



THE INFLUENCE OF THE ANC ON SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Proceedings report of a roundtable organised by the
Institute for Global Dialogue

Seminar Room 320, UNISA Vista Building, Pretoria, 2 November 2012



Compiled by Fritz Nganje



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Published in December 2012 by the Institute for Global Dialogue

ISBN: 978-1-920216-51-1

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AISA	Africa Institute of South Africa
AMRI	Archie Mafeje Research Institute
ANC	African National Congress
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IGD	Institute for Global Dialogue
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
OSF-SA	Open Society Foundation for South Africa
SADET	South African Democracy Education Trust
SAIIA	South African Institute for International Affairs
SANNC	South African National Native Congress
TMALI	Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
UF	United Front
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UN	United Nations
UNISA	University of South Africa

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE SPEAKERS

Sifiso Ndlovu

Dr Sifiso Ndlovu is the executive director at the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET). He holds a PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand, and is the author of *The Soweto Uprisings: Counter-memories of 16 June 1976*. Dr Ndlovu has also co-authored various school History textbooks (OBE) for grades 6, 7 and 8. His research interests include the pre-colonial history of South Africa and the history of football, and he has published academic articles in these fields.

Chris Landsberg

Prof. Chris Landsberg is South African National NRF Chair: African Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in the Faculty of Humanities, and Senior Associate: School of Leadership at the University of Johannesburg (UJ). He is a former head of Politics at UJ. He was a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, where he obtained his M Phil and D Phil International degrees, alongside a MA International Studies from Rhodes. A former director of Centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg (2002-2007) and former co-director of the Centre for Africa's International Relations (CAIR) at Wits, he has published widely on South African foreign policy and African diplomacy. His latest single-authored title is *The Diplomacy of Transformation: South African Foreign Policy and Statecraft*, Macmillan, 2010.

Mammo Muchie

Prof. Mammo Muchie is currently Professor and Director of DIIPER, Aalborg University and is South African National Research Chair Holder at IERI, Tshwane University of Technology, South Africa. He studied in Ethiopia, the USA, the UK, and Russia and has lectured in various universities in Holland, the UK, the USA, Kenya, and South Africa. He directed a research project on building knowledge infrastructure by developing universities as civil society agents for promoting African integration at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa. His current research interest is to work on modes of production and innovation to find conceptual tools for the development and structural transformation of Africa's education, health, research, infrastructure and knowledge systems. Prof Muchie serves on the scientific board of Globelics (www.globelics.org), and is currently using evolutionary economic modelling and appreciative theories to explain the root of the problems and challenges of African development and integration. He has published works on the making of African innovation systems and science and technology for development.

Essop Pahad

Dr. Essop Pahad has been involved in the struggle against racism and apartheid for more than 50 years. Currently, Dr. Pahad is the Director of Vusizwe Media and the editor of *The Thinker*, a monthly quality journal covering broad socio-economic, socio-political issues in South Africa and the African continent.

Dr. Pahad has held numerous political offices, as a member of the National Assembly from 1994-2008, Parliamentary Counselor to the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa (1994 to 1996), and Deputy Minister in the Office of the former Executive Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, (1996 to 1999). Dr. Pahad was appointed Minister in 1999 with specific responsibility for the Office on the Rights of the Child, Office on the Status of Women and Office on the Status of Disabled People in The Presidency as well as the National Youth Commission and the Government Communication and Information System. He was a member of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the African National Congress (ANC), Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of the South African Democracy Education Trust and Member of the Board and Executive Committee of the International Marketing Council .Dr. Pahad was Minister in the Presidency until 2008.

Dr. Pahad has published numerous articles in journals and is co-editor of 'Africa, The Time has Come' and 'Africa, Define Yourself, a collection of speeches of former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki. He holds a BA degree in Political Science from Wits University and a MA in African Politics and PhD in History from Sussex University.



A cross section of participants at the roundtable

1. INTRODUCTION

In the course of its struggle against white minority rule in South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) developed an active international presence, which saw it forge bilateral and multilateral relations with different states and non-state actors across the world. As a ruling party, the ANC has not abandoned its international character. It has worked to strengthen historical relations with like-minded movements in other parts of the world. More importantly, its structures have increasingly become a significant source of influence on South Africa's foreign policy decisions. For example, the 2007 National Conference of the party adopted a number of resolutions on international relations, some of which are already reflected in government policy. In recent years, the ANC has indicated its growing interest in shaping South Africa's international relations by establishing an International Relations Rapid Task Team to speedily address urgent global issues of interest to South Africa. Even so, few analyses of post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy behaviour take into account the influence of the ANC as a ruling party. This could be explained mainly by the heavy reliance on state-centric theories to analyse foreign policy, but also by the limited knowledge and discourse on the historical antecedents of the ANC's internationalism, as well as the opacity around the actual influence of the party on government decisions. In recognition of this gap in the understanding of South Africa's foreign policy orientation, the IGD, in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), convened a seminar on the influence of the ANC on South Africa's foreign policy on 2 November 2012. The forum, which came hot on the heels of the ANC's 3rd International Solidarity Conference hosted in Pretoria, reflected on the evolution of the party's international agency and critically interrogated its influence on South Africa's foreign policy behaviour. This report is a summary and synthesis of the presentations and discussion at the roundtable.

2. SUMMARY OF PRESENTATIONS BY THE MAIN SPEAKERS

2.1 Key historical antecedents of the ANC's internationalism

Dr Sifiso Ndlovu



The Roundtable Panel. From left to right: Prof. Mammo Muchie, Prof. Chris Landsberg, Dr. Sifiso Ndlovu and Dr. Essop Pahad

The ANC's internationalism has its roots in the struggle against racism and white supremacy rule in South Africa, as those who were later to become founders of the movement sought to link the national question in South Africa with the broader anti-colonial struggles that took place throughout the world. This could be discerned from different strands of the anti-racial and anti-colonial activism in South Africa, which preceded the founding of the ANC and continued into the closing decades of the twentieth century. In the first instance,

the strategy of the founders of the ANC to challenge the institutionalisation of racism through the proposed South African Act of 1909 relied extensively on diplomatic endeavours targeting the British government. For example, following the 1909 African Native Convention convened in response to the publication of the draft Act, a deputation was sent to London in the same year to persuade British authorities to drop the racial restrictions from the constitution of the South African Union. Although the delegation did not succeed in its central mission, it nonetheless contributed to convincing the British Crown to forego the proposal to incorporate the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland (Botswana), Basutoland (Lesotho), and Swaziland into the Union of South Africa. The 1909 mission to London was just the beginning of a diplomatic effort that was to become central to the strategy of the ANC to confront the emerging apartheid establishment. Similar delegations were dispatched by the ANC in 1914 and 1919, without any success in persuading the British authorities to concede to a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the national question in South Africa.

The ANC's early internationalism can also be traced to the pan-Africanist ideology that underpinned its struggle. From its founding, the ANC had always defined itself as a pan-Africanist movement that was dedicated to the emancipation of the entire African continent. This is captured in its official slogan: 'Mayibuye Africa', which roughly translates as: 'Let the land of Africa return to its rightful owners'. Both the former and current official anthems of the ANC, 'Silusapho Iwase Africa' (We are the children of Africa) and 'Nkosi Sikelela iAfrica' (God bless Africa) also reflect this pan-African leaning, which was popularised by the movement's newspaper, *Abantu-Batho*. As a broad-based pan-African movement, the ANC cooperated with traditional leaders in Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland to successfully oppose the incorporation of these British protectorates into the South African Union. A further demonstration of the ANC's pan-Africanist bias and solidarity with other Africans in different parts of the continent was shown in 1918, when a special ANC conference of *amakhosi* (monarchs) sent a memorandum to the British king calling on the governments of South Africa, Germany and Belgium to keep their hands off South West Africa (Namibia), East Africa and the Congo until the wishes of indigenous Africans were met. There was also considerable interaction between early leaders of the ANC like A.B. Xuma and Oliver Tambo and their counterparts in other parts of Africa, including famous pan-Africanists like Kwame Nkrumah.

A third strand of the ANC's early internationalism was expressed through its contribution to the global solidarity movement against colonialism and the suppression of human rights. Of particular importance here was the "Africans' Claims in South Africa" document formulated by the ANC in 1943 in response to what were considered to be relatively abstract principles contained in the Atlantic Charter drafted at the end of the World War II. In essence, the "Africans' Claims" document argued that the rights that were accorded to Western nations by the Atlantic Charter – peace, equality, freedom, justice, and basic human and social rights – should be extended to the African continent and to other oppressed peoples of the world. It was on the basis of this articulation that the ANC also approached the United Nations (UN) in 1946 to champion their opposition to the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union of South Africa.

With the formation of the United Front (UF) in London in 1960, bringing together exiled liberation movements from South Africa and South West Africa, the focus of the ANC's internationalism shifted to isolating apartheid South Africa politically, economically and culturally from the international community. The UF soon established offices in Accra, Cairo, London and New York to disseminate information about conditions in South Africa and to mobilise international public opinion against the apartheid regime. UF members were instrumental in securing UN support for economic sanctions against South Africa, and exerting pressure on the UN to wrest control of South West Africa from the white minority regime.

In sum, it can be argued that although there was no official document about the ANC's foreign policy prior to 1994, the movement's unwritten revolutionary diplomacy and foreign policy was based on *ubuntu*,

internationalism, pan-Africanism, unity, equality, non-racism, justice, as well as human and social rights for the oppressed peoples of the world.

2.2 The Pan-African roots of the ANC and the African Agenda

Prof. Mammo Muchie



Prof. Muchie delivering his presentation

The founding members of the ANC, including its first president John Dube, drew their inspiration from the movement of Ethiopianism, which represented the early stirrings of a consciousness that would grow into an intercontinental pan-Africanist movement of solidarity among oppressed back people. Ethiopianism was a spiritual, social and political movement, which protested against the oppression of the African people. It is worth noting that until 1914 when the concept of pan-Africanism was introduced, the more familiar term to denote the nationalist struggle for independence from colonial rule in Africa was Ethiopianism. Given the synergy between spiritual and political resistance, it became commonplace for black churches to add the words 'Ethiopia', 'Abyssinia' or 'African' to their names to highlight their patriotic resistance to theological racism or racial injustice generally. A case in point was the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, which was set up in 1892. The pan-Africanist roots of the ANC can be deduced from the fact that John Dube, the founding president of the South African National Native Congress (SANNC), which later became the ANC, was a pastor of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa.

The relationship between the ANC and the pan-African liberation struggle could best be represented through the concept of a 'Pan-African Triple Helix'. While the historic battle of Adwa exemplified the African determination to resist oppression, the African Association of 1897 and the Pan-African Congresses of the 1900s represented the tipping moment for Pan-African consciousness. The founding of the ANC in 1912 should thus be seen as a logical progression of this process, bringing to it an organised liberation movement. It is therefore incumbent for the ANC to remain seized with the pan-African agenda, given that the conditions of oppression that informed its creation continue on the continent. The ANC must recapture its spiritual and pan-African origins and give meaning to this both in the Diaspora and the homeland. As it celebrates its 100th anniversary, it is imperative for the ANC to reflect on the significance of its identity not just as a political party, but also as the first movement borne out of the African resistance spirit and dedicated to the total liberation of Africa. In this sense, the most productive way for the ANC to celebrate its 100th anniversary would be to contribute to enhancing the liberation imagination of the people of Africa. This is essential in overcoming the colonised mentality and replacing it with the confident African liberation imagination, which is central to restoring the dignity of the African people.

2.3 The ANC and South Africa's foreign policy

Prof. Chris Landsberg



Prof. Landsberg argued that growing factionalism within the ANC is undermining coherence in SA's foreign policy

As a field of study, foreign policy is replete with notions that the levels of analysis are individual leaders, the state, or the international system, but the idea of political movements being centres of analysis has not featured much. The longstanding international role of the ANC, with a diplomatic strategy as old as the movement

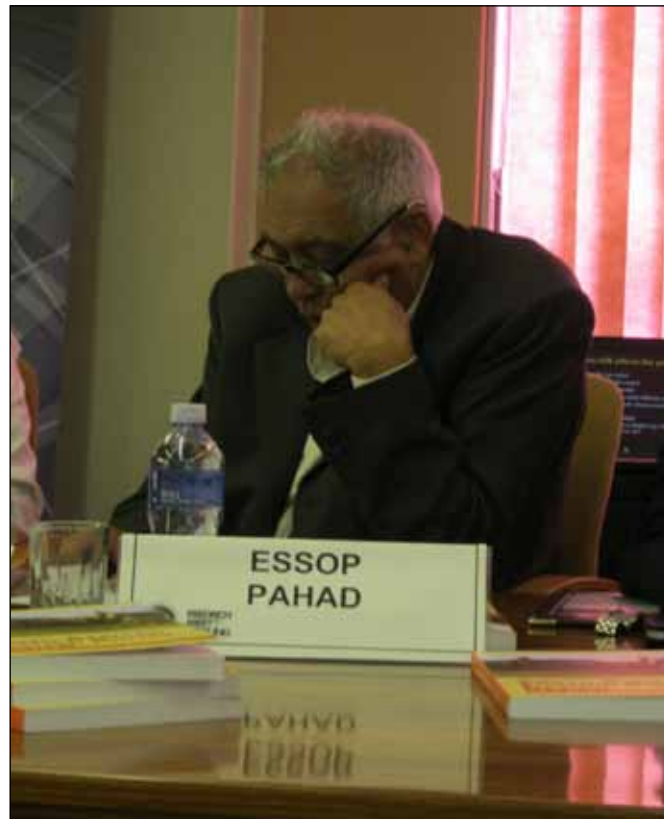
itself, squarely challenges such state-centric theories of foreign policy. From its very inception, the ANC defended an international praxis of self-determination, liberation, internationalism, international solidarity, world peace, African unity, the African Renaissance and an African agenda. In the post-apartheid period, the ANC, having made the transition from a liberation movement to a governing party, has sought to follow a principled and value-based foreign policy, informed by its history. For example, in March 1994, just one month before the April elections, the ANC released a comprehensive foreign policy document entitled “Foreign Policy Perspectives in a Democratic South Africa”. It offered to promote a people-centred foreign policy that would mirror the ANC’s “long relationship with the international community” and “reflect the rich tapestry of their international heritage”. Not surprisingly, the self-determination and African renewal articulations of former ANC leaders like Pixely ka Seme have become central pillars of South Africa’s foreign policy.

However, the extent to which the ANC has succeeded in guiding South Africa’s foreign policy along the lines of its historical principles and values, now captured in the aspiration to assume the role of a good global citizen, has been constrained by a number of factors. In the main, the ANC, like most other liberation movements, has found it difficult to reconcile the grand ideals it developed during the liberation struggle with the realities of the international environment. This explains the seemingly paradoxical tendencies in South Africa’s foreign policy. It tries to pursue an ethical, moralistic foreign policy while also pursuing its economic self-interests. It seeks to be both non-aligned and close to the West. It promises to put Africa first while also placing the global South at the top of its foreign policy agenda. A classic manifestation of this tension was the difficulty encountered by former President Nelson Mandela in his attempts to seek international isolation of General Sani Abacha of Nigeria, on account of the latter’s record of human rights violations.

In recent times, the ability of ANC-led governments to pursue a coherent foreign policy that reflects the historical ideals of the party has further been undermined by the ever-widening divisions within the party. The frictions within the ANC that came to the fore during its 52nd National Congress in Polokwane in 2007 have been accompanied by a fragmentation in policy orientation within the party, a phenomenon that has also affected foreign policy. As different voices champion and defend positions within the ANC, foreign policy has increasingly become incoherent and has in practice drifted away from the founding values and principles of the party, which are eloquently articulated in official government documents. The extent of this deviation is such that the same ANC that so vigorously championed the cause of African unity during its days as a liberation movement has today become a divisive force on the continent, as illustrated by South Africa’s move to head the Commission of the African Union at any cost.

3. RESPONSE

Dr Essop Pahad



Dr. Pahad called for the ANC to champion the revival of the global solidarity movement against imperialism and oppression

In addition to the identity of the ANC as a progressive, pan-Africanist, non-racial and anti-colonial movement, as highlighted in the presentations, the influence of the communist movement in shaping the thinking of the ANC also needs to be appreciated. In particular, the ANC embraced the Soviet Union as a pivotal force in the struggle against imperialism. The ANC also used its international presence to contribute to building an extensive solidarity movement of progressive forces in countries like Vietnam, Chile, Spain and the Palestinian territories. Today, the ANC prioritises international solidarity because millions of people across the world spent time, money and some even shed their blood in support of its liberation struggle. For example, many Cubans died in countries like Angola in defence of the African cause. This explains why the ANC will continue to stand side by side the people of Cuba, in the same way that it will continue to stand in solidarity with the self-determination of the Palestinian people.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent entrenchment of the US as the world's hegemon, has posed a significant challenge to the ANC. It is trying to determine how to deal with the changing environment, which has seen a resurgence of 'gun-boat diplomacy' and regime change politics championed by Western powers. It is worth underlining that Western governments have never been friends of the ANC because of what it stands for. In fact, they were forced to change their policies and abandon support for the apartheid regime

only because of internal developments within South Africa and the pressure from the global anti-apartheid movement. This understanding supports the case for a revival of the international solidarity movement, the prioritisation of multilateral processes, as well as the reform of institutions of global governance.

With regard to the relationship between the ANC and the foreign policy machinery of government, it is a given that the thinking of the ANC as the governing party must always impact on South Africa's foreign policy. However, it is worth noting while the party determines the country's foreign policy orientation, it does so only in broad terms. The details and actual implementation are left to the government. It is also instructive to highlight the fact that the imperative to adhere to diplomatic protocol in state-to-state relations also at times constitutes a major constraint on the ability of ANC cadres deployed in government to put into practice the principles and values of the party in the execution of the country's foreign policy.

4. KEY POINTS FROM THE INTERACTIVE DISCUSSION



Mr Fadl Nacerodien (DIRCO)

The ANC is not the sole source of South Africa's foreign policy

A key point emphasised during the question and answer session was that South Africa's foreign policy is not derived exclusively from the positions of the ruling party. This emerged from concerns over the distinction between state and party on matters of foreign policy in South Africa. It was indicated that there is nothing wrong in any country for the ruling party to influence foreign policy. However, in its attempt to influence the country's foreign policy, the ANC must develop a greater understanding and remain conscious of the line between state and party. Moreover, it was highlighted that although the historical perspectives of the ANC continue to influence the foreign policy of the country, much of the content of this policy also derives from the Constitution, which is inclusive of perspectives beyond those of the ruling party. This creates opportunities for enriching South Africa's foreign policy, but also poses a challenge for balancing different principles and values in the process of formulating and executing this policy.

Who exactly makes foreign policy in South Africa?

A lot of uncertainty was expressed in terms of the structures and processes involved in the making of foreign policy in South Africa. In trying to address this question, reference was made to an earlier point which suggested that the broad foreign policy orientation of the country is customarily laid out at the ANC's national

conferences, allowing sufficient leeway for the government of the day to flesh out the details. It was also pointed out that Jacob Zuma ascended to the presidency with a promise to make the ANC the locus of day-to-day foreign policy decision-making. This perhaps explains the recent creation of structures like the International Relations Rapid Task Team, which in principle is a reference group within the ANC for quick foreign policy decisions. However, with reference to South Africa's position on the UN Security Council resolution on the 2011 Libyan crisis, the argument was advanced that neither this task team nor the government cabinet plays an important role in making foreign policy decisions, suggesting a process that is dominated by the president.



Ms Thoko Didiza (AMRI)

The ANC needs greater interaction with its branches and civil society on foreign policy:

Without discounting the prerogative of the ruling party to define the foreign policy of South Africa, there was a shared understanding at the seminar that greater inclusiveness is required in this policy area. The call to open up the foreign policy space applies to the government as much as it does to the ANC. It was observed that a majority of South Africans are not versed in what is happening beyond the borders of the country, and as such are disinterested in debates on foreign policy. In this respect, it was suggested that the ANC should enter into a process of empowering its branches to start engaging meaningfully with issues pertaining to international relations. Likewise, both the ANC and the government should create channels for civil society organisations, even those that are not sympathetic to the ruling party, to engage with the country's foreign process. Here, the disorganisation of civil society was highlighted as a potential barrier to its constructive engagement with the foreign policy establishment.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The history of the ANC, in particular its century of international activism, comes with significant conceptual and practical lessons in foreign policy and international relations. From a theoretical standpoint, the exposés reflected in this report highlight, in very clear terms, weaknesses in state-centric approaches to the analysis of foreign policy, having sufficiently illustrated how the principles and values of a liberation movement that has transformed into a governing political party have become entrenched as the single most important source of a country's foreign policy. For foreign policy scholars, this only goes to reinforce the case for multi-actor, multi-issue and multi-level approaches to analysing and appreciating the origins and manifestations of the foreign policy of any given state. This is particularly imperative in a transforming global environment where the pre-eminence of states as international relations actors is no longer considered a given.

More importantly, the presentations and debates at this roundtable are of practical relevance in that they add another layer to the complex and often controversial discourse on the making and execution of South Africa's foreign policy. On the one hand, one could draw on the preceding insights to start making sense of what some pundits of South Africa's foreign policy behaviour rightly or wrongly refer to as Pretoria's 'obsession' with a 'neo-colonial' threat on the continent. On the other hand, the roundtable raises important questions of its own. If, as some of the panellists would have us believe, the broad outline of South Africa's foreign policy emanates from ANC structures, it is befitting to interrogate the interests, preferences, legitimacy and even competence of the actors who dominate the process of analysing global dynamics and locating the ANC and South Africa in these. After all, an equally compelling case was made that the bulk of the ANC membership is apathetic towards foreign policy issues. Similarly, the role of ANC structures such as the International Relations Raid Task Team and how these interact with the government in the day-to-day running of foreign policy needs to be elucidated.

APPENDIX 1: ROUNDTABLE PROGRAMME

09:30 – 10:00	Registration/Tea & Coffee
10:00 – 10:10	Opening and welcome: Mr Solani Ngobeni, Director of Publications, AISA
10:10 – 10:30	<i>Key historical antecedents of the ANC's internationalism</i> Dr Sifiso Ndlovu, SA Democracy Education Trust
10:30 – 10:50	<i>The ANC and South Africa's foreign policy</i> Prof Chris Landsberg, University of Johannesburg
10:50 – 11:10	<i>The Pan-African roots of the ANC and the Pan-African Agenda</i> Prof Mammo Muchie, Tshwane University of Technology
11:10 – 11:30	Discussant: Dr Essop Pahad, Former Government Minister & Editor of The Thinker
11:30 – 12:55	Open discussion
12:55 – 13:00	Closing Remarks Dr Siphamandla Zondi, Director, IGD

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Siphamandla Zondi, IGD
Sifiso Ndlovu, SADET
Chris Landsberg, UJ
Mammo Muchie, TUT
Essop Pahad, *The Thinker*
Solani Ngobeni, AISA
Francis Kornegay, IGD
Fritz Nganje, IGD
Lesely Masters, IGD
Felicia Mhlanga, IGD
Kenny Dlamini, IGD
Busani Ngcaweni, Office of the Presidency
Cameron Jacobs, HRW
Charlene Harry, HRW
Cheryl Hendricks, ISS
Young-Chae Kim, Embassy of the Republic of Korea
Ian Edelstein, ICRC
Martin Owuor, Kenyan High Commission
Cecile Vigneau, Embassy of France
H.E. Hisham Alalawi, Embassy of Iraq
Falih Hilmi, Embassy of Iraq
Thura Safa, Embassy of Iraq
Thoko Didiza, AMRI
Rashid Ahmed, AMRI
Mohd Yani Daud, Embassy of Malaysia

Fadl Nacerodien, DIRCO
Hector Valezzi, Embassy of Mexico
Costin Ionescu, Romanian Embassy
Mike Shepperson, US Embassy
Will Hines, DFID
Fatima Shabodien, ActionAid
Chipo Chimwanda, ActionAid
Xolani Ngubane, Department of Defence
Chris Munn, Australian High Commission
Larissa Subira, Australian High Commission
Lisa De Smet, Embassy of Belgium
Martha Pobee, Ghanaian High Commission
Zain Dindar, *The Thinker*
Aditi Lalbahadur, SAIIA
Lisa Otto, SAIIA
Josefina Pitra, Angolan Embassy
Sonia Adriano, Angolan Embassy
Hiroaki Fujiwara, Embassy of Japan
Kaom Yokotani, Embassy of Japan
Patrick Baleka, ANC
Busisiwe Khaba, Northwest University
Hassan Afzal, Embassy of Pakistan
Megan Bradshaw, US Embassy
Mogotsi Maleka, DIRCO
Mashudube Mamabob, DIRCO
Ousmane Niang, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
Farai Nenganasaha, Embassy of Zimbabwe
Charles Kipkoprir, Kenyan High Commission
Gokae Golyilmaz, Embassy of Turkey
Wang Wei, Chinese Embassy
Hui Lu, Chinese Embassy

Mboup Samba, UNISA

Peter Fabricus, Independent Newspapers

Sanusha Naidu, OSF-SA

Richard Humphries, OSF-SA

Carolina Valezzi, Embassy of Mexico

Sello Malesa, TMLI

Hailemichad Demissie, TUT

Patrick Maesela, ANC

APPENDIX 3: ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL DIALOGUE

The IGD is an independent foreign policy and international diplomacy think tank dedicated to the analysis of and dialogue on the evolving international political and economic environment, and the role of Africa and South Africa. It advances a balanced, relevant and policy-oriented analysis, debate and documentation of South Africa's role in international relations and diplomacy.

The IGD was initially established in 1995 as the Foundation for Global Dialogue after several years of effort led by the former South African president, Nelson Mandela, in his capacity as the president of the African National Congress. He and his team of leaders saw a need for a research organization that would facilitate the new South Africa's engagement with the changing global order after 1994. This was a period in which three vectors of change coincided: the tectonic shift in global power politics after the collapse of the Soviet Union; the wave of democratization that hit Africa and South America; and the near miraculous transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa. The initial funding came from the German government and went towards establishing the Foundation's competitive edge, a combination of policy-oriented research, catalytic dialogue, tailor-made publications and grant-making for NGOs interested in international relations.

The IGD's research agenda has three broad programmatic focus areas: foreign policy analysis with special reference to the making and management of foreign policy and diplomatic tools like economic, developmental, and public diplomacy; African studies focusing on the role of regional and continental integration in African politics and development as well as the study of peace diplomacy; and international diplomacy, analysing dynamics in international diplomacy that have a bearing on African peace and prosperity.

Mission: The IGD strives for a prosperous and peaceful Africa in a progressive global order through cutting edge policy research and analysis, catalytic dialogue and stakeholder interface on global dynamics that have an impact on South Africa and Africa.

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ISBN 978-1-920216-51-1



9 781920 216511