

Book Review

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Eddy Maloka, *When Foreign Becomes Domestic: The Interplay of National Interests, Pan-Africanism and Internationalism in South Africa's Foreign Policy*, Johannesburg: Ssali Publishing House, 2019: 243.

South Africa's foreign policy remains the subject of scholarly debate and critics. The debate and critics are mainly on South Africa's behaviour at the bilateral and multilateral level within and outside the African continent. Demarcated into seven Chapters, Maloka's book titled *When Foreign Becomes Domestic: The Interplay of National Interests, Pan-Africanism and Internationalism in South Africa's Foreign Policy* lean on a historical approach and locates South Africa's foreign policy on three interlinked pillars, namely, national interests, Pan-Africanism, and Internationalism.

Titled *Foreign Policy Governance*, Chapter One draws in the Medium-Term Framework serving as a systematic plan of the ruling party to translate electoral mandate into action for its five-year term in office. The National Development Plan Vision 2030 serves as the long-term governmental plan for stated objectives. Through these documents and others, the Chapter manifests the interplay of domestic and foreign policy, as the said documents inform and shape the activities of governmental departments at home and abroad to respond to domestic needs. The author demonstrates that foreign policymaking and implementation is a multifaceted activity involving state actors and non-state actors ranging from the President, Deputy President, Minister in the Presidency, advisers, Ministers heading governmental departments, South African missions abroad, and research institutions (p. 1-37).

Chapter Two maps out the African National Congress (ANC) stands on the African continent during its years as a liberation movement backed by the region through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and a period after apartheid

wherein its Africa Policy became integrated into a broader government plan (p.42). By so doing, the author detailed the contribution made by Thabo Mbeki through his African Renaissance vision by revisiting the continental institutions marked by the transformation of the OAU into African Union (AU), the establishment of initiatives such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (p. 47). The Chapter also shows continuity on Jacob Zuma's Presidency as South Africa backed the African Agenda by calling for the establishment of African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises, which served as a temporary structure until the African Standby Force (ASF) materialised. The author also draws from South Africa's contribution to continental infrastructural development through initiatives such as the Zuma-led Presidential Infrastructure Championing Initiative (p. 53-55).

In Chapter Three, Maloka demonstrates the interplay between national developments and foreign policy by dissecting *The Decline of South African Foreign Policy* (p. 71). In so doing, the Chapter analyses the impact made by the political transition which culminated with Zuma being the President of the ANC and that of the country, the administrative in-competencies and involvement in political battles by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), the damage brought by allegations of state capture on South Africa's international image and Zuma's preoccupation with his personal battles which have to a large extent drawn his attention away from matters of international affairs. The decline is located within Zuma's second term (2014-2017) as the President of the ANC and South Africa (p. 102). During this term, the Presidency became a victim to a futile exercise showed by the disbandment of the former President Thabo Mbeki Policy Coordination and Advisory Services with the short-lived Foreign Policy and National Security Advisors, thus leaving the office of the Presidency very weak on international engagements matters (p. 105). On the other hand, DIRCO was drawn into the Presidential tussle between former President Zuma and Kgalema Motlanthe in 2014 and the 2017 Presidential race between Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and today's President, Cyril Ramaphosa. These developments, along with allegations of state capture, gravitated South Africa on the line of African failed states and are attributed to have weakened Pretoria's (South Africa's capital and administrative hub of the national government) international image and prestige (p. 107).

Chapter Four dissects the international engagements of the ANC as a non-

state actor and the governing party. The Chapter analyses the international engagements of ANC wherein the party partake in international solidarity to promote human rights, peace, justice, and the right to self-determination of other nations (p. 133-148). Titled *A Critique of the National Development Plan*, Chapter Five demonstrates the narrow economic view on South Africa's international engagements advanced by the National Development Plan (NDP) and its failure to acknowledge that foreign policy is multidimensional. To this end, the author concludes that the National Planning Commission gleaned data from pessimistic views advanced by non-state actors on South Africa's foreign policy while ignoring practical developments at the DIRCO, Southern African region, and Africa at large. Significantly, the author avers that the said narrow economic view has led to a decline in South Africa's foreign policy articulated in Chapter Three (p. 162-173).

Chapter Six, titled *National Interests and Human Rights*, analyses the interplay between South Africa's national interests and human rights, building on the two case studies that have sparked a heated about Pretoria's behaviour in the international community, notably the country's objection to arrest and handover the former Sudanese President Omar Al Bashir to the International Criminal Court, its ultimate decision to withdraw from the Court, and a constant refusal to grant the Dalai Lama a visa. The author taps on the controversy by clarifying that South Africa's foreign policy implementation, including her commitment to human rights, is driven by her national interests and those of the African continent (African Agenda) and the international solidarity, which does not include the successionist posture advanced by the Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama. Thus, in both cases, Pretoria was guided by her national interests and the African Agenda, and the two take precedence in Pretoria's international engagements (p. 176-210).

Titled *The African Diaspora*, Chapter Seven delves on South Africa's cooperation with other African countries and the AU to reach out to the African Diaspora. The author shows that the initiative gained momentum during the Mbeki administration and early days of Zuma's incumbency but faded after the 2012 ANC Elective and Policy Conference, which declined South Africa's foreign policy (p. 213-233).

Flowing from the above, it follows the logic that this book makes a significant contribution to academic and policy discourses on South Africa's foreign

policy. It is based on sound research with much of the data gleaned from the underutilised sources ranging from the ANC Elective and Policy Conference, Strategy and Tactics and Election Manifesto and other documents portraying the ANC approach to international relations as a political organisation and a governing party. The use of sources from governmental departments and the author's experience and insider view at the DIRCO has bridged a gap between theory and practice of foreign policy, thus showing that South African foreign policymaking and implementation is a complex exercise requiring collaboration between scholars and practitioners. To this end, the book is a useful source for policymakers and practitioners, scholars, and students of international relations.