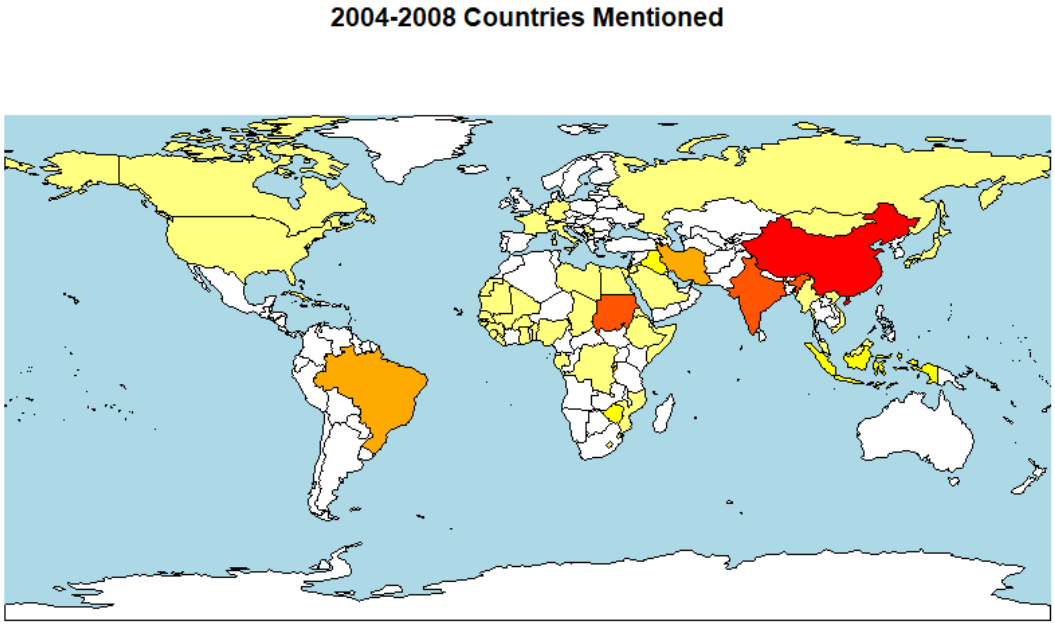


Figure 10 is the heat map for states mentioned from 2004-2008 during president Mbeki's second term as president and Dlamini-Zuma's second term as foreign affairs minister.

Figure 11

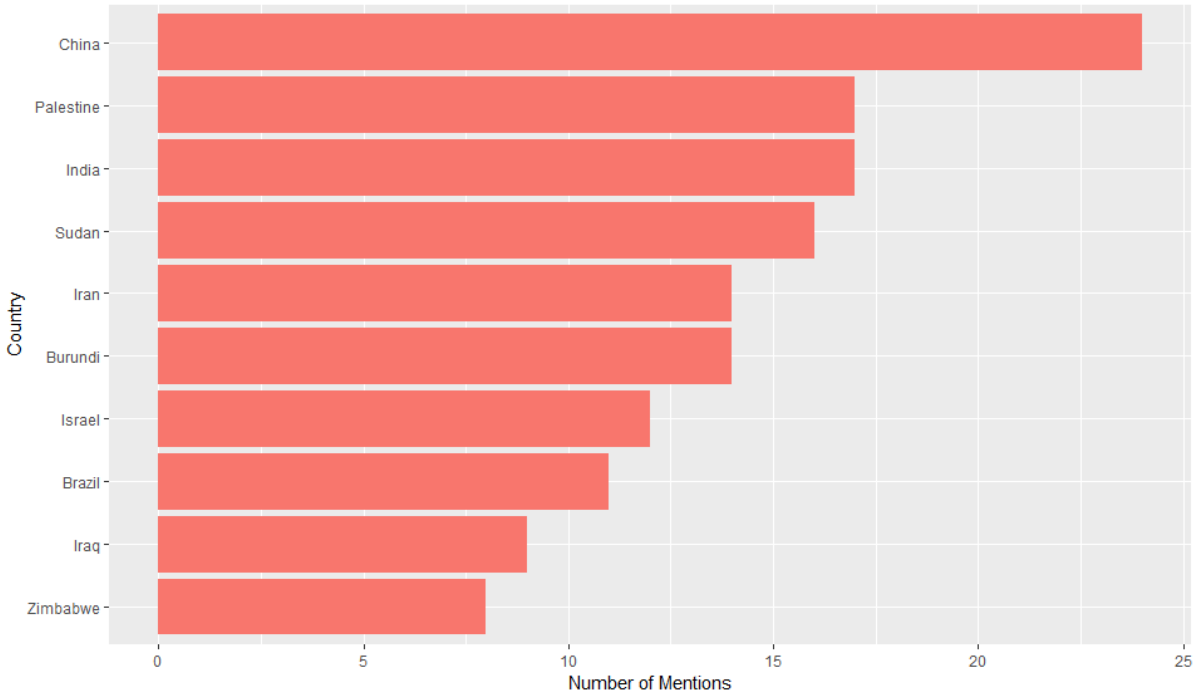


Figure 11 is a bar graph showing the ten most mentioned states during the period 2004-2008.

From *Figure 10* it can be seen that there has been a shift towards Asia during the period 2004-2008. China is the most mentioned country during this time, as can be seen in *figure 11*, and

is the first time it has not been an African country that is the most mentioned state. China is mentioned 24 times across this five year period which is more than double the amount of times that China was mentioned during the previous ten years. Most of the mentions came in 2007 and 2008, with 8 and 12 mentions respectively. It can therefore be said that South Africa's pivot towards China came somewhere between 2007 and 2008, with Dlamini-Zuma expressing a desire in "adding more substance to the this relationship" (Budget vote 2007, pg 20) in her 2007 budget vote speech. India is the second most mentioned country during this period and this is consistent with the previous two terms, as India often receives a number of mentions. However, in previous years India has been the most mentioned Asian country which is not the case during 2004-2008, which suggests that India is no longer South Africa's most important relation in Asia. The Asian continent in general receives an increase in the number of countries mentioned particularly in the southeast Asian islands as can be seen in *figure 10*. This does suggest an increased emphasis placed on the Asian region during this period and enhances the notion that the pivot away from the West and towards Asia and the East came in this period 2004-2008.

During this time there is still a high number of African countries mentions, 29, which is the most so far over the three five year periods. However, for the first time the most mentioned country in Africa is not a country in the southern African region, with Sudan receiving the most mentions during this period. Sudan during this time was experiencing unrest in the Darfur region which would explain the increased mentions of Sudan during this time. This increased attention towards Sudan does indicate that South Africa took an interest in the unrest unfolding in Sudan, with South Africa supporting "initiatives to bring peace and stability to Sudan" (Budget vote 2004, pg 19) and welcoming "the initiative by the AU to try and resolve the problems in Darfur" (Budget vote 2004, pg 19).

Burundi is the second most mentioned African country and this due to South Africa's involvement in the peace process in Burundi. The high number of mentions of both Sudan and Burundi shows the interest that South Africa takes in events unfolding throughout the African continent and not just those in the southern African region. Mentions of African countries are spread out to all the regions of Africa with a lot of west African countries receiving mentions. However, there seems to be a decrease in mentions of southern African countries, with Angola, once the most mentioned county during the budget vote speeches, not receiving any mentions during this time. This would indicate a decline in interest in the affairs of Angola once stability was established in the state.

Of South Africa's neighbours, as was the case in 1999-2003, Botswana and Namibia are not mentioned, while Lesotho's mentions have also decreased from that period down to one mention over the 2004-2008 period. Swaziland and Mozambique also receive one mention during this time, which in regards to Mozambique is a decrease from previous years where Mozambique was the most mentioned of South Africa's neighbours in 1994-1998 and second most in the next period. This indicates a declining interest in the affairs of Mozambique. Once again this suggests that South Africa is only willing to focus on its neighbouring countries if they are experiencing unrest and/or instability.

Zimbabwe once again is the most mentioned of South Africa's neighbours even though there is an overall decline in the mentions of Zimbabwe. However, this does suggest a continued interest in Zimbabwe by South Africa which is likely due to the continued instability in Zimbabwe and the international attention Zimbabwe was experiencing. President Mbeki opposed sanctions on Zimbabwe and the high number of mentions, during the Mbeki presidency suggest that South Africa took a keen interest in the unfolding events in Zimbabwe. President Mbeki looked to facilitate dialogue in Zimbabwe, however, minister Dlamini-Zuma does indicate that while South Africa may be involved in Zimbabwe, the success of the dialogue "depends on the political will of the Zimbabwean government and the opposition parties" (Budget vote 2007, pg 11) and therefore limits the extent to which South Africa is prepared to force a resolution to issues in Zimbabwe.

During this period there is also an increased mention of European countries in both western and eastern Europe, with Germany getting the most mentions with four mentions, followed by Russia on three. While there is an increase in mentions of European countries, the low numbers of these mentions does not suggest any significant change towards relations with Europe or an increased interest in the region, but rather a "consolidation of growth in our traditional partners in the North" (Budget vote 2007, pg 26). North America also sees an increase in countries mentioned. However, the number of these mentions is low, with Canada getting one mention and the USA three, which likewise does not suggest a change in approach to North America, with less significance being placed on North America persisting.

Brazil for the first time receives mentions during the budget vote speeches and is mentioned eleven times during this five year period. This would largely be as a result of the formation of IBSA which sees Brazil taking on greater emphasis in South Africa's foreign policy. With Brazil receiving a high number of mentions in comparison to other states this would suggest

that, over a short period of time Brazil has become an important state in South Africa's foreign policy. However, once again there are not a number of South American states mentioned, which suggests that apart from Brazil the continent is not a region of focus of South Africa's foreign policy. This is consistent with previous periods, as South America is shown to be a continent that South Africa does not prioritises.

Finally, the Middle East countries receive an increased number of mentions. Once again Israel and Palestine receive a large number of mentions which suggests a consistent interest in the conflict with South Africa continuing to "engage Israelis and Palestinians in the search for peace" (Budget vote 2004, pg 2004). The majority of those mentions came in 2004 in which minister Dlamini-Zuma emphasised an end to the violence in the region and reiterated South Africa's support for the peace process and the two state solution. Once again Iraq received a number of mentions, due mainly to the USA's continued war in Iraq, with most of these mentions also coming in 2004, suggesting that the 2004 speech spent much time discussing events in the Middle East. Finally, Iran is mentioned for the first time and this is mainly due to the concerns around their nuclear activity. This would support the notion that South Africa places a particular interest in nuclear non-proliferation as Dlamini-Zuma paid particular attention to events unfolding around Iran and suggests that when issues of nuclear weapons arise South Africa is willing to speak out against nuclear proliferation. This is exemplified by Dlamini-Zuma saying that "South Africa and the international community do not wish to see Iran develop nuclear weapons, but equally we do not want to see war over Iran's nuclear programme" (Budget vote 2007, pg 22) in her 2007 budget vote speech.

Figure 12

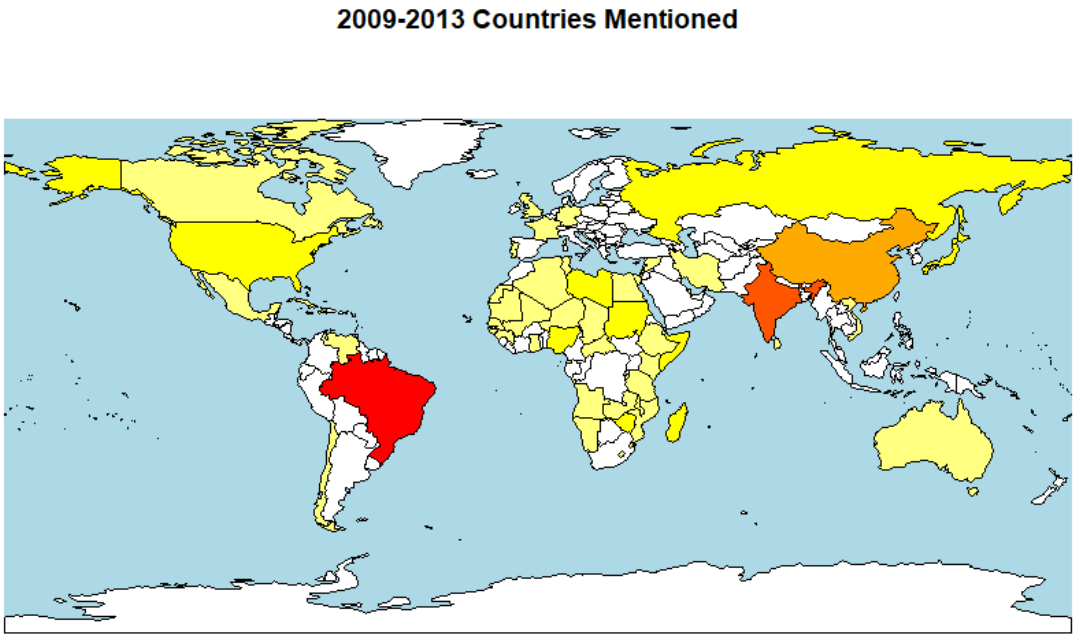


Figure 12 is the heat map for the countries mentioned during the 2009-2013 budget vote speeches. This is president Zuma's first term in office and his international relations minister is Maite Nkoana-Mashbane.

Figure 13

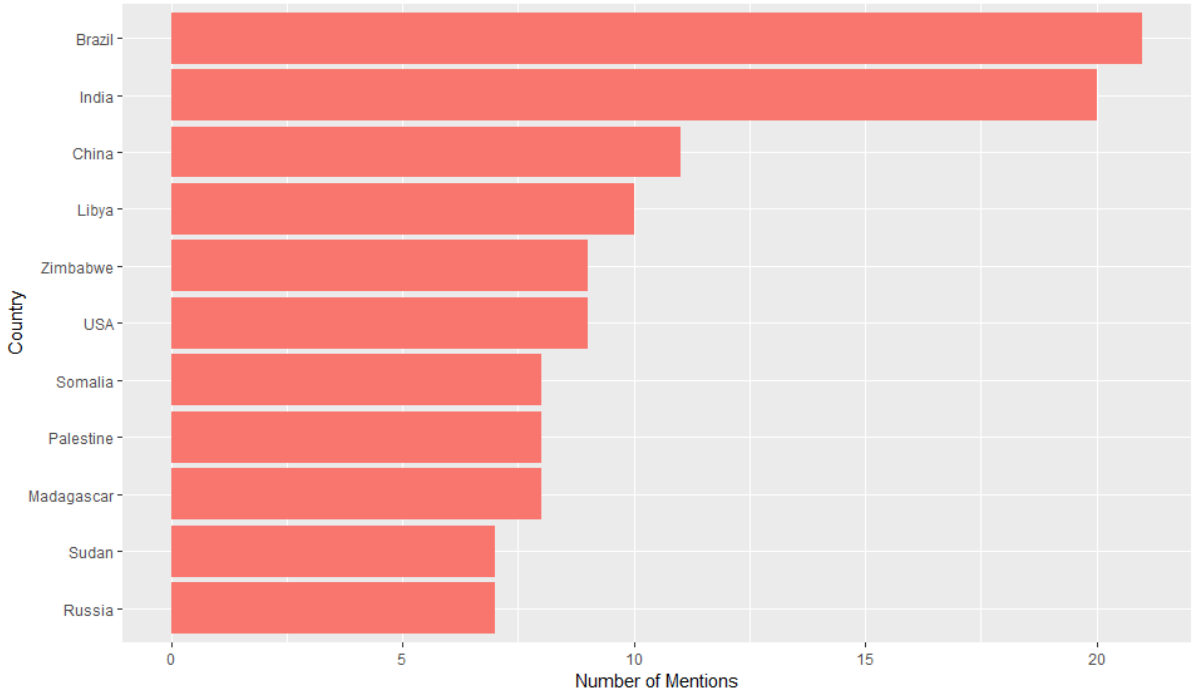


Figure 13 is a bar graph showing the ten most mentioned states during the period 2009-2013.

During Zuma's first term in office Brazil is the most mentioned state during the budget vote speeches, followed by India with one less mention, with the high number of mentions of India being consistent with previous periods. This is the first time that a country from South America is the most mentioned state and is in contrast to the first ten years, 1994-2003, where there were seldom mentions of any South American states. However, since the creation of IBSA, South Africa's relationship with Brazil has taken on greater significance which would explain the increased number of mentions. With India receiving almost the same amount of mentions as Brazil, it is likely that many of the reference made to Brazil and India were made in reference to IBSA and BRICS. Brazil and India are also mentioned a number of times more that China and Russia, the remaining members of BRICS, with the relationships with India and Brazil being described as "special" (Budget vote 2009, pg 9). This would suggest that South Africa continued to place emphasis on its relations with its IBSA partners despite South Africa joining BRICS in 2010.

Of the two remaining members of BRICS, this five year period is the first time Russia is mentioned a significant amount of times, with Russia only being mentioned 4 times in total over the previous 15 years. It is only after joining BRICS that Russia is given greater prominence in the budget votes speeches which would suggest that prior to BRICS, relations with Russia were not a major focus of South Africa's foreign policy and that Russia was not key to South Africa's foreign policy objectives. The same cannot be said of the 4 other members of BRICS who have received a number of mentions over the previous 15 years. China once again receives a number of mentions although this number is less than half of what is was in the previous five year period. This would suggest that South Africa continued to prioritise its relations with China although there is less hype around Chinese relations than when the initial shift occurred during 2007-2008.

As has occurred during all the previous periods African states are subject to a number of mentions. 2009-2013 sees the most number of African countries mentioned, with 33, which indicates an even greater emphasis on Africa. The African country mentioned most often during this period was Libya. Most of these mentions came in 2012, which is a year after the uprising began in Libya. Given South Africa's involvement in the conflict in Libya, through South Africa's seat on the UNSC and its vote in favour of the resolution in the establishment of a no-fly zone over Libya, this would account for the increase in the amount of times Libya is mentioned. However, South Africa's vote in favour of the no-fly zone over Libya, which paved the way for military involvement, is in contradiction to what minister Nkoana-

Mashanbane said in her 2011 budget vote speech that "there is no solution for the Libyan problem that will come militarily" (Budget vote 2011, pg 8) which was said two months after the adoption of the UN resolution on Libya. South Africa's position on the crisis in Libya was criticised and this quote from the 2011 budget vote speech highlights the contradiction in South Africa's position on the Libyan crisis.

In general the whole north African region is mentioned more often than in previous years and this would be as a result of the Arab spring and the unrest that accompanied that region as a result. While the Arab spring saw increased attention in the region, the issue surrounding the Western Sahara, was often mentioned during this period, with calls "for a speedy resolution to the question of the Western Sahara" (Budget vote 2010, pg 14) often being made by the minister, highlighting continued interest in the Western Sahara by South Africa. The greater attention paid to north Africa, a region that previously did not receive a great degree of attention, does illustrate an attentiveness to regions of unrest and conflict on the part of the South African government.

The Central African Republic (CAR) is mentioned for the first time, in 2013, which is the year in which 15 South African soldiers died in the CAR. It was not known to the public that the SANDF was present in the CAR, and that lack of mentions of the CAR in the years prior does not indicate any attention placed on the CAR by the minister (Eliseev. 2013). From an international relations point of view there was no indication that South Africa was taking any particular interest in the issues in the CAR, nor was there any indication that the SANDF was or would be deployed to the CAR, giving the appearance that involvement in the CAR was not made with a particular foreign policy objective in mind given that in previous years there was not a great deal of attention paid to the CAR in the budget votes speeches. Other areas of conflict on the continent were referenced during the budget vote speeches, however, this was not the case with the CAR which makes the military deployment to the CAR somewhat more surprising.

However, other regions of unrest in Africa were given greater attention during the budget vote speeches. Somalia and Sudan, both states experiencing unrest, were mentioned a number of times, indicating South Africa's attentiveness to those conflicts. Madagascar is also mentioned a number of times and is a state experiencing unrest during this period. The President of Madagascar fled to South Africa giving South Africa a greater role to play in the unrest in Madagascar given that their former president is in exile in South Africa (BBC. 2018). This

would explain the reason for the increase in the number of mentions of Madagascar and the reason why South Africa would be forced to take a greater interest in the unrest in Madagascar.

Once again the most mentioned of South Africa's neighbours is Zimbabwe, which once again indicates the attention South Africa pays to Zimbabwe and its internal affairs. South Africa's other neighbours of Botswana, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho and Mozambique combined received less mentions than Zimbabwe which further highlights the focus placed on Zimbabwe in South Africa's foreign affairs. With regard to Zimbabwe, the sentence "we shall, on the other hand, continue to work with people of Zimbabwe for the full implementation of the Global Political Agreement" (Budget vote 2009, pg 4) from the 2009 budget vote speech is repeated almost word-for-word in the 2012 budget vote speech. This suggests that while the issue of Zimbabwe is noted in the budget vote speeches, South Africa's approach to the issues facing Zimbabwe did not change or develop over the five year period. In addition, the number of times that Zimbabwe is mentioned is on the decline as well as South Africa's neighbours in general which suggests that South Africa has turned is focus away from its neighbours and the southern African region and that South Africa is looking more outward to the rest of the globe.

The USA receives its highest number of mentions during this period when compared with previous periods, with South Africa endeavouring to maintain "good bilateral relations with the countries of the North" (Budget vote 2013, pg 12). In domestic politics president Zuma often spoken of the West trying to undermine his presidency, however, his international relations minister made an increase number of mentions of the USA and some European states. This would indicate a renewed emphasis placed on South Africa's relations with the West despite South Africa being a member of BRICS, a grouping designed to challenge the power of the West, and Zuma's apparent wariness towards the intentions of western states.

Finally, in regards to the Middle East, this region receives a decrease number of mentions when compared to the previous five year period. The mentions of Iraq have decreased, but this would be expected as USA involvement has de-escalated in the state (BBC. 2016). Iran likewise receives fewer mentions, with only one mention, which would suggest that South Africa's concerns around their nuclear activity have decreased. Syria however does receive an increase in mentions, these coming in 2012 and 2013, when the unrest started in Syria and the eventual descended into civil war which saw a number of states involve themselves in the conflict (Al Jazeera. 2018). In regards to Palestine and Israel, a change in approach can be seen, with president Zuma being quoted in the 2013 budget vote speech as saying "we stand with the

people of Palestine" (Budget vote 2013, pg 12) suggesting a more sympathetic stance with Palestine and a less neutral approach to the conflict as was the case in the previous 15 years. However, South Africa remains committed to the two-state solution, with minister Nkoana-Mashabane indicating in her 2012 budget vote speech that "the South African government supports a two-state solution, with Palestine and Israel existing side by side peacefully" (Budget vote 2012, pg 11) However, the number of mentions for both states has declined from previous years and this would indicate that while South Africa, under Zuma, still supports a resolution to the conflict, there is a declining focus on the Israel-Palestine conflict when compared to previous years.

Figure 14

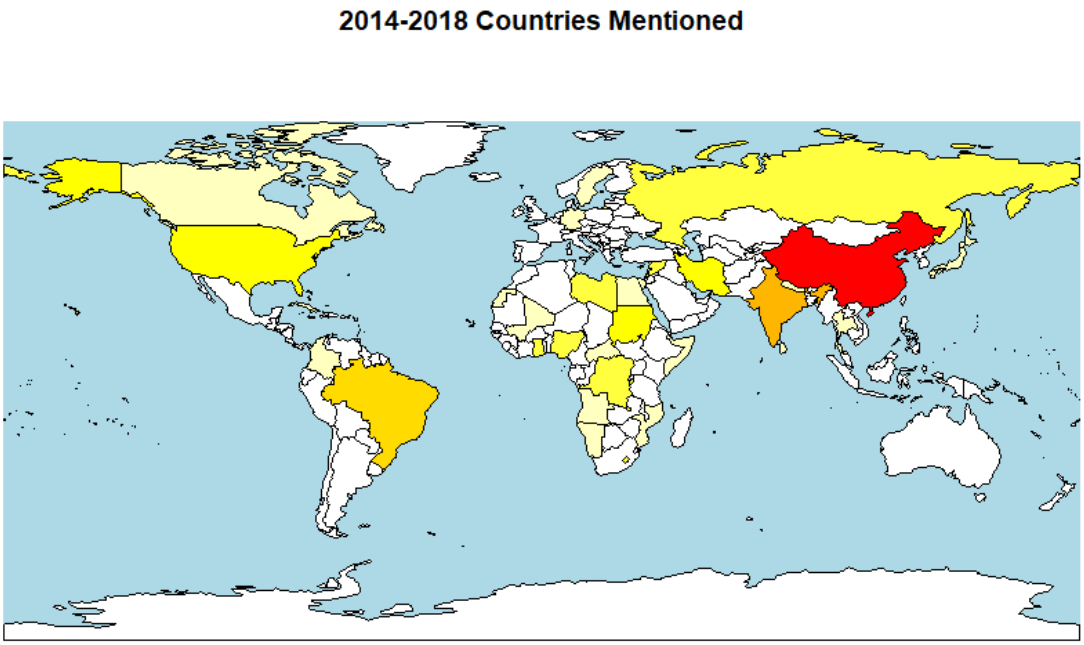


Figure 14 is the heat map for the states mentioned between 2014-2018.

Figure 15

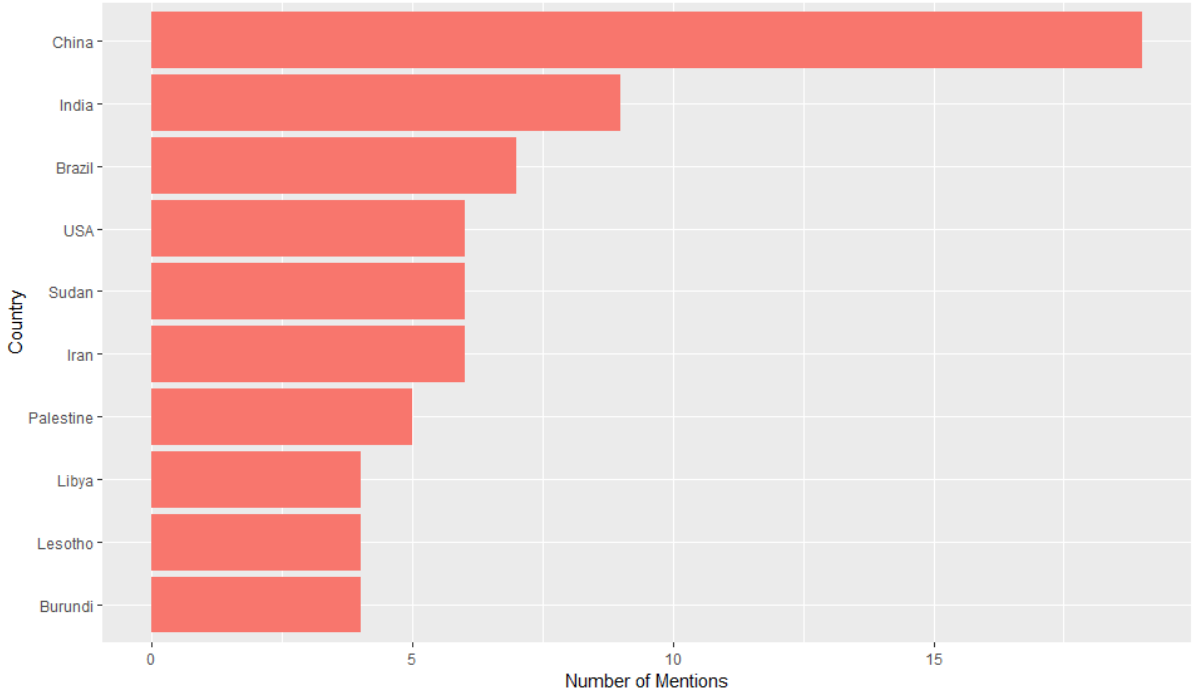


Figure 15 is a bar graph showing the ten most mentioned states during the period 2014-2018.

In 2014-2018, just as in 2004-2008, China is the most mentioned state in the budget vote speeches of the period as can be seen in both *figures 14* and *15*. This re-enforces the notion that China has become one of the most important states to South Africa's foreign policy since 2007. India, as has been consistent across all periods, is mentioned a number of times by the minister, which likewise points to the strong relationship South Africa enjoys with India. Brazil sees a far fewer mentions than in the previous five year period but remains in the top three most mentioned states. While Brazil was not mentioned during the earlier years of South Africa's democracy, in the last 15 years South Africa's relationship with Brazil has strengthened significantly to the point where the relationship with Brazil is one of the most important relationships to South Africa's foreign policy. Finally, in regards to the remaining BRICS member, Russia does not receive the same number of mentions as the other three BRICS members, therefore suggesting that of the four BRICS partners Russia is the state that South Africa has the weakest ties with.

During this five year period there are a fewer number of countries mentioned when compared to the previous four 5 year periods. This is particularly evident in regards to Africa, where 14 different countries are mentioned, which is less than half the amount in the previous 5 year period. During president Zuma's first term in office his minister mentioned the highest number

of different African states which suggested an even greater focus of Africa than President Mbeki whose key foreign policy was the African renaissance. However, in Zuma's second term, with the large drop off in African states mentioned, it can be suggested that the African continent was not a major focus of the Zuma presidency or at least not during his second term in office.

Libya is mentioned once a year for the first four years which could be as a result of the continued unrest in the state and given the role that South Africa played in the unrest it would be hard for South Africa to ignore the situation. Sudan likewise received a number of mentions and this too would be due to the unrest in the country and the newly independent South Sudan. However, Sudan is not mentioned in 2015, the year that Sudanese President Omar Al Bashir visited South Africa and the South African government chose not to arrest him. It may be expected that the minister would need to explain the position of government and the reason for not arresting Al Bashir, however, this was not the case. The lack of mentions of Sudan in 2015 suggests that the minister did not take the opportunity during the budget vote speech that year to explain the actions of government to parliament in regards to not arresting Omar Al Bashir.

The 2014-2018 period is the first time the DRC has been mentioned since 2007 despite South Africa's military involvement in the DRC for a number of years. This suggests that while South Africa can point to the DRC as an example of South Africa's intentions of playing an active role in bringing an end to conflicts in Africa there is an unwillingness to highlight this role during the budget vote speeches. This gives the impression that South Africa's involvement in the DRC is not an important foreign policy point despite involvement in the DRC being in line with South Africa's objectives of "silenc[ing] the guns" (Budget vote 2015, pg 7) on the African continent and promoting peace and democracy around the world.

Finally, in regards to Africa, the mentions of South Africa's neighbours have continued to see a decline in the number of mentions over the years. Zimbabwe, which has been the most mentioned neighbour since the 1999-2003 period, is not mentioned once during this five year period. This indicates a change in the approach to Zimbabwe as South Africa seems to take less of an interest in Zimbabwe during the period 2014-2018 despite the situation in Zimbabwe not improving. This suggests a declining interest and involvement in Zimbabwe during this five year period. During this period Lesotho is the most mentioned neighbour, with four mentions across the five years. Mentions of Lesotho may be as a result of the political unrest in the state. However, South Africa's involved in the de-escalation of tensions in Lesotho is

not reflected by an increase in the number of mentions in the budget vote speeches which would suggest that Lesotho was not central to South Africa's foreign policy objectives during this time. Of South Africa's remaining neighbours, Namibia, Botswana, Swaziland and Mozambique received a combined total of two mentions, which continues the trend of South Africa's neighbours not receiving a large number of mentions.

The Middle East is another region that sees a decline in mentions. Syria is mentioned once again, and this is due to the continued civil war in the country that has dragged a number of states from around the world into the conflict and has resulted in a humanitarian and refugee crisis. This indicates an attentiveness to the Syrian conflict, but as Syria is not mentioned a large number of times it does not indicate a South African willingness to involve itself in conflict in Syria in anyway. Iran is also mentioned a number of times, particularly in 2018, and this is due to the USA pulling out of the Iran nuclear deal, a deal supported by South Africa with South Africa taking "deep displeasure" (Budget vote 2018, pg 7) at its break down. Once again this shows South African attentiveness to issues around nuclear weapons which has been consistent throughout the budget vote speeches. Israel and Palestine is also mentioned during this period, which is consistent with previous periods, however, the trend of fewer mentions of these two states continues. This once again suggests that while South Africa continues to support a peaceful resolution to the conflict, the Israel-Palestine conflict is less of a priority to South Africa when compared with previous years.

Finally, in regards to the western states, the USA receives a number of mentions, however, these mentions cannot be considered as a result of a renewed interest in the USA by Zuma and his minister. The majority of the mentions of the USA came in 2018 when president Ramaphosa and his international relations minister Lindiwe Sisulu had taken over. As the USA receives the same number of mentions in 2018 as Iran did, it indicates that the USA was mentioned in relation to the Iran nuclear deal and does not suggest a movement towards a greater focus on the USA in South Africa's foreign policy under Zuma or Ramaphosa. Finally, Europe sees a decline in the number of states mentioned from the previous five years, however, the number of mentions of European countries in this five year period is consistent with most of the previous years, which is to say that Europe and the western world in general is not the focus of South Africa's foreign policy.

Figure 16

1994-2018 Countries Mentioned

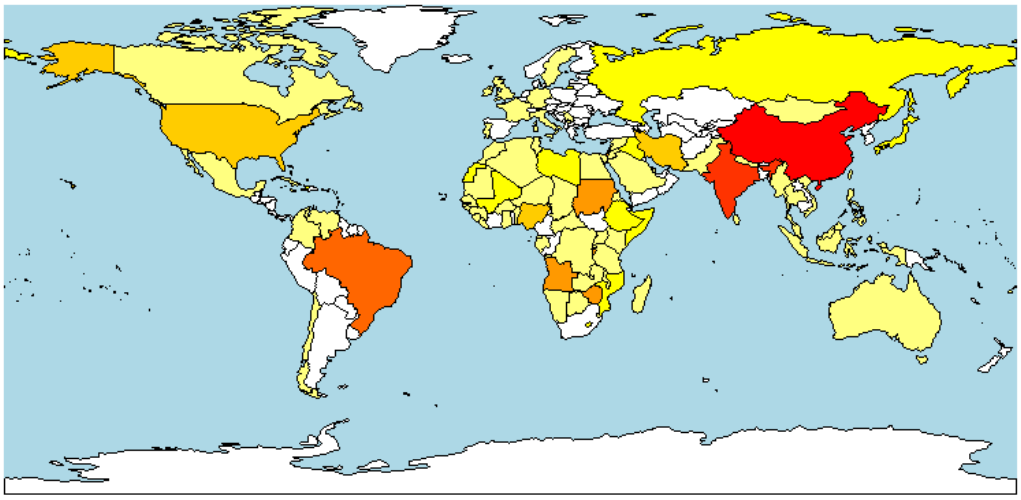


Figure 16 is a heat map of all the countries mentioned across all 25 budget vote speeches from 1994-2018.

Figure 16 shows that across the 25 budget vote speeches China is the most mentioned state. This would suggest that China is the most important state in South Africa's foreign policy objectives. However, this importance has only come in the last 11 years, after 2007. Prior to 2007 China was not a country often mentioned, which highlights the degree of significance that China has taken in South Africa's foreign policy in the last decade. The second most mentioned country is India. India, unlike China, is mentioned consistently across the 25 years, which points to South Africa having strong times with India since democracy, and with the formation of both BRICS and IBSA, ties with India have only strengthened across the years. The third most mentioned country is Palestine. This points to the interest that South Africa has in resolving the conflict between Israel and Palestine, but likewise points to South Africa possibly favouring Palestine over Israel, as Palestine receives 8 more mentions than Israel.

The fourth most mentioned country is Brazil, which like China, was not mentioned often in the first 10 years of South Africa's democracy. This would thus also point to relations with Brazil only becoming significant in the last 15 years, since the creation of IBSA. The only BRICS state that is not in the top five most mentioned states is Russia. Russia is mentioned far fewer times than China, India and Brazil, which would thus suggest that South Africa's relations with Russia does not receive that same level of importance as relations with China, India and Brazil,

despite all four states being tied together by the BRICS grouping. The fewer mentions of Russia also comes despite Russia and South Africa signing a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership in 2013, illustrating the strong relations the two states have (Daniel and Virk. 2014). With the majority of Russia's mentions coming in the last ten years, 2009-2018, it suggests that Russia would have received even less mentions if not for BRICS, pointing to BRICS being the most significant aspect of South Africa's relations with Russia. However, another possible explanation for lower number of mentions of Russia in the budget vote speeches is due to the controversy that surrounds South Africa's relationship with Russia. The nuclear deal, signed in 2013, was not well received by the South African public leading to criticism of South Africa's relations with Russia. As a result, ministers may be hesitant to extensively discuss South African relations with Russia (Weiss and Rumer. 2019).

In *Figure 16* it can be seen that almost every country in Africa is mentioned at least once across the 25 speeches. Zimbabwe is the most mentioned African country and is the fifth most mentioned overall. Most of the mentions for Zimbabwe came during the Mandela and Mbeki presidencies but it does indicate that South Africa took a clear interest in Zimbabwe and the events unfolding in the neighbouring state. Of South Africa's other neighbours, Mozambique and Lesotho are the most mentioned states after Zimbabwe. These are both states that have experienced unrest at some point during the 25 year period, and is the reason behind their higher number of mentions. This is because Namibia and Botswana, two states that are stable democracies and Swaziland, which is also relatively politically stable are seldom mentioned by the ministers. This would suggest that South Africa's attention is only placed on its neighbours when those neighbours are experiencing some form of crisis or unrest, but neighbouring states are not a point of focus if they are experiencing stability.

After Zimbabwe the second most mentioned African state is Sudan. Most of the mentions of Sudan came during Mbeki's second term and Zuma's first, which is the period when there was conflict and instability in Sudan and issues particularly pertaining to Darfur. This indicates that South Africa does indeed take an interest in conflicts on the continent. Given South Africa's role in conflict resolutions in Angola and Burundi these are the next two most mentioned countries in the budget vote speeches. This would be expected as Angola and Burundi both represent South African attempts to find peaceful solutions to areas of conflict. However, both these attempts came in the first 15 years of South Africa's democracy, with South African attempts at conflict resolution becoming less significant in recent years. However, South Africa is also involved directly in the DRC through the peacekeeping and

peace seeking missions in the state. It would thus be expected that the DRC would be mentioned far more often than 8 times in 25 speeches given South Africa being involved in the DRC since the early 2000s. The conflict in the DRC is one of the worst conflicts since the World War 2 and the SANDF's deployment to the DRC represents a clear commitment by South Africa to bring an end to the one of the worst conflicts on the continent, however, this is not a point of policy discussed by the ministers at any great length in the budget vote speeches.

Other African countries that have over this period experienced unrest or instability receive a number of mentions such as Mali, Somalia, the Comoros and Libya. This points to South Africa paying attention to conflicts and unrest on the African continent, however, where South Africa is not directly involved the number of mentions is not as great as when compared to states where South Africa is involved. Nigeria is the fifth most mentioned African state, however, Nigeria is never mentioned in any greater number at any point during the budget vote speeches. This would mean that mentions of Nigeria are spread out evenly across the 25 speeches with no one year or period seeing any significant attention paid to Nigeria. Nigeria and South Africa have not always had strong relations since South Africa's democratic dispensation, resulting in relations between the two often being cooled. This would result in relations being strained enough to mention Nigeria relatively often, but not strained enough to warrant a period of great focus, thus seeing Nigeria being mentioned consistently, but not significantly.

Figure 16 shows that besides Brazil, South America is not a continent with a great deal of focus placed on it in regards to foreign policy. Besides Brazil, only Colombia, Chile and Venezuela are mentioned with a combined total of 5 mentions, which does not suggest that these countries are major points of focus, nor is the South American continent in general. In North America, the USA is the country that is mentioned most often, while Canada and Mexico are not mentioned often enough to be considered significant. During the Mbeki era the USA is only mentioned 3 times in 10 years suggesting that during this period there was a movement away from the USA. However, this is not true for the Mandela and Zuma eras, nor does it seem to be true for the Ramaphosa era, where the USA was mentioned a number of times. Although the USA is the most powerful state in the world, it does not appear to be hugely significant in South Africa's foreign policy, with South Africa seeming to favour China and the East over the USA and the West. This is further supported by the low number of European states mentioned during the speeches, with Germany's 8 mentions being the highest. While relations

with Europe are important, it cannot be said that individual Europe states are a focus of South Africa's foreign policy.

Figure 17

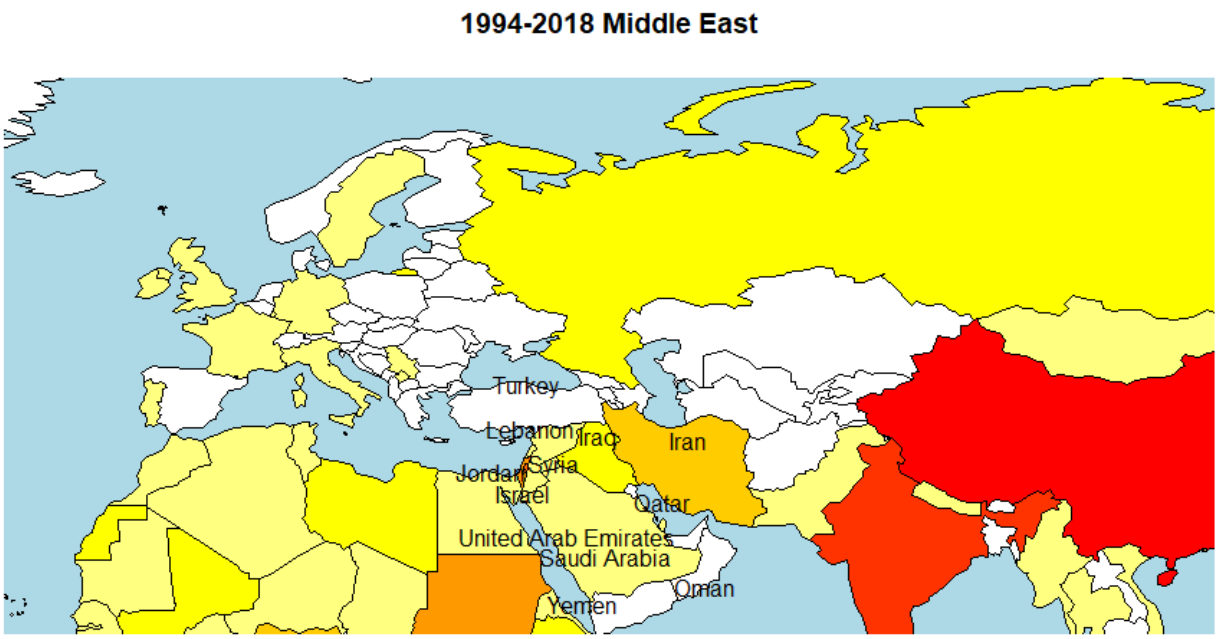


Figure 17 is a heat map of all the Middle Eastern states mentioned during the period 1994-2018.

Finally, in regards to the Middle East, which has been isolated in *Figure 17*, it is clear to see that the Israel-Palestine conflict is South Africa's main concern in the region. Israel and Palestine are comfortably the most mentioned states from the region and are mentioned consistently throughout the course of the 25 budget speeches. This further points to South Africa believing that Israel-Palestine is the main threat to peace in the region. Iran is the third most mentioned state in the region, with most of these mentions coming at times when there was global concern over Iran's nuclear programme. This would enhance the idea that South Africa is committed to nuclear non-proliferation as it is clear South Africa pays attention to states where nuclear armament is a concern.

Chapter 5: Word Frequency Analysis

Chapter 5 begins with a sentiment analysis and is followed by a word frequency analysis which includes a word cloud analysis and a thematic analysis of the ministers budget vote speeches from 1994-2018. The sentiment analysis consists of running the speeches through the R software programme and using the Lexicoder package which determines the way in which a word is being used, meaning is the word being used to convey a positive or negative sentiment by the minister. The words that conveyed either positive or negative sentiment were then added up and subtracted from each other in order to determine the overall level of sentiment in the speech.

Sentiment analysis was conducted on each of the ministers speeches in order to determine the general mood and mindset of the ministers in regards to South Africa's foreign policy. A overall positive sentiment would suggest a positive approach to South Africa's foreign policy and the way in which it is being conducted. Alternatively, if the overall sentiment of a ministers speech is negative this would suggest a more critical comment on the state of South Africa's foreign policy and the way in which it is being conducted.

In addition to the extracting of positive and negative sentiment of the ministers speech, is the work done on word frequencies from the speeches. The word frequency analysis is represented by a word cloud, which shows the general word frequencies of the speeches and then a clustering of words in order to analyse specific trends in frequencies, in this case to look at the frequency as which economic words are mentioned versus words relating to peace and conflict. The word frequency analysis is conducted on the speeches in order to look for trends in the speeches that would be difficult to pick up from just reading the speeches, thus showcasing the ability that text-mining has in drawing out more information from bodies of text than can be gained from a simple reading of the texts.

Figure 18

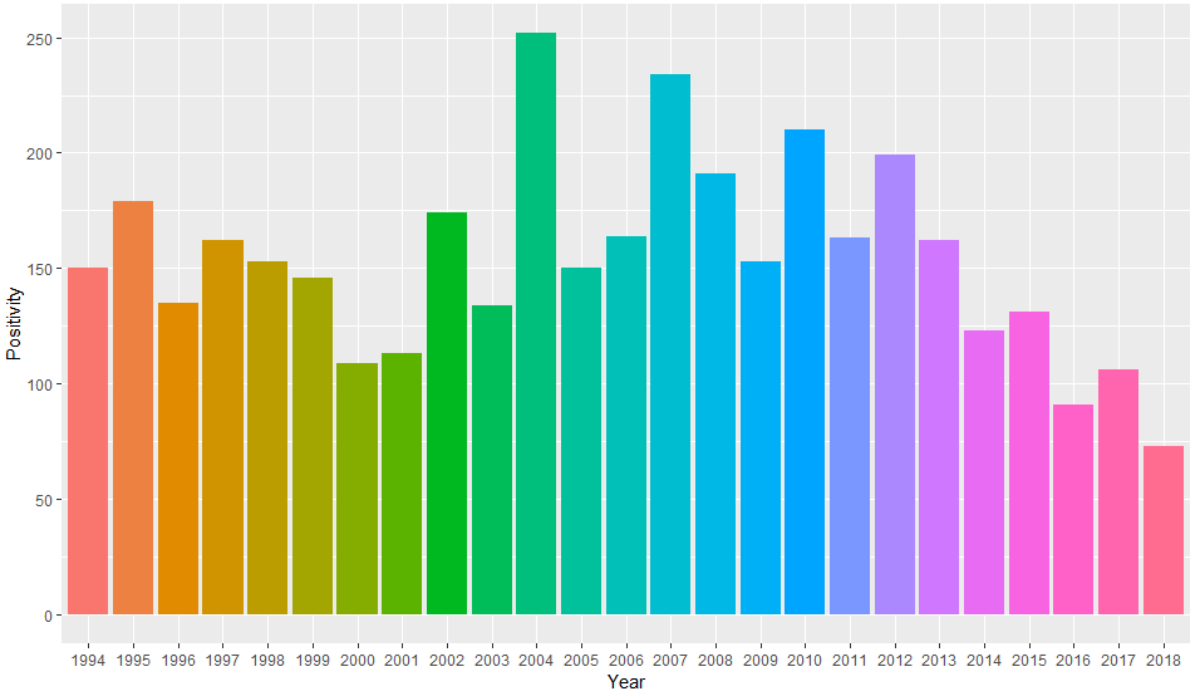


Figure 18 is a bar graph showing the levels of positive sentiment in each of the ministers speeches from the period 1994-2018.

The levels of positivity are produced by identifying the positive or negative sentiment with which a policy point was discussed by the ministers in their speeches. *Figure 18* shows that the tone of the budget vote speeches is largely positive. This points to South Africa's foreign policy being discussed in a positive light by the ministers and an overall positive approach to South Africa's foreign policy is adopted. This is true of all foreign ministers across the 25 budget vote speeches.

Alfred Nzo's speeches from 1994-1999 are consistent in their levels of positive sentiment, which would suggest a consistency in approach by Nzo. However, this is not the case for minister Dlamini-Zuma where there is a range of positive sentiment with less consistency, although remaining positive throughout. The general trend of Dlamini-Zuma's speeches is an increase in positivity from year to year with the exception of 2003, 2005 and 2008. Dlamini-Zuma's second term as minister of foreign affairs, from 2004-2008, sees the highest levels of positivity across a five year period which indicates a shift towards more positive policy outlooks from one term of office to the next. Minister Nkoana-Mashabane, during her first term as minister had similar levels of positivity as Dlamini-Zuma's second term as minister, suggesting that there wasn't a change in mindset from one minister to the next.

However, during president Zuma and Nkoana-Mashabane's second term from 2014-2017, there is a decline in positive sentiment towards South Africa's foreign policy and sees the lowest levels of positive sentiment for a five year parliamentary term. This may be as a result of a general decline in positive sentiment throughout the country as Jacob Zuma faced a number of scandals during his second term and may be reflected in the budget vote speeches during this period. However, it may also be that during this period South Africa chose to adopt a less positive outlook on world events which therefore saw a decline is positive sentiment towards foreign policy. This decline in positivity continued into minister Sisulu's budget vote speech, at the beginning of president Ramaphosa's time in office, and has produced the least positive budget vote thus far. However, this may be due to the issues facing the department and policies around department management than around foreign policy, such as the qualified audit the department received as well as issues around deployment of diplomats to positions overseas, which were issues discussed at length during the 2018 budget vote. This would thus have an impact on the overall positive sentiment of the speeches and suggest that there are issues around the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy given the issues facing the department.

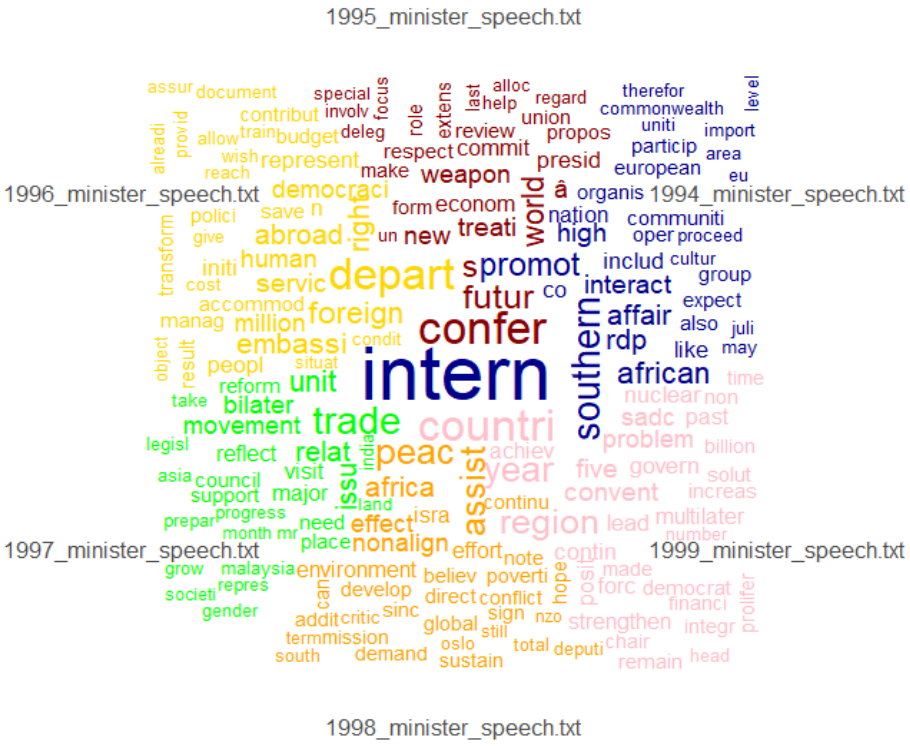
Word Cloud Analysis

Word clouds can be used as a visual representation of the words that appear most frequently in a text document. A word cloud has been produced to show the words most frequently used by Alfred Nzo across the 6 budget vote speeches he delivered as minister of foreign affairs. While the same work and analysis can be done on all the international relations budget vote speeches that have been delivered, this section on word clouds as a representation of word frequencies is serving as an example of the results that can be produced by using data science and text-mining techniques on text documents. The word clouds give a general overview of the budget vote speeches, however, the main analysis of this research report will not be taken from the word clouds, as other methods have been used for this analysis and as such analysis of each ministers world clouds will not be done in this research report. However, word clouds for the ministers that follow Alfred Nzo can be found in the appendix for general visualisation of the their budget vote speeches.

In order to produce the word cloud, the pre-processing of stemming takes place on the documents. This sees words that are variations of the same word treated as one unit. For example, the word 'prolifer' can be seen in the word cloud below. 'Prolifer' represents the

variations of the word such as proliferate, proliferation and proliferated which, while different words, refer to the same thing. The process of stemming the words in the documents accounts for variations of the same word and therefore prevents words that are the same in meaning but different in tense from being different words. The singular unit words are the words that can be seen in the word cloud below.

Figure 19


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trade
countri
bilater
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cost
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foreign

and promote the programme through its actions, indicating the RDP having an influence in the formation of South Africa's foreign policy during this period.

In terms of the priorities of South Africa's foreign policy during this time, words such as peace and conflict, which can in seen in 1998, weapon in 1995 and nuclear and 'prolifer' in 1999 show an attention to conflicts and war. In 1999 the use of the words nuclear and 'prolifer', meaning proliferation or proliferate, indicates South Africa's attentiveness to nuclear proliferation, and the continued existence of nuclear weapons. The word 'democraci' can be seen in 1996 indicating that democracy was mentioned a number of times in the 1996 budget vote speech. This is in support of the notion that South Africa is a supporter of democracy and that the country looks to promote democracy around the world. In terms of economics, the words 'econom' can be seen in 1995, trade in 1998 and 'financi' in 1999, indicating the economic aspects to South Africa's foreign policy. Trade is one of the most frequently used words in the 1998 budget vote speech which suggests that issues of trade was a focus of that year's budget vote speech and more broadly highlights the role that foreign policy plays in South Africa's trade activities.

In the word cloud there are not many country names that can be seen, however, there are more references to continents and IGOs. The words 'bilater', referencing bilateral, and 'multilater', referring to multilateral, can be seen in 1997 and 1999 respectively, suggests an emphasis being placed on bilateral and multilateral interactions with other states. This supports the notion set out by Nelson Mandela in his essay (1993) that South Africa would be a supporter of global co-operation and multilateralism. The word 'nonalign' can be seen in 1998 and this would be in reference to the non-aligned movement. The high frequency that the word was used suggests the non-aligned movement was important to South Africa's foreign policy during this period.

In regards to continents, in 1994, both the words Europe and EU can be seen indicating that both the continent of Europe and the EU were referred to a number of times in 1994. This suggests that Europe and the EU are important to South Africa's foreign policy, at least initially in 1994. Asia can also be seen in 1997 as well as Malaysia indicating greater emphasis being placed on the Asian continent in 1997. In regards to the African continent, the word Africa can be seen in both 1994 and 1998, while SADC can be seen in 1999. This makes Africa the most referenced of all the continents during the budget vote speeches. This would be expected given that South Africa is an African country and suggests that the continent is an important component of South Africa's foreign policy. Furthermore, the word southern can be seen in

the year 1994, and would likely refer to Southern Africa. This would suggest that within the African continent, the Southern African region is given particular significance, which would likewise be expected, given that South Africa is in the Southern African region.

Bag-of-words clusters

> If we are to assist in liberating our people from the effects of poverty and neglect, the question of economic growth becomes paramount. In fact, economic diplomacy is fast becoming the major focus of our activities (Budget vote 1998, pg 1834).
>
> For us, the saving of human lives, stopping wars and contributing towards peace, democracy, human rights and development cannot be reduced to simply rands and cents. What is in it for us, is peace (Budget vote 2004, pg 10).

The extracts above from the 1998 and 2004 budget vote speeches indicate South Africa's opinions on issues around peace and conflict and issues around economics and trade.

A bag of words approach was used to further analyse the sentiment of the ministers speeches. This bag of words approach grouped a number of words together to create a 'peace' cluster of words and an 'economic' cluster of words in order to determine if ministers speeches positioned South Africa's foreign policy more towards economic diplomacy or towards issues around peace and conflict. The higher number of words in the 'peace' cluster would suggest a greater focus of issues around conflict and conflict resolution by the ministers, while a higher number of 'economic' words would suggest that South African foreign policy is more concerned with issues relating to economics and economic growth. The words that were used to make each cluster were as follows;

Peace cluster: peace, mediation, conflict, democracy, violence, freedom and military.

Economic cluster: underdevelopment, economics, trade, investment and poverty.

The words selected for the peace cluster were words that either speak to peace itself or the lack thereof. On the economic cluster side, these words are words that relate to the economy, economic development or lack thereof.

Figure 20

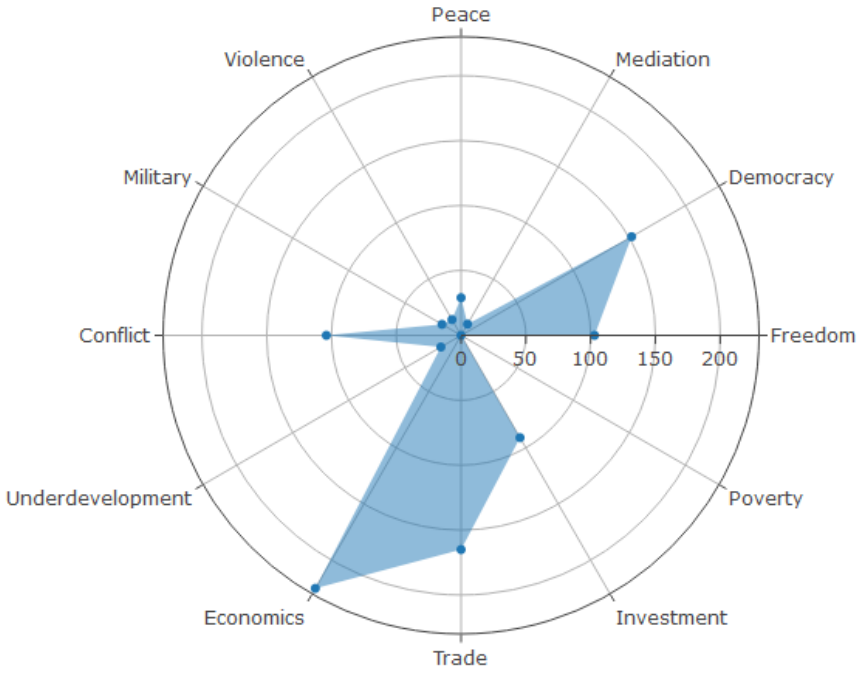


Figure 20 is a graph representing the amount of times each word was used by the ministers from both clusters during the period 1994-2018.

From *Figure 20* it can be seen that the word economics is the most frequently used from the clusters, followed by trade in second and investment in fourth. This indicates that during the budget vote speeches ministers placed greater emphasis on issues relating to economics and trade rather than on peace and stability. This would suggest that an important component of South Africa's foreign policy is promoting South African trade and investment and more broadly South Africa's economic self-interests. This promotion of economic interests is done more so than promoting peace and stability on the African continent and around the world more generally, despite peace and conflict resolution purported to be central to South Africa's foreign policy.

In addition, words such as underdevelopment and poverty are words that are not used often. Underdevelopment is used 15 times, while poverty is not used once. This would further suggest that trade and investment were sought and promoted by the ministers but were not necessarily linked to issues of poverty and underdevelopment that are prominent in South Africa and throughout Africa. Thus suggesting that trade and investment were not sought to obviate poverty and underdevelopment specifically, which is identified as being an important aspect of

South African foreign policy particularly in relation to Africa, but were rather referenced more broadly to the national interests of South Africa.

In the peace cluster, democracy is the most frequently used word, and the third most overall. This is consistent with South Africa's commitment to promote and support democracy around the world. This is followed by the word conflict, which does indicate a focus placed on conflicts taking place in Africa and around the world. However, the word peace is not as often used, which also encompasses words such as peacekeeping and peace-enforcing. This coupled with the low mentions of the word mediation would suggest that while South Africa is concerned with conflicts, South Africa does not express a huge desire to involve itself in conflict resolution. Finally, in the peace cluster, the word freedom is mentioned a number of times, which once again supports the notion that South Africa supports and promotes freedoms around the world and that freedom is a key topic in South African foreign policy.

Figure 21

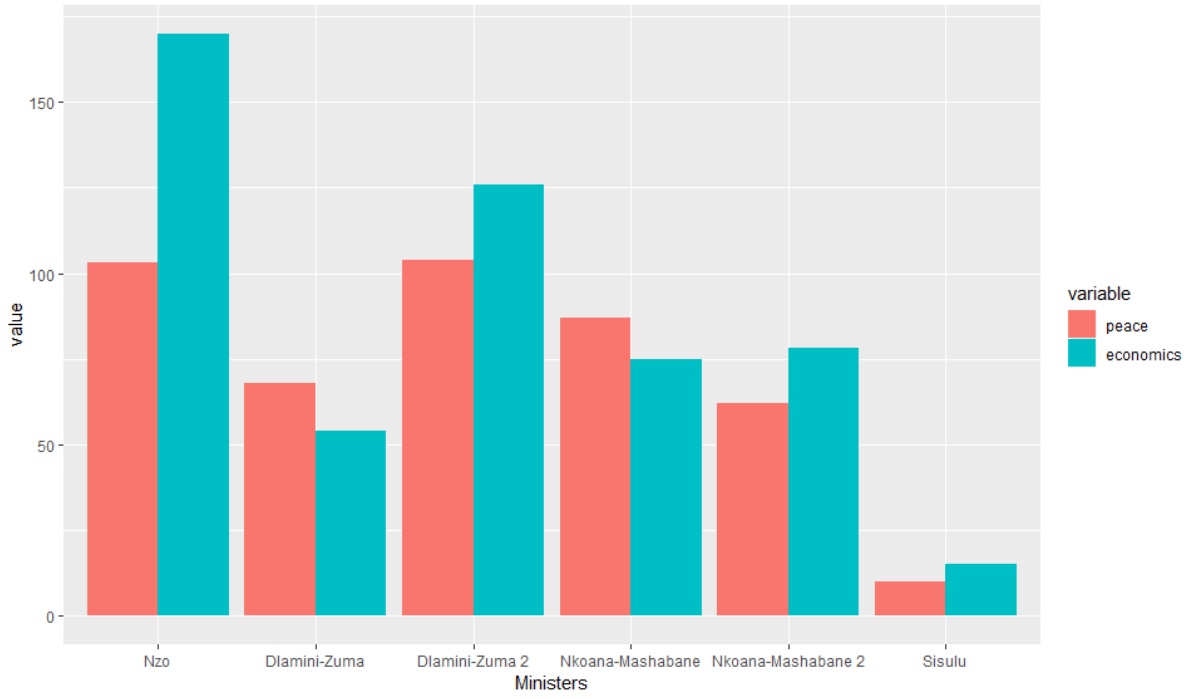


Figure 21 is a graph showing the total number of times words from each cluster that were used across each ministers time in office grouped by presidential terms.

Figure 21 illustrates that during the ministers budget vote speeches issues relating to economics are discussed more often than issues relating to peace with the exception of Dlamini-Zuma's and Nkoana-Mashabane's first terms as minsters of foreign affairs. During Alfred Nzo's tenure it is visible that economics was comfortably given greater emphasis when compared to issues

around peace. This is interesting as it is often considered that during Mandela's presidency South Africa adopt an approach in line with the liberalism theory to foreign policy which would suggest that issues around peace and human rights would be the greater focus. However, this is not the case, and with economics forming such a key topic during the budget vote speeches it would suggest a more realist approach to foreign affairs during the Mandela era.

Dlamini-Zuma's first set of budget vote speeches from 2000-2003 are one of two times that words from the peace cluster are greater than those from the economics cluster. However, the difference between the two is close, which would suggest a balance between topics of peace and economics during this period of time. However, during Dlamini-Zuma's second term the opposite is true and is there is a much greater emphasis played on economics. This would suggest that initially, Mbeki and Dlamini-Zuma emphasised peace and conflict resolution, however over time this gave way to economic focuses and thus ultimately rendering foreign policy during Mbeki's presidency more economically centred than peace and conflict resolution centred. The African renaissance that Thabo Mbeki championed did place emphasis on growth and renewal which would require stronger trade and economics in Africa in order to achieve the renaissance. This could also be a possible reason as to why the economics cluster of words is so high during this period while South Africa pursued the African renaissance.

During Nkoana-Mashabane's first five years as minister of international relations, during the Zuma presidency, words from the peace cluster outnumber words from the economic cluster. However, during Nkoana-Mashabane's second five years, words from the economic cluster outnumber the words from the peace cluster, while the same can be said for Sisulu's budget vote speech during the first year of the Ramaphosa presidency. Nkoana-Mashabane's two terms as international relations minister follows the same pattern as Dlamini-Zuma, where in the initial five years, words from the peace cluster outnumber those from the economics cluster. However, in the case of Nkoana-Mashabane, for neither grouping is the gap between the two clusters large, which would suggest that there is a balance between the two clusters over a nine year period. This is in contrary to the perception that under Jacob Zuma South Africa prioritised economic development and its position in BRICS over issues of peace and conflict (Mpungose. 2018). From the one budget vote speech delivered during the Ramaphosa presidency, by Sisulu, the indication is that Ramaphosa's foreign policy will prioritise issues around economics and trade than issues of peace and conflict. However, as only one speech has been analysed in this report, it cannot be said with certainty that this will be the trend going forward.

Of the six groupings in *Figure 21,* four groupings illustrate that words relating to economics outnumber those relating to peace, which strengthens the argument that South Africa's foreign policy has tended to place an emphasis on economic issues over issues of peace and conflict. Ultimately this would imply that South Africa's foreign policy is not as true to the principles of the theory of liberalism as has been previously suggested and that economic interests are discussed more often or at greater length than those relating to peace and conflict. Thus making South Africa's foreign policy more realist in nature than it is often purported to be as communicated through the budget vote speeches.

Chapter 6: Political Party Analysis

The same sentiment analysis has been done on some of the political parties that participated in the subsequent debates relating to the ministers budget vote speeches. The parties that will be looked at are the ANC, NP and IFP during the 1994-1999 period as these are the parties that constituted the GNU from 1994-1996 and were the three largest parties in the first parliament (SAHO. 2017). For the period 2000-2018 the parties that will be analysed will be the ANC, DA and IFP as these are the three most consistent performers in the national elections.

The sentiment analysis that is done on the political parties speeches follows the same process that was done on ministers speeches. Sentiment analysis is conducted on the political parties speeches in order to determine whether the top performing political parties in South Africa's elections over the 25 year period view South Africa's foreign policy in a positive or negative light. If the sentiment of a political party over a five year period is positive then it can be suggested that that political party in general approves of South Africa's foreign policy. If, on the other hand, a political party has an overall negative sentiment then it can be suggested that that political party disapproves of or is critical of the direction that South Africa's foreign policy is taking. A similar rationale is used on the bag-of-words analysis, where contradicting results between political parties and the ministers would suggest disapproval, while results that are similar in nature would suggest approval of the general direction of South Africa's foreign policy on the part of the political parties.

The reason for analysis being conducted on political parties present in parliament is done in order to investigate how parties with different objectives, interests groups and opinions approve of South Africa's foreign policy. If opposition parties have an overall negative sentiment in regards to South Africa's foreign policy and place greater emphasis on an aspect of South Africa's foreign policy than the minister then it can be suggested that opposition parties do not view South Africa's foreign policy as being representative of themselves and those they represent. On the contrary, if opposition parties have an overall positive sentiment of South Africa's foreign policy and the emphasises of their speeches are similar to that of the ministers, then it can be suggested that South Africa's foreign policy in general is succeeding in representing the interests of South Africa as a whole and not just one groups narrow interests. In regards to the ANC, the governing party, it can be suggested that if ANC speeches are negative in sentiment and in contradiction to that of the ministers then ministers are failing to

implement ANC policy. However, if the opposite is true, this would suggest that the ANC approves of the ministers implementation of ANC policy.

Sentiment Analysis

Figure 22

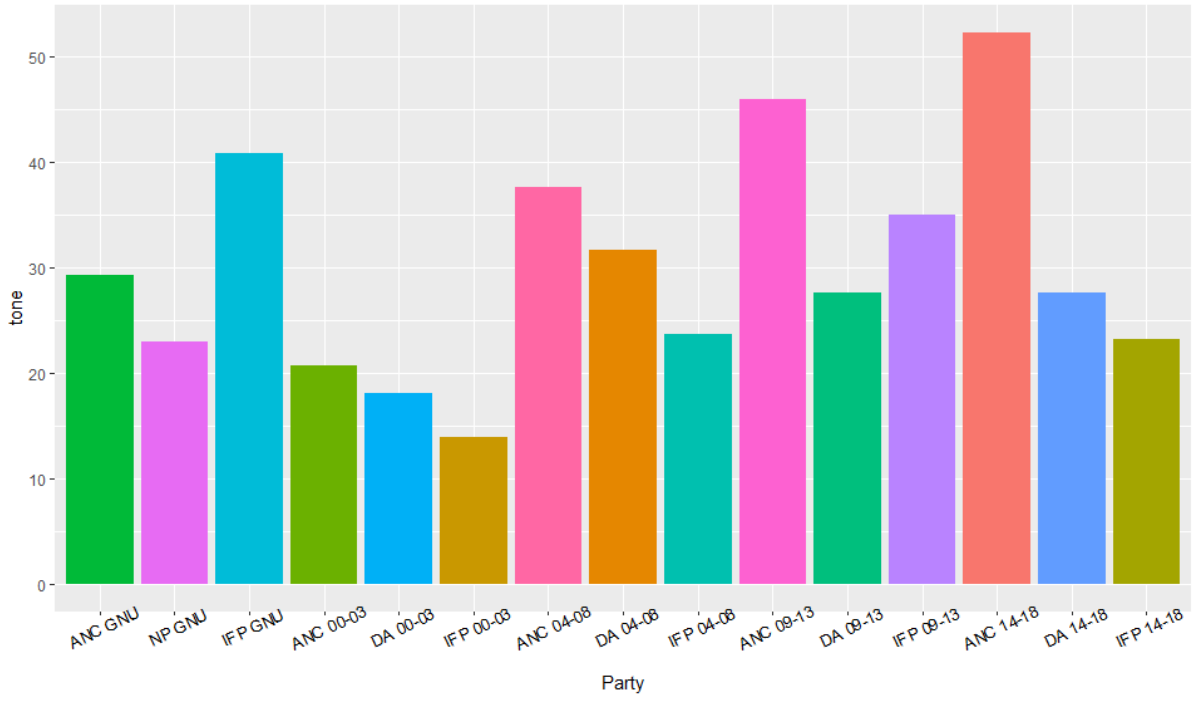


Figure 22 shows the sentiment expressed in the speeches delivered by members of the ANC, DA, IFP and NP.

What can be seen from *figure 22* is that the responses made to the ministers budget vote speeches tend to be positive from all political parties. Members from the ANC do in general tend to deliver speeches that are more positive than those delivered by the DA, NP and IFP, however, this would be expected as the ANC is the governing party and would thus be expected that their members greet speeches made by their ministers with enthusiasm and/or positivity. This is because in general the ministers are likely to deliver budget vote speeches that reflect the views and policies of the ANC, therefore making budget vote speeches more agreeable to the ANC parliamentary caucus.

The periods of 09-13 and 14-18 saw the highest levels of positivity from the ANC which were during the Zuma presidency. However, during the Zuma years South Africa's foreign policy came under greater criticism than previous periods and suggestions were made that South

Africa lost influence and stature on the international stage (Qobo. 2018). However, the negativity surrounding South Africa's foreign policy is not reflected in the sentiments of the ANC members with the opposite being true and positive sentiment increasing. The same can be said for the members from the DA and IFP who were also more positive than in previous years. This would indicate that while there was criticism of South Africa's foreign policy from members of the public, this is not reflected by members of parliament, with parliament in general being happy with the path South Africa's foreign policy was taking under the Zuma-led government. This might indicate a disjuncture between the views of the public and the views of members of parliament despite MPs being in parliament to represent the views of the broader public.

During the first parliament, 1994-1996, and the government of national unity, for 1994-1996, it was the IFP and not the ANC that had the most positive responses to the budget vote speeches. This is the only occasion where the ANC does not have the most positive tone during a five year period. This would suggest that, during the time when the IFP formed part of the government, the party was very willing to support the policies driven by the ANC. However, this is not the case in the periods that followed where the IFP were less positive in their tone and more critical of the ANC. This would suggest that the IFP bought into the idea of a government of national unity and were willing to support the ANC, and the government in general, despite being an opposition party. When the IFP were out of government the party adopted a position more typical of an opposition party where the response to the ministers is less positive and more critical.

The IFP threw their weight behind the government of national unity despite holding differing policies and approach to those of the ANC. The same can be said of the NP who also received the budget vote speeches during the 94-99 period with a generally positive tone. Although the NP were the least positive of the three parties, it does indicate that the NP were prepared to support the ANC led government despite South Africa's new foreign policy taking a different path to that taken by the NP government of the Apartheid era. This would further suggest that the ANC were successful in building consensus and convincing both the IFP and the NP to buy into the government of national unity and the direction the ANC was leading South Africa in in regards to South Africa's foreign policy.

Bag-of-words Analysis

Figure 23

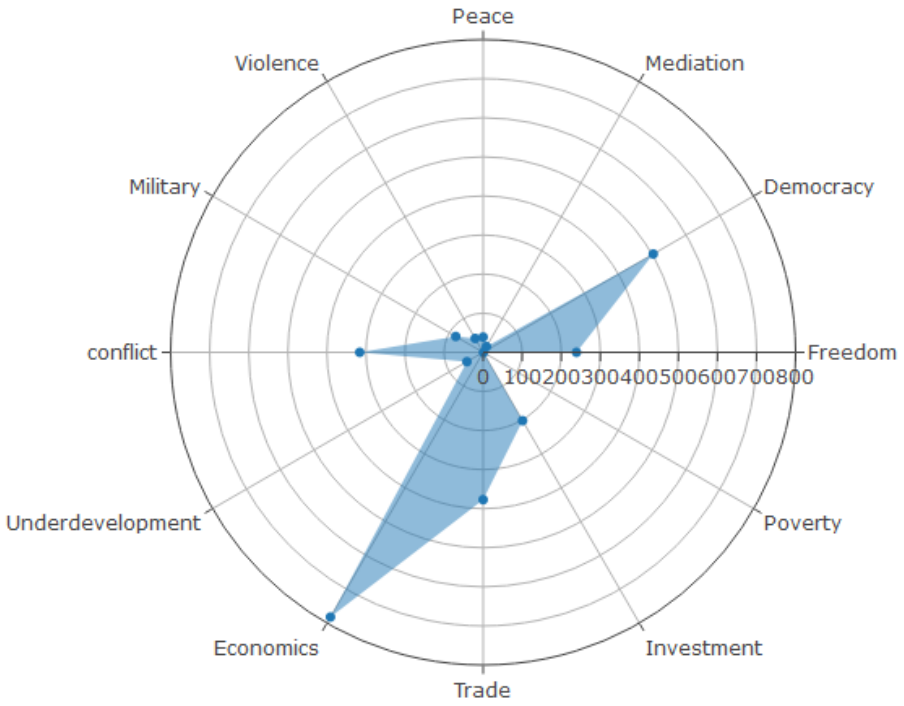


Figure 23 illustrates the number of times the words that make up the peace and economics clusters of words were said by all political parties analysed in this paper across all 25 years.

For the political parties the word economics is comfortably the most used word from the clusters, as was the case in regards to the ministers speeches. As members of parliament respond to the speeches made by the ministers it is therefore likely that MPs' speeches mimic somewhat that which is said by the ministers. However, MPs' responses do reflect their own parties policy points and points of interest. It can therefore be said that economics is an important topic of discussion for both the ministers and the political parties in parliament. Trade is the third most mentioned word, which supports the notion that political parties are interested in the economic and trade benefits that South Africa can gain through its foreign policy. As with the ministers, economics and trade are not spoken of in conjunction with underdevelopment, which does again suggest that political parties are not discussing economics and trade with the view of assisting states that are underdeveloped. Poverty is mentioned only once in 25 years which likewise suggests that economics, trade and investment are not discussed with the view of alleviating poverty in the developing world.

In regards to the peace cluster words, democracy, conflict and freedom are the most mentioned words from the cluster, which is the same as the ministers. This once again highlights that democracy and the promotion of democracy is a key area of South Africa's foreign policy both for political parties and the ministers. The word conflict is also mentioned a number of times however, the words peace and mediation are not. This suggests that while political parties are concerned with areas of conflict there is not great call for South Africa to involve itself in the peace process from the political parties. This is similar to the situation found in the ministers speeches which likewise mentioned democracy, conflict and freedom a number of times, but did not mention peace and mediation with any frequency. This would suggest that in terms of South Africa's foreign policy, the government and political parties are concerned with regions in conflict, however, there is a lack of political will to involve South Africa in conflict resolution and the peace process.

Figure 24

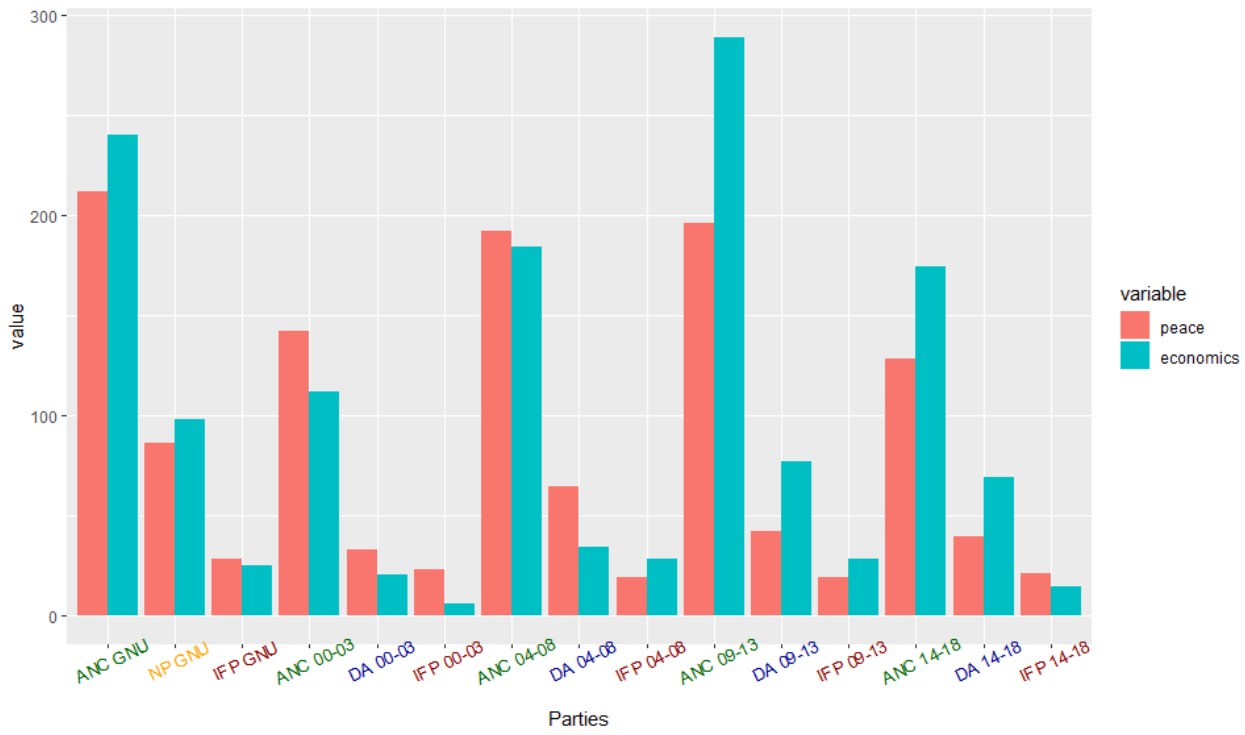


Figure 24 is a graph that shows the number of times the words from the peace and economics cluster were said by the ANC, DA, IFP and NP across each parliamentary term.

In regards to the ANC, during the Mandela and Zuma eras the economics cluster words outnumber the peace cluster words, while during the Mbeki years, the peace words are more frequent than the economic words. Despite the ANC's foreign policy in general being an approach based on liberalism, during the times of Mandela and Zuma the ANC spoke more

often around issues relating to economics than to peace. The ANC's foreign policy approach under Mandela and Zuma were similar in that issues relating to the economics seemed to have taken preference over those relating to peace as seen by the economics cluster outnumbering the peace cluster. This indicates that the ANC under Mandela and Zuma was more focused on the economic growth and benefits of South Africa's foreign policy.

There was a shift in ANC approach during Mbeki's years as president of the ANC as ANC MPs spoke more about peace than economics. This fits more in line with Mbeki's African renaissance, which sought to promote peace and regeneration on the African continent as key components of the renaissance and in order for ANC MPs to promote the African renaissance in their speeches it would require frequent uses of the words from the peace cluster. However, an increase in the peace cluster words during the ministers speeches during Mbeki's tenure saw the peace cluster outnumber the economics cluster during one parliamentary term and not both. This would suggest that the ANC during the Mbeki years did not speak often of the need for economic development in order to make the African renaissance a realty

During the first parliament, both the ANC and the NP mentioned words from the economic cluster with more frequency, while the IFP had a higher mention of words from the peace cluster. The NP mirrored the ANC during this period and would suggest that the NP prioritised economics over issues relating to peace and conflict in their foreign policy. Given the nature of South Africa's foreign policy under the National Party, it would not be expected that the NP would prioritise conflict, particularly on the African continent given their previous approach to the rest of Africa. The IFP's approach would suggest that during the years of the unity government and the remainder of the first parliament, the IFP had a different focus to that of its partners in government. However, the difference between the two clusters is not great, which suggests a balanced approach between the economics and peace spheres to South Africa's foreign policy on the part of the IFP during 1994-1999.

In the parliaments that followed the IFP does not show any consistency on either prioritising economic issues over peace or vice versa. Given the lack of pattern in the IFP's responses in the debates this would suggest that the issues the IFP focuses on are not necessarily consistent in regards to foreign policy. However, this inconsistency may also be as a result of what was spoken about by the ministers as well as the key issues at the time the speeches were made. However, this does still point to a lack of consistent policy focus on the part of the IFP in regards to foreign policy.

Finally, in regards to the DA, their focuses on either economics and/or peace mirrors that of the ANC. During the period 2000-2008 the peace cluster outnumbers the economics, while the economics cluster outnumbers the peace cluster during the periods 2009-2013 and 2014-2018. This would suggest that in terms of focus areas the DA and the ANC do not have very different foreign policy priorities despite having differing policy points. It would also suggest that the DA, as an opposition party, does react somewhat to the ANC and the areas that the ANC focuses on. It is unlikely that the ANC reacts and follows the focuses of the DA given that the ANC is the majority party and therefore is the party that sets the agenda in parliament. Finally, the DA's foreign policy does have a pattern to it and thus suggest that the DA is more consistent in its foreign policy than the IFP, while also paying closer attention to the speeches made by the ANC MPs during the budget vote debates.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This research report sought to showcase ability that data science and text-mining have the potential to play in the study of international relations and foreign policy. This saw analysis conducted on geopolitical aspects of South African foreign policy as well as analysis on thematic aspects of South Africa's foreign policy. This analysis was conducted in order to answer the research questions posed by this research report. This research report sought to identify changes in South Africa's foreign policy as presented in the budget vote speeches in the democratic era. This was done by using data science techniques to better identify and analyse patterns and trends in the budget vote speeches of the minister and the subsequent response of the political parties. The research question that was posed was; what evolution has South Africa's foreign policy undertaken over the first 25 years of South Africa's democracy and what changes have occurred? And how much do political parities' foreign policy vary and differ from each other and that of the state? It was hypothesised that changes have occurred in South Africa's foreign policy and that the ANC would have a foreign policy most consistent with the governments foreign policy.

In regards to the political parties, the ANC is the political party that greets that budget votes with a highest degree of positivity and thus indicates that the ANC is happy with South Africa's foreign policy. This would support the hypothesis that the ANC would have a foreign policy that is most consistent with the governments, as it is indicated in the budget vote debates that the ANC is positive about the budget vote debates. However, the opposition parties that were analysed in this paper were also shown to respond positively to the budget vote speeches which was not anticipated in the hypothesis. What was also revealed in the sentiment analysis of the levels of positivity of the political parties was the notion that the IFP and NP bought into the idea of the government of national unity, at a foreign policy level, as both parties responded in the debates with relatively high levels of positivity.

In the bag-of-words analysis of the political parties the results showed that the four political parties mentioned more often words in the economic cluster than they did words in the peace cluster. This result contradicts what former president Mandela outlined will be the pillars of South Africa's foreign policy, namely issues of human rights, promotion of democracy and peace, the interests of the African continent and economic development through co-operation. The fact that the words economics, trade and investment were not mentioned in conjunction with underdevelopment and poverty would suggest that political parties did not reference

economic development in relation to the developing world but rather in relation to South Africa's self-interests. From the peace cluster words, democracy, conflict and freedom were the most mentioned words, while peace and mediation were not. This points to a support of democracy around the world and attentiveness to instances of conflict, but the low number of mentions of peace and mediation does not suggest loud calls from political parties for the South African government mediate and participate in the peace process. This ultimately points to a lack of political will on the part of the political parties for South Africa to participate more actively in conflict resolution.

The sentiment analysis carried out on the ministers speeches were shown to be positive in tone in every speech. In the bag-of-words analysis the results were much the same as results of the political parties, as the economic cluster words out numbered the peace cluster words. Similar conclusions to the political parties can be drawn. Investment, trade and economics were often not mentioned in relation to poverty and underdevelopment, which suggests that South Africa pursues trade and investment for South Africa's self-interests rather than for economic co-operation. This is contrary to the more altruistic objectives of South African foreign policy highlighted by Nelson Mandela. Secondly, it is also true of the ministers, that the words mediation and peace were not mentioned often which likewise suggests a lack of will on behalf of the government for South Africa to involve itself in the mediation and peace process in regions and areas experiencing conflict.

In regards to IGOs the hypothesis is proven to be correct as changes have occurred in regards to the number of mentions of IGOs over the 25 years. The change that has occurred is a declining number of mentions of IGOs as time has gone by. This indicates that less emphasis is being placed on institutions that facilitate multilateralism despite multilateralism being identified as a key pillar in South Africa's foreign policy. However, consistency does exist in some instances, such as the call for change to the UNSC although no alternative structure to the UNSC is proposed by the ministers. The high number of mentions of the AU and SADC does point to Africa and African institutions being key focuses of South African foreign policy. And the final observation in regards to IGOs is in relation to BRICS and IBSA. The number of mentions of IBSA declined as the number of mentions of BRICS increased, which does support the notion that IBSA is somewhat obsolete since the formation of BRICS given that all members of IBSA are members of BRICS and the two groupings have much the same functions and objectives.

The final analysis to be discussed on the work on the budget votes is in relation to the states that were mentioned during the budget vote speeches. A key finding from this analysis is that China is the most mentioned state throughout the 25 speeches. This suggests that China is the most important state in South Africa's foreign policy. However, China's importance is not consistent throughout the 25 years, with the pivot to China, and Asia more broadly, occurring around 2007/2008 under president Mbeki and not under president Zuma as some people believe. Additionally, the results show that India is the second most mentioned state and is mentioned more consistently than China throughout the budget vote speeches. This points to South Africa having strong relations with India that have been consistent throughout South Africa's democracy thus far.

Like China, Brazil is another state whose importance to South Africa's foreign policy has only come in the most recent 15 years. Prior to the formation of IBSA, Brazil was seldom mentioned in the budget vote speeches, but has since taken on a large degree of relevance to South Africa's foreign policy. Brazil stands in contrast to the rest of South America, as very few other South America states are mentioned. This points to South America not being a region prioritised in South Africa's foreign policy. The same can be said of Europe and North America, with the USA being the only state in North America that receives a significant amount of mentions. However, in regards to Europe, the EU is mentioned a number of times in the budget vote speeches which does suggest that South Africa engages with the EU more so than it does with individual member states.

In addition, Russia is not mentioned as often as the other BRICS states and prior to South Africa joining BRICS Russia was seldom mentioned. This points to relations with Russia only becoming significant to South Africa after joining BRICS and of the BRICS states Russia is the least significant in South Africa's foreign policy. The study of countries mentioned also shows a consistency throughout of South Africa's attentiveness to the conflict between Israel and Palestine, with South Africa also being consistent in its support of the two state solution as the solution to the conflict. However, there is also a trend of a decreasing number of mentions for both Israel and Palestine in recent years, which does suggest that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is given less attention by South Africa than in previous years.

In regards to Africa, South Africa's neighbours are often not mentioned unless they are experiencing unrest and/or instability. This is supported by the fact that the politically stable states of Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland are hardly mentioned, while Mozambique and

Lesotho received an increase number of mentions during times of unrest as well as Zimbabwe receiving a high number of mentions for the first 20 budget vote speeches. This suggests that South Africa's neighbouring states are only a priority when there is some form of crisis in the state. This is true throughout Africa, as states often receive mentions in times of conflict and unrest but not necessarily during times of peace. This is illustrated by the decrease in the number of mentions of Angola and Burundi after South Africa's involvement in the states had ended and relative peace existed in both countries. This further suggests that South Africa's major concern on the African continent is conflict and instability and once peace exists then the state ceases to be of concern for South Africa.

Given that African states are most often referenced in times of conflict this supports the assertion that trade, investment and economics were mentioned in relations to South Africa's self-interests and not with the view of encouraging economic co-operation on the African continent. This is because the ministers were primarily mentioning African states in relation to conflict and states that were not experiencing unrest at the time were seldom mentioned while also more often using words from the economic cluster of words than from the peace cluster of words. This ultimately leaves the impression that South Africa's foreign policy is more realist in nature than it is purported to be due to the fact that economic interests less often referenced in relation to development on the African continent. All of the results highlighted in the conclusion showcase the ability text-mining and data science can contribute to the study of foreign policy and international relations.

Appendix

Figure 25



Word Cloud for Dlamini-Zuma's budget vote speeches for 2000-2003.

Figure 26

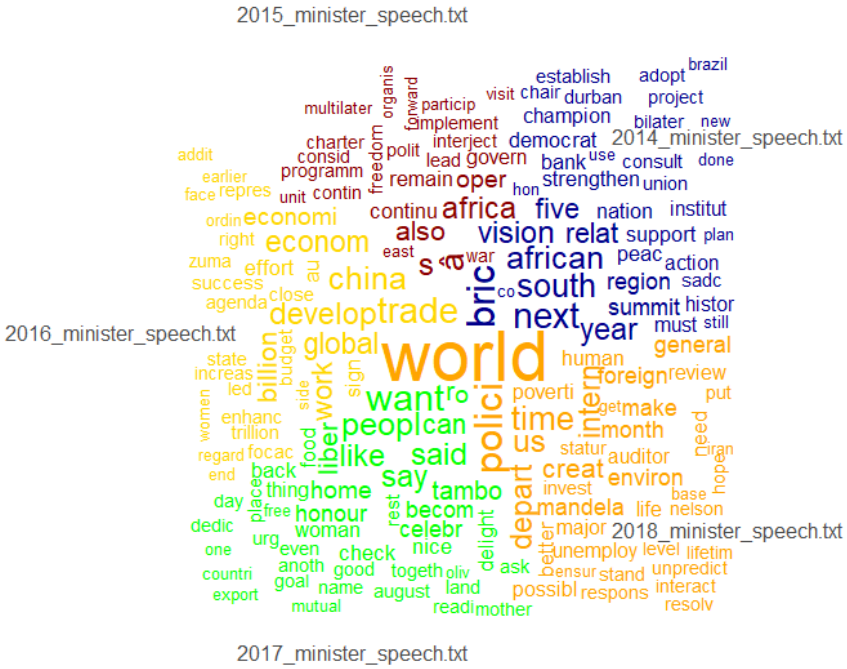
Word cloud for Dlamini-Zuma's budget vote speeches for 2004-2008.

Figure 27



Word cloud for Nkoana-Mashabane's budget vote speeches for 2009-2013.

Figure 28



Word cloud for Nkoana-Mashabane's budget vote speeches 2014-2017 and Sisulu's budget vote speech for 2018.

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