

辩论

Discussion Paper

A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE
ON SOUTH AFRICA AS AN EMERGING POWER
GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND BILATERAL IMPLICATIONS

Dr Haibin NIU

Stellenbosch | December 2011

4/2011

ABSTRACT

The active international profile of South Africa has attracted China's increasing interests to cooperate with it at both regional and global levels as well as bilateral level. Globally, both countries share responsibilities to maintain international peace and security, deal with climate change, promote Africa's development, and reform major international institutions. Regionally, both are major players which have big influence on Africa's peace and development. The bilateral relationship between China and South Africa will have more and more strategic influence given its increasingly regional and global implications.

The author is a research fellow at Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, who was visiting fellow at the CCS for a month in mid-2011, followed by a stint at SAIIA in Johannesburg. His research topic was the relationship between China and South Africa and cooperation among emerging powers. The visit was fruitful with many frank and interesting interviews with scholars, officials and businessmen in the Western Cape and in Gauteng. The author appreciates the hospitality of CCS and SAIIA.

E-mail: haibinniu@gmail.com

CCS discussion papers should contribute to the academic debate on China's global rise and the consequences thereof for African development. We do therefore explicitly invite scholars from Africa, China, or elsewhere, to use this format for advanced papers that are ready for an initial publication, not least to obtain input from other colleagues in the field. Discussion papers should thus be seen as work in progress, exposed to (and ideally stimulating) policy-relevant discussion based on academic standards. The views expressed in this paper are those of the author.

Contents

1. SOUTH AFRICA’S EMERGING POWER STATUS	4
1.1 POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AS AN EMERGING POWER.....	4
1.2 INCREASINGLY VISIBLE REGIONAL AND GLOBAL INFLUENCE.....	5
1.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE EMERGING POWER’S GROUPING MEMBERSHIP	6
2. SOUTH AFRICA’S FOREIGN POLICY	7
2.1 REGIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT AGENDA.....	7
2.2 GLOBAL AGENDA WITHIN THE EMERGING POWER GROUPS.....	8
2.3 THE IBSA AND BRICS DILEMMA.....	11
3. SINO-SOUTH AFRICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP.....	11
BIBLIOGRAPHY	13

1. SOUTH AFRICA'S EMERGING POWER STATUS

With the democratic transition of South Africa and the rising importance of Africa in global agenda, South Africa is gaining more and more visibility worldwide as an emerging power. As a member of several emerging powers grouping, South Africa is projecting its power within Africa and outside the continent. As a new member of BRICS, the dynamic of South Africa's international profile deserves to be analyzed deeply.

1.1 POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AS AN EMERGING POWER

Since the end of apartheid regime in 1994, South Africa, the most advanced economy on the African continent, has also become a democracy. Wider educational and economic opportunities, and "employment equity" policies within public and private sectors helped a new black middle class to emerge (Bulter 2009). According to Statistics SA's mid-year estimate for 2011, South Africa's population is 50.59-million, and nearly one-third (31.3%) of the population is aged younger than 15 years while approximately 7.7% (or 3.9-million) is 60 years or older.¹ This population size and age structure mean that South Africa is an emerging and dynamic economy with great pressure on labour training and job creation as well. South Africa itself delivers a mixed picture of what kind of power it is. It is a dominant economy on the African continent, but a small economy at the global level. It is the most advanced and diversified economy in Africa, but with an expanded definition of 40% unemployment, predominantly among the Black population, and the country faces a lack of skill and infrastructure. This mixed character makes South Africa a reluctant hegemon in Africa.

A reluctant hegemon means it has the power to be a leader in Africa while it lacks political willingness to fulfill this role. This lack of leadership willingness partially can be explained by the regional reaction. Many African elites often perceive South Africa as a self-interested 'neo-imperialist' actor (Mokoena 2007: 126). Secondly, South Africa is reluctant to be deeply involved into the regional affairs with the intention of avoiding to be linked to its past relationship with the region during its apartheid regime. Thirdly, a jobless growth raises domestic concerns of spending revenues abroad (fuelling even xenophobic violence in 2008). At the same time, South Africa links its own sustainable development to the stability and development of Africa, which requires South Africa to assume its leading role in maintaining regional peace and development. The weak regional institutions cannot solve serious regional issues, which require South Africa deliver a clearer voice of its own in regional affairs. The leadership style might change against the changing regional situation.

The challenging domestic development agenda pushed the Mbeki government to make it clear that the priority of South African foreign policy was to advance business interests. The paradox of this economic diplomacy is that it puts emphasis on Africa and countries from South while most of its major trading partners and know-how providers are from the Western world, especially Western Europe and the United States. The current debates among politicians on whether to nationalize the important sectors critical to government revenue will impair the

¹ SouthAfrica.info, "South Africa reaches 50-million," July 27, 2011, <http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/population-mid2011.htm#ixzz1TOVZGgSR>

confidence of foreign investors to South Africa. Since the end of apartheid, the dynamic and pro-active private sector of South Africa has penetrated into the region while its government policy lagged this pace and is felt to not being able to serve its entrepreneurs quite well. The rise of other major economies in Africa also put strong competition pressure on South Africa in attracting foreign investment and enhancing trading relations. How to train more skilled labour and build more public transportation system while maintaining domestic stability has been an urgent challenge for maintaining South African regional leadership.

1.2 INCREASINGLY VISIBLE REGIONAL AND GLOBAL INFLUENCE

South Africa is often cited as one the most important regional powers. To gain trust and confidence from the rest of the region has been a big challenge of the post-Apartheid regime. Although it began with a severe scenario of wars, interventions and conflicts, after the political transition in South Africa in 1994, a reasonable resolution of disputes with Angola, Namibia and Mozambique was achieved, significantly reducing political tensions in the entire region (Sennes 2006). South Africa has learnt a lesson when Mandela's intervention in a human rights crisis in Nigeria (around the death sentence for activist Ken Saro Wiwa) was condemned by other African leaders for high handedness and interference, and by domestic liberation movement critics for acting on behalf of the West against a fellow African regime. South Africa began to engage with the region by constructing political institutions and setting up cooperation and dialogue arrangements with an intention to build a co-prosperity zone. The transformation of the old 'club' of frontline states into the South African Development and Cooperation Community (SADC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) reflected the leadership and commitment of South Africa in promoting regional cooperation. Partnership rather than regional superpower is the choice of the post-Apartheid South Africa.

One key component of Thabo Mbeki's foreign policy thinking was the 'African Renaissance'. According to Mbeki's regional vision, a democratic and liberal political-economic restructuring of the African continent was offered as the key to economic upliftment and long-term prosperity (Shelton 2006). The African Union and its supporting agency NEPAD were the key hope of the Mbeki administration for realizing the African Renaissance. The African Union was launched with a leading role played by South Africa in Durban in 2002 and South Africa became the home of the Pan-African Parliament. NEPAD was established to build collective efforts to promote African economic growth in general, so that Africa can achieve sustainable growth and benefit from the participation of globalized world economy. One way to achieve this goal was thought to be improving governance capacity through a NEPAD Peer Review System (the African Peer Review Mechanism, APRM). Promoting the integration of the SADC, the unity and the renewal of the African continent are still a declared priority of the current administration of President Zuma. The academic community in South Africa can be seen as a supportive asset for this purpose: Most of the leading continental think tanks on studying African issues are located in South Africa.

South Africa's vision on the importance of regional security and stability for both Africa's and its own sustainable development also reflected in SADC's security related protocols and AU's Peace and Security Council. Both institutions' security efforts aim at promoting peace and security in the region by adopting collective action. By offering initiatives or working through regional institutions, South Africa has made significant contributions to the peace of Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Sudan and Burundi etc. South Africa's pursuit of UN Security Council permanent seat also reflects its ambition in maintaining regional peace and

stability. South Africa is the most influential and leading candidate for the permanent seat of UN Security Council considering its increasingly active support to regional peace-keeping, peace-making operations and post-conflict reconstruction. However, South Africa's voting for UN Security Council Resolution 1973 delivered a mixed and controversial message to the rest of the region. The paradox is South Africa has to show its desire to prevent humanitarian crisis while the AU and its capacity can't support African solutions for African problems. The complexity of many disputes in Africa also increased the difficulty to provide an effective diplomatic and regional solution.

Despite its relative smaller economic strength, military might and population size comparing with other emerging powers, South Africa has a more prominent voice in world politics. It's the only African nation with a seat at the G-20 summit. One aspect of this story is the difficulties and complexity of solving the African issues which needs a global cooperation rather than that South Africa can solve them individually. The world needs one prominent African country to discuss these challenges at global forums to increase the legitimacy of such discussion. Besides African agenda, South Africa is an important global player in promoting the reform of the post-Second World War governance system such as the reform of UN Security Council, IMF and World Bank etc. South Africa also plays an active role in international negotiations on climate change and world trade. South Africa's successful hosting the World Cup in 2010 showed that it has the capacity to organize such major global sporting events safely and effectively.

South Africa has been an important dialogue partner in global forums with established powers on global and regional challenges. One function of such dialogue is to ensure that the international community to support African agenda constructively. Rather than only focus on trade and development cooperation, both South Africa and EU are working together to further deepen cooperation in order to help address the many global and regional challenges by adopting the SA-EU Strategic Partnership Joint Action Plan in 2007. South Africa has been invited annually by G8 to attend its summit expanded dialogue forum since the development issue of Africa becoming an important topic of the summit. Such engagements with established powers show that South Africa doesn't have the power to pursue its interests unilaterally, and invest heavily in multilateral processes was expected to serve its broad interests regionally and globally. The decline of western powers, the rise of emerging powers and the challenge of global issues offer an access for South Africa to global governance system. Membership of G20 summit as a global forum put South Africa onto the vital forum coordinating world economy macro-policies.

1.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE EMERGING POWER'S GROUPING MEMBERSHIP

South Africa's global south and emerging power diplomacy has been witnessed by its membership of the India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Dialogue Forum, BASIC/G4 (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, Indian, China and South Africa). All of these emerging powers grouping aimed at achieving common interests through the cooperation among group members. Though it is controversial about Russia's identity as a developing country, international community treat these grouping as South-South cooperation. With the ongoing power shift in international system and the lasting financial crises in developed countries, the membership of emerging powers' groupings has some important implications for South Africa's external strategy.

IBSA, the first grouping composed of major emerging powers, was inaugurated in June 2003.

The initial agenda of IBSA was to democratize global institutions such as the United Nations and Bretton Woods institutions, and give concrete shape to the ideal of promoting the economic and social interests of the South. It's difficult for these three big emerging powers to transform the global institutions, therefore IBSA currently focuses on the trilateral cooperation on trade, security, bio-fuels, social development, and research and development as well (Mokoena 2007: 125). Obviously, the shared values, similar political system and common views on reforming the global institutions are frequently quoted as supporting strengths of the grouping. However, these factors are not supporting enough to either change the world order or make benefit for its members. South Africa needs the grouping to help its African agenda and explore the trilateral cooperation potential for its domestic development.

The BASIC countries, formed in 2009, are a sector-based cooperation among emerging powers to influence the international negotiations on climate changes. The main idea is to fight for a fair and just solution and burden-sharing on climate change issues by taking advantages of a group voice. The four countries also showed leading example by announcing their plans to cut greenhouse gas emissions and making their efforts to provide financial and technical aid to the poorer nations. The group insists that there should be a legally binding global agreement on long-term cooperative action under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), and developing countries should have equitable space for development and get finance, technology and capacity-building support from developed countries which have historical responsibility for climate change. As a high per-capital greenhouse gas emitter, it is in South Africa's interest to get financial and technological support to reduce its emission.

The creation of BRIC summit in 2009 transformed the economic conception into a geopolitical one. The join of South Africa into the group makes it looks like a global forum. Though BRICS has the similar agenda to IBSA, BRICS offers more international prestige for South Africa than IBSA and provides an opportunity for South Africa to put its African agenda into a more relevant grouping since China, India and Brazil are major emerging players in African continent.

2. SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

As an emerging power, what important is the regional and global influence of its diplomacy. South Africa is rebuilding its regional legitimacy as a leading player in Africa and engaging proactively with the rest of the world to pursue a proper position in transitional international system. South Africa is playing an increasing visible role in current global governance system as a member of important grouping forums especially the grouping composed of emerging powers.

2.1 REGIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

As a regional power, South Africa identifies the regional stability and development as its first diplomatic priority. This includes building and strengthening the institutions of both the African Union (AU) as well as those of sub-regional initiatives such as the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and NEPAD. South Africa also committed itself to support peace, security, stability and post-conflict reconstruction initiatives including participation in the implementation of Africa's peace and security agenda and management of peace missions. The basic idea is that both socio-economic development and peace are necessary to achieve regional sustainable development. Instability is caused by a number of factors including

underdevelopment and weakened institutions of governance. In doing so, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) was developed as a programme of NEPAD to promote people-centered development and democratic systems of political, economic and social governance in the region.

Africa has been one of the most potential continents for future growth. After finished the democratic transition, South Africa tried to reintegrate into the region. Its export to the region comprises higher value added products, which in turn supports South African industrial development and employment objectives. It's a leading economic player in the region. The NEPAD was created to promote the continent's socio-economic development. To forge closer economic cooperation and take advantage of size-effects to deal with a globalized world economy, Africa's leaders decided to build the African Economic Community (AEC). Through NEPAD, South Africa introduced the notion of "mutual accountability and mutual responsibility" between Africa and its overseas development interlocutors, which helps to establish a healthy and sustainable partnership for African development.

South Africa has contributed huge political, financial and military resources in regional peace and security. And South Africa's approach to the regional security is act through United Nations and the AU with a preference of peaceful means such as political dialogue. The approach is much related South Africa's own history of successful political dialogue in achieving peaceful transition. South Africa has played important mediation and facilitation role in Burundi, DRC, Sudan, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Zimbabwe and others. With South Africa's leadership, the AU moved to emphasize the need to strengthen capacities and actions in conflict prevention. The African Union has established its peace and security architecture, it's an important step even though it's still very weak. The emphasis on post-conflict reconstruction and development also reflects the thought that peace and development are intensely interlinked. South Africa also puts emphasis on human security and social justice rather than traditional military security of states.

2.2 GLOBAL AGENDA WITHIN THE EMERGING POWER GROUPS

South Africa is a regional power with global presence. South Africa has been seen as punching above its weight, expanding the common ground between North and South and earning the country the status of a 'middle power facilitator' (Lee 2006: 56). South Africa also wants to be an African voice internationally. In doing so, South Africa is actively participating into the international cooperation on African related issues such as adapting to climate change, international development policy, world trade system negotiation, and reforms of major international institutions. South Africa supports the democratization of international institutions including IMF, World Bank, the UN and WTO so that developing countries especially African countries could have a bigger voice in the to be reformed institutions.

2.2.1 EMERGING ROLE IN THE UN

South Africa treats its second term of non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council in 2011-2012 as an opportunity to promote the African agenda, promote the country's national priorities and advance the maintenance of international peace and security for socio-economic development to prosper. To pursuit the reform of the UNSC, South Africa needs to advance the African agenda in a way combining both African and outsider's approaches. When South African Ambassador to the UN Dumisani Kumalo reviewed the first UNSC 2007-2008 term of South Africa, he mentioned the following points: the dilemma in balancing differing

expectations whilst trying to uphold the dictates of the UN Charter and the AU Constitutive Act; South Africa is always reacting to the powerful members' viewpoints while it can play an active role when it comes to the AU and the Security Council (Masters 2010: 10-11). South Africa was further being argued as a spokesperson and champion of the Non-Aligned Movement group and developing world during its first UNSC term (Masters 2010: 11).

To get the credibility both from African continent and worldwide, South Africa is enhancing its public diplomacy to introduce its intention and voting behavior in UNSC. South Africa briefs to the AU and SADC on the issues on the UNSC agenda to get support from its neighborhoods. To some extent, South Africa has to take account of African agenda in UNSC since it has a relative limited power leverages independently comparing with other major emerging powers. As to its second term membership in UNSC, South Africa whether South Africa will keep a low profile in promoting its value and principles, pushing reform of UNSC or driven by national interests and hesitating in UNSC reform are being debated. Considering the differences either among the P5 or within the BRICS on how UN works and its reform agenda, a more pragmatic and moderate approach might be the choice of South Africa during its second UNSC term. South Africa's second term on the Council will also be judged within the context of a coordinated IBSA or BRICS strategy. It seems that South Africa will try to deliver its own voice based on its understanding of being a capable responsible global citizen. However, there is not a domestic consensus on what's the expectation and cost South Africa wants to take.

2.2.2 ECONOMIC GLOBAL GOVERNANCE REFORMER

South Africa is the only African country as a member of G20 summit which is the primary forum on world economic issues. As a member of BRICS, South African minister is discussing with his counterparts within the group on whether to provide financial support to the European countries suffering debt crisis. As an emerging economy, South Africa is preparing to project its influence to the reform of international financial, trade and investment system. However, the paradox of current Group politics is that the challenges G20 dealing with are mainly located in the developed countries, the African agenda related issues such as aid effectiveness and development are difficult to be listed on the G20 agenda. Against this backdrop, it's hard for South Africa to deliver some good news through G20 to the African continent. It will be ironical for South Africa to spend money on supporting the EU members getting out of difficult times while its neighbors are struggling for survival, while it might be the reasonable burden for emerging powers. Once again, it is the industrialized powers that control the agenda-setting rather than emerging powers. When the industrialized countries fell into trouble themselves, it is especially difficult for them to take Africa's interests and concerns as priority with financial resources supporting.

Some South African scholars are arguing that South Africa should take its leadership role in G20 to take up the cause of development. The leadership of South Africa should let G20 focus on development, create accountability by monitoring mechanism to ensure both developed countries and poor countries in Africa fulfill their commitments, and provide funding to the G8/Africa partnership (Landsberg 2011). Requiring the G20 to make similar commitments to African development implies that emerging economies be treated as donors which hasn't been fully accepted by the emerging economies. Most of the emerging powers prefer bilateral means to facilitate the development issues in Africa which is different from the way preferred by the OECD countries. Transparency and accountability on the development aids of emerging powers are also needed to be raised in the eyes of traditional development donors. To forge a common

understanding and commitment from G20 to African agenda will be an incremental process. G20 has formed a development working group and South Africa is the co-chair of the working group which looked for best practices of growth. How to promote G20 work hard on development issue still needs to be observed.

Within the G20 framework, the voting share of emerging powers in IMF and WB was being raised, which is a broad achievements for South Africa since there is little chance for it to raise its share in the Bretton Woods institutions. Since South Africa received no funding from the IMF, and the government's macroeconomic policies match with the conservative economic policy norms that the organization promotes, what South Africa sought is to influence the organization's agenda and governance structure. The real chance for South Africa came when Mr. Strauss-Kahn left the IMF, because observers expected BRICS would propose a candidate for IMF presidency and the most possible candidate BRICS launch should be a South African (Grimm 2011). The failure to propose a BRICS candidate shows clearly the weakness of the group in world financial governance system. Even the group reaches a consensus on its candidate to Bretton Woods institutions, the further question will be raised on what kind of alternative agenda or approach the group can deliver. How to pursue a sustainable growth road also a challenge for emerging powers including South Africa since their economies relied too heavily on export. The real challenge is that the group has to offer its own solutions or public goods besides asking their counterparts in developed countries to fulfill their commitments. A cooperative and effective approach should be built between emerging powers and established powers in dealing with world economic issues.

2.2.3 BASIC AND CLIMATE CHANGE NEGOTIATION

South Africa is a major greenhouse gas emitter and the world's sixth largest producer of carbon dioxide even though it isn't the sixth largest economy. This poor environmental record was mainly caused by heavy industries and polluting energy sector. With financial and technological support from developed countries, South Africa plans to reduce emissions by 34% below 'business as usual' levels by 2020 and by 42% by 2025. Against this domestic backdrop, South Africa is active at international level in dealing with environmental challenges. The Conference of the Parties (COP) 17th United Nations conference on climate change in Durban from 28 November to 9 December 2011 is such a case on South Africa's efforts on climate issues. The working conference will attract 194 countries, 1200 nongovernmental organizations and 20 000-25 000 delegates. This big event will test the country's capacity again after a successful world cup, but more challenging thing is what Durban conference can offer after the previous conferences failed to produce a legally binding climate treaty.

Considering its domestic environmental challenge, South Africa prefers to stand with the developing countries as the most appropriate platform for negotiations. After the cooperation as a member of Outreach 5 (Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, India and China) in the G8+5 dialogues, South Africa now act as a more influential group of BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China). The core argument of BASIC is that industrialized nations should assume their historical responsibility legally and offer technology and financial support to developing countries, and developing countries should assume their common but differentiated responsibilities with enough space for development. BASIC's Copenhagen Accord failed to address the concerns of small Island states which questioned the unity of developing countries' positions on international climate change negotiation. South Africa's own prominent position at the negotiating table sparked frustration by those who found themselves in the corridors. How

to represent Africa as a whole properly with the rising influence of BASIC is a future challenge for South Africa's climate change diplomacy.

2.3 THE IBSA AND BRICS DILEMMA

The new membership of BRICS brought a bi-membership dilemma for South Africa as a member of both IBSA and BRICS. The lobby of South Africa to join the BRIC group clearly shows that BRICS has something different from IBSA, while we can't say that South Africa will abandon IBSA immediately since it is a member of BRICS. Most scholars argued that BRICS can offer more important international prestige for South Africa than IBSA could. However, the key difference is that BRICS has a systematic influence that IBSA tries to obtain. IBSA has ambitious goal to reform the current international order while its cooperation was mainly limited in the field of trilateral cooperation among themselves and their regions. What South Africa expected from a membership of BRIC directly is to achieve its economic diplomacy, and its deeper intention should be to obtain more influence on regional and global affairs by joining a more global and influential group.

Strong skepticism exists in South Africa about BRICS's future role in international system, since the grouping members are so different with each other, a lot of geopolitical competitions between some members, and their competition with each other on trade issues. Based on this skeptic thinking, they argued that IBSA is a better choice because of the similarity of political system and values, identity of developing countries and common agenda towards global governance structure reform. Less members also means less difficulties in forging collective actions. IBSA is still attractive for South Africa in its regional development agenda with the projects like IBSA development fund. However, whether BRICS could develop such projects is an open question. IBSA's common agenda on UNSC reform also needs the support from other members of BRICS namely China and Russia. Overlapping membership and similar agenda will make one of them lose its momentum in the long run though it's too early to say which one should be replaced.

3. SINO-SOUTH AFRICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

The establishment of diplomatic relationship in 1997 was a big event for both China and South Africa. China was a consistent supporter of South Africa's cause of anti-Apartheid, and South Africa realized that it couldn't afford to lose China's international influence and economic potential. South Africa's diplomatic acknowledgement shifting to Beijing is important for China-African relationship and breaking China's diplomacy difficulties in the beginning of 1990s. After more than one decade development, China nowadays is South Africa's largest trading partner and export destination, and one of the most important external players in African continent. The China-South Africa relationship has been raised to the comprehensive strategic level, which has increasing visible regional and global implications.

South Africa is not a typical African country in terms of its economic performance. As the most advanced economy, South Africa has the capacity to invest China with its competitive transnational enterprises. The investment from South Africa in China includes not only capital investment but also technology transfer like SASOL's technology. China also found numerous cooperation opportunities in South Africa in the fields of trade, investment, technology, defense and cultural exchange. Since ICBC's acquisition of a 20 per cent shareholding in Standard Bank

Group in 2007, the two banks have cooperated formally on numerous transactions across multiple geographies and sectors, and find more opportunities in the internationalization process of RMB. As competitive economies in the developing world, both countries also have interests to share each other's development experiences to achieve further domestic development.

Both sides highly emphasize each other's positive role in promoting the development, security and stability of African continent, which is an important part of the bilateral strategic cooperation. South Africa is the continent's most advanced economy, strongest peace-keeping player and qualified leader of regional integration. China supports the constructive role South Africa plays in the region where China has increasing overseas interests. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation has made many achievements for mutual beneficial developments. The forum also pays close attention to coordinate with region's institutions such as AU and NEPAD in which South Africa plays a leading role. China's interest in Africa was also prompting other countries to increasingly look at the continent, positioning it as the world's playing field over the next decade. As stakeholders of the region, they should enhance exchanges on their approaches to regional affairs. China's interaction with Africa in terms of its assistance, economic activities, and trade model has been increasingly concerned by South Africa.

Beijing's invitation of South Africa as a new member of BRICS confirmed China's reorganization of South Africa's leadership role in Africa and global influence on key agendas of international system. South Africa is one of the most important players in the process of African integration, and it's necessary for China to enhance its coordination with South Africa in dealing with regional issues. South Africa's membership increased the relevance of BRICS as a global group of major developing countries. With the new membership of South Africa, BRICS can address the African issues more effectively and attract more concerns to Africa's demands from international community. At the global forefronts, both countries played important roles in climate change, peace-keeping, international development especially in Africa, world trade, and reform of IMF, etc. Both countries support the cooperation of emerging powers in terms of not only exploring each other's market, but also building a more just and fair international order.

To conclude, it is clear that despite its smaller economy size and huge domestic challenges, South Africa is a qualified regional leader and capable global player. South Africa's commitment to regional development, stability and peace and its cooperation with major developing countries on selective global agendas gained a unique leadership which China values. The strategic and comprehensive Sino-South African partnership is a mutual beneficial relationship with emerging regional and global influence. The consolidation of BRICS in dealing with regional and global affairs needs both countries contribute more commitment of political, economic and mental resources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baker, Pauline H. and Lyman, Princeton N. (reaction by Khehla Shubane) (2009): "South Africa: From Beacon of Hope to Rogue Democracy?" in Michael Schiffer and David Shorr, ed., *Powers and Principles: International Leadership in a Shrinking World*, Lanham: The Stanley Foundation, pp. 259-293.
- Bulter, Anthony (2009): *Contemporary South Africa*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bucar, Maja (2010), *Science and Technology for Development: Coherence of the Common EU R&D Policy with Development Policy Objectives*, Bonn: German Development Institute (Discussion Paper 19/2010).
- European Commission (EC) (2009): *Commission staff working paper accompanying the EU 2009 report on policy coherence for development*, SEC (2009) 1137, Brussels.
- Fues, Thomas (2010): "The G20: A New Global Governance Framework for Sustainable Development?" *Briefing Paper* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Shanghai Coordination Office for International Cooperation), No. 1, October 2010.
- Grimm, Sven (2011): "An African Chair of the IMF?" CCS Commentary, 10 June 2011, www.sun.ac.za/ccs
- Kornegay, Francis A. (2011): "Perspective: South Africa," in Francis A. Kornegay & Lesley Masters (ed.) *From BRIC to BRICS*, Institute for Global Dialogue, 2011.
- Ladsberg, Chris (2011): "A Need for Leadership on Africa", in: Courier, online publication of the Stanley Foundation, <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/articles.cfm?id=702>.
- Le Pere, Garth (ed) (2006): *China in Africa: Mercantilist predator, or partner in development?* Midrand: IGD/SAIIA.
- Le Pere, Garth and Shelton, Garth (2007): *China, Africa and South Africa*, Cape Town: ABC Press.
- Lee, D. (2006): "South Africa in the World Trade Organisation," in D. Lee, I. Taylor and P.D. Williams, eds., *The New Multilateralism in South African Diplomacy*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Masters, Lesley (2010): "Africa, Climate Change and Copenhagen: A Post-Mortem," *Global Insight*, Issue 91, February 2010.
- Mokoena, Refilwe (2007): "South-South Cooperation: The Case for IBSA," *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 2007.
- Naidu, Sanusha (2011): "South Africa Joins BRIC with China's Support," *East Asia Forum*, 1 April 2011, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2011/04/01/south-africa-joins-bric-with-china-s-support>.
- Rennkamp, Britta and Naidoo, Dhesigen (2011): "Shifting Governance in STI: an Analysis of the Global Governance Institutions and Their Impact on South African Policy," *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 1, April 2011, pp. 63-85.
- Shelton, Garth (2006): "South Africa's Engagement with the Global Security Agenda: Areas for Co-operation within the IBSA Framework," in Alcides Costa Vaz eds., *Intermediate States, Regional Leadership and Security: India, Brazil and South Africa*, Universidade de Brasilia, 2006, pp.132-133.
- Sennes, Ricardo Ubiraci (2006): "Brazil, India and South Africa: Convergences and Divergences in Intermediate Countries' International Strategies," in Alcides Costa Vaz eds., *Intermediate States, Regional Leadership and Security: India, Brazil and South Africa*, Universidade de Brasilia, 2006, pp. 49-70.

Editorial Team

Sven Grimm
Matthew McDonald

Design & Layout

Centre for Chinese
Studies



**CENTRE FOR
CHINESE
STUDIES**
STELLENBOSCH - SOUTH AFRICA

Contact Us

Centre for Chinese Studies

Stellenbosch University

T: +27 21 808 2840

F: +27 21 808 2841

E: ccsinfo@sun.ac.za

W: www.sun.ac.za/ccs