

Adekeye Adebajo and Kudrat Virk (eds). 2016. 'Foreign Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Security, Diplomacy and Trade'.

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Foreign Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Security, Diplomacy and Trade, addresses the urgent need for a comprehensive examination of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy. Complementing recent scholarship on South Africa's foreign policy, this volume differs in its historical, geographical and thematic comprehensiveness and demonstrates that South Africa's foreign policy is shaped by its domestic context, particularly overcoming the legacies of apartheid.

Divided into five main parts, the first part, titled "Key Themes in South Africa's Foreign Policy" comprises five chapters. Chris Landsberg emphasises domestic imperatives in driving South Africa's foreign policy. Devon E.A. Curtis investigates Pretoria's (still seen internationally as South Africa's administrative capital rather than its post-apartheid renaming as Tshwane) peacemaking diplomacy arguing that it is void of a clear and comprehensible approach to the African continent, raising "questions about the overall peacemaking enterprise and its limits as well as the future ability of South Africa to deliver" (p 70). Sagaren Krishna Naidoo's chapter reflects on the country's defence and security role, indicating that the consequence of an inadequate continental roadmap on South Africa's defence institutions has "generated a wider debate over the domestic and foreign policy goals of successive post-apartheid South African governments" (p 94). Although Pretoria (Tshwane) made human rights the guiding principle of the country's diplomacy it has been inconsistent in upholding such rights. Careful not to label South Africa as deviant, Nicole Fritz provides a fuller assessment of the country's foreign policy as it relates to human rights and accounts for the roles of the judiciary and the legislature in protecting human rights. Brendan Vickers and Richard Cawood discuss the expansion of South African firms into Africa and beyond. They propose co-ordination between business and the state and the expansion of home-grown companies.

Part two of the book examines South Africa's key bilateral relations in Africa. Lloyd M. Sachikonye's chapter interrogates South Africa's bilateral relations in Southern Africa. He argues that South Africa's bilateral relations with Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe "have not necessarily followed the same trajectory" (p 153). Underpinned by the close affinity between Frelimo and the ANC, relations with Mozambique have been relatively smooth, and finds "expression in the foreign policies of the two countries" (p 160) and South Africa/Angola ties warmed up with the end of the Angolan civil war in 2002. By 2013 Angola was regarded as a key strategic ally with relations improving as the personal chemistry between Jacob Zuma and Eduardo do Santos was significantly close. Meanwhile, relations with Zimbabwe have been uncertain in the context of domestic difficulties in the country. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja focuses on South Africa's bilateral relations in the Great Lakes.

Still in part two, Nzongola-Ntalaja uses the crises in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo and notes the encouraging outcome in South Africa's peacemaking efforts in the region. However, relations with Rwanda have been cool subsequent to Rwanda meddling in Congo's affairs and the violation of South Africa's sovereignty in the alleged "carrying out assassination plots against two dissidents granted asylum in South Africa" (p 182). Adekeye Adebajo examines South Africa's relations with three strategic countries in West Africa: Nigeria, Ghana, and Côte d'Ivoire, while Adebajo captures South Africa's relations with Nigeria as one of rivalry (political and economic) for leadership on the continent.

In the case of Ghana, relations have been dominated largely by economic issues, with South African companies expanding into the region. Côte d'Ivoire experienced South Africa's peacemaking efforts and economic presence because Pretoria regards the country as an economic gateway to francophone West Africa. Gilbert M. Khadiagala investigates South Africa's bilateral relations in Eastern Africa. The chapter stresses that South Africa's foreign policy approach towards the region is through the building of "political and economic ties with Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Sudan/South Sudan" (p 215). Despite close historical links with Tanzania as well as links between the ANC and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, the region is marginal to South Africa's foreign policy in comparison to Southern Africa. Rawia Tawfik looks at South Africa's bilateral relations in North Africa. Algeria is South Africa's main strategic partner in the region. But with the country facing a period of unrest like much of the neighbourhood, the chapter unpacks whether South Africa has been able to recalibrate its foreign policy towards the region.

Part three considers South Africa's key multilateral relations in Africa. Chris Saunders and Dawn Nagar explore relations between South Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In search of enhancing its global status, SADC has not been a priority in Pretoria's foreign policy. Apartheid-era destabilisation efforts also raise suspicion of a South Africa dominated bloc. Richard Gibb's chapter argues that South Africa's "interests have determined the nature, evolution and character of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU)" (p 275). The chapter uses South Africa's relationship with SACU to gauge the country's foreign policy objectives as it relates to multilateralism, regional integration and how "the African power manages „hegemony“" (p 275). Eddy Maloka examines the evolving relationship between South Africa and the OAU/AU. He notes that South Africa has taken a three-pronged approach to the AU; direct leadership, cooperation with other countries and support of institutional initiatives. It has promoted certain positions of the AU globally, all in an effort to stimulate its African identity continentally and internationally.

Part four of the book interrogates South Africa's key bilateral relations with the United States (US), Britain, France and China. Stephen R. Weissman unpacks the pragmatic relationship between South Africa and the US despite public criticism of the latter. Pretoria and Washington have agreed on a number of important foreign policy issues. As he puts it, "Mandela and Clinton came together on non-proliferation and Burundi. Mbeki and Bush worked together on the DRC and Zuma and Obama have cooperated on the DRC and Sudan" (p 331). Daniel Large traces the uneasy relationship between South Africa and Britain. With South Africa's standing in world affairs elevated post-1994, a recalibration of relations ensued. In particular, Britain has sought to end foreign aid to South Africa to pursue a more economically balanced relationship. Examining South Africa's relationship with France, Roland Marchal stresses co-operation economically and on other issues even though differences exist. Liu Haifang examines the growing relationship between South Africa and China. Grounded on the history of solidarity between the ANC and China, the rapid expansion of bilateral and multilateral relations has elevated South Africa's prompting its inclusion in the BRIC bloc. However, relations remain vulnerable to influences from powerful Western states as the Libya case demonstrates with South Africa going against fellow BRICS members and voting for military intervention (allegedly after Obama convinced Zuma to support the resolution).

The last part of the book investigates South Africa's key external multilateral relations with the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group (ACP) and the BRICS. Doctor Mashabane argues that South Africa has used the UN to influence certain global issues. Elected twice to serve as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, the chapter highlights South Africa taking up a serious leadership role on issues affecting Africa. Faizel Ismail discusses South Africa's performance in the multilateral trading system, arguing that domestic imperatives informed the country's participation in the WTO prior and after the Doha Round of 2001. South Africa's pragmatic and flexible approach has seen her profile as an effective participant enhanced. Mxolisi Nkosi's chapter examines South Africa's decision to join the ACP Group, despite not enjoying the privileges that came with this association. Nkosi postulates that South Africa's foreign policy objective of strengthening "South-South ties to help protect against economic marginalisation" (p 429) was a common theme throughout the Mandela, Mbeki and Zuma administrations. Kudrat Virk focuses on South African-BRICS relations. Although it joined the bloc in 2010, Virk notes deep challenges to South Africa's role as it shares a platform with countries significantly larger economically, that have no regional demands as in the case of South Africa, which purports to promote the African agenda. The challenge for South Africa is to manage its ambitions of leadership on the continent and to be an equal and effective partner with other BRICS members.

The chapters in this book make a fundamental contribution in assessing South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy. They show the complexities and challenges faced by relatively small players that have ambitions to have an impact internationally. With contributions from South Africans and non-South Africans alike, the book offers a comprehensive study of the evolution of South Africa foreign affairs, offering critiques, warnings and policy proposals. It stresses that South Africa's foreign policy objectives and engagement with the international community addresses domestic imperatives, in particular the legacies of apartheid. The strength of this book is its geographical scope, highlighting the ambitions and inconsistencies in South Africa's foreign policy. Predictably, a study of this nature is limited in its capacity to discuss in-depth relations between South Africa and individual country and institutions, particularly those with whom it has deep historical relations. Despite this shortcoming, it remains an incredibly significant study in capturing South Africa's re-engagement in world affairs post-1994 and how its status has developed internationally. It also provides a window into international affairs and the struggles by the global south to transform international institutions in order to claim a space and voice to contribute to international decision-making.

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