

Framework Document on

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

**and its advancement in
a Global Environment**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Following its peaceful transition in 1994, South Africa was readmitted as a member of the international community of nations; this time, as a constitutional democratic state, relinquishing its erstwhile pariah status. The quest to position South Africa in international relations then began in earnest, guided by its foundational values and principles, as enshrined in its Constitution. The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa summarises these very principles and values that guide the country's interactions with the rest of the world.

The global environment at the time of South Africa's transition was still grappling with the end of the Cold War, the emergence of a unipolar world and the rise of the neo-liberal agenda under the umbrella of the Washington Consensus. This international relations space, traditionally a state-centric forte, was also experiencing a rise in the number of non-state actors. The multiplicity of actors had to be considered in the country's foreign policy approach, considering their competing interests in a power-driven environment.

Currently, this globalised world has become even more volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous. It is also confronted with cross-cutting and borderless challenges, including global warming, terrorism, global pandemics and cybersecurity. The global governance architecture is at a crossroads, as it struggles to manage these borderless challenges afflicting humankind, while governing relations between states, as well as those between states and non-state actors.

It is in this environment that sovereign states promote and protect their interests, which are called the National Interest. Some interests are inherent in every nation state, while others are derived from a state's domestic political and economic mandates, values and historical experience. States pursue interests internationally through their foreign policy and use various methods such as diplomacy, alliance-building, public diplomacy and coercion.

To adequately navigate this complex environment with aggregated states' interests, South Africa defines its National Interest premised on the values and ideals as enshrined in its Constitution and informed by the needs of its people. These needs include the eradication of the legacy of apartheid and overcoming the triple challenges of inequality, unemployment and poverty. South Africans, especially those charged with the responsibility to represent us abroad, are conscious of the values and interests that drive us as a people. This has over the years enabled South Africa to express its National Interest through its foreign policy.

The dynamic nature of global and national affairs has a bearing on the existing frameworks of power relations. Having noted this, South Africa's policy orientation has also evolved over time while its essence remains unaltered. Conceptualising South Africa's National Interest is therefore not expected to alter the consistent policies that have been pursued thus far. This Framework Document aims to guide future policy decisions within this objective framework, while meeting new challenges in a dynamic domestic and international environment.

2. PURPOSE

The purpose of this Framework Document is to propose a definition of South Africa's National Interest and its elements, the means to pursue these interests and their practical application in the domestic and global environment.

3. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Framework Document are to:

- propose a definition of South Africa's National Interest and its elements
- propose the means for the pursuit of South Africa's National Interest
- propose guidelines for the practical application of South Africa's National Interest in an international environment
- reflect on the current and potential future global environment
- provide for predictability in South Africa's international relations.

4. SCOPE

South Africa's National Interest derives from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, as adopted in 1996. South Africa's domestic objectives and priorities are guided by the National Interest. The identification and operationalisation of the country's National Interest is integrated in government planning and policy-making, including through the National Development Plan: Vision for 2030, the Medium Term Strategic Framework, the National Security Strategy and the Foreign Service Act, 2019 (Act 26 of 2019).

South Africa's National Interest is influenced by other national, regional and global policy instruments such as the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) and its Agenda 2063 and the Charter of the United Nations (UN) and its 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The National Interest is also shaped through solidarity and mutual interests with the region, continent and the South, including through the Bandung Principles, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Group of 77 and China and the UN. The National Interest in turn shapes the key principles of South Africa's foreign policy.

The scope of this Framework Document also encompasses the identification and operationalisation of South Africa's National Interest in the domestic and international relations space, which involves how we promote and protect the country's National Interest, where we implement it, and with whom we partner.

5. NATIONAL INTEREST: SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In conceiving South Africa's National Interest, it is important that the definition and the elements that make it up are embracing the interests of the nation as a whole and not only of a certain group. National Interest should have a transcendental effect to be durable over time. To achieve this unbiased conception of National Interest, Nincic¹ contends that three principles should be satisfied, namely inclusiveness, exclusiveness and external relevance.

The *inclusiveness principle* suggests that the claim should concern the nation as a whole, or at least a substantial enough subset of its membership to transcend the specific interests of groups and factions. The *exclusiveness principle* refers to a state seeking the National Interest when it is not concerned with the interests of any groups outside its jurisdiction, except to the extent that it may affect "domestic interests". This implies that the interests being pursued should at all times be related to the interests at home and not those of any group outside its jurisdiction or territorial control. According to the *external relevance principle*, the needs in question should significantly be affected by the international environment and, consequently, by the conduct of foreign affairs.

From these principles, it is clear that National Interest is a sub-set of the public interest that is affected by external politics. According to George Kennan, the purpose of external affairs is inextricably bound to the preservation of domestic ideals. The National Interest should not be seen as a detached interest from the international environment, pursued for its own sake, independent of the aspirations and problems in the country. It does not signify things we would like to see happen in the outside world primarily for the sake of the outside world. It is a function of the duty to ourselves in the country's democratic problems.²

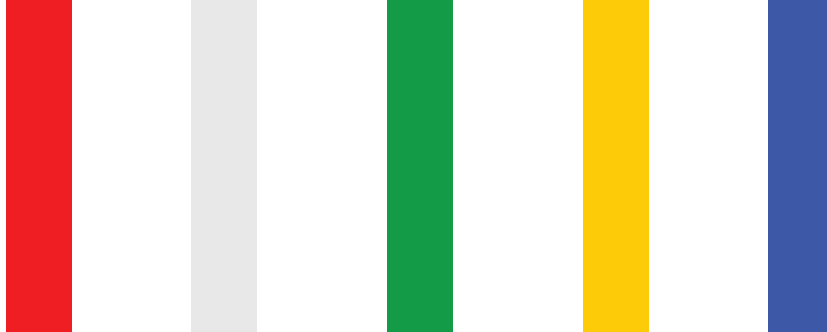
According to Nincic, conceptions of the National Interest need not automatically flow from assumed properties of the international system, rather, they are largely determined by the way in which domestic interests are aggregated and brought to bear on the State's foreign policy. The emphasis here is on the importance of understanding the relationship between National Interest and public interest, and the former's conception deriving its content from aggregated public interests in relation to the external environment.

Based on these expounded proposals of the definition and character of National Interest, it is important to identify the elements of National Interest. One approach is to adopt a content classification of National Interest, which distinguishes between political, security, economic and cultural interests. This approach is combined with the time span factor for achieving an aspect of the National Interest that is temporal in nature and is divided into constant and variable elements.

Another approach is advanced by Donald Nuechterlein, who broke down National Interest into four categories. These are defence interests, economic interests, world order interests and ideological interests. Defence interests refer to the protection of the nation-state and its citizens against the threat of physical violence directed from another state, and/or externally inspired threat to its system of government. Economic interests are about the enhancement of the nation-state's economic well-being in relations with other states. World order interests include the maintenance of

¹ Miroslav Nincic, "The National Interest and Its Interpretation", *The Review of Politics*, 1999, vol.61, no.1, Cambridge University Press

² George Kennan, "Lectures on Foreign Policy", *Illinois Law Review* 45, 1951



an international political and economic system in which the nation-state may feel secure, and in which its citizens and commerce may operate peacefully outside its borders. Lastly, ideological interests relate to the protection and furtherance of a set of values that the people of a nation-state share and believe to be universally good.³

In order to be more precise in examining the interest which a nation seeks to secure, Thomas W Robinson presents a six-fold classification of interests, which nations try to secure, namely: primary, secondary, permanent, variable, general and specific. Hans Morgenthau refers to the vital/necessary and non-vital/variable components of the National Interest.

The vital interests are those that a foreign policy seeks to secure for survival or identity while non-vital interests are determined either by circumstances or by the necessity of securing the vital components. Morgenthau subdivides identity into three parts: physical identity, political identity and cultural identity. Physical identity includes territorial identity. Political identity means the politico-economic system and cultural identity stands for historical values that are upheld by a nation as part of its cultural heritage. These are called vital components because they are essential for the survival of a nation and can be easily identified and examined. A nation even decides to go to war for securing or protecting her vital interests.

This Framework Document proposes an adaptation of Neuchterlein's approach when deciding on the elements of South Africa's National Interest, with some modification, as described further below. However, it is important to emphasise that elements adopted in this Framework Document should not be construed as an attempt to establish some form of hierarchy of interests.

6. SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

6.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

In defining South Africa's National Interest, it is important to understand the historical developments that gave birth to the democratic dispensation in South Africa. This understanding will lay the ground for a definition of South Africa's National Interest.

States reflect on the core elements of their National Interest at strategic moments in their development when the structural conditions that give rise to the National Interest change in a fundamental way. The core elements of a country's National Interest are not redefined, often because rationales and principles that underpin it are generally consistent over long periods. A review of the National Interest is therefore usually linked to the ending of a particular historical era and the beginning of another; or critical intervals in the life of a state or people when profound events give birth to a fundamentally new political, social and economic order.

However, precise definitions and details of National Interest should be flexible and responsive to the inevitable change and unforeseen developments that occur in a fast-changing and dynamic world.

³ Donald Neuchterlein, "National Interests and Foreign Policy: A Conceptual Framework for Analysis and Decision-Making", *British Journal of International Studies*, 1976, vol.2, no.3, pp. 246-266

Prior to the arrival of the settlers from 1652, there were thriving independent communities, polities and kingdoms in the region, but not isolated from the rest of the world as the trading history shows. These communal communities had ways of sustenance, which were very effective and ecologically sustainable, including crop farming and pastoralism. The different kingdoms that made up the current South Africa were well established until the arrival of European colonialists.

The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and his cohorts in 1652 marked a significant turning point in the history of South Africa and interrupted the natural development of the South African nation. The following milestones of imperialist, colonial and apartheid interest showed that the interests of the State were not a common National Interest of the majority of the people.

It began with the settlers' incessant dispossession of Africans' land, housing, livestock and produce. While the initial part of land dispossession began with annexation and division of territory, over time, proclamations were made and laws were enacted by both the Afrikaners and the British to dislodge African people from their land while consolidating areas of white settlement. Thus, by the time the Natives Land Act of 1913 was enacted, South Africa was already moving in the direction of spatial segregation through land dispossession.

The discovery of diamonds in 1869 and of gold in 1886 made South Africa more valuable to colonial elites who shifted their attention to the maximum extraction of resources and profits. This saw the South African economy integrated into global value chains solely as a raw material supplier. The demand for the extraction of mineral resources required cheap wage labour, which was imposed on the local population, and also required the use of migrant workers.

Another significant milestone in the history of South Africa was the 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging, which put an end to the Second Anglo-Boer War. The declaration of the Union of South Africa in 1910, a direct result of the Treaty of Vereeniging, ushered in an era that further entrenched Afrikaner (Boer) and British cooperation to perpetuate land dispossession and introduce racial segregation policies targeting Africans. It was opposition to the Natives Land Act, preliminary drafts of which were debated in 1911, that led to the formation in 1912 of the most significant organisation, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). The aim of the SANNC was to protest racial discrimination and appeal for equal treatment before the law.

The harsh repressive laws against Africans extended to the working conditions of the workers not only in the mining sector but across all sectors of the South African economy. Organised labour of Africans was often subjected to police brutality, especially as they campaigned against employment policies based on racial discrimination. It was the 1946 African Mine Workers Strike that demonstrated the depth of their resistance to the growing marginalisation of African workers, especially the wage differentiation compared to their white counterparts. Despite the most savage police terror unleashed on the striking workers, the impact of the strike had a profound impact on the political thinking within the national liberation movement, leading to the radical shift from a policy of concession to more dynamic and militant forms of struggle.

In 1948, apartheid was formally introduced in South Africa, which made racial segregation part of the law. At international level, the introduction of apartheid coincided with the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, which South Africa at the time refused to sign. With these incessant segregation policies, the oppressed raised their voices and started mobilising international solidarity to fight this crime against humanity. The Women's March in 1956 was but one of the manifestations of the commitment to end apartheid and all its attendant racial laws.

The establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961 marked another milestone in the history of the struggle against apartheid, as it entrenched racist laws and policies under white minority rule. The intensification of apartheid was consequently met with increased resistance from the liberation movements, which included the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress. These two movements responded swiftly by abandoning their policy of passive resistance and adopted the armed struggle. The anti-pass campaigns gained further momentum following in the footsteps of the Women's March in 1956, resulting in the tragic Sharpeville Massacre in March 1960. In June 1976, the student uprising occurred in Soweto against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. The response of the apartheid regime was condemned throughout the world and

prompted the UN in July 1976 to pass an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, a resolution that declared apartheid a crime against humanity.

The 1983 establishment of the Tricameral Parliament was the apartheid regime's attempt to reform the whites-only representation in Parliament and allow for representation of coloured people and Indians while continuing to exclude black Africans. This was a move by the apartheid regime from their known politics of control towards politics of co-option. The Tricameral Parliament was met with vehement resistance from all oppressed communities and led to heightened forms of resistance to apartheid in the 1980s. This system of representation was only dissolved when a new interim Constitution was introduced in 1993.

The history explored here is that of the liberation struggle against colonialism, racism, patriarchy and apartheid. The fight against apartheid was premised on the need to overcome racial segregation, which was in violation of all forms of human rights. In the main, it undermined the letter and spirit of the UDHR.

The Freedom Charter laid the foundation for the massive process of rebuilding and reshaping South Africa's society after 1994 to overcome the legacy of apartheid and colonialism and the building of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, prosperous and equitable society. It contains a statement of the core principles directing the struggle for freedom of the people of South Africa. Noteworthy demands in the document include a commitment to non-racialism, democracy and human rights, including that "all people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security; no one shall go hungry". And it unequivocally says that "South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation – not war; peace and friendship amongst all its people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all".

The beginnings of South Africa's tectonic shift lie in the mega trends that saw the strategic rivalries of the Cold War period recede. This entailed the end of bipolarity and the beginning of a process of fundamental transformation, with profound implications for the manner in which states relate to each other. The global context has been fundamentally transformed since the developments of 1989 and 1990, forcing states to re-evaluate their place in the international system. It was against this background that South African society underwent a massive, systemic shift in the period preceding, during and after 1994. This shift was the product of the successful national democratic contestation of power by the majority of its people. The forces and energies released by this shift continue to shape South Africa's evolving society alongside the legacy of apartheid that will be with us for a long time to come.

Prior to 1994, South Africans would have had difficulty in defining a common understanding of its National Interest, as the differences were too sharp, and the society was highly polarised. Successive apartheid regimes defined the National Interest at the time in the context of white minority rule (regime security) and the Cold War (ideology). There was no agreement in society as to the nature, purpose or legitimacy of the State since the majority of its people were unable to find their lives and experiences reflected in it.

After 1994, South Africa faced a new set of situational imperatives. These included the complete and fundamental remaking and restructuring of its political and economic dispensation. We had to create a democratic society, develop the country's constitutional imperatives, overcome economic inefficiencies and underdevelopment, and turn an inward-looking focus outward. South Africa had to harness its economic resources and liquidity to ensure the competitiveness of its economy and reintegrate into the global economy. Restructuring of the private sector was also a strategic imperative. As a country, we had to reintegrate ourselves into the political economy of the region and the continent. South Africa, in essence, needed to rehabilitate itself and reintegrate into the family of nations.

The Constitution of South Africa places the interests of South Africa's citizens at the core of its focus; hence, the policies and programmes of the State assume a people-centred approach. It furthermore emphasises human development and human security within and beyond its borders.

As a result, South Africa's National Interest is informed by a people-centred perspective that prioritises protecting, promoting and progressively realising the human security of its citizens; enabling them to live free

from fear and want; eradicating poverty; and building a society in which every citizen has access to adequate shelter, healthcare, education, security, work and opportunities to generate an income.

In this regard, South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP) proposes a long-term vision and plan for South Africa. The plan aims to ensure that all South Africans attain a decent standard of living through the elimination of poverty and reduction of inequality. It defines a desired goal and identifies the role different sectors of society need to play in realising this vision.

The efforts to trace the evolution and define South Africa's National Interest should contribute to and assist in shaping and strengthening the country's national identity, including in relation to other nations. South Africa as a multicultural, multifaceted and multiracial country, therefore, embraces the concept of Ubuntu as a way of defining who we are by how we relate to others. This concept informs the country's particular approach to diplomacy and shapes South Africa's vision of a better world for all.

South Africa's National Interest can therefore not be narrowly defined but should include the development and upliftment of its people; stability of the Republic and the constitutional order; growth and development of the South African economy; growth and development of southern Africa; a stable and prosperous African continent; and a just and equitable world order.

The promotion of our National Interest globally must serve to achieve South Africa's national goal of reviving and growing the economy to levels set in the NDP. In this regard, a key objective of South Africa's foreign policy will be the promotion of economic diplomacy through mutually beneficial trade and investment relations, including tourism promotion and skills and technology transfers. Having said this, it should be emphasised that South Africa's foreign policy is not just about the pursuit of its economic interests. South Africa will build on the foreign policy objectives of previous administrations to advance the African Agenda, champion the interests of Africa and the Global South, and promote multilateralism.

In addition, South African foreign policy practitioners face the task of restoring and maintaining South Africa's image, stature, moral high ground and standing in the region, the continent and in global affairs. Beyond its national economic interests, South Africa should take a more active part in the continental economic integration project and contribute to the transformation of global power relations.

In terms of South Africa's liberation history, its evolving international engagement is based on two central tenets, namely: Pan-Africanism and South-South solidarity. South Africa recognises itself as an integral part of the African continent and therefore understands that its National Interest is intrinsically linked to Africa's stability, unity and prosperity. Likewise, the 1955 Bandung Conference shapes South Africa's understanding of South-South cooperation and opposition to colonialism and neo-colonialism in all its forms, as a natural extension of its National Interest.

Pan-Africanism is defined by common experience rooted in a shared history of slavery, colonialism/apartheid, patriarchy and continued racism, as well as the structural underdevelopment of the continent – i.e. neo-colonialism, as well as economies repurposed by imperialism and colonialism and to export raw materials and profits without benefiting the African people. Pan-Africanism is based on the belief that unity is vital to economic, social and political progress and aims to “unify and uplift” people of African descent. At its core, Pan-Africanism is a belief that African people, both on the continent and in the Diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny.

The promotion of our National Interest globally therefore accords central importance to southern Africa and the continent, working with countries of the South to address shared challenges of underdevelopment; promoting global equity and social justice; working with countries of the North to develop a true and effective partnership for a better world; and doing its part to strengthen the multilateral system, including its transformation, to reflect the diversity of its nation and ensure the country's centrality in global governance.

6.2 DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

South Africa's National Interest is derived from the supreme law of the land, which is the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Our national vision is to:

- heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights
- lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law
- improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person
- build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

The founding provisions of our Constitution recognise the Republic of South Africa as one, sovereign, democratic state founded on these values:

- human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms
- non-racialism and non-sexism
- supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law
- universal adult suffrage, a national common voters' roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.

The Bill of Rights, which is found in Chapter II of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. This applies to all law, and binds the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and all organs of state.

6.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

South Africa's National Interest is defined as:

The protection and promotion of its national sovereignty and constitutional order, the well-being, safety and prosperity of its citizens, and a better Africa and world.

The constituent elements of South Africa's National Interest are identified as the following: national sovereignty and constitutional order, safety of its citizens, well-being of its citizens, economic prosperity and a better Africa and world. These elements are explored in detail below.

6.3.1 National sovereignty and constitutional order (Political interests)

The Constitution lays the foundations for a democratic and open society in which governance is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equal before the law.

The security and defence of the country's territorial borders against any form of aggression are paramount, as it gives its people the space to pursue their dreams and aspirations. The territorial integrity of the Republic must not be seen in a narrow light and includes land, sea and air borders, exclusive economic zones and continental shelves, maritime space and cyberspace.

South Africa's National Interest should always protect the Republic and its institutions. The country's political independence, as a nation-state, derives meaning not only from the territorial demarcations recognised under international law, but also the recognition of its people as deserving of a voice on how to be governed.

The sovereignty of the country is inviolable and the respect for the country's constitutional order, the rule of law and democratic political values and institutions must be protected and promoted. Maintaining and promoting the rule of law includes providing safety and security to all citizens, crime prevention


and an effective justice system. The security of the State includes protection of critical infrastructure, state information and resources. A stable political system, in a stable international environment, is also essential to ensure the growth and development of the economy.

South Africa's Constitution tasks us to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. The Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It is a human rights charter that protects the civil, political, socio-cultural and economic rights of all peoples in South Africa and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.


South African society remains divided. The social, psychological and geographic elements of apartheid continue to shape the lives and outlook of many South Africans. It is in our National Interest to build national unity, social cohesion and nation-building, including through advancing constitutional democracy, human rights and equality, promoting non-racialism, non-sexism, equality and human solidarity and building unity among South Africans, as well as with the region, continent and the international community.




6.3.2 *Safety of its citizens (Security interests)*




The Constitution tasks us to ensure freedom from fear. Human safety and security are a necessary condition for human development, improved quality of life and enhanced productivity. South African citizens must feel safe and secure in all aspects of their lives and in all spaces – physical or digital. Building a legitimate and effective law-enforcement organisation is an essential part of this process. An effective criminal justice system is a necessary condition to promote safety and security effectively.



It is necessary to intensify efforts to combat organised and cross-border crime and corruption, both private and public. High corruption levels frustrate society's ability to operate fairly and efficiently, and the State's ability to deliver on its development mandate.



Gender-based violence in all its forms denies women and girls the opportunity to achieve equality and freedoms as enshrined in the Constitution and needs to be eliminated if South Africa is to achieve its growth and development potential. The patriarchal system should be dismantled in all its manifestations to root out the objectification of women and chart a progressive course towards their full emancipation and empowerment.



The Constitution outlines its founding principles of non-racialism, non-sexism and equality before the law. Systemic racism must be confronted by society as otherwise it will be reproduced and reinforce itself across generations. It is this inherited psyche of racial prejudice, breakdown in values, inequality of opportunity and massive poverty, as well as competition for scarce resources, which help fuel racism and, more recently, xenophobia.

Crime and violence are not only security issues but have deep social and economic roots and consequences. It is necessary to move from a narrow law-enforcement approach to crime and safety, to identifying and resolving the root causes of crime, such as poverty, inequality and unemployment. Poverty and inequality remain potent drivers of social instability in South Africa. In general, the underlying causes of protest action include widening income inequality, unemployment and poverty, encouraging conflict over access to scarce resources, creating social undercurrents along tribal and racial lines and increasing violent behaviour and criminal activity.

6.3.3 *Well-being of its citizens (Human development)*

The interests of the people of South Africa are at the core of its Constitution, and a people-centred approach, therefore, informs the policies and programmes of the State. The country emphasises human development and human security within and beyond its borders. The three main concerns

emerging from the NDP are that South Africa needs to grow its economy, reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for South Africans. The basic imperatives of all sectors of government are therefore to address the triple challenge of poverty, unemployment and inequality.

South Africa prioritises the progressive realisation of the human security of its citizens; enabling them to live in an environment that is healthy and nurturing of well-being, and free from fear and want. This furthermore includes eradicating poverty and building a society in which every citizen has access to adequate shelter, nutrition, healthcare, quality lifelong learning, education and training opportunities, clean water, electricity, reliable public transport, security, job creation, decent work and employment opportunities to generate a sustainable income.

The issue of gender equality occupies a critical space in the country's drive towards addressing the challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty. The plight of women, youth and people with disabilities is an important fight that should at all times occupy the psyche of the policymakers. As a country, South Africa's National Interest must continually be positioned and repositioned to utilise opportunities to deliver concrete benefits to its citizens.

South Africa recognises the fundamental role that healthy, robust and resilient ecosystems and the environment play in human survival, well-being and sustainable development. Responding to climate change, minimising the destruction or degradation of our natural landscapes, restoring degraded ecosystems, conserving and sustainable use of our biodiversity and addressing unsustainable patterns of consumption and production are critical to the long-term National Interest, particularly with respect to sustainable water availability, food and energy security, public health, improved climate change resilience and tourism.

South Africa is one of the most mega biodiverse countries in the world and among the 17 mega-diverse identified by Conservation International, harbouring unique species and ecosystems found nowhere else on Earth. Our natural resources, including water, wildlife, soil and flora, are essential for the country's economic growth and development. Unlocking the benefits of biodiversity and promoting the biodiversity economy has been earmarked as a Presidential priority. A recent estimate of the value of ecosystem goods and services to South Africa's economy stood at R73 billion per annum, equivalent to 7% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). Biodiversity and healthy ecosystems provide us with essential services – pollination of crops, a regular supply of clean water and prevention of flooding and soil erosion. Biodiversity is also important as a safety net in rural areas, where communities often depend directly on biodiversity for survival – hunting, fishing and harvesting for food, medicine and shelter.


South Africa, occupying the southern tip of Africa, is surrounded by a vast ocean, with its coastline stretching more than 2 850 kilometres (1 770 miles) from the desert border with Namibia on the Atlantic (western) coast southwards around the tip of Africa and then northeast to the border with Mozambique on the Indian Ocean. The unique ocean current systems around the South African coastline are highly productive and display rich biodiversity. The available living and inert ocean and coast resources represent a significant economic and development opportunity for present and future generations of South Africans. The oceans have the potential to contribute up to R177 billion to GDP and create just over one million jobs by 2033.

6.3.4 *Economic prosperity (Economic interests)*


The Constitution instructs us to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person to ensure their freedom from want. South Africa needs an economy that is more inclusive, more dynamic and in which the fruits of growth are shared equitably in order to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. In order to raise living standards, South Africa will need faster and sustainable economic growth, higher investment, increased employment and productivity growth.

Economic development and transformation require a process of upgrading and diversifying productive activities in which industrialisation is central. The industrial sector remains the main catalyst for productivity growth, rising wages and innovation and is a key driver for service sector expansion. For this transformation, capital goods need to be acquired and production must occur on a large enough scale, making trade a necessity for most countries. But for development to lead to durable improvements of living standards, domestic markets must expand too, and this requires that trade is pursued strategically to ensure it supports – not undermines – national industrial development, diversification and upgrading.


Economic growth and development also depend on the country's ability to attract sustainable and responsible investment that supports industrial development and higher levels of localisation so that the proportion of goods that we import are decreased relative to our GDP, providing scope for higher levels of local job creation. Increased inward tourism into its shores can also contribute to the growth and development of the economy, thereby directly contributing to the development and upliftment of the lives of its people. This is essential in the maintenance of national stability, and in the furtherance of its values and principles, and will be achieved through strengthening the fight against poverty and inequality to ensure basic human dignity and opportunities for a life free from fear and want.





Economic prosperity is served by high-quality public services. Private- and public-sector corruption impacts the economy and limits the State's ability to deliver on its development mandate. It is in South Africa's National Interest to combat illicit financial flows, including money-laundering, tax evasion, illicit trade, trade mispricing and under-invoicing to protect our economy and budget.



Continental and regional integration, enhanced inter-connectivity and cross-border infrastructure development are critical components of ensuring a peaceful, stable and prosperous South Africa and Africa. In particular, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) promises to support structural transformation in Africa through greater market integration, more trade and investment and improved value-added production and productivity growth. It is in the National Interest to support economic partnerships and trading arrangements that lead to more and better jobs with social inclusion.



In a world of competing interests due to the scarce nature of resources, South Africa should position itself to become an integral player in the global economy. In its international engagements, the country should strive to strengthen productivity and competitiveness and attract sustainable investments to grow its economy. Our raw materials base must be a catalyst for deeper levels of localisation of value-added products produced in South Africa. As a country, South Africa fully subscribes to the belief that economic development depends on growing regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world and at the same time, we must ensure policy space to pursue national development goals, including the use of natural endowment to drive the creation of higher levels of employment. South Africa believes that transnational corporations and other business enterprises must be responsible global citizens and regulated in international human rights law.



Promoting fair labour standards is a constitutional obligation and South Africa should seek to advance the decent work agenda across the world, as part of our strategic National Interest.

South Africa needs to sharpen its innovative edge and continue contributing to global scientific and technological advancement. This requires greater investment in research, development and innovation, better use of existing resources and more nimble institutions that facilitate innovation, commercialisation and industrialisation through enhanced cooperation between public science and technology institutions and the private sector.

South Africa should elevate the importance of technology transfer into the country accompanied by the attraction of critical skills. Technology transfer can take place between governments, and also among universities and research institutions. This occurs with the aim of sharing skills, knowledge, technologies, manufacturing methods and more. It is a form of knowledge transfer, which helps ensure that scientific and technological developments are available to a wider range of users who can then help develop or

exploit it. This transfer can occur horizontally across different areas or vertically by moving technologies, for example, from research centres to research and development teams. At the same time, South Africa should send its citizens out to acquire skills that are critical to grow the economy and society. It must be a deliberate task of government to empower its citizens by sending them to universities and multinational organisations abroad to expose them to new knowledge and technologies.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution has the potential to catalyse South Africa's path to achieving the NDP goals through leveraging technology such as Artificial Intelligence and 5G to address service delivery challenges, placing research, data management and science at the centre of state action. South Africa also needs to guard against exclusionary tendencies and new forms of economic concentration in processes of digitalisation that could further polarise society. Spectrum management is essential for unlocking the benefits of a digital economy.

While acknowledging the importance of growing its economy, this cannot be achieved through irresponsible exploitation of the natural environment and the finite natural resources at the disposal of the rest of humankind. It is important to have access to renewable and sustainable sources of water, food and energy in a sustainable manner. It is therefore necessary to create and accelerate growth in the green and blue economies. Our natural resource endowment (sun, wind and critical raw materials used in the green economy) can be used to South Africa's advantage to further increase its national resilience, particularly at community level, of its critical infrastructure, production of critical goods and development of advanced research and development platforms to drive innovation, to be able to deal with shocks like pandemics, financial blows and natural disasters.

South Africa should leverage its economic strengths, including the abundance of natural resources. In addition to the vast gold and diamond deposits, South Africa contains reserves of iron ore, platinum, manganese, chromium, copper, uranium, silver, beryllium and titanium. The manufacturing sector also possesses greater potential to grow the economy and investment in this sector is vital to also create employment for the citizens and improve their standard of living. Investment in the key sectors of the economy, in particular those sectors that South Africa is renowned to possess comparative strength, is vital for achieving the key elements of National Interest.

6.3.5 *A better Africa and world (Ideological and global interests)*

The Constitution tasks us to build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. It is South Africa's aspiration for a peaceful, prosperous and united Africa in a just and equitable world.

The South African Constitution requires us to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. The image and branding of South Africa, its principles, values and aspirations, as well as its ideals, contribute immensely to how its people are seen by the outside world. The policies designed to project the country's values and principles should consider their very essence as contained in the Bill of Rights. South Africa aspires for the world to also enjoy a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. South Africa will seek to uphold its values globally and promote a broad and inclusive international human rights system that includes civil and political, socio-economic and cultural rights for all.

As a country, South Africa upholds the values of democracy as a system of governance that provides for an open society, which allows its people to express themselves on who and how to be governed. It is similarly a political aspiration that is firmly protected and promoted on the African continent and beyond. South Africa should promote and protect the political independence of the continent to determine its own destiny, particularly continental programmes that have continental ownership such as the AU's Agenda 2063. South Africa should strive to establish and strengthen continental institutions to bolster integration and peace on the African continent.

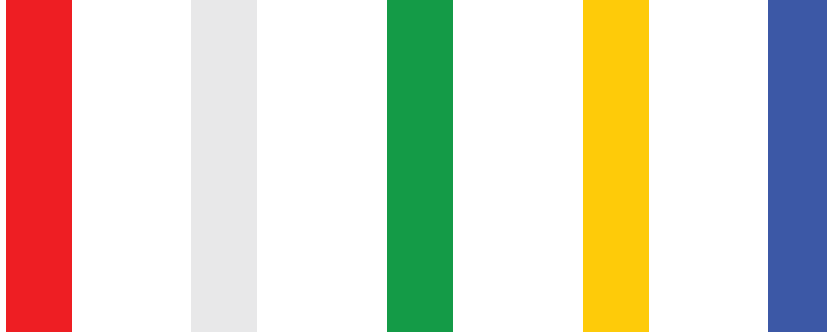
South Africa's African Agenda is based on the understanding that there can be no development without peace and no peace without development, thus the security and stability of the region, Africa and the world are important elements of the sustainable socio-economic development of the region and continent. The security and stability of the African continent is an indispensable requirement for the security and stability of South Africa. The security concerns and interests of Africa should always be reflected in South Africa's policy choices in all its international engagements.

This philosophy is based on South Africa's history and recognises the need to address the root causes of conflict, rather than just the symptoms, and notes that there is no single or short-term approach to conflict resolution. Therefore, preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peacebuilding are essential pillars of peace missions. South Africa's approach should therefore continue to, in general, emphasise the pacific settlement of disputes through negotiation, and promote multilateralism in confronting global security challenges. The approach should also emphasise and uphold democracy and the rule of law in the international system, and promote the role of regional organisations based on comparative advantages in solving crises. In addition, South Africa promotes the role of women and youth in the maintenance of international peace and security, continues to pursue nuclear disarmament and arms control and plays a prominent role in conflict resolution on the African continent.

The rebirth of the African continent, driven by a Pan-African agenda, forms a significant part of South Africa's ideological narrative as it relates to its relations with the continent and the rest of the world. For South Africa, Pan-Africanism demands an African consciousness and an African loyalty; the spirit that the plight of its people and that of the rest of the African continent is inextricably intertwined. As a country, South Africa should promote and protect the political independence of the African continent to determine its own destiny. South Africa should strive to establish and strengthen continental institutions to bolster integration and peace on the African continent.

South Africa is seen as an influential player on the continent and in the global world, and is the only African country that is a member of the G20 and BRICS, as well as in the top 10 strategic partners of the European Union. South Africa aims to increase the voice and representation of Africa in all global bodies and will continue to use its voice and access to include African and developing world views on global agendas. South Africa has been called upon to assist in brokering several conflicts in the subregion and continent.

However, South Africa has been reluctant to assume the role of a continental leader despite having these attributes. South Africa needs to build strategic partnerships with other countries on the continent in pursuance of common objectives. These partnerships must start with Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries and then include other countries in other regions of the continent. In terms of the broader global approach, South Africa should continue to defend multilateralism and the rules-based international system, particularly the reform of global political and economic governance to be fair, equitable and representative.



South Africa's normative posture, as elucidated, is largely considered as driven by its founding values and provisions enshrined in its Constitution (human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms; non-racialism and non-sexism; the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law; and democracy) and based on its history of overcoming apartheid and, importantly, its relatively peaceful transition to democracy and efforts at reconciliation. It should continue to uphold these principles, based on its progressive Constitution that is forward-thinking in terms of the rights of women, children and persons with disabilities, as well as the empowerment of women and gender equality. Our National Interest favours human rights, the peaceful settlement of disputes, transitional justice, respect for international law and norms and collective action through multilateral organs. The latter is underpinned by South Africa's firm belief in democracy, which extends to the sovereign equality of nations as stipulated in the Charter of the UN. The protection and promotion of the country's political values and principles will be pursued in a spirit of cooperation, as opposed to imposition, paternalism or dominance.

South Africa considers that, guided by the spirit of justice and fairness, the international community can ensure sustainable social and economic development for all. This can be achieved through building on the international human solidarity, which is one of the fundamental values essential to international relations in the 21st century. It emphasises that global solutions should be found to global problems through global cooperation. Born of this international solidarity, South Africa should continue to champion international cooperation to find lasting solutions to global challenges.

7. IMPLEMENTATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

South Africa maintains a broad and elaborate National Interest that includes various interests, rights, values and principles. Based on the principle that National Interest is derived from the country's domestic priorities, the substance and focus of each element of the National Interest is given content by the relevant line-function departments within the broader cluster system of the Executive. The Presidency is responsible for the management and implementation of the National Interest as a whole-of-government approach.

At domestic level, South Africa's National Interest finds concrete expression in government's planning frameworks, and the priorities thereof. The NDP provides the guiding light as a source document of South Africa's National Interest. The pursuit of National Interest is further supported by the National Security Strategy, which assists government in identifying potential threats to South Africa's National Interest.

Still on the domestic front, South Africa's National Interest is furthermore expressed through sector-specific strategies, and strategic and annual performance plans. Government can also develop strategies of engagement in response to unforeseen challenges and opportunities that have a bearing on the country's National Interest.

In the context of international relations, South Africa's National Interest is promoted and pursued through its foreign policy in a bilateral, regional, continental, global and multilateral environment. The navigation of that environment is the core function of the Foreign Service.

The Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) is responsible for the formulation, coordination, implementation and management of South Africa's foreign policy and international relations programmes, thereby promoting South Africa's National Interest in the international environment, inclusive of its national values, aspirations, principles, objectives and priorities, including the African Renaissance, to create a better world for all.

It should be appreciated that, while various branches of government manage different aspects of South Africa's National Interest, DIRCO, as stated above and as per the Foreign Service Act, is responsible for the formulation, coordination, implementation and management of South Africa's foreign policy and international relations programmes. While it is natural that line-function practitioners or departments would feel comfortable prioritising their own aspects of National Interest, it is incumbent on all practitioners to be aware of the implications for all aspects of South Africa's National Interest, and to alert DIRCO and the International Cooperation, Trade and Security Cluster of any potential implications. The cluster system is ideal for the management of tensions across South Africa's foreign policy application of National Interest. Decisions on the balancing of aspects of the National Interest must also consider the views of the department/s responsible for the aspects that will be negatively impacted. However, under the Foreign Service Act, DIRCO is ultimately responsible for the pursuit and promotion of National Interest through the application of foreign policy outside the borders of the Republic.

Having said that, international engagement, particularly with countries that promote an aggressive narrow self-interest, requires that considered attention be paid to a "whole-of-government" approach in order to ensure that South Africa is best positioned to achieve its objectives.

Structurally, therefore, the identification and management of South Africa's National Interest and its implementation in the international environment should be an integral part of the strategic planning of departments and the clusters. Situational analyses and risk assessments should not be seen as pro-forma exercises but should actively scan the environment to assess the implications for South Africa's National Interest, both in terms of opportunities and threats. This allows for a more consistent and principled approach to be taken, which has buy-in at all levels and provides both guidance and political cover to practitioners.

Ad-hoc developments require departments to improve their early warning and rapid response systems to ensure adequate assessment and analysis of the implications for the National Interest, as well as to ensure appropriate consultation with stakeholders and to secure political guidance at the appropriate level.

"Managers" of the various aspects of the National Interest should further deepen and strengthen their analysis in the policy formulation, treaty-making and legislative processes, as well as in other areas that could potentially impact on the country's National Interest during implementation. Experience has shown that changing legislation or re-negotiating international obligations is a lengthy and difficult process.

8. MEANS OF PROMOTING AND PURSUING SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST IN RELATION TO OTHER NATIONS

National power as understood as the ability or capability of a nation to secure the goals and objectives of our National Interest in relation to other nations is fundamental to the pursuit of National Interest. While traditionally, the focus on the idea of National Interest lends itself to the use of "hard power", there is also a need to balance South Africa's national vision through "soft power" emanating from the values and principles of the country's Constitution. In order to reflect South Africa's status and its standing in the world, the definition of the country's National Interest cannot simply be positioned between Realism and Idealism. If the country is to find its own voice in international affairs, the opportunities offered by the diplomacy of Ubuntu should be seized.

The philosophy of Ubuntu is the recognition of South Africa's interconnectedness and interdependence and shapes its unique approach to international relations. It has played a major role in the forging of a South African national

consciousness and in the process of its democratic transformation and nation-building. Conventional and new methods of promoting and securing South Africa's National Interest in international relations are identified as the following:

Diplomatic – South Africa will use diplomacy for promoting and securing the country's National Interest, which is the universally accepted method through which foreign policy is conducted. Through its diplomatic presence across the world, the country will engage with its partners to find common solutions on global matters that directly or indirectly impact on the pursuit of South Africa's National Interest. South Africa subscribes to peaceful means of conflict resolution and dispute settlement through negotiation and diplomacy. South Africa rejects the use of coercive measures to pursue its National Interest. Diplomatic negotiations can reconcile divergent National Interests through mutual give-and-take and bargaining. South Africa also has to collaborate and work in cooperation with various non-state actors in pursuit of National Interest. Because the State does not possess all the necessary resources and expertise, it is important to harness non-state institutions, as well as South African expatriates, to leverage multipliers of influence for the realisation of the National Interest. An inward-looking focus runs the risk of South Africa losing the political and diplomatic influence that it used to have, particularly on the African continent.

The Presidency – The President of the Republic, as the Head of State and Head of the National Executive, is required to uphold, defend and respect the Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic. This is done both at home and abroad.

Role of Parliament – Parliament is elected to represent the interests of the people of South Africa and to hold government accountable to the people under the Constitution. Parliament provides an inclusive and representative national forum for the public consideration of issues, passes legislation to effect the National Interest and scrutinises and oversees executive action for alignment with the National Interest. Parliament's international engagements seek to promote and pursue the broader values and interests of South Africa through international norm-setting.

South Africa's diplomatic missions – South Africa's diplomatic footprint throughout the world should be effectively used to promote its National Interest. These missions should serve the entirety of government's engagement with the rest of the world.

Values and principles – South Africa embraces a normative modus operandi based on the approach leading to the successful abolition of apartheid and the peaceful transition of power and efforts towards reconciliation. The subsequent, relatively peaceful transition of power and efforts towards reconciliation, have resulted in a foreign policy stance that privileges dialogue as a means to reduce conflicts. South Africa therefore supports and leads global trends that favour human rights, the peaceful settlement of disputes, transitional justice and respect for international law, norms and collective action through multilateral organs, as well as a strong belief in the role of women in peace and security.

Economic diplomacy – South Africa pursues national economic policy objectives and leverages opportunities that arise from global markets and increasing flows of global trade and investment. South Africa's economic diplomacy will therefore be focussed on providing guidance to government and the business sector on economic developments and markets, pursuing market access for South African products, attracting investments and tourism, removing barriers to trade and supporting the development of larger markets in Africa, which will translate into job creation and poverty reduction. It should also enhance the competitiveness of South African goods and services in the major global markets, while maintaining its international reputation as a stable and reliable supplier. Central to South Africa's economic diplomacy is the pursuit of a fair and equitable rules-based international trade regime that accommodates the developmental interests of developing countries. Economic diplomacy should therefore explore ways to strengthen ties with other regional economic groupings that allow for a more strategic integration process in the region, the continent and among developing countries, particularly through the AfCFTA towards an increasingly economically integrated continent. The steady consolidation of an integrated large African market for both goods and services, combined with concerted efforts to integrate and develop the real economy (i.e. production and manufacturing), as well as coordinated infrastructure development, offer many opportunities. The focus of South Africa's continental economic diplomacy should be on identifying integrated, competitive value chains, with a high and increasing African

content, that are potentially viable and proactively sourcing partners with capital, know-how and technology to transfer those value chains to African countries. In addition, the social dimension of trade (including respect for core labour rights) should be actively pursued, so that Africa's workers, women and communities benefit from increased trade.

Bilateral and multilateral diplomacy – We will maintain and strengthen relations with other states in the quest to protect and promote the country's National Interest. South Africa will enter into partnerships with like-minded countries and work with, and within, international organisations seeking consensus-based outcomes. The country is signatory to international treaties and other binding agreements, and obligations arising from these instruments must be honoured. South Africa should strive to respect all its international legal obligations, as this will encourage the partners or treaty members to work towards the promotion of agreed common interests. It is the country's firm conviction that the multiple transnational issues engulfing the highly interdependent world today can only be solved through cooperative multilateralism, rather than an approach that focusses almost wholly on traditional, narrowly defined security and economic interests. A collective multilateral response promotes predictability, mutual confidence and trust among nations.

Public diplomacy – As a responsible member of the international community, South Africa will share with others the rationale behind the country's values, principles, goals and objectives. This Framework Document recognises that the scope of public diplomacy has increased considerably, with the communications and digital revolution providing a means of supporting the goals of its National Interest. The pursuit of South Africa's National Interest will involve using available public diplomacy mechanisms to reach out to both domestic and international audiences. Social media, in particular, is fundamentally transforming the communications space and knows no boundaries. These platforms will be crucial in conveying the country's National Interest to the people of South Africa and beyond. Foreign policy decisions, for instance, can be shared and explained instantaneously. Given the centrality of education and educational institutions as centres and means of persuasion, there should be a clear strategy to ensure alignment between the promotion of South Africa's National Interest and the curriculum content at schools and tertiary institutions.

Defence and security – The defence of South Africa against any threat to its sovereignty, territory, National Interest or peoples will remain the primary defence priority. South Africa's borders are the physical manifestation of its national sovereignty, and it is in our National Interest to secure our land, air and maritime borders as well as our cyberspace. Regionally, South Africa's national security inextricably hinges on the stability, unity and prosperity of the southern African region and the African continent in general. South Africa advances the peaceful resolution of conflict on the African continent, across peace-making to peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. These initiatives are an articulation of South Africa's continental peace and security agenda, which is designed with the desire to contribute towards creating and shaping the regional security architecture and conflict resolution in Africa's hot spots. In this agenda, South Africa recognises the important role that women should play in all aspects of peace processes, prevention, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction.

Rules-based international order – One of the key tools for resolving a potential conflict of interests is through the development of regional, continental and global rules and values that will align with South Africa's National Interest. The presence and active participation of South Africa, and South Africans, in key international organisations and agenda-setting formations should continue to be a priority of South Africa's foreign policy. While the benefits of being a norm setter and developer do not deliver immediate tangible benefits, they are critical for creating a conducive environment for South Africa to implement its National Interest. The more universal the interests, the easier it is to ensure that the various aspects of South Africa's National Interest are protected and promoted. In the absence of global rules, practitioners need to assess the tools at their disposal to retain its independence and assert the country's National Interest. Multi-stakeholder consultation is therefore important in the formulation and implementation of South Africa's foreign policy.

Role of the private sector (state-owned enterprises [SOEs] and civil society) – South Africa's National Interest is wide-ranging and cross-sectional. The involvement of the private sector, particularly SOEs, and civil society is critical to ensure a cohesive and coherent approach to our National Interest. The private sector, labour and civil society maintain extensive international networks and operate in a global environment. The private sector,

particularly, plays a leading role in creating jobs, driving trade and industrialisation and fostering regional integration based on the enabling environment created by states. The private sector is also important partners and critical sources of investment, while SOEs include a developmental mandate to their activities. The presence of civil-society organisations in international affairs has become increasingly relevant. They have played a role in agenda-setting, international law-making and diplomacy and can be important voices in support of South Africa's development agenda. Civil society, particularly its large grassroots coverage, plays an importance role in the implementation and monitoring of a number of crucial global issues.

Culture and sport – South Africa has a rich history of formative cultural diplomacy. The struggle against apartheid was supported through cultural diplomacy and various cultural genres. Culture is both a tool for diplomacy and a contested terrain, to win the hearts and minds of both, local and the international community. Cultural diplomacy is an opportunity to promote and spread our culture and values, particularly through education, art, music, books, film and digital media. Cultural diplomacy is not simply about “culture” in the narrow sense. It is about South Africa influencing the ideas and outlook of states, international organisations and non-state actors to pursue its National Interests and enhance its geopolitical standing. Sport in South Africa plays an important role in the development of a united, cohesive and inclusive South Africa and is an important tool of our foreign policy to support African unity and solidarity. The economic, cultural and social aspects of sport and sporting mega-events should also be a valuable tool for South Africa to address our developmental challenges, as well as the developmental challenges facing the African continent. Sport also has the power to enhance positive perceptions of South Africa, Africa and the developing world while countering negative stereotypes.

Resilience – An independent foreign policy is dependent on a state being able to resist external pressure on its sovereignty as well as external influence on its policies. In this regard, a state that is dependent on external assistance, whether military, economic or financial, will have less ability to assert its own interests. South Africa should strive to assist smaller states to achieve full independence in order to counter colonial or neo-colonial pressures.

Economic means – South Africa recognises that economic instruments in a globalised world play an increasingly important role in the interstate system, for example, in the exchange of goods and services, technological know-how, foreign aid, armaments and raw materials. We will use all economic resources at the country's disposal to pursue South Africa's National Interest, including aid, trade, loans and humanitarian assistance. The African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund and IBSA Fund are valuable tools for the promotion of South Africa's National Interest. In the engagements with the country's partners in this regard, mostly in Africa and the countries of the South, South Africa will resist the tendency of those with more economic resources to promote their interests in a zero-sum game of winners and losers. The use of these economic measures is guided by the country's interests in contributing towards an integrated, peaceful and prosperous Africa in a just and equitable world.

9. GLOBAL CONTEXT

International relations are a complex system of state interlinkages that have developed over time, influenced by culture, history, ideology, religion, ambitions, rivalry, behaviour, economic interests and trade, political ambitions and inter-societal relations. This complex system is currently in a state of flux, wherein both states and non-state actors are contesting space to influence and shape the global agenda. States are, at the same time, reasserting themselves as the primary locus of power and legitimacy in international affairs. However, this attempt to reassert nation-states' centrality in international affairs is undermined by their renewed inward-looking policies, thereby leaving cracks in the system, which non-state actors and other borderless threats have occupied. As a result, the world finds itself in a new and unsettling geopolitical space.

The contemporary global system has seen several shifts in the 21st century, which the COVID-19 pandemic can be seen revealing, exacerbating and accelerating. The rise of China and the Asian economies and the reassertion of Russian power projection are some of the notable developments shaping the international relations landscape. Acute unilateralism of the previous United States of America (USA) administration, the continued global influence of Europe (notwithstanding the Brexit conundrum), the protracted and precarious security situation in the Middle East and the emergence of Africa as a significant economy, are also some of these new and evolving trends that are influencing the reconfiguration of the global landscape.

main multilateral institutions that still require substantial reforms to accommodate the diverse interests of the international community. The current status quo reflects the unrepresentative and biased nature of these institutions, as the interests of developing countries receive less positive attention.

The irony is that it is some of the very architects of the post-Second World War global governance institutions that are questioning their effectiveness and impartiality. Instead, the trends of unilateralism, populism and protectionism are emerging and making it ever-more difficult to confront common global challenges in a multilateral setting. Western Europe is not as united as was the case in the immediate post-Second World War. These threats to the global balance of power warrant in-depth analysis on how to navigate them and also identify opportunities that may arise that South Africa can leverage in the advancement of its National Interest.

9.3 Dynamic economic shifts

The world is witnessing a shifting balance of forces in global economic relations. This is as a result of numerous factors, key among these being the rise in the contributing share of developing countries to the global economic output. Developing countries' contribution rose from 42.8% to 59.3% over the past two decades. Much of this increase was accounted for by China, which rose from contributing 6.6% of global output to 18.7%. This increase was perceived as a threat to the preponderance of the traditional economic powerhouses that dominated global output for centuries. Increased participation of developing countries in the global economy resulted in a reversal of commitment to globalisation by its original proponents.⁴

A typical example of such a reversal is the economic nationalism evidenced in the USA and some countries in Western Europe. The effects of these inward-looking policies are the dismantling of the global value chains that were created after the Second World War. Issues of national security have become a convenient cover up and trade relations/partnerships are being questioned, if not dismantled, in favour of bilateral trade relationships.

These challenges are also manifesting themselves with the dwindling foreign direct investment (FDI), and COVID-19 is compounding this contraction. According to the *World Investment Report 2020*, it was estimated that FDI would drop by up to 40% in 2020. Developing countries will see a larger decrease of 30%-45%, as compared to developed countries at 25%-40%. The effects illustrate that developing countries' productive and investment footprints are less diversified and thus more exposed to systemic risks.

The consequences of these trends have been protectionism, trade wars, resultant global market volatilities and violation of international treaties. These have had a negative impact on the 75-year-old UN and the multilateral global governance system in general. The current political, social and economic dynamics are causing divisions among the traditional Western alliances. Nevertheless, this environment presents both threats and strategic opportunities for South Africa and developing countries.

South Africa's treatment as a developed country during the Uruguay Round (during the apartheid era) is a source of considerable concern as the tariff reduction commitments contributed significantly to South Africa's subsequent de-industrialisation. This historic injustice has unduly limited South Africa's policy space to use trade to support its industrial development. Unbalanced World Trade Organisation rules continue to impose constraints on South African economic policy to promote industrial development and diversification, which is the path to prosperity and essential to addressing the extraordinarily high levels of poverty, inequality and unemployment in South Africa.

Lastly, the fact that Africa and Asia are exhibiting a growing middle class, while the middle class in the North is seemingly in a slow decline, provides an enormous opportunity for South Africa in the future. This trend, coupled with the move towards huge free trade areas in Africa and Asia and the youth dividend in these regions, mean that South Africa should be positioning herself to be able to tap into the growing market and spending power of the emerging and developing economies of Africa and Asia. This should not only include raw materials but also the provision of beneficiated products to these markets, providing exciting travel packages for the emerging middle class there, and attractive options for the investment of surplus capital.

⁴ World Economic Forum Strategic Intelligence "Geopolitics: Economic Shifts" global issue, Curation: Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford, 2020

9.4 Populism and nationalism

The world is witnessing growing manifestation of populism and narrow nationalism, mainly in countries that were staunch proponents of global interdependence. This trend is partly a result of domestic political and socio-economic pressures. Growing global migration is one of the factors used as immediate scapegoats for populist utterances, religious fundamentalism and nationalistic policies. To appease this domestic audience, political and economic campaigns are promoting inward-looking policies. Lobby groups are using social media platforms to spread disinformation and incite these sentiments. This is causing tremendous harm to the gains made through global institutions to curb nationalist and trade protectionist policies. The reversal is likely to derail cooperation among states while promoting competition, much to the disadvantage of the developing countries due to their structural economic constraints.

Some powerful nations continue to reduce complex and interrelated problems to narrow nationalist interest and thus engage in transactional diplomacy. Trade wars and the tendency to address the outbreak of the Coronavirus inwardly have the potential to further encourage isolationist measures. This would be inimical to building a united global society whose benefits could be shared by the international community, and whose collective strengths can be harnessed to address common challenges more effectively. However, it should be mentioned that nationalism referred to in this instance is only limited to the analyses of the negative aspect of it, particularly the treatment of non-citizens and protectionist policies.

9.5 Impact of environmental change

The fact that climate change presents an existential threat to humanity becomes ever-more real as the world breaks maximum temperature records with increasing regularity; rising sea levels threaten coastal cities and towns; wild fires devastate lives, livelihoods and landscapes; and we witness increasingly unpredictable, intense and frequent extreme weather events and their tragic consequences. Unless there is concerted immediate global action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, global temperatures will continue to increase and will grow by at least 3 degrees Celsius towards the end of the century.

The *World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Report 2020* contends that the near-term impacts of climate change add up to a planetary emergency that will include loss of life, social and geopolitical tensions and negative economic impacts. These potential negative effects will be realised unless there is effective international cooperation, global leadership and political will as well as ambitious climate change mitigation and adaptation action with developed countries acknowledging and fulfilling their historical responsibility. The situation is extremely serious, and it calls for a concerted multilateral effort among all state and non-state actors, within the context of our common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, to avert an impending catastrophe that will have devastating consequences for sustainable global development, growth and prosperity.

In addition to, and exacerbated by climate change, Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa in particular, is also suffering from serious environmental challenges, including significant biodiversity loss; water, air and soil pollution; deforestation and/or ecological degradation; soil erosion; exotic species invasion; desertification; wetland degradation; and insect infestation. However, efforts to deal with these problems through global approaches such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Rio Conventions have been confounded and handicapped by short-sighted self-interest and the current challenges and threats to multilateralism. These challenges, coupled with a lack of global prioritisation and support, often result in limited access to capacity-building, technology and finance at scale and with favourable terms. Furthermore, despite ongoing pressure, realising the objectives of the three Rio Conventions cannot be achieved by shifting the burden onto developing countries.

Despite the immense challenges which climate change and environmental degradation present, meeting these challenges also present our country with tremendous opportunities through the exploitation of our strategic advantages associated with investments in the green economy and green technologies. These strategic advantages include a latent youthful workforce, world-beating renewable energy resources and biodiversity and an abundance of scarce strategic minerals such as platinum.

With global public and private divestment pledges away from coal and fossil fuels, and over 450 public development banks pledging to align with the Paris Agreement and in particular to redirect private financial flows in support of low-carbon and climate-resilient sustainable development, access to new green financing opportunities is open to us. The green financing availability presents us with the opportunity to finance a clean and green energy generation transition; create new green industrial sectors like the hydrogen economy; create a significant number of jobs in new sectors with proven job creation potential; and localise production and services, which will build small and medium enterprises and enhance our long-term competitiveness while mitigating our transition risks.

9.6 Technology and innovation

The WEF notes that the rapid evolution of new technologies is already influencing the geopolitics of the international system, characterised by shifting centres of power and fractured political ideologies and values. In the same way that the First Industrial Revolution (the advent of manufacturing) created a decades-long progress gap between the United Kingdom and even its closest rivals, and the Second (rapid industrialisation) and Third (digitalisation) Industrial Revolutions helped spawn a period in which the USA was globally pre-eminent, the Fourth Industrial Revolution and its convergence of digital technologies will have a marked influence on geopolitics.

There are likely to be two primary channels for this. The first is through the economic gains that will flow to countries that emerge as technology leaders, particularly as a winner-takes-all dynamic characterises many key technologies, and the second is through the application of new technologies to new types of weapons – and new types of conflict. The impact on the World of Work will be profound.

Digitisation is likely to add a layer of complexity. As nations compete on who sets the standard for new technologies, the digital divide will continue widening. We are likely to see technological or digital bipolarity and this will affect progress and development globally, as technology will be the driver of economic development. It is envisaged that technology is likely to be the new gold, and data the new oil.

According to a McKinsey Global Institute paper, published in 2018, the scramble to secure the high ground in terms of technology has largely become a two-horse race. The 20 largest technology companies in the world are now either American or Chinese. In terms of Artificial Intelligence (AI), for example, the rest of the world lags behind these two countries on key indicators such as patents, funding and talent.

Technology can be a powerful tool for human rights, but the mass collection of data can lead to violations of the right to privacy and make it easier for governments to monitor the activities of activists. Many of these impacts are yet unknown. The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has noted that digital technology transforms almost all sectors of every economy and society and, therefore, poses challenges for human rights, including through surveillance technology, spyware and state-sponsored cybercrime and warfare.

Cybersecurity will continue to intensify as the technology race outpaces governments' ability to provide governance mechanisms over global telecommunications infrastructure, AI and the Internet. Contestation over the division of the vast cyberspace will compound the challenge of cybersecurity, with appropriate response mechanisms residing at global, regional and nation-state levels. Some of the potential areas susceptible to cyber wars and cybercrime include critical infrastructure, cyber privacy and the security of things. The global response to these challenges will require new norms of collaboration, as well as developing international laws to regulate technological advancement and its usage. Equally, the development of South Africa's national security strategy should be responsive to these challenges

9.7 Addressing global health

The world faces threats that are difficult to address due to inequality and significant social, cultural and political differences. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the fragilities within the international governance architecture and cooperation between states and non-state actors. The weaknesses exposed by the COVID-19 pandemic brings into question the whole global health governance architecture. The myriad global

health issues confronting the world today require a concerted effort. This will assist in adopting a multipronged approach to the many causes of global epidemics and pandemics. Some of these causes include shifting demographics, lifestyle changes and climate change.

The COVID-19 pandemic starkly illustrates the need for global cooperation to address global challenges. However, the contestation around the very multilateral instruments designed to address these challenges collectively also illustrates the current challenges and threats to multilateralism.

Organisations and initiatives are emerging that take a novel approach to focussing on global health issues. These entities incorporate multistakeholder governance structures and innovative financing models. It is important to align these initiatives with the UN SDGs, which were adopted in 2015, to guide global development through 2030. Notably, SDG3 – Good Health and Well-Being – includes targets such as reducing premature deaths due to non-communicable diseases (such as cancers and diabetes) by one third by 2030.

The SDGs are central to the future of global health governance and must be better supported through continued innovation in financing, micro-level programming within communities and the harnessing of big data to increase efficacy. Most important is the cooperation between countries to share and support each other in curbing all forms of global health threats. These can be achieved, among others, through data collection and communication.

10. SOUTH AFRICA'S APPROACH: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

The challenges mentioned above affect South Africa and the African continent in a significant manner, making South Africa's Africa-centred foreign policy as appropriate as ever. The premise that South Africa's future is intertwined with that of the African continent is today even more relevant. The adoption of the "African Agenda", which is Pan-African in nature and emphasises the central importance of the continent under the rubric of the African Renaissance, has characterised South Africa's foreign policy since 1994. This commitment saw the transformation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) into the AU, the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and, more recently, the adoption of the AU's Agenda 2063. These instruments were developed with foresight to enable the African continent to address the injustices of the past, as well as present ones, and to meet future challenges.

South Africa used its experience in conflict resolution, garnered during the negotiations that brought about its democracy, to advance peaceful resolution of conflicts on the African continent. The involvement extended from peace-making to peacekeeping, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction. These initiatives are an articulation of South Africa's continental peace and security agenda, which is designed with the desire to contribute towards creating and shaping the regional security architecture and conflict resolution in Africa's hot spots. In this agenda, South Africa recognises the important role that women should play in all aspects of peace processes, prevention, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction. South Africa continues to champion the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at a UN and continental level, advocating for their inclusion and leadership in decision-making during peace processes.

Through the promotion of regional and continental integration, South Africa advocates for cooperation and collaboration with African countries to stem the tide of underdevelopment, conflict and poverty. Forced migration, economic refugees, infrastructure blockages, threats of terrorism, economic downturns and socio-political tensions are still prevalent on the African continent. However, while battling myriad domestic pressures, South Africa should still create space for engaging with these challenges in an effort to find African solutions to African problems. It is a difficult balancing act, as domestic problems are compounded by demographic shifts to urban centres, inherent structural economic bottlenecks and other societal ills.

Throughout these challenges and the unpredictable environment, adherence to the founding principles enshrined in the Constitution continues to provide solid guidance for the country's foreign policy engagements. Furthermore, it is self-evident that peace, security, stability, development and growth in southern Africa and Africa are in South Africa's National Interest.

Under the concentric circle approach, South Africa's international engagement extends beyond the SADC and Africa to encompass solidarity, cooperation and partnership with countries and institutions of the South to advance a developmental agenda designed to cater for common needs and concerns. Strategic partnerships are created with these countries and institutions through multilateral and plurilateral arrangements. These engagements are equally guided by the values and aspirations stated in the Constitution. Both the political and economic imperatives were taken into consideration as we continued to advance the cause of the people of South Africa and the African continent by way of South-South strategic partnerships. This consistency continues to date, and a redoubling of the country's efforts is the only way to overcome the lingering vestiges of colonialism and racial oppression on the African continent and the Global South.

South Africa re-cultivated relations with the Global South through the G77, NAM, IORA, IBSA and BRICS, while at the same time maintaining good relations with the existing global powers by spearheading outreach initiatives with the Group of Eight (G8), the European Union and the USA. As the only African country in the G20, South Africa has always sought to represent African interests in this forum. South Africa continues to use its engagements bilaterally and in global fora and strategic partnerships representing North-South cooperation to advance the cause of global socio-economic justice and development, drawing inspiration from the country's Constitution and its historical experience.

In all these different international engagements, South Africa takes on various roles, including being an innovator as part of its contribution to further developing international rules and norms, as well as a bridge-builder to bring together parties that hold different views.

Moving forward, the aspirations, values and principles that define us as an African country, demand that South Africa's pursuit of its National Interest should be driven by a clear and critical understanding of its national, regional and continental priorities in a multipolar world. This is particularly the case in view of the African continent increasingly becoming central to the global political, security, economic and humanitarian agenda. The continuing scramble over Africa's natural resources and market share, the concomitant catastrophic climatic conditions and humanitarian crises in all manifestations, necessitate that South Africa develops a clear framework document to pursue its National Interest in a global environment, characterised in the main by competition over collaboration.

Some of the emerging issues for the future that South Africa would need to pay closer attention to include the following:

- **AU and Agenda 2063** – While Pan-Africanism remains the cornerstone of the African Agenda, South Africa will need to pay attention to emerging alliances within the continent, and alliances with, and across, the countries of the North and the Global South. With increasing competition and new alliances, countries will be looking out for their own National Interest. South Africa should be alert to these potential drawbacks and pursue its National Interest cognisant of what will be happening with regard to Pan-Africanism. The challenges to the attainment of the goals of Agenda 2063, let alone the 2030 Agenda, will be far greater as competition and not cooperation becomes a dominant feature of relations between states. South Africa will continue to advance an integrated approach to the three pillars of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental).
- **Rising South** – The world is seeing shifting power balances. Large emerging and developing economies are increasingly important players in the global economy and are claiming their geopolitical space. The South is rising, but should not be seen in competition with the North. The countries of the North are beginning to look for partnerships in the South and cooperation and collaboration should be encouraged. Partnerships that South Africa established with countries of the South will be even more relevant in advancing its National Interest. BRICS remains one powerful partnership that South Africa should leverage further to strengthen the voice of Africa and the South. South Africa has an interest in the rising powers continuing to champion the interests of the developing world, and Africa in particular, and not aligning with the global power elites. Competition between countries of the North and the South, as well as between powers in the South, needs to be discouraged so as to not negate development and democratic gains made. South Africa will seek a balanced partnerships with countries of both the North and the South in order to pursue its interests.
- **Economic diplomacy** – The AfCFTA is gaining traction as Africa's potential catalyst towards a more integrated continent. The AfCFTA is the largest free trade agreement in the world. This makes it attractive not only to African

states but also to the global powers wanting to take advantage of the free trade area. New value chains will be created in Africa with the assistance of global powers. New centres of manufacturing will emerge, challenging South Africa's position as a manufacturing hub in Africa. In advancing its National Interest in such an environment, South Africa should anticipate greater competition among African countries, while seeking to capitalise on opportunities to strengthen regional value chains that benefit not only South Africa, but the region. Within this context, South Africa should continue to strive for accelerated inclusion of women into the broader economic development agenda on the African continent and beyond, especially in decision-making on these matters.

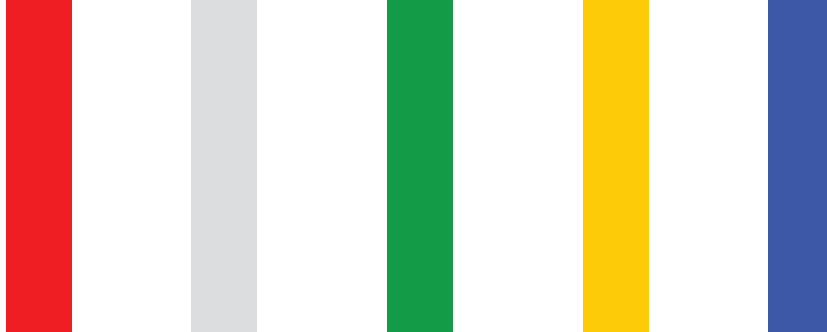
- **Technology** – The Fourth Industrial Revolution is having a significant impact on how the world operates and will be more prolific going forward. As a result, there is growing bipolar competition between those who control these new technologies, at the expense of those left behind as the digital divide widens. Emerging wars will not be just about trade or the economy but more about technology. Technology is cross-cutting and can be found in almost all sectors, be it military, industrial, financial, health, etc. Data is equally becoming the most valuable commodity. South Africa is compelled to position itself to be technologically advanced in relation to its peers and maintain momentum in digital evolution.
- **Environmental issues** – Sub-Saharan Africa will continue to suffer from serious environmental problems, including loss of biological diversity, water, air and soil pollution, deforestation and/or ecological degradation, soil erosion, exotic species invasion, desertification, wetland degradation and insect infestation. Efforts to deal with these problems, however, have been handicapped by the lack of a common approach at the global level. This demands that South Africa continues to pursue its National Interest aware of the dangers posed by these environmental issues.
- **Global health** – The world post-COVID-19 will be operating very differently from how it used to in the past. The pandemic has generated shifts of its own, be it nations collaborating and cooperating more on the one hand, while on the other hand, competing for the finite resources, be it vaccines, supplies, etc. This highlights the importance of South Africa and the rest of the continent needing to develop their own industrial value chain. Similarly, South Africa needs to ensure that women, who play an important role in the maintenance of the health of societies and communities as first responders but also bear the brunt of health system failures, are empowered and enabled during health crises.

11. THE WORLD WE WANT

South Africa aspires for a global order in which every man, woman and child has an equal chance at a better future free of hunger, disease, insecurity and war.

Guided by our Constitution, South Africa is enjoined to work towards a world that affirms the dignity and worth of all, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious affiliation or social circumstances.

South Africa desires a world where economic opportunities are expanded to all people around the world, but most especially to the young, women and vulnerable people.



South Africa must boldly pursue avenues of redistribution and redress as a means of advancing shared prosperity and creating equal opportunities for all.

South Africa will strive to advance calls for a more inclusive and balanced multilateral trading system and reform of the international debt architecture.

South Africa advocates for a global economy that is on a low-carbon, climate-resilient developmental path. It is imperative to support green and circular economies, not just for the sake of environmental sustainability but because of the opportunities for job creation and economic growth. The global pandemic recovery effort must place climate change adaptation, mitigation and support at its centre.

South Africa desires a world in which the guns are silenced once and for all through peaceful resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding. We seek a world where disputes are settled peacefully through inclusive dialogue.

South Africa aspires for a global order rooted in solidarity, equality and unity of purpose, with representative and inclusive organisations that act in pursuit of common interest through effective multilateralism. This will be a world where win-win cooperation and collaboration trump competition and zero-sum games. South Africa therefore aspires to play an active and constructive role towards a more just, peaceful and equitable world.

As South Africa promotes its own interests, it will also promote the interests of others in achieving mutual interests through smart partnerships. We want a South Africa striving to be a voice of reason in a world increasingly overcome with selfish and narrow interests.

12. PRACTICAL PURSUIT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST IN AN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

“The National Interest of a nation which is conscious not only of its own interests but also that of other nations must be defined in terms compatible with the latter. In a multinational world this is a requirement of political morality; in an age of total war, it is also one of the conditions of survival.” – Hans Morgenthau: “Another ‘Great Debate’: The National Interest of the United States”

In the practical pursuit of South Africa's National Interest, through its foreign policy in the international environment, there are times where a country is confronted by a seeming clash between elements of the National Interest. In such instances, it may be necessary to balance these elements of the National Interest in order to achieve the ultimate desired outcomes, as contained in the vision we have for South Africa, Africa and the world, without diminishing one element materially in the assertion of another.

Furthermore, in conducting international relations, it is important to be aware of how the pursuit of South Africa's National Interest intersects with the pursuit of the National Interest of a partner(s) bilaterally and/or multilaterally.

Successful diplomacy results in a situation whereby both parties feel that the relationship, or the specific outcome, is in the mutual interest of both parties. Compromises are inevitable, but not at the expense of the core values and principles of the country; the so-called “red-line” issues. One must always be aware that the National Interest aspect being pursued should not be at the total expense of the other aspects of the National Interest.

As a basic principle, it should be noted that the prioritisation of the implementation of the various aspects/elements of South Africa’s National Interest in a specific environment should not be seen as an opportunity to establish a hierarchy of these aspects or to pre-emptively limit aspects of South Africa’s National Interest. South Africa should aim to uphold all aspects of its National Interest, including its fundamental values and principles, in the conduct of its foreign policy. Violating, limiting or balancing various aspects of South Africa’s National Interest should be an exception to the rule and should not be undertaken lightly.

However, there are situations that can develop where South Africa’s National Interest competes with, or contradicts, another country’s National Interest, or where South Africa is unable to advance one aspect of its National Interest without consequences for another aspect. In this regard, practitioners will be faced with how to balance aspects/elements of the National Interest.

As balancing inevitably means that one aspect achieves prominence over another, this choice should not be made lightly, nor in an isolated fashion. South Africa has an ambitious National Interest and a duty to its people to promote this as best as it can. As a basic principle, therefore, the process of balancing can only be undertaken where there is an existing and valid conflict.

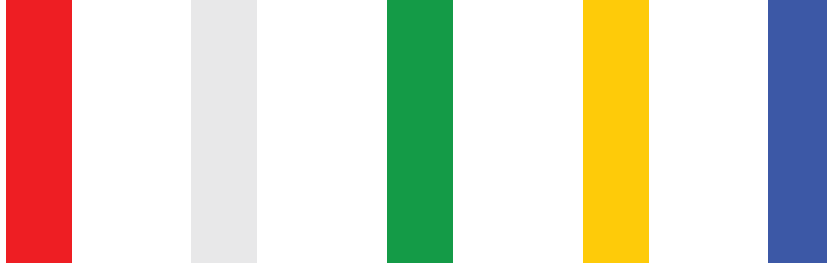
This should be an objective enquiry, based on a reasoned analysis of the environment, as to whether South Africa’s National Interest competes with, or contradicts, another country’s National Interest, or where South Africa is unable to advance one aspect of its National Interest without consequences for another aspect. If there is no contradiction, competition or limited actual consequences for advancing all aspects of the National Interest, then there is no need to balance.

Understanding the actual rather than the perceived limits of a relationship is a core responsibility of foreign policy practitioners, including identifying all possible consequences and opportunities to mitigate negative consequences. The risk of negative consequences must be of a material nature to even consider balancing. The role of South Africa’s foreign policy practitioners is to build relationships, bridge gaps and identify opportunities, as well as to limit negative consequences in order to facilitate the effective implementation of the country’s National Interest.

Disagreement is not necessarily a sign of hostility, but a function of the seriousness with which any democratic and truly sovereign state ought to approach and discharge its obligations or play its role to enforce its interests. Sound diplomatic relations should not be a product of compromises that could, rightly or wrongly, be viewed as capitulating to the desires of others to exercise their interests to the country’s potential prejudice. South Africa’s reticence to act like a hegemon can, however, lead to public perceptions that it is compromising its National Interest and is being apologetic instead of being assertive in pursuance of its foreign policy positions and national priorities.

In the furtherance of National Interest internationally, it is important to always champion collaboration, cooperation and the building of partnerships over conflict. Practitioners should always explore the possibility for South Africa to implement its National Interest in a way that accommodates the competing interests or principles of others without harming its own. Practitioners should first assess the ability and willingness of the other country/organisation to collaborate, absorb or change its own interests or actions, before looking to balance aspects of its own National Interest.

Government, through its relevant structures, must act to shape the local, regional, continental, global and multilateral environments to mitigate negative consequences and create opportunities for the implementation of its National



Interest. One of the key tools for removing a potential conflict of interests is through the development of regional, continental and global rules and values that will align with South Africa's National Interest. However, it is obvious that asserting South Africa's National Interest in a way that directly impacts on the national interests of other role-players will have consequences. Furthermore, South Africa's interests will be harmed if it is seen to be imposing its National Interest on particularly African or developing countries. South Africa should avoid actions that could be perceived as hegemonic and advance mutually beneficial interests. Hegemonic behaviour may have short-term benefits but may have long-term implications for South Africa's regional and global leadership ambitions, as well as be an obstacle to the displacement of colonial and neo-colonial interests in the region and continent.

As a last resort, Foreign Service officers need to be alive to the possibility that South Africa may be forced to balance aspects of its own National Interest. This decision needs to be based on an objective evaluation of the environment and should preferably be proactive instead of reactive. As with all public acts in South Africa, actions taken to balance the National Interest will need to be lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair.

The Constitutional Court has stated that South Africa's President is never at large to do whatever leaders of other nations consider to be in the best interests of this country and other nations. Instead, she/he is always to be guided by the Constitution and the law, for she/he is the nation's constitutional messenger and may only do what would benefit us and project the country in a positive light. Lawful actions honour the country's Constitution, domestic law and its international obligations by acting consistently with them and not undermining or subverting them outside the country's borders.

Practitioners should therefore ensure that state law advisers and the Office of the Chief State Law Adviser (International Law) are consulted to ensure that actions undertaken in the balancing of National Interest are in conformity with South African law, including the country's international obligations. They can also advise on available processes and procedures to propose changes to domestic laws and international obligations, and the consequences thereof, to ensure that public power is exercised consistently within constitutional bounds and in the best interests of its people.

In the absence of a clear hierarchy, practitioners are obliged to engage in a rational and reasonable balancing exercise, either pragmatically on a case-by-case fashion or in a principled fashion that applies across all cases and contexts. A principled balancing exercise does have the benefit of predictability and coherence, but without the flexibility of a pragmatic application to a particular situation.

Factors that can be considered during the balancing include:

- Which aspects of the National Interest are involved in the balancing?
- Are there actual consequences expected and what are they?
- Are the consequences felt by South African citizens, South African business, the South African Government or particular interest groups?
- Will the consequences be imposed by governments, international organisations, business, tourists, non-governmental organisations, particular interest groups or society at large?
- What customs, traditions and cultures influence the balancing, and can public diplomacy influence the consequences?
- Are the consequences domestic, regional, continental or global?
- Is it a once-off, repetitive, short-term or long-term situation?
- Is the interest immediate or can it be progressively realised?
- Is South Africa the only one balancing its National Interest, or are others in the same situation, and what are their experiences?
- What leverage and tools does South Africa have in the particular situation?
- Can South Africa use its diplomatic alliances and memberships to diffuse the consequences or assert its interests as a proxy?

- Do the advantages gained from a balancing outweigh the negatives? Will the consequences of balancing be less severe than if South Africa asserted all aspects of its National Interest?
- What measures can be taken to limit this situation arising in the future?

These factors are variable and can shift. Therefore, balancing is rarely a static enquiry, particularly in the current dynamic global environment. Furthermore, some consequences may only be revealed after the balancing has been undertaken and the Framework Document implemented. A feedback loop is therefore necessary to deal with change and to respond accordingly. For example, lessons can be learnt from Section 36 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the factors to be considered in the limitation of rights, as well as the National Arms Control Committee, which was explicitly created to manage the balancing of the economic and national security aspects of South Africa's National Interest on a case-by-case basis.

As practitioners will be aware, even not taking a decision can have implications, and the risk is often on the practitioner at the coal face. In this regard, it is important that the ownership of the decision on balancing should include the "managers" of those aspects of the National Interest as much as possible. Similarly, if balancing will have a political impact, either domestically, regionally, continentally or globally, then the decision must be taken at a political level.

13. RISKS TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST

South Africa's National Interest is aimed at achieving its national vision, but South Africa's local, regional and global context, both historical and current, positions our interests among certain risks and constraints that will need to be mitigated during the implementation of the National Interest. These include:

- poverty, inequality and unemployment (especially youth)
- lawlessness, disregard for authority of the State and lack of accountability
- high levels of corruption and transnational organised crime
- poor service delivery (collapse of local government structures)
- uncontrolled migration and urbanisation
- poor economic growth and high debt levels
- climate change, natural disasters, environmental challenges and infectious diseases
- loss of natural heritage (poaching, unregulated trade)
- unreliable and insufficient energy and water security
- non-alignment of education, training and skills
- continued disinvestment in research and development
- lack of universal access to digital infrastructure and services
- increased narrow nationalism, protectionism and unilateralism
- delays in resolving land reform and redistribution
- regional instability, terrorism and extremism.

The identification and mitigation of risks must be incorporated into the strategic planning and risk assessment processes of the practitioners of National Interest. The National Security Strategy will specifically address the strategic risks to the National Interest that must be addressed by the Security Cluster.

National Security is defined as the measures and capabilities of the State to create conditions of security, and protect and advance the security of the Republic and its people at home and abroad as contemplated in Section 198 of the Constitution. National Security also includes but is not limited to the conditions of safety and prosperity of the people and the Republic, such as the protection of its sovereignty, territorial integrity, economic security, interests and critical infrastructure, and against any harm or potential harm to the Constitutional order. It also includes protection against the use or threats of the use of force or potential threats to peace, social cohesion, food security, health and environment, functions and authority of the State and its resources, its bilateral and international relations and obligations, irrespective of the nature of threats, their medium of transmission and their sources of origin.

14. ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES (IMPLEMENTATION)

In order to give effect to this Framework Document and ensure the coherent implementation of the National Interest in the conduct of South Africa's international relations, it is important to clarify the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders.

The Presidency	The Presidency to manage and coordinate the implementation of National Interest. The Presidency should champion the Framework Document so that national, provincial and local governments are all considered and catered for.
Cabinet	Cabinet should drive a "whole-of-government" approach to ensure that South Africa is best positioned to achieve its objectives.
ICTS Cluster	In order to ensure that this Framework Document is implemented and delivers on its objectives, there should be mechanisms for accountability. This can be achieved through regular reporting to the ICTS Cluster.
Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation	Framework Document execution management should be monitored, which can be done through reporting at the ICTS Cluster.
DIRCO	Alignment with the NDP and the Medium Term Strategic Framework. There should be alignment with policy instruments, as this National Interest Framework Document is one of the vehicles of implementation.
National departments	DIRCO to implement and manage South Africa's National Interest in the international environment, in collaboration with relevant departments and relevant entities at provincial and local government levels, as per the prescripts of the Foreign Service Act.
Provincial Government	Scan the environment to assess the implications for South Africa's National Interest, both in terms of opportunities and threats.
Local Government	Alignment with the Cabinet-approved <i>White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy</i> .
Government departments	Alignment of departmental plans with the Framework Document.
National Security Council	Alignment with the South Africa's security policies and objectives.
Parliament	Parliament represents the interests of the people under the Constitution, as well as the interests of provinces in the national sphere of government. Parliament passes legislation to give effect to the National Interest and provides oversight and accountability for executive action.
DIRCO SA diplomatic missions	Alignment with country and partnership strategies for South Africa's engagement. South Africa's international footprint should play a pivotal role in the practical application of South Africa's National Interest abroad.
Consultative Forum on International Relations	Progress reviews to determine what is working and the appropriateness of the Framework Document should be done by all the implementers across the three spheres of government.
Government Communication and Information System and Public Diplomacy	After the approval of the National Interest Framework Document, it is important that it be communicated to all levels of government, including through the public broadcaster and community radio stations. Communication of the Framework Document is important to ensure understanding and buy-in, as well as the appropriate implementation. There should be ongoing comprehensive communication of the National Interest Framework Document.

15. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of this Framework Document should take place at two levels: firstly, at the level of implementation; and, secondly, at a national level by the custodian of the Framework Document, i.e., DIRCO.

Monitoring at implementation level will require that each foreign policy implementer performs an assessment after each key international engagement as to whether or not the aspects of the National Interest under the pillars have been used to influence and direct how, when and for what outcome we acted in that instance internationally. This will include answering the following questions:

Did this international engagement:

- align with the values and principles of the Constitution?
- contribute to the development and upliftment of the South African people?
- protect the stability of the Republic, its constitutional order and its institutions?
- contribute to the sustainable growth and development of the South African economy?
- protect the South African environment and natural resources?
- contribute to a peaceful, prosperous and united Africa in a just and equitable world?

Monitoring at national level will require that DIRCO conducts an annual assessment on whether the purpose of the Framework Document has been achieved or not. This will allow for the identification of gaps and will enable the implementation of corrective actions.

In order to provide for an effective evaluation of the implementation and for a review of the Framework Document, a systematic and periodic collection of information will be necessary. It is therefore recommended that DIRCO, as the custodian of South Africa's foreign policy, develops a systematic evaluation system to ensure that the objectives of the Framework Document are achieved.

16. CONCLUSION

In the final analysis, it is in South Africa's National Interest to continue to display a people-centred, progressive and developmental focus in its foreign policy, particularly as this has been expressed in the post-liberation canon of promoting Pan-Africanism, South-South solidarity, North-South cooperation and multilateral cooperation. The logic that underpins these considerations flows from the need to build a strong, resilient and capable state that can address not only the deprivations of the past but is able to face the complex challenges of the future at home and abroad. This approach is encapsulated in the "Diplomacy of Ubuntu" in all its manifestations, as outlined in the *White Paper on Foreign Policy* (2011).

This Framework Document, therefore, seeks to provide a template for the pursuit of the National Interest in the international arena by way of making it relevant in the application and implementation of South Africa's foreign policy in a virtuous cycle of reinforcement of one by the other.

"The correct approach to sound diplomatic relations and international cooperation here is, from a correct South African perspective, fundamentally about the protection and promotion of the essence of our Bill of Rights and of the Treaty, namely, access to justice, human rights, democracy, the rule of law and the independence and effectiveness of institutions that strengthen good governance. We ought to relate cordially with other nations and not to dictate to them. Similarly, we are never to feel obliged to relinquish our sovereignty and rightful place in the family of nations at the altar of diplomacy, comity and the need for consensus. We thus have to relate with other sister countries with an unshakeable purpose of contributing to the realisation of a more just, equal, peaceful, human rights-oriented, truly democratic order and shared prosperity. This is especially so in a region that has a long and painful history of struggling for the attainment of these good governance, economic development, growth and stability-enhancing goals of universal application."

CJ Mogoeng, *Law Society of South Africa and Others v President of the Republic of South Africa and Others* (CCT67 / 18)





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