

**SUB-NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE CASE OF THE
LIMPOPO PROVINCE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that "**Sub-national governments and foreign policy: The case of the Limpopo province in South Africa**" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

Date

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyse and describe the role of sub-national governments (SNG's) in foreign policy and how the conduct of diplomacy has developed in the South African context, and to assess why and how provinces engage in this phenomenon. The theoretical approach to this study is embedded in neo-functionalism. In order to illustrate this, the South African province, the Limpopo Province is used as an illustrative case study. In particular, the study will analyse the role of the International Relations Unit (IRU) within the Office of the Premier (OtP) in the Limpopo Province as a case study. Limpopo is the main focus of this study because it, *inter alia*, borders on three sovereign states (Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) which place the province in a good position to engage in international relations, mutual intentions and friendly relations with its neighbouring and other distant countries. The results of this study is that provinces have become important foreign policy and international relations actors in the area of low politics; however the national government remains as the main actor in the international relations and foreign policy making process. The results also indicate that Limpopo is being proactive in facilitating and accelerating the realisation of the foreign policy objectives since provinces engage with international activities that run in parallel with the objectives and principles of the national foreign policy. The study contributes to the literature on SNG's diplomacy in South Africa. It also lays the foundation for further research in other SNG's diplomacy especially in Africa by employing other theories that have been ignored including African theories.

Keywords: foreign policy, sub-national governments, diplomacy, South Africa, neo-functionalism, Limpopo, provinces, international relations.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| ANC | African National Congress |
| AU | African Union |
| DFA | Department of Foreign Affairs |
| DIRCO | Department of International Relations and Cooperation |
| DPSA | Department of Public Service and Administration |
| EU | European Union |
| EXCO | Executive Council |
| FDI | Foreign direct investment |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| IGO | Intergovernmental organisation |
| IGR | Intergovernmental relations |
| IIGR | Intergovernmental and international relations |
| IR | International relations |
| IRC | International Relations Committee |
| IRPF | International Relations Policy Framework |
| IRU | International Relations Unit |
| JEC | Joint Executive Committee |
| JPC | Joint Provincial Council |
| JTWC | Joint Technical Working Committee |
| LPG | Limpopo Provincial Government |
| LPGDS | Limpopo Provincial Growth and Development Strategy |
| MNC | Multi-national corporation |
| MoU | Memorandum of Understanding |
| NA | National Assembly |
| NCOP | National Council of Provinces |
| NGO | Non-governmental organisation |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |
| NP | National Party |
| ODA | Official development assistance |
| ODD | Official Development Directorate |
| OtPL | Office of the Premier of Limpopo |
| PGDS | Provincial Growth and Development Strategy |
| PM & E | Performance Monitoring and Evaluation |

| | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------|
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| RSA | Republic of South Africa |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SDI | Spatial development initiative |
| SNG | Sub-national government |
| TLSDI | Trans-Limpopo Spatial Development Initiative |
| UN | United Nations |
| USA | United States of America |

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Before 1994, South Africa had four provinces: the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape Province. After the 1994 elections and with the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (hereafter the Constitution), the four provinces were reorganised into the current nine. This decision was not taken lightly and was “characterized by reluctance on the part of the liberation parties” (KAS, 2007: 3).¹ The Constitution provides that the provinces have their own legislatures, Premiers and Ministers (GCIS, 1998:5) and are intended to be “effective developmental but also political units” (Venter & Landsberg, 2006: 99).²

In the Realist tradition, the state is regarded as the most significant actor in international relations and foreign policy-making. International relations are generally conducted against a long and rich history of diplomacy between states. However, recent years have seen sub-national governments (SNGs) across the globe increasingly engaging in the conduct of international relations and foreign policy making.³ South Africa is no exception and its SNGs are also involved in these activities despite being “novices” in the international arena (Geldenhuys, 1998:1).

Seven of the country’s nine provinces are adjacent to sovereign states.⁴ The other two - the Western Cape and Gauteng - also have close cultural, economic and other links with neighbouring and other states (De Villiers, 1995: 3). However, South Africa’s provinces are not expressly recognised as actors in international relations and in foreign policy (Geldenhuys, 1998:3-6). The South African Constitution does not “recognise the provinces as subjects of international law” and does not make

¹ South Africa’s nine provinces are Limpopo, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Kwazulu-Natal, Western Cape, Northern Cape, Northwest, Free State and Eastern Cape.

² The Constitution provides for three ‘spheres’ or levels of government in South Africa, namely national, provincial and local government in Section 40 (South Africa, 1996).

³ For the purposes of this study, the concepts sub-national government (SNG), sub-state government and province are used interchangeably. Chapters One and Two elaborate on the working definitions of these concepts.

⁴ These states are Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana and Namibia.

provision for them to enter into international agreements; “this fact, it could be argued, disqualifies them from entering into treaties with foreign parties” (Geldenhuys, 1998:3-6). Indeed, the Constitution provides in Article 231 (1) that “the negotiating and signing of all international agreements are the responsibility of the national executive” (South Africa, 1996). Yet, in post-apartheid South Africa, provinces have become increasingly involved in international engagements, signing cooperation agreements and joining international organisations, and have even established special units to organise their international diplomacy.

The aim of this study is to analyse and describe how the role of SNGs in foreign policy and the conduct of diplomacy has developed in the South African context, and to assess why and how provinces engage in this activity. The study also aims to investigate if there is a link between the international relations of provinces and the national government in terms of foreign policy decision-making. In order to illustrate this, South African province Limpopo Province (hereafter Limpopo) is used as an illustrative case study. In particular, the study analyses the role of the International Relations Unit (IRU) within the Office of the Premier (OtP). This province is the main focus of the study because it, *inter alia*, borders on three sovereign states (Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) which place it in a good position to engage in international relations, mutual intentions and friendly relations with neighbouring and more distant countries.

1.2 Literature review

There has been limited research on SNGs’ international relations in Africa and South Africa. As Zebbelzu (2006), Zhimin (2005), Zhimin and Junbo (2009), Schiavon (2009), Velazquez (2009) and Sridharan (2003) indicate, studies of sub-states’ role in foreign policy and diplomacy are largely focused on Western and Asian countries. These studies tend to focus on the motives and strategies of engaging in sub-state diplomacy; on the structures that support sub-state diplomacy; and on its implications.

In South Africa, research on sub-national diplomacy as an instrument of the international relations of SNGs has been conducted by researchers including Van Wyk (1997), Geldenhuys (1998), Cornelissen (2009) and Zondi (2012). Van Wyk

(1997) attempted to provide clarity on the constitutional provisions regarding the foreign relations role of SNGs; the means of collaboration and co-ordination of the foreign relations of national and SNGs; South African constitutional provisions relating to the provinces and their foreign affairs status against a comparative background; and providing an inventory of foreign relations of South African SNGs. Van Wyk (1997) also explored the international relations of SNGs in South Africa and addressed the motivations for these relations as well as the constitutional provisions relating to these issues. The conclusion of the study was that South African SNGs have engaged in various forms of international interactions since 1994 and that these interactions are often characterised by a lack of co-ordination between the SNGs and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA).⁵

Geldenhuys (1998) examined the international activities of the South African provinces by analysing factors encouraging and discouraging them from venturing onto the international stage, and describing the kinds of foreign activities undertaken by the nine provincial governments. He concluded that, by engaging in their own direct foreign relations, South Africa's provinces are in step with a well-established international trend; and that they have been influenced by the same local and foreign socio-economic and political pressures that have compelled SNGs elsewhere to enter the international arena as political actors in their own right. However, Geldenhuys noted that provinces are subject to some constitutional limitations in engaging in international relations and that they are inexperienced in international affairs.

Cornelissen (2009) focused on internationalisation and competitiveness in South African urban governance. The conclusion of her study was that achieving global economic competitiveness is the main driver and motive for international contact by actors at different levels.

Zondi (2012) focused on the international relations of South African provinces and municipalities (local governments). His study suggested that, in keeping with trends elsewhere, changes in the character of global power and international relations have

⁵ The name of the DFA was changed to the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) in 2009.

led to a growth in sub-state diplomacy by South African provinces and municipalities looking for space and benefits in the globalising world economy. In his view, the spread of sub-state diplomacy in South Africa is an outcome of domestic politico-legal contexts in which SNGs are encouraged to express their relative autonomy without undermining national government's roles, including the responsibility to ensure policy coherence in the country's engagement with the world. The study also suggested that this aligns with views within the African National Congress (ANC: the incumbent South African government since 1994) that foreign policy and international relations broadly should allow for relative autonomy of sub-national entities and the growth of sub-state diplomacy. Zondi concluded that international engagements by provinces and municipalities have grown in frequency and in extent since 2004 and that the manner in which they are conducted continues to improve as a result of increased national attention to sub-state diplomacy.

Such studies of the international activities of South Africa's provinces were aimed at generating a formal hypothesis and gathering preliminary information on sub-state diplomacy, on the reasons why non-central governments increase their international roles and on the constitutional provision for provinces' international relations. The studies however only provided a small glimpse into the inner workings of provincial governments, with their authors struggling to obtain official information and material on provinces' foreign relations (Geldenhuys, 1998: vi). Largely uncharted territory in the scholarly study of the so-called "new" (post-1994) South Africa's international relations, a theoretical framework for explaining sub-state diplomacy remains underdeveloped and requires an additional effort of theory building (Geldenhuys, 1998: vi). Thus, while these studies were able to generate speculative insights and hypotheses and map out possible areas and methods for future research, they did not make a broad theoretical, methodological and conceptual contribution.

Dominant analyses of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy include many studies of bi- and multilateral relations (see, for example, Nel *et al.*, 2001; Van der Westhuizen *et al.*; 2001; Wheeler, 2004); diplomatic conduct (Olivier & Geldenhuys 1995); and peace diplomacy (Southall, 2006; Kagwanja, 2006; Curtis, 2007). Taylor (2001) used case studies of South Africa's interaction with multilateral groupings and organisations to examine the country's foreign policy during its ambivalent re-entry into the globalised neo-liberal political economy, and largely focused on the

contradictions and ambiguities in post-apartheid South African policy. Nel *et al.* (2001), Van der Westhuizen *et al.* (2001) and Wheeler (2004) conducted studies of multilateralism within South Africa's democratic government and provided a critical analysis of South Africa's middle-power multilateral diplomacy since 1994.

Alden and Le Pere (2004) also focused on South Africa's re-entry into the international system and the construction of the new South African foreign policy. In their study, Olivier and Geldenhuys (1997) focused on the evolution and transmission of South African foreign policy after 1994, diplomatic conduct and the new government's bi- and multilateral relations.

In focusing on South African foreign policy at an international level, analysis to date has overlooked its manifestations at the domestic level and has also failed to highlight links between the provinces and national government in terms of international relations and foreign policy-making. Using Limpopo as a case study, this study aims to bridge this conceptual gap in the literature by indicating why provinces engage in sub-state diplomacy and by highlighting the international relations and foreign policy-making links between provinces and national government.

1.3 Research questions

South African provinces have become increasingly involved in international engagements, signing cooperation agreements and joining international organisations, and have even established special units to organise their international diplomacy.

In view of the need for greater understanding of the role of South Africa's provinces in foreign policy decision making and diplomacy, this study concerns itself with the following research questions:

- What are the constitutional provisions for the conduct of international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy in South Africa?
- What are the main themes and trends in the development of sub-state diplomacy in South Africa?
- Why do SNGs engage in this practice?

- What structures encourage and support sub-state diplomacy in South Africa?
- What are the strategies that Limpopo employs in conducting sub-state diplomacy?
- What are the implications of sub-state diplomacy for South Africa's foreign policy and international relations?

These questions guide the arguments and inquiry of this study. The information gathered will be coded and presented in predetermined categories or themes that emerge from the literature and which clearly relate to the central research questions.

1.4 Theoretical framework of study

In their studies of the international relations of South African provinces, Van Wyk (1997), Geldenhuys (1998), Cornelissen (2009) and Zondi (2012) mainly followed the constructivist, liberalist and realist approaches.

The theoretical approach taken in this study – that of regional integration - is embedded in neo-functionalism. The model of integration used by neo-functionalists is a “step by step method starting from economic sectors and spreading through political fields for creating a supranational political community” (Ozen, 1998: 2). Neo-functionalism as an integration theory creates a linkage between economic and political integration with the aim of achieving a political community and a federal state at the end of the integration process (Ozen, 1998:1).

When addressing the process of integration, neo-functionalism makes four assumptions about states (Burley & Mattli, 1993: 52). Firstly, it assumes that integration occurs between formally independent entities and that integration between states in one sector such as economic sector will evolve into integration or co-operation in the political, socio-cultural, security or other sectors. Secondly, the nation state serves as the model for integration. Thirdly, integration is taken to be a two-way process between member states and supranational organisations. Finally, it is assumed that new political loyalties may arise without threatening the primacy of the state (Burley & Mattli, 1993: 52).

Neo-functionalism is most capable of explaining how the process of sub-state

involvement in foreign policy decision making and diplomacy comes about and why provinces engage in the phenomenon. Thus, it gives direction in this study as to how and why provinces engage in decision making and diplomacy. Chapter Two elaborates the study's theoretical framework.

1.5 Methodology

Methodologically, this is a qualitative study which uses case study methods to explore how and why Limpopo engages in foreign policy decision making and sub-state diplomacy.

The objectives of qualitative research are to explore areas where limited or no prior information exists. The strengths of the qualitative method include "obtaining a more realistic feel of the world that cannot be experienced in the numerical data and statistical analysis used in quantitative research; flexible ways to perform data collection, subsequent analysis, and interpretation of collected information" (Matveev, 2002: 2). Furthermore, a qualitative method provides a holistic view of the phenomena under investigation and the ability to interact with the research subjects in their own language and terms (Matveev, 2002: 2).

One weaknesses of the qualitative method is that it may depart from the original objectives of the research in response to the changing nature of the context, arriving at different conclusions based on the same information depending on the characteristics of the researcher (Matveev, 2002: 2). It is unable to investigate causality between different research phenomena, and has difficulty in explaining differences in the quality and quantity of information obtained from different respondents and arriving at different, non-consistent conclusions (Matveev, 2002: 2). It requires a high level of experience in the researcher to obtain the targeted information from respondents. It can thus lead to a lack of consistency and reliability as the researcher may employ different probing techniques and respondents may choose to give some accounts and ignore others (Matveev, 2002: 2).

The case study approach, which this study adopts, is a research method that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which

multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin, 1984:23). There are a number of advantages in using case studies. It may include data examination, with variations in terms of the intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allowing for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of data. The detailed qualitative accounts often produced not only help to explore or describe the data in the real-life environment but also to explain the complexities of real life situations which may not be captured through experimental or survey research (Yin, 1984:23).

The case study method has been criticised for a number of reasons. Firstly, case studies are often accused of lack of rigour (Yin, 1984: 21). Secondly, the method has been criticised for being and for allowing "equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions" (Yin, 1984: 21). Thirdly, case studies can be criticised for providing little basis for scientific generalisation since they use a small number of subjects, with some using only a single subject. The question commonly raised is, "How can you generalise from a single case?" (Yin, 1984: 21). Finally, case studies are often labelled as being too long and difficult to conduct and as producing a massive amount of documentation (Yin, 1984: 21).

Another qualitative method also followed in this study is the conduct of face-to-face and telephonic unstructured interviews with a key informant in the OtPL in Limpopo. This was necessary in order to acquire an in-depth understanding of the phenomena being studied. The data collected for the study was also drawn from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included speeches, government policy documents and statements. Secondary sources included academic, journals and newspapers. As most of the reports and documents were generated from official activities and websites of government departments, the bulk of the data for the study was collected by consulting these secondary sources.

1.6 Conceptual clarification

The main concepts relevant to this study are sub-national, foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest.

A sub-state is a "political subdivision of a state which is vested with self-government and law-making powers within a defined autonomous territory" (Arnado, 2011: 2). As

the term implies, it is not equivalent to an independent state because it is under a parent state which is politically mature enough to allow itself to share a portion of its sovereignty with a sub-state level entity (Arnado, 2011: 2). There are various forms of SNGs. Some are self-governing in political entities in a defined autonomous state; others are semi-autonomous regions within unitary states (Arnado, 2011: 2). The latter is closer to the South African provinces, while the former may be similar to states in a federal configuration such as the United States (US). Thus, sub-state actors are actors operating within the structure of the state, including organs and agencies of government; non-state actors are those operating outside the structure of the state.

Sub-national entities “represent actors of a territorial nature, which have a more limited scope in means, radius and personnel, etc., and which are located ‘below’ the level of central government” (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 20). Manojlovic and Thorheim go on to say that a sub-national entity refers to a “wide range of actors, perhaps various regions, municipalities and cities”. The policies that sub-national entities develop in the field of international relations can run parallel to, complement or be in conflict with those of the central government’s foreign policy course (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 20).

Foreign policy involves *inter alia* a “combination of aims and interests pursued and defended by a given state and its ruling class in its relations with other states, and the methods and means used by it for the achievement and defusing of these purposes and interests” (Ojo, Orwa & Utete, 1985:43).

Diplomacy has been defined as the “conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home and abroad” (Berridge & James, 2003: 69).

National interest is an ambiguous concept and as a result there is no generally accepted meaning among scholars. It can be defined as the “perceived needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states comprising the external environment” (Nuechterlein, 1976: 247). These concepts and how they are interrelated will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

1.7 Contribution of the study

The major significance of the study lies in its contribution to the academic literature on the role of SNGs on the international stage. There are significant gaps in the literature on sub-state diplomacy that this study attempts to address. Firstly, by studying the diplomatic activities of a sub-national government in an African country, the research contributes to offsetting the geographical imbalance in the current literature. Furthermore, due to its Western bias, the current literature on sub-state diplomacy focuses largely on analysing the international activities of the constituent units of well-established federations or those with nationalist ambitions. South African provinces lack these two attributes and an analysis of their international relations therefore brings a fresh perspective to the study of the phenomenon. Secondly, this study is an advance methodologically, theoretically and conceptually on some previous studies on the topic. In the IRU instance, the study contributes to the literature by exploring the links between foreign policy, national interest and sub-state diplomacy.

1.8 Scope and limitations of the study

The scope of the study is South African foreign policy with particular emphasis on the foreign policy-related actions of Limpopo, focussing on the province's IRU as the main role player in coordinating its international relations.

The study is limited by several other aspects. There is little literature on the sub-state diplomacy of Limpopo to form a background to the study. In addition, there was a risk that key informants might not participate in the study wholeheartedly due to the fact that the participation was voluntary; also, responses be biased. Chronologically, the study focuses only on the period 2000 to 2010. This period is important as it was in 2005 that the IRU was established as a stand-alone unit apart from the Intergovernmental Relations Unit in the Office of the Premier; it was thus essential to establish the uniqueness of the unit and its achievements and challenges in international relations and foreign policy activities. The International Relations Unit is part of the Intergovernmental and International Relations (IIGR) and Official Development Directorate (ODD) located in the Office of the Premier in Polokwane, the capital of Limpopo.

Theoretically, the study is limited by its application of neo-functionalism and will only be able to explain the development of sub-state diplomacy in an environment where diplomacy is seen as a practice of sovereign states. It will therefore not explain in detail the actions and motivations of non-state actors and other stakeholders, a subject for a different study altogether.

Methodologically, the study is limited in that it focuses only on Limpopo province and employs only the qualitative study approach (including the case study method and face-to-face unstructured interviews). Yet, this case study generates insights that may be applicable to other provinces in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa, especially those that border other countries.

1.9 Chapter outline

The study is divided into five chapters. The present chapter provides a general introduction to the study, its relevance and aims; and the literature review which forms part of the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter also describes the methodological approach taken.

Chapter Two presents a conceptual analysis of sub-state diplomacy and its nature, scope and practice against the background of the analytical and theoretical framework of the study. The chapter also focuses on the main concepts of the study and how they are interrelated.

Chapter Three provides an analysis of the South African constitutional and political framework which enables SNGs to practice sub-state diplomacy, describing the constitutional provisions on foreign policy and international relations. The division of power in the Constitution is also discussed, with a focus on the competences and limitations of provinces in international relations and foreign policy-making. The chapter also outlines the provincial constitutional and political framework enabling the conduct of sub-state diplomacy; and the main actors in South Africa's international relations.

Chapter Four focuses on Limpopo, the case study of the dissertation. The chapter examines the province's key features, governance, identity and demographics; and

its policies on and approach to international relations. The international, national and sub-national factors that influence the province to participate in international relations are discussed as well as the way in which these factors promote, constrain and shape the IRU's actions in foreign policy-making and international relations.

Finally, **Chapter Five** provides the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

1.10 Conclusion

Constitutionally, international relations and foreign policy-making are the competency of the national government in South Africa. However, provinces are now engaging in international relations and foreign policy. With the growing interest of provinces and SNGs in sub-state diplomacy, it is necessary to analyse how this phenomenon has developed and why provinces continue to go beyond their competencies and engage in international relations and foreign policy. The dissertation uses Limpopo as a case study for understanding the theoretical nature of sub-state diplomacy and why provinces engage in it.

This chapter outlined the statement of the research problem and the aim, objectives, motivation and significance of the study. It also gave a summary of the existing literature on the subject and an outline the methods employed in the study.

The next chapter focuses on the conceptual analysis of sub-state diplomacy and its nature, scope and practice; and outlines the analytical and theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The engagement of SNGs, whether provinces, regions or cities, in international relations and foreign policy occurs widely and has recently received considerable attention from scholars. The state for a long time has been regarded as the most significant actor in international relations and foreign policy making. However, SNGs are increasingly engaging in international relations and the conduct of foreign policy worldwide and in South Africa is no exception. The forces of globalisation are often seen as impetus behind the increased interconnectedness of states.

[C]hanges in the inter-state system associated with globalisation have led countries to search for new forms of international economic cooperation and political interaction. The loss of sovereignty to multi-nationals, increasing regionalisation, and interdependence between states and individuals alike, has led to a proliferation of international actors. Within decentralised or federal states, SNGs (e.g. provinces) have to a varying degree also become role-players in the international arena (Cape Gateway, 2005: internet).

This chapter demonstrates how neo-functionalism is potentially useful for explaining the development of sub-state diplomacy and the involvement of SNGs in this phenomenon in the South African context. It presents a conceptual analysis of sub-state diplomacy and its nature, scope and practice, and describes the analytical and theoretical framework of the study. The chapter also clarifies the concepts of foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest and how these concepts are inter-related. The reasons for the increased involvement of SNGs in international relations are also discussed.

2.2 Neo-functionalism: tenets, utility and criticism

Functionalism was one of the earlier theories to be termed an integration theory. It holds that cooperation in technical areas leads to greater cooperation in general (Pentland, 1973: 100). Neo-functionalism states that while cooperation may lead to a “federal outcome for some, it remains at the intergovernmental level, and does not

develop into a supranational entity" (Duncan, 2006: 14).

Functionalism does not begin from a "rigid set of foundational propositions that are shared by all functionalists" Rosamond (2000: 32-33). One of the assumptions of functionalism is that nation-states are not able fully to provide welfare and meet the human needs in general (Rosamond, 2000: 32-33). As a result, sub-national entities or governments respond to this inability of the central government by moving into the international scene and regions to pursue their interests. Thus, the satisfaction of human needs is the main objective associated with functionalism. Functionalists have criticised the nation state as an

irrational actor and value laden concept. They think that the important task is to find the most efficient method of managing the real material necessities of people. Therefore they argue that post-territorial or post-national basis is the best way to serve human welfare (Kurt, undated: 3).

Neo-functionalism was first coined by Ernst B. Haas (1958) and began as a "sympathetic critique" of the functionalist theory (Pentland, 1973: 100). It developed during the "rapid period of integration during the 1950s, when it became evident that the economic-political divide in functionalism was not representative of the realities of integration" (Duncan, 2006:14). Integration events were occurring at a rapid pace, leaving functionalism unable to provide explanations for some levels of integration. In response to functionalism's weaknesses in explaining all levels of integration, Haas (1958) published *The Uniting of Europe*, the work regarded as the seminal neo-functionalism text (Duncan, 2006:14).

2.2.1 Tenets of neo-functionalism

The method of integration pursued by neo-functionalism is taken from functionalism and "proposes a step by step method starting from economic sectors and spreading through political fields for creating a supranational political community" (Ozen, 1998: 2). It is an integration theory which creates a linkage between economic and political integration with the aim of achieving a political community and a federal state at the end of the integration process (Ozen, 1998:1).

When addressing the process of integration, neo-functionalism makes four

assumptions about the member states (Burley & Mattli, 1993: 52). Firstly, integration occurs between formally independent entities. Secondly, the state serves as the model for integration. Thirdly, integration is a two-way process between member states and supranational organizations. Finally, new political loyalties may arise without threatening the primacy of the state (Burley & Mattli, 1993: 52). Furthermore, according to neo-functionalists states are not exclusive and may not be the only predominant actors in the international system; the interests of actors are the driving force towards integration; key functional areas provide the usual foci for the integration process; and strategies with regard to integration are “convergent, not identical” (Haas, 1958:1964).

The neo-functionalism spillover principle implies that:

institutions will expand their power into areas where they previously had none because it is necessary to more effectively carry out the duties with which they were originally tasked. Because different areas of the economy do not exist in isolation, spillover will occur when, in pursuit of free trade for example, formal tariff barriers are removed and there becomes a need to address non-tariff barriers (Duncan, 2006:18).

The outcome of this is “to upgrade the common interests and in the process delegate more authority to the centre” (Dolan, 1976: 289).

Functional spillover is used to explain how collaboration between actors in a specific area can result in unexpected collaboration and integration in other areas that may be beneficial to both actors (Civitas, 2011: 1). Spillovers are motivated by the interests of actors involved who share similar objectives. Without agreement on a common goal, there can be no agreement on expanding powers and thus no spillover (Duncan, 2006:17). However, agreement on a common goal is not the end; the actors involved continually evaluate their commitment to the shared objective and will only agree that the spillover should continue if it will meet their interests in the long run or within a specific time frame (Duncan, 2006: 18). If the spillover agreement is not meeting the interests of one or both actors involved, the relationship can be re-defined or withdrawn or the process of spillback can occur. Spillback is the opposite of spillover (Duncan, 2006: 18). Political spillover is used to explain “the importance of supranational and sub-national actors in the integration process, as they create further pressure for more integration to pursue their interests” (Civitas, 2011: 1).

2.2.2 Criticism of neo-functionalism

Neo-functionalism has been criticised as inadequate by Haas (1970) and Moravcsik (1993) but also praised for its explanatory powers by Haas (1958), Schmitter (2005) and Cini (2003). It has on occasion been deemed obsolete, including twice by Haas, its author (1970). Neo-functionalism faced its biggest challenge during the 1970s when many of its weaknesses were exposed (O'Neill, 1996: 44). Since then, the theory has been re-worked and has recently gained newfound appreciation among scholars of international relations and comparative politics (Duncan, 2006:15).

The initial criticism of neo-functionalism was that, because of the way in which it was applied, it was only capable of explaining one outcome of European integration: the eventual creation of a super state (Duncan, 2006: 15). However, this is not a weakness of the theory but a question of how it is applied and interpreted. Some authors have reinforced this perception by stating that integration will result in the withering-away of the state and in federations (Rosamom, 1995: 394-395). This is one of the issues that led to the theory being challenged in the 1970s.

Neo-functionalism is also criticised for attributing too much autonomy to supranational organizations and their ability to determine the integrative scheme (Pierson, 1996: 125). This criticism is the result of a misunderstanding of the neo-functionalism view and role of the state as well as a misunderstanding of neo-functionalism as a theory (Burley & Mattli, 1993: 54). From the neo-functionalism view, “the role of the central institution in defining terms of final agreement is crucial, but it does not need to go so far as to mean the trumping of the nation state” (Duncan, 2006: 22).

The problems and criticisms associated with the theory of neo-functionalism are issues of interpretation and application, which relate to decisions about how to approach or use the theory. While the above criticisms may be valid, they do not affect the relevance and effectiveness of neo-functionalism for the purpose of this study. It will be demonstrated in this study that neo-functionalism is not only capable of explaining the outcome of European integration but that shortcomings are either a mischaracterisations of the neo-functionalism model or are not relevant for the purposes of this dissertation.

2.2.3 Relevance and application of neo-functionalism in this study

Despite the above-mentioned criticism of neo-functionalism, its relevance for this study is based on three important aspects. Firstly, neo-functionalists acknowledge that states are not the only actors in the international system and that non-state actors are important in international politics. They also recognise the relevance of different actors at several levels including the supranational, national and sub-national; and argue that there is a role for supranational organizations, individual nation states and sub-state elite interest groups in international relations with each actor playing an important role that cannot be ignored. In recognising that non-state and sub-state actors are important in international relations, neo-functionalism is a convincing theory because it does not dismiss the importance of the nation-states, which continue to play a key role in integration by evaluating and setting the terms of the scheme. Neo-functionalism is the result of an “academic endeavour to marry a state-centric approach, preeminent in international relations, with a plurality of non-state actors (Nordberg, 2011: 12).

Secondly, neo-functionalism is relevant to this study because it asserts that the nation state acts as a model of integration for SNGs, and that SNGs capitalise on and exploit the political momentum created for them by nation states’ interaction with other states. Because the state is used as a model, “the result of the process of integration, assuming continued forward movement, is a gradual shift from the diplomatic to the domestic” (Duncan, 2006: 20). Furthermore, neo-functionalism states that as the process of integration deepens “new political loyalties may arise without threatening the primacy of the nation state” and that both will exist simultaneously (Duncan, 2006: 19-21). While neo-functionalism holds that integration occurs between states, it also recognizes that smaller, sub-national elite groups can be a major driving force in the process. Thus, provinces, as sub-state actors, reinforce integration from below by building relations with counterparts in the world.

Thus sub-state diplomacy is a result of the continued integration and interconnectedness between sovereign states which then filters through to sub-state entities. In the history of South Africa, this can be clearly seen during the periods before and after the end of the apartheid regime. Before it ended, South Africa’s white-dominated government had long been condemned by the international

community for its policy of apartheid; isolated apartheid South Africa and its Constitution did not provide an attractive environment for sub-state diplomacy. However, the “new political context has motivated new regional cooperation schemes, such as the renewed Southern African Development Community, which posed increasing opportunities for sub-national mobilization” (Cornago, 2000: 15).

The post-1994 political system in South Africa indeed opened new opportunities for provinces and sub-national departments to engage in diplomacy and foreign affairs. The start of the country’s new Constitutional regime in 1994 had a marked impact on South Africa’s international position, with the new government reviewing apartheid foreign policy, adopting democratic foreign relations principles and positioning the country to participate in international relations. The end of apartheid thus marked new beginnings for South Africa as a country. This created opportunities for SNGs, regions and provinces also to integrate with other sub-state entities in the region and more distantly and to follow in the footsteps of the mother state.

There is increased interconnectedness in the international system and this has trickled down to SNGs. From the neo-functionalism view, increased regional integration, economic globalisation and internationalisation by states has led to the development of sub-state diplomacy. Sub-state diplomacy can be explained by the neo-functionalism spillover effect in that treaties concluded between central governments and foreign countries often deal with matters within the jurisdiction of SNGs thus directly involving provinces in diplomacy and international relations (Geldenhuys, 1998:16). The spillover effect involves provinces in international relations activities from below.

Neo-functionalists argue that actors such as supranational or international organisations act in pursuit of self-interest (Duncan, 2006: 16). Sub-state diplomacy is the process through which actors pursue their interests. From a neo-functionalism perspective, provinces pursue sub-state diplomacy in support of their own interests. It can be assumed that self-interest is survival (Duncan, 2006: 16). As neo-functionalists view interests in realist terms (narrow, state-centric and economic terms), the theory of constructivism is a potentially useful partner for neo-functionalism in developing this study as it suggests that interests relate to identity and ideas; constructivism “endogenise[s] the process of interest formation” (Smith,

Hadfield & Dunne, 2008: 75). Instead of simply assuming that a “bureaucracy or state has given interests, constructivists explore how these are constructed in the first place” (Smith, Hadfield & Dunne, 2008: 75). For constructivists, the process of interest formation “emphasizes the social” (Smith, Hadfield & Dunne, 2008: 75). Economic and material interests matter “but it is the social context that gives meaning to them” (Smith, Hadfield & Dunne, 2008: 75).

In this study constructivism compensates for the inherent weakness of neo-functionalism: defining interests in realist terms. Constructivists argue that interests are more varied; issue-specific, less ‘egoistic’ and targeted at structures and global public goods (Keukeleire & Schunz, 2008: 14). Constructivism thus, without making generalisations and assumptions, allows for research into the varied motivations of SNGs to enter into sub-state diplomacy. These motivations are discussed in subsequent chapters.

2.3 Conceptual analysis as a research method

Concepts selected should be significant in terms of the research problem of the study and should further theoretical development in the area of interest (Walker & Avant, 1995:40). To be able to retain their meanings when removed from specific situations, they should also be highly abstract but precise enough for their boundaries to be identifiable (McKena, 1997:59). In concept selection, the following must be avoided: primitive terms that can only be defined by giving examples; and umbrella terms that are so broad that they encompass several meanings (Walker & Avant, 1995:41).

A concept can be defined as a word or phrase that symbolises an idea or phenomenon (Kant, 2013: 104). Analysis can be described as the “process of breaking a concept down into more simple parts, so that its logical structure is displayed” (Blackburn, 2005: 13). Conceptual analysis, therefore, is

analysis of concepts, terms, variables, constructs, definitions, assertions, hypotheses and theories. It involves examining these for clarity and coherence, critically scrutinising their logical relations, and identifying assumptions and implications (Petocz, 2010: 126).

Conceptual analysis can also be described as theoretical research or critical thinking

and “serves to expose (typically unconscious) practical inconsistency” (Petocz, 2010: 126). Thus, the basic purpose of conceptual analysis is to clarify ambiguous concepts. Conceptual analysis is a method of inquiry and is important in both the physical and social sciences.

The epistemological, logical, pragmatic and linguistic principles have been identified as the four principles of conceptual analysis (Morse *et al.*, 1996: 257). The epistemological principle means that the concepts must be clearly defined from other concepts. The logical principle means that the concepts in the study must be systematically and coherently related to other concepts. The pragmatic principle states that the concepts must be operationalised in such a way that they are applicable to the world; and the linguistic principle states that the concepts should be appropriate to use in context.

Concept analysis uses an inductive approach to analyse and identify concepts (Mashele, 2009: 27). In this study, concept analysis is used to clarify the meaning of the concepts of foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest in order to arrive at an operational definition of foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest.

The conceptual analysis method has some disadvantages (Walker & Avant, 1995:47). Firstly, it cannot assist in generating new operational definitions with construct validity that accurately reflects a theoretical base. However, this study sought to develop an operational definition of foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest with all the critical attributes incorporated. It also sought to reveal the dimensions of the existing concepts of foreign policy, diplomacy, sub-state diplomacy and national interest and no new concepts were developed. Furthermore, conceptual analysis is a rigorous process that requires persistent focus and effort and the fact that there are no firm rules on how to go about the process of conceptual analysis makes the researcher unsure about how to approach the process. Another limitation of conceptual analysis is that it may result in value attachment. However, the concepts used in this study do not have a moral aspect and thus value attachment is irrelevant here (Walker & Avant, 1995:47).

2.4 Conceptual clarification

This study focuses on two main concepts: foreign policy and diplomacy. Related concepts include international relations, national interests and sub-state diplomacy.

2.4.1 Foreign policy

The concept of foreign policy is difficult to define and is ambiguous and vague (Du Plessis, 2002:111). A concept with different meanings can end up meaning nothing at all; it is therefore important to provide a generally accepted and detailed definition of foreign policy in relation to this study. Foreign policy has been referred to as

actions which, expressed in the form of explicitly stated directives and performed by government representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities are manifestly directed towards objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which ... lie beyond their sphere of territorial legitimacy (Du Plessis (2002: 112)).

Ojo, Orwa and Utete's (1985: 43) definition of foreign policy, presented earlier, sees states as the only actors in foreign policy making and excludes non-state actors. It is clear from these definitions that the traditional understanding of foreign policy does not include SNGs in foreign policy making and international relations. As a result, the engagement of SNGs in foreign policy affects the traditional definition of foreign policy.

Foreign policy is the result of decisions taken by actors, and everything that takes place in the domestic or internal sphere can be included in the term “foreign policy decision-making” Gross (2008: 101-116). Foreign policy decision-making requires answering the following questions: by whom (actors), on what basis (capacities/foreign policy instruments), for what purpose (interests/objectives) and by what means (decision-making procedures) are foreign policy decisions made? (Keukeleire & Schunz, 2008: 3).

Foreign policy can be shaped by domestic and international settings, both acting like a bridge between these settings, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and actors such as social movements, international organisations and financial markets. These

are just some of the factors that influence foreign policy making even though ultimately decisions rest with the executive of the state or government (Venter, 2001: 333).

Foreign policy making is also described as a “complex process of interaction between many actors, differentially embedded in a wide range of different structures. Their interaction is a dynamic process, leading to the constant evolution of both actors and structures” (Hill, 2003: 28). Foreign policy decision-making refers to the phase in the foreign policy process in which decisions are prepared and taken; it also describes how this output of the foreign policy decision-making machinery is implemented when “actors confront their environment and their environment confronts them” (Brighi & Hill, 2008: 118). Here, the deeply political core of the relationship between an actor and its environment becomes clear. Foreign policy as interaction between actors and their environment can be regarded as the “the exercise of influence” in international relations (Hudson & Vore, 1995: 215). Actors in foreign policy “attempts to have an impact on its environment by employing instruments that it considers suitable for realising its predefined objectives” (Keukeleire & Schunz, 2008: 3).

The working definition of foreign policy used in this study is that of Du Plessis (2002:112), quoted at the beginning of this section. This definition encompasses the foreign actions not only of states but also of SNGs and other actors within the state. In this sense, foreign policy is a set of goals and objectives that a government or actor deems important at a specific time for the advancement of its national interests through necessary instruments. This definition acknowledges different actors in foreign policy. This is complementary to neo-functionalism which recognises the relevance of various actors at the supranational, national and sub-national levels ; and that there is a role for supranational organizations, individual nation states and sub-state elite interest groups in international relations.

2.4.2 Diplomacy

As an instrument of foreign policy, diplomacy acts as a catalyst through which foreign policy objectives are met. Diplomacy is difficult to define because there is a lack of consensus on the nature and contours of diplomacy and on the actors involved, as will be shown. Diplomacy has been defined as the “conduct of relations between

sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home and abroad" (Berridge & James, 2003: 69). It has also been defined as involving "direct, government to government contact whereby officials interact in order to communicate desires and accomplish goals on behalf of state" (Russet, Starr & Kinsella, 2010: 123-125). International relations have been conducted between states. Hence, diplomacy has also been defined as the peaceful interaction between states and as an essential method of implementing foreign policy. These definitions are very traditional and state-centric and view the state as the key actor in foreign policy making (Russet, Starr & Kinsella, 2010: 123-125).

An all-encompassing definition of diplomacy may be found in Barston (1996: 1); this refers to diplomacy as the "means by which states and non-state actors through formal and other representative as well as other actors articulate, co-ordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchange of views, lobbying, visits and threats" to fulfil their foreign policy goals. Barston (1996: 1) adds that diplomacy concerns "the management of relations between states and between states and other actors and advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy".

Various diplomatic instruments and methods are employed by states to conduct their relations with other states. They include bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy, side diplomacy, signalling, initiatives, coercive diplomacy, propaganda and public diplomacy (Barston, 2006: 36- 47).

Diplomacy has three aspects: duration, form and level type (Du Plessis, 2006: 139). Duration refers to the fact that diplomacy can be conducted on a permanent or temporary basis, such as in the case of a resident mission in a particular state. Form refers to the number of actors involved, such as example bi- or multilateral; and level-type refers to the status of diplomatic representatives.

Table 1 indicates how diplomacy is classified, and explains the link between diplomacy and foreign policy.

Table 1: Typology of diplomacy

| | | FORM | |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | Bilateral | Multilateral |
| Permanent | Resident missions in receiving states. Diplomatic, consular and specialized representation such as attachés | | Resident missions at inter-governmental organizations (IGO) such as the UN, EU and AU |
| | Inter-governmental (State-state/state-IGO/IGO-IGO) | | |
| DURATION | TYPE AND LEVEL | | |
| Temporary | Inter-governmental (State-state/state-IGO/IGO-IGO) | | |
| | High level and ministerial visits (by heads of government and state, ministers). Ad hoc personal diplomacy (at ministerial and trans-governmental level not involving diplomats). | | Serial summits (summits of AU heads of state and government). Ad hoc summits and/or conferences. Parliamentary diplomacy (UN General Assembly). Conference diplomacy on specific issue such as climate change and racism. |
| | Non-governmental (At least one actor is non-governmental) | | |
| | Bilateral Multilateral Multitrack and two-track diplomacy involving non-governmental and transnational actors such as interest and pressure groups, multilateral corporations, NGOs, national liberation movements, terrorist groups). | | |

Source: Du Plessis (2006: 140).

Diplomacy is conducted within certain parameters or “factors that provide a framework or basis for diplomacy and prescribe, regulate or limit diplomatic practice” (Du Plessis, 2006: 142). These parameters are policy and institutional, legal and moral codes. A policy parameter refers to the means and ends of diplomacy. Institutional parameters determine the locus and process of policy formulation that influence diplomacy, including bureaucratic institutions and the infrastructure of policy implementation. Legal parameters refer to the provisions and prescriptions pertaining to the use of diplomacy in terms of international law. Moral parameters include

international morality, ethical guidelines for international conduct and behaviour and norms relating to diplomatic practice (Van Wyk, 2012: 11).

As an instrument for conducting foreign policy, maintaining channels of communication and negotiating agreements diplomacy is a normative concept which acknowledges mutually constituted norms such as internal and external state sovereignty, the pacific settlement of disputes and state representation (Du Plessis, 2006: 125). The central features of diplomacy include representation, communication between states, negotiation and conflict management, protection of citizens and other interests abroad, the promotion of economic, scientific and cultural exchanges between states and the management of foreign policy decisions of one country in regard to another (Du Plessis, 2006: 125). Both diplomacy and foreign policy have to do with how a country advances its national interests by managing relations with others.

The working definition of diplomacy used in this study is Barston's (1996: 1) which has been referred to earlier. This definition is appropriate because it complements the views of neo-functionalism by recognising the relevance of different actors at the supranational, national and sub-national level; and the roles of supranational organisations, individual nation states and sub-state elite interest groups in diplomacy.

2.4.2.1 Diplomatic actors

International relations and foreign policy making are conducted by and between various actors and it is important to distinguish between these actors in the international sphere. There is however a lack of consensus about the actors involved in foreign policy. An actor can be defined as an "individual, group, state, or organisation that plays a major role in world politics" (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2004: 64). A state, as a diplomatic actor, is defined as the "legal entity with a permanent population, a well defined territory and a government capable of exercising sovereignty" (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2004: 63). State actors are those actors that constitute the 195 sovereign territorial states as well as the intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) created by the states (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2004: 63).

Non-state actors are actors that are not part of the state which indirectly engage in foreign policymaking. Non-state actors can be classified into two types: IGOs whose members are states and NGOs whose members are private individuals and groups (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2004: 137). Examples of non-state actors are Greenpeace International and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). IGOs are created by states to solve shared problems and are regarded as more important than NGOs because “their members are states and are a product of the interstate system at the global level of analysis” (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2004: 64).

The most important actors in this study in terms of the theoretical approach are sub-state actors and sub-national entities, and will be referred to in the study as defined earlier. Neo-functionalists recognise the relevance of different actors at the supranational, national and sub-national levels; and also that there is a role for supranational organizations, individual nation states and sub-state elite interest groups in international relations, with each actor playing an important role.

2.4.2.2 National interests

The concept “national interests” also suffers from ambiguities and there is no generally accepted meaning among scholars (Bullard (2006: 1). The concept is “used mainly by realist scholars … who claim that it provides a better explanation of state behaviour than an explanation that relates everything that a state does to its official ideology” (Adar, 2002:103). National interests can be defined as the needs and desires of one sovereign state in relation to other and are the “result of a political process in which a country's leaders may hold different views on what that interest is, but ultimately come to a conclusion about the importance of a specific issue” (Nuechterlein, 1976: 247). National interest in terms of this definition refers to independent sovereign states and excludes non-state and sub-state actors.

The interests of a state can be divided into defence, economic, world order and ideological interests (Nuechterlein, 1976: 248). Defence interests are “the protection of the nation-state and its citizens against the threat of physical violence directed from another state, and/or an externally inspired threat to its system of government” (Nuechterlein, 1976: 248). Economic interests refer to the enhancement of a state's economic well-being in its relations with other states. World order interests involve

the maintenance of 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. Ideological interests relate to the protection and furtherance of a set of values which the people of a nation-state share and believe to be universally good (Nuechterlein, 1976: 248).

Neo-functionalists argue that actors act not in pursuit of an ideal or the greater good but of self-interest (Duncan, 2006: 16). In this study, national interest is defined in realist terms (narrow, state-centric and economic terms) and through the theory of constructivism. Thus national interests are defined as economic, social and material needs and the desires of different actors.

2.5 The rationale for sub-state diplomacy

The role of sub-state actors in foreign policy has become an important research topic in recent years (Verbeek & Giacomello, 2011: 199). Nel *et al.* (2001), Van der Westhuizen *et al.* (2001) and Wheeler (2004) focused mainly on the role of NGOs and multinational corporations (MNCs) in international relations and foreign policy; there has been little research into sub-state actors' diplomatic activity.

The phenomenon of sub-state diplomacy is diverse and multifaceted. Various terms are used to denote the activities of provinces, cities and SNGs in international relations and foreign policy-making. In this study, the process of provinces' engagement in international relations is referred to as sub-state diplomacy, but alternative terms such as multilayered diplomacy, micro-diplomacy, constituent diplomacy and para-diplomacy have been suggested to denote the activities of sub-national government in international relations (Crielemans, 2010: 6). Sub-state diplomacy refers to the presence and activities of sub-national governments in international relations and foreign policy-making in unitary states. Crielemans (2010: 6) defines sub-state diplomacy as the diplomatic activities of "non-central governments".

SNGs are able to participate in international relations through various constitutional frameworks provided to them in their respective countries and they therefore have different degrees of autonomy. There is

variety among countries in terms of the constitutional/judicial, political and economic position of these actors and a greater level of self-government is usually accompanied by the constitutional framework that enables regions to control and manage some aspects of international affairs (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 20).

The increased international presence of SNGs is due to various reasons. For Keating (1999:4), these are political, economic and cultural. However, an in-depth look into these reasons provides more insight.

2.5.1 Political rationale

There are a variety of political reasons for regions to enter into international relations. Some include regions seeking acknowledgment and legitimacy and nation-building (Du Randt, 2011:17). Below, the reactions of national governments to sub-national foreign policies and the measures taken to deal with them are discussed.

One motive for regions to become involved in international relations is an antagonism towards “bigness and distance” (Duchacek, 1984: 17), with sub-national leaders criticising central government as big, dehumanized and “over-bureaucratized” as well as too distant when it comes to issues of local and regional difficulty (Duchacek, 1984: 17-20).

The second reason is the extension of the foreign policy monopoly. In a federal system, this refers to the expansion of the central governments’ foreign policy monopoly in areas such as diplomacy, trade regulation, and defence which are considered to be partly or fully within the domestic jurisdiction of some states’ federal components (Duchacek, 1984: 17). The specific complaint is that in areas such as international dealings, aspects such as human rights, energy flow, cultural exchanges and so forth should pay more attention to the concerns of SNGs but there is no formal structural system for interaction between sub-national and national governments. The increased interaction by provinces is because the need to ‘collaborate’ is within their jurisdictional powers (Holsti & Levy, 1974: 295- 296).

A third reason for the increased sub-national presence in the international scene is due to so-called ‘separatism’ or “Me-Tooism”, meaning that states and local governments copy the type of foreign contacts of other governments in order to

attract the same type of foreign investment (Duchacek, 1984: 18). In many cases, investments obtained through attracting these contacts are beneficial, especially in the long-term. Furthermore, the rise of globalization and transnational regimes has made it difficult to distinguish between domestic and foreign affairs (Keating, 1999: 1). This, in turn, has changed the distribution of responsibilities between central states and SNGs.

The fourth factor that has given rise to sub-state diplomacy is the process of internationalisation of domestic policies and *vice versa* (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 21-23). Sectoral areas which fall under the jurisdiction of SNGs such as environmental issues, public health, communication, social services, transportation items, disputes over land use planning and cultural issues are “increasingly becoming matters of international concern” (Manojlovic and Thorheim, 2007: 21-23). Furthermore, sub-state authorities

are worried that international negotiations conducted by their central governments will affect their fields of competence. Regions consequently strive to establish international positions for themselves because failure to do so would give central governments a free hand to act on their behalf (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 21-23).

The growth of international interests and activity at the local level can represent a highly desirable democratisation of the foreign policy processes but can also be a dangerous derogation from governments' power to conduct coherent foreign policy, providing the opportunity for other state and non-state actors to profit from internal divisions (Aguirre, 1999: 185-209). However, scholars such as Manojlovic and Thorheim (2007: 21) regard sub-state diplomacy as a positive trend in that it promotes innovation, efficiency and collective allegiance.

2.5.2 Economic and development rationale

Economic growth and development is one of the reasons for SNGs' engagement in the international arena. Thus, SNGs devise policies and strategies to promote exports and attract foreign direct investment (FDI) and attract technology for modernisation (Keating, 1999: 4). Once the SNGs have attracted FDI and transnational corporations to their regions, they are then compelled to “make favourable conditions for these business enterprises in order to give them positive

incentives to settle or remain in their area" (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 21-23). Some SNGs promote themselves as tourist destinations. Apart from the inward investment that these governments aim to attract, they are also trying to "increase the internationalization of their economies" and to develop their local firms and markets through "outward investment" (Keating, 1999: 4).

2.5.3 Cultural rationale

SNGs seek international support for their own culture and language, especially if their national governments are not sympathetic towards them. The Quebec government in Canada, for example, seeks support from France and other French speaking countries to encourage the promotion of their language and culture (Keating, 1999: 4).

2.5.4 The conduct of sub-state diplomacy

With reference to Table 1, diplomacy has three aspects: duration, form and level type. Diplomacy can be conducted between states, IGOs and NGOs. However, Table 1 makes no reference to actors within the state, or SNGs; this highlights the need to study SNGs as new actors within diplomacy.

Diplomacy can be conducted on a temporary or permanent basis and involves various actors including states, transnational actors such as interest and pressure groups, multilateral corporations and terrorist groups, as indicated in Table 1 (Du Plessis, 2006: 139).

Diplomacy can take many forms such as visits and non-binding agreements which may be divided into memoranda of understanding (MoU) and twinning agreements (sister agreements). An MoU is a less formal instrument in terms of which parties express their mutual intentions and goodwill. A twinning agreement is an agreement between two resembling provinces or cities on cooperation on matters of public interest (Limpopo Provincial Government (LPG), 2007: 15-16). Twinning agreements cannot be seen as international agreements (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). Symbolic activities include visits and letters of intent. Visits are used as ways of exploring economic development opportunities. Letters of intent are used to express intention and goodwill.

2.5.5 Opposition to the diplomacy of sub-state entities

Some opposition towards diplomacy by sub-state entities exists and is based on the view that sub-state diplomacy dilutes central power and that international relations and foreign policy are the function of the state (Duchacek, 1984: 21). There is also the fear of changes in the traditional conduct of international relations and foreign policy as actors of change; of a “complex and complicated pattern” in international relations and foreign policy; and of the possible consequences of the conduct of international relations as provinces which may lack sufficient experience in negotiating at international level become involved (Duchacek, 1984: 21).

Central governments may be concerned at “political administration chaos” resulting in international states exploiting inexperienced provinces and using a “back entrance into a nation-state” (Duchacek, 1984: 21). Opposition to sub-state diplomacy is further fuelled by the fear of “sub national egocentrism” and a “secessionist potential in some sub national initiatives” (Duchacek, 1984: 22); and of its undermining central governments’ sovereignty and threatening its monopoly of foreign policy (Wolff, 2007:12). Despite the general opposition to and criticism of sub-state diplomacy by central governments, some states such as Canada and Germany have accepted the engagement of their constituent units in international relations and foreign policy and have developed legal and institutional frameworks to accommodate this reality (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 24).

As indicated above, sub-state diplomacy is subject to different interpretations, criticisms and views. Furthermore, the presence of sub-state entities or governments in international relations and foreign policy making has brought about changes in the conventional and traditional understanding of diplomacy as the function of sovereign states only and as a result has created a “new international custom in the field of diplomatic law” (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 21).

2.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a conceptual analysis of the nature, scope and practice of sub-state diplomacy while outlining the analytical and theoretical framework of the study. The key concepts were discussed and it has been

shown how they are inter-related. International relations and foreign policy making are conducted between different actors; and as an instrument of foreign policy diplomacy acts as a catalyst for meeting foreign policy objectives and national interests.

The engagement of SNGs in international relations and foreign policy is increasingly widespread and has recently received considerable attention from scholars. The phenomenon of sub-state diplomacy is diverse and multifaceted, with scholars differing on the appropriate terms to denote the activities of SNGs in international relations and foreign policy-making. Whilst in this study the process of provinces' engagement in international relations is referred to as sub-state diplomacy, alternative terms such as multilayered diplomacy, micro-diplomacy, constituent diplomacy and para-diplomacy have been suggested to denote the activities of SNGs in international relations.

In South Africa, sub-state diplomacy has strongly emerged since 1994. Before then, South Africa's white-dominated government had long been condemned by the international community for its policy of apartheid and an isolated South Africa did not provide an attractive environment for sub-state diplomacy. The country's domestic political settlement has had a marked impact on South Africa's international setting as the new government has reviewed previous foreign policy and adopted democratic foreign relations principles thus placing the country in a good position to participate in international relations.

The theory of neo-functionalism has been discussed and it has been shown how it is potentially useful for explaining the nature of sub-state diplomacy as it acknowledges that states are not the only actors in the international system and that non-state actors are also important. Furthermore, neo-functionalists recognise the relevance of different actors at the supranational, national and sub-national levels and are able to explain the motivations of actors and not just the processes through which they pursue their interests. Neo-functionalists argue that there is a role for supranational organizations, individual nation states and sub-state elite interest groups in international relations, with each actor playing an important role that cannot be ignored. Neo-functionalists also state that actors, whether supranational organizations or not, act not in pursuit of an ideal or the greater good but of self-

interest. Neo-functionalism offers the best framework for identifying how and why sub-state units engage in international diplomacy. As a theory of integration, a crucial aspect of the neo-functionalist argument is that it can show how provinces reinforce integration from below by building relations with counterparts regionally and beyond through the spillover effect.

The following chapter reviews the South African constitutional and political framework which enables SNGs to practice sub-state diplomacy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION, PROVINCIAL POWERS AND OBLIGATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Introduction

Globally, SNGs are able to participate in international relations through different domestic constitutional frameworks which provide them with different degrees of autonomy to engage in international relations based on their constitutional, political and economic position in their respective countries (Manojlovic & Thorheim, 2007: 20).

The Constitution provides both an enabling and disabling framework for SNGs in respect of their international activities. It is not the purpose of this study to outline the origins and development of Constitution. This has been addressed by, amongst others, Klug (2010), Andrews (2001) and Spitz and Chaskalson (2000). However, some reference to this will be made in order to contextualise South African SNGs' international engagements.

After the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa's first representative Constitutional Assembly had exactly two years from May 1994 to draft a new constitution that would replace the Interim Constitution drafted during the negotiating process of the Conventions for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I and II) (Venter, 2001: 22). The Constitutional Assembly met for the first time on 24 May 1994 and comprised 490 members representing the seven political parties in Parliament, namely the ANC, the National Party (NP), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the Freedom Front (FF), the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) (Venter, 2001: 22).

The outcome of the Interim Constitution negotiations was a democratic constitution, with the country divided into nine provinces which were given a range of powers although these were not as wide as in a federal government such as the USA (Burger, 1998:35). The Constitution was approved by the Constitutional Court on 4 December 1996 (Burger, 1998:35). On 10 December 1996, President Nelson

Mandela signed the Constitution into law at a ceremony in Sharpeville and on 4 February 1997 it came into force.

The Constitution is made up of fourteen chapters, further divided into 243 sections. It also includes seven Schedules and sixteen Amendments. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land and no other law or government action can supersede its provisions. The South African Constitution is regarded as one of the most progressive in the world and enjoys high acclaim internationally (Burger, 1998:35).

Against this background, the aim of this chapter is to analyse the South African constitutional and political framework enabling the country's SNGs to practice sub-state diplomacy. The chapter provides a brief discussion of the meaning, function and forms of constitutions. The unitary and federal characteristics of the South African Constitution are addressed as it has implications for SNGs' powers and functions. The constitutional competences and limitation of South African provinces in terms of international relations and foreign policy making are therefore discussed. The chapter also discusses the role players in terms of foreign policy and international relations and how provinces are represented and contribute to international relations and foreign policy making.

3.2 Meaning and function of a constitution

A country's constitution is a set of written (legal) and/or unwritten (customary or conventional) rules that establish the duties, powers, functions of the various institutions of government, regulate the relationships between them and define the relationship between the state and the individual (Heywood, 2002: 292). Furthermore, a constitution can also more narrowly refer to a

single, authoritative document (a 'written' constitution), the aim of which is to codify major constitutional provisions; it constitutes the highest law in the land. Since not all major provisions can be covered by a single document, a constitution, in this sense, is not co-extensive with constitutional law (Heywood, 2002: 292).

Constitutions do not serve a single or simple purpose. Amongst their functions is to empower states by defining a sphere of independent authority, establishing a set of values, ideals and goals for a society and bringing stability, order and predictability to

the workings of government (Heywood, 2002: 309). A constitution also protects individuals from the state. There is, however, an imperfect relationship between the contents of a constitution and actual practice (Heywood, 2002: 309). This can be due to a lack of respect and support by individuals and groups, and to ever-changing political circumstances that make constitutions seem less adaptable and relevant to the circumstances (Heywood, 2002: 309).

3.3 South Africa's system of government

During the negotiations for South Africa's post-apartheid Constitution (the Interim Constitution and the 1996 Constitution), there was considerable debate about what kind of constitution would be the best for the country given that it was a "deeply divided society in which, for some, racial and ethnic divisions were entrenched and had to be accommodated within the constitution" (Venter & Landsberg, 2006: 87). One system influencing some of the negotiators was the German Federal system where *Länder* (provinces) enjoy considerable autonomy and co-operate with the federal government according to mutually-agreed principles (Venter & Landsberg, 2006:87). Others were influenced by the USA's system from where a "bastardized Separation of Powers was borrowed" (Venter & Landsberg, 2006: 87).

The NP, for example, favoured a consociation settlement where "veto powers and proportional representation in the public service would be guaranteed to all designated ethnic groups" (Venter & Landsberg, 2006: 87). They maintained that power should be divided between the national and provincial governments (Du Randt, 2011: 26). This was seen as a way to protect minority rights by allowing minorities to veto decisions of the majority.

The ANC, however, favoured a more unitary system and saw the suggestion for "strong regional government as a form of neo-apartheid" (Murray, 2001: 68). The party "believed a more centralized state would be the strongest system to facilitate the enormous economic and social transformation that was ahead" (Du Randt (2011: 26); and felt that if power was decentralized it would undermine the decisions that were needed to ensure smooth development and reconstruction (Murray, 2001: 68). During the constitutional negotiations, those in favour of the creation of provinces, such as the NP, stated that the size and population of South Africa made it

impossible to be governed only by national and local governments; and that the population and size composition of South Africa required some form of regional organisation to allow for cultural, regional and language diversity. Thus, decentralisation was proposed in that it would encourage experimentation and creativity at provincial levels; build leadership in governance and administrative sectors; enhance the accessibility of government and decision-making; and bring government closer to the people (KAS, 2007: 4).

By contrast, there were objections to the creation of provinces, by the ANC for example, stating that they would

undermine national unity; perpetuate economic inequality between the provinces; lead to the ‘balkanisation’ of South Africa; give credibility to the previous homeland system; be too costly and a drain on scarce human and financial resources; lead to duplication, lack of accountability and unnecessary competition between levels of government; limit the ability of the national government to implement programmes for the benefit of the entire nation; be cumbersome and lead to delays in decision making and the implementation of programmes; lead to litigation, as experienced by many federal type states; and be a barrier between the national government and local communities (KAS, 2007: 4).

Descriptions of the Constitution adopted in 1996 vary, ranging from decentralised unitary, centralised-federal and quasi-federal to composite state (KAS, 2007: 14). Other concepts such as ‘decentralised unitary system’ or ‘hybrid’ have been used to conceptualise the country’s model of government and as a result its constitution has been deemed to contain many characteristics of a federal state (Elazar, 1994). A federalist system should fulfil three conditions: allocation of powers and functions to regional and central governments; representation of regions at the national level; and special majorities for any amendments affecting the division of powers and functions (Rapoo, 2005: 4).

A unitary state is a system characterised by centralisation of powers to the national government, where powers and functions of the various districts are held at the sole discretion of the central government (Van Vuuren, 1983:145). In a unitary state the central government is supreme over provincial governments and local institutions can be revoked, reshaped or reorganised at the will of the central government in

accordance with the Constitution (Heywood, 2002:165).

South Africa's governmental system can be best described as "decentralized or regional with strong central control" (McLean, 2004: 158). It is a unitary state with federal characteristics, but it is a highly centralised form of federalism (Simeone, 2010:16). In terms of the Constitution, foreign policy and international relations are a function of the national executive and national legislation prevails over provincial legislation in that regard (Van Wyk, 1997:29).

For the purpose of this study, South Africa's political system is referred to as federal in accordance with the definition of a federal political system put forward by Watts (1996: 6) that federalism refers to "the advocacy of multi-tiered government combining elements of shared-rule and regional self-rule". The South African Constitution provides for shared functions between central and provincial governments which creates some opportunity for provincial self–rule (Rapoo, 2005: 5). Although the Constitution can be classified as federal, it however cannot be classified among the classic federations such as the USA, Switzerland, Germany, Canada and Australia (Rapoo, 2005: 5).

3.4 Powers and functions of South African provinces

South African provinces have powers and functions entrenched by the Constitution (Rapoo, 2000: 89). Section 40 (1) of the Constitution provides for various spheres of government that are "distinctive, interdependent and interrelated" (South Africa, 1996). The word 'sphere' is used because of a deliberate decision deriving from a political history dominated by authoritarian political regimes at the centre and, consequently emasculated sub-national entities within a unitary Constitution (Rapoo, 2000: 89). The choice of the term 'sphere' was based on a theoretical construct of 'equality' and the ideal of 'equity' (Rapoo, 2000: 89). Each sphere, in terms of Section 41 (1) (g), is required to "exercise their powers and perform their functions in a manner that does not encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere" (South Africa, 1996)

The post-1994 provinces were given original legislative and executive powers. Chapter 3 of the Constitution outlines a conceptual framework and defines a set of

formal principles to govern the relations between the national, provincial and local spheres of government. In some areas, the provinces have exclusive responsibility. Exclusive here means that the responsibilities assigned are performed only by the province and are not shared with the national government. There are also areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative powers. Concurrent refers to the “simultaneous exercise of the same power or function by more than one level of government” (Besdziek, 2001: 166).

Schedules 4 (Table 2) and 5 (Table 3) of the Constitution list the issues on which the provinces have exclusive constitutional responsibilities and on which they are allowed to legislate. The concurrent national and provincial legislative powers, and the exclusive provincial legislative powers of provinces, are indicated in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Schedule 4 concurrent national and provincial legislative powers of the South African Constitution

| Part A | Part B (Local government matters overseen by provincial and national government) |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Administration of indigenous forests Agriculture Airports other than international and national airports Animal control and diseases Casinos, racing, gambling and wagering, excluding lotteries and sports pools Consumer protection Cultural matters Disaster management Education at all levels, excluding tertiary education Environment Health services Housing Indigenous law and customary law, subject to Chapter 12 of the Constitution Industrial promotion Language policy and the regulation of official languages to the extent of the provisions of Section 6 of the Constitution Media services directly controlled or provided by the provincial government, | Air pollution Building regulations Childcare facilities Electricity and gas reticulation Fire fighting services Local tourism Municipal airports Municipal health services Municipal planning Municipal public transport Municipal public works in respect of the needs of municipalities Pontoons, ferries, jetties, piers and harbours, excluding international and national shipping Storm water management Trading regulations Water and sanitation services, limited to potable water supply systems and domestic wastewater and sewage disposal |

| Part A | Part B (Local government matters overseen by provincial and national government) |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| subject to Section 192 of the Constitution Nature conservation, excluding national parks and botanical and marine resources Police, to the extent that the provisions in Chapter 11 of the Constitution confer upon the provincial legislatures legislative competence Pollution control Population development Property transfer fees Provincial public enterprises Public transport Public works only in respect of the needs of provincial government departments Regional planning and development Road traffic regulation Soil conservation Tourism Trade Traditional leadership, subject to Chapter 12 of the Constitution Urban and rural development Vehicle licensing Welfare services | |

Source: South Africa (1996).

Tables 2 and 3 indicate that provinces have powers over policy and programmes whereas national government is “largely responsible for providing leadership, formulating policy, determining the regulatory framework (including setting minimum norms and standards) and monitoring overall implementation” (Treasury, 1998: 1). The Constitution provides for concurrent national and provincial legislative functions and commits the national and provincial spheres of government to a cooperative framework in exercising their competencies and powers (Rapoo, 2005: 17). However, the Constitution does not clarify precisely how the sharing of concurrent responsibilities is to be exercised in practice.

Table 3: Schedule 5 exclusive provincial legislative powers of the South African Constitution

| Part A | Part B |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abattoirs | Beaches and amusement facilities |
| Ambulance services | Billboards and the display of advertising in public places |
| Archives other than national archives | Cemeteries, funeral parlours and crematoria |
| Libraries other than national libraries | Cleansing |
| Liquor licenses | Control of public nuisances |
| Museums other than national museums | Control of undertakings that sell liquor |
| Provincial cultural matters | Facilities for the accommodation, care and burial of animals |
| Provincial planning | Fencing and fences |
| Provincial recreation and amenities | Licensing of dogs |
| Provincial roads and traffic | Licensing and control of undertakings that sell food to the public |
| Provincial sport | Local amenities |
| Veterinary services, excluding their professional regulation | Local sports facilities |
| | Markets |
| | Municipal abattoirs |
| | Municipal parks and recreation |
| | Municipal roads |
| | Noise pollution |
| | Pounds |
| | Public places |
| | Refuse removal, refuse dumps and solid waste disposal |
| | Street lighting |
| | Street trading |
| | Traffic and parking |

Source: South Africa (1996).

Tables 2 and 3 show that the shared functions of national and provincial governments include school education, health services, social security and welfare services, housing and agriculture; and national government's exclusive functions include national defence, the criminal justice system, higher education, water and energy resources and administrative functions. Exclusive functions of the provinces include provincial roads, ambulance services and provincial planning, among others. Provincial departments are mainly responsible for implementing services to local citizens and thus have larger budgets than national departments (Treasury, 1998: 1).

However, some provinces struggle to perform their own tasks as well as those carried out by national government because of insufficient funds. Because South

Africa's fiscal system is based on a revenue-sharing model, the national government allocates funds between all three spheres of government to enable them to execute their functions (Treasury, 1998: 4). Provinces also have other sources of funds; these include "conditional grants from the national government, taxes, user charges and their equitable share to which they are constitutionally entitled to fulfil their executive obligations" although most of their functions have limited or no cost recovery potential (DPSA), 2003: 28–29). Furthermore, grants may be conditional and not available to all provinces and may be dependent on the provinces receiving them adopting certain policies or carrying out certain activities.

3.5 South African provinces, foreign policy and international relations: constitutional competence and limitations

Although South African provinces have become actively involved in international relations and have even established special units to organise their international diplomacy, Chapter 14 (Section 231(1)) of the Constitution prescribes that "the negotiating and signing of all international agreements is the responsibility of the national executive"; and Chapter 5 (Section 82(2)(h)) prescribes that the President is responsible for "receiving and recognising foreign diplomatic and consular representatives". In terms of Section 84(1), the President has powers entrusted by the Constitution and legislation, including those necessary to perform the functions of Head of State and head of the national executive (South Africa, 1996).

The Constitution does not "recognize the provinces as subjects of international law" and does not provide for them to enter into international agreements; "this fact, it could be argued, disqualifies them from entering into treaties with foreign parties" (Geldenhuys, 1998: 3-6). Provinces can only present their interests nationally via the NCOP. Furthermore, Chapter 3 (Section 41(1)) of the Constitution states that all spheres of government must "not assume any power or function except those conferred on them in terms of the constitution and also exercise their powers and perform their functions in a manner that does not encroach on the geographical, functional or institutional integrity of government in another sphere" (South Africa, 1996). Nevertheless, provinces continue to forge international relations and foreign policy.

Schedule 4 of the Constitution does not allocate exclusive or concurrent powers on foreign policy and international relations to SNGs. The question then remains: How do provinces get around this and seemingly breach the separation of power? Could it be elasticity of constitutional provision, implied roles or jingoism on the part of provinces?

Section 125 of Chapter 6 of the Constitution provides that “the executive authority of a province is vested in the Premier of that province” and that the Premier can exercise authority by “developing and implementing provincial policy” in their functional areas (South Africa, 1996). Thus, provinces have powers and functions on legislative matters. Schedule 4 of the Constitution provides for concurrent national and provincial legislative functions (see Table 2). However, the Schedule does not make mention of foreign affairs. It can be assumed that residual powers or functions not mentioned fall back to the national government. However, provinces “have made their autonomy in this area *de facto*” (Zondi, 2012: 52).

Schedule 5, outlining exclusive provincial legislative powers, does not include sectoral matters such as environmental protection, nature conservation, traffic regulation, crime prevention, movement of people, generation of energy, tourism, pest control, border control and trade and industry (see Table 3) which may not only affect the specific province but also neighbouring countries, regions and ultimately other parts of the world. Concurrent functions such as tourism, pest control and border control have significant implications for international relations. Provinces are thus being reformers in the sense that they cannot watch a situation in tourism or pest and border control getting out of hand in their province and wait for national government to take action. In the case of Limpopo, the province has not limited its innovation to situation control but it has also connected with other states in order to attract FDI and market the province internationally. Provinces are being innovative and are in fact helping the national government by carrying out some of its functions even though they do not have a clearly stated mandate in this regard.

Provinces can employ and have employed “the federal logic of shared responsibility to argue for a role in international relations based on their domestic competence” (Nganje, 2012: 5). Provinces are autonomous in legislating on a variety of matters within their constitutional powers and are using their legislative autonomy to engage

in international relations with nearby states. As a result, provinces have “taken advantage of this permission to aggressively pursue international economic relations almost independently of supervision by national government” (Zondi, 2012: 52).

Geldenhuys (1998:3-6) notes that provinces can enter into “contracts with other entities abroad, provided they have the legal competency to do so and can also enter into Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), which are not legally binding”. However, the Constitution does not make any provision which enables provinces to enter into contracts.

Constitutionally, international relations and foreign policy are national competencies and South African provinces do not have a role in the execution of international relations. However, the guidelines that refer to international agreements in the Constitution are not clearly defined and do not clearly state that provinces are not allowed to participate in international relations. This elastic clause in the Constitution allows South African provinces to take action in areas not specifically delegated to them by the Constitution and they have entrusted themselves with implied powers over international relations which can be deduced from the Constitution even though the powers are not clearly stated.

3.6 South Africa’s foreign policy decision makers

The domestic and international setting in which a government operates shapes foreign policy. In South Africa, both these settings underwent great changes during the 1990s and impacted upon each other. The political situation was transformed as the apartheid regime gave way to democratic government and abroad the Cold War divisions disappeared; this helped to create the conditions for an internal settlement.

Principles of South Africa’s post-apartheid foreign policy include a commitment to:

- the promotion of human rights;
- the promotion of democracy;
- justice and international law in the conduct of relations between nations;
- international peace and internationally agreed upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts;
- promotion of the African Agenda in world affairs; and

- economic development through regional and international co-operation in an interdependent world (DIRCO, 2010: 7).

Decisions concerning South African foreign policy and international relations are vested in the national executive and the legislature (Parliament and the NCOP). Non-state actors are not part of the decision making process concerning foreign policy and international relations; however, their interests can be expressed and presented through the NCOP as will be explained below.

3.6.1 The National Executive

Negotiating and signing all international agreements is the responsibility of the National Executive (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 14 (Section 231(1)). In accordance with international law and practice, the Constitution allocates powers over foreign policy and international relations to the National Executive (DIRCO, 2010: 7). To achieve its foreign policy objectives, it mandates DIRCO with the responsibilities to formulate, co-ordinate, implement and manage South Africa's foreign policy and international relations programmes (DIRCO, 2010: 7). DIRCO's overall mandate is to realise South Africa's foreign policy objectives (DIRCO, 2010: 6). In particular, its primary mandate is to assist the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation (hereafter the Minister) in carrying out her Cabinet and Ministerial responsibilities.

The Department conducts its mandate by:

- coordinating and aligning South Africa's international relations abroad;
- monitoring developments in the international environment;
- communicating government's policy positions;
- developing and advising government on policy options and creating mechanisms and avenues for achieving objectives;
- protecting the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- contributing to the creation of an enabling international environment for SA business;
- sourcing developmental assistance; and
- assisting South African citizens abroad (DIRCO, 2010: 6).

The Minister, in accordance with her or his Cabinet portfolio responsibilities, is

entrusted with the formulation, promotion and execution of South Africa's foreign policy and with its daily conduct. In consultation with the President, the Minister has overall responsibility for all aspects of South Africa's international relations. In practice, the Minister consults with the Cabinet and individual Cabinet Ministers on various matters including crosscutting issues that have a bearing on the programmes of other Ministries and departments (DIRCO, 2010: 6 - 7).

3.6.2 Legislature

The responsibility of the South African legislature, or Parliament, is to discuss the Bills that Ministers submit to Parliament, to make changes and to pass them if they agree that they are in the interest of the public (Parliament, 2012:2). The most important function of Parliament is to make laws for the Republic of South Africa. Other functions include holding the executive accountable, fulfilling judicial functions relating to its own activities and considering petitions from members of the public (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25).

The South African Parliament consists of two Houses: the National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25). These two Houses participate in the legislative process as set out in the Constitution. The NA is elected to ensure government by the people under the Constitution. It provides a national forum for public consideration of issues *via* the elected representatives of the people. Members of the assembly are responsible for passing, legislation and scrutinising the actions of the Executive (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25).

The Portfolio Committees of the NA hold hearings on the budget and on each department's expenditure (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25). Committees can also call on Ministers and officials from state departments to report on their work at any time. If a problem is identified, a committee can convene an emergency hearing (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25). The Parliamentary Committee on Finance and Public Accounts contributes greatly to the accountability of the executive to the legislature. The Committee oversees the spending of public money, and has the power to summon Ministers and senior civil service officials to explain any misappropriation of public funds (Taljaard & Venter, 2001: 24-25).

In terms of international relations, Parliament is expected to participate in global issues and represent the interests of institutions during signing of treaties (Parliament, 2012: 2). International relations is a “core function” of Parliament which over the years has developed away from the traditional role of merely ratifying international agreements adopted by the Executive. Parliament participates in various regional, continental and international forums to promote the African agenda (Parliament, 2012: 2).

The NCOP was established to involve the provinces in national purposes and to ensure the responsiveness of national government to provincial interests. It is both a House of Provinces and an institution through which provinces are committed to national policy (Lekota, 1999: 2). The NCOP participates in national legislative processes where it is provided with a “national forum for public consideration of issues affecting the provinces” (Murray & Simeon, 2001:74).

The membership of the NCOP consists of delegations of 10 members from each province (Besdziek, 2001: 194-195). Delegates are selected in accordance with the specific issue due for deliberation at the NCOP, and they travel to the Council for the duration of the deliberations and the vote. Each provincial delegation of 10 members has only one vote on all matters listed in Schedule 4 (concurrent national and provincial legislative powers). The entire delegation is vested with a “voting mandate” by its province. The mandate is constructed in terms of national legislation for this purpose. The provincial vote is cast in the NCOP plenary by the Premier or by his or her representative. Five provinces need to vote in favour of a Bill for it to be passed by the NCOP (Besdziek, 2001: 194-195).

In terms of the Constitution, it is the prerogative of the President to appoint Heads of Mission; to receive foreign Heads of Mission; to conduct state-to-state relations; and to negotiate and sign all international agreements (South Africa, 1996). Provinces are not recognized as actors in South African international relations and foreign policy. The Parliament and DIRCO are the main actors in the country’s international relations and foreign policy as instructed by the President. The NCOP represents the international interests of provinces to the central government.

3.7 Conclusion

The birth of the Constitution was a difficult and long process with the negotiating parties favouring different systems of government for the new South Africa. Many different models were under consideration and there were external and internal pressures on the decisions. South Africa's governmental system can be best described as federal, as the Constitution provides for shared functions between the central government and provincial governments, which provides some opportunity for provincial self-rule.

The decision to create provinces was not taken lightly and was preceded by intense political debate and compromise as well as by extensive research and consultation at local and international level. It was arguably the most contentious part of the negotiating process. There are some areas where the provinces were given exclusive responsibility and there are also areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative powers. The shared functions between national and provincial governments include school education, health services, social security and welfare services, housing and agriculture. National government is largely responsible for providing leadership, formulating policy, determining the regulatory framework (including setting minimum norms and standards), and monitoring overall implementation. Provinces are mainly responsible for implementation, in accordance with the nationally determined framework. South Africa's fiscal system is based on a revenue-sharing model; national government allocates funds between all three spheres of government so that they are able to execute their functions.

In terms of the Constitution, foreign policy, international relations and negotiation and signing of international agreements are the responsibility of the National Executive. Ultimately, the President is responsible for foreign policy and international relations; thus all matters relating to the international relations of national, provincial and local government as well as of other institutions of state are the prerogative of the President. The NCOP highlights a link between provinces and national government by representing and communicating the interests of provinces to the national government during foreign decision making process and signing of treaties.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIMPOPO: STRUCTURES, SUB-STATE DIPLOMACY AND SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY

4.1 Introduction

Limpopo is located in the northern region of the former Transvaal Province in 1994 and parts of it previously made up Northern Transvaal. In 1995, it was renamed Northern Province and remained so until 2003 when it was changed to Limpopo Province, named after the Limpopo River that flows along its northern border. Limpopo borders Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana, making it favourably situated for economic cooperation with other parts of southern Africa and making it the gateway to Africa (GCIS, 1998:17).

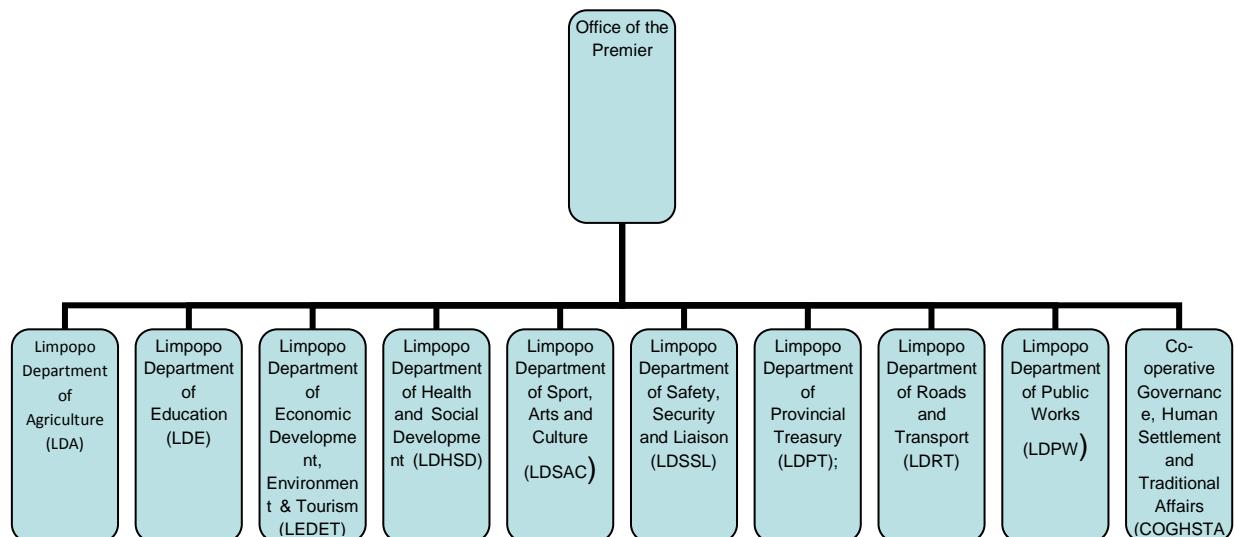
The aim of this chapter is to analyse Limpopo's sub-state diplomacy within the constitutional context described in the previous chapter. Firstly, a brief background and structure of the provincial government and the role of the Premier is provided, followed by an outline and function of the international relations and foreign policy institutions in the Premier's Office. Secondly, the rationals for and strategies of Limpopo's sub-state diplomacy are discussed. Thirdly, the province's diplomatic relations and practices are presented and assessed.

4.2 The Limpopo government and Premier: mandates and structures

Local government is not a function of national and provincial government. The objective of local government is to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities; to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner; to promote social and economic development, to promote a safe and healthy environment; and to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 7 (Section 152(1)(a-e)). There are five municipal districts in Limpopo: Mopani, Sekhukhune, Vhembe, Waterberg and Capricorn; and 25 sub-divisions of local

municipalities (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).⁶ These municipalities are part of the total of 283 municipalities in South Africa.

Figure 1: The Limpopo provincial government structure



Source: LPG (2013: 1).

Limpopo's provincial government consists of 11 departments, responsible for implementing laws and providing services to the people of the province. They are required to deal with the key spending priorities: the creation of decent jobs and sustainable livelihoods, education, health, rural development, food security and land reform, security against crime and corruption, and investment in local government and human settlements (LPG, 2013: 1).

Table 4 lists the Premiers of Limpopo from 1994 to 2013. Premiers are relevant because the executive authority of a province is vested upon them. The Premier exercises this authority by implementing provincial legislation in the province; implementing all national legislation within the functional areas listed in Schedule 4 or 5 except where the Constitution or an Act of Parliament provides otherwise; administering in the province national legislation outside the functional areas listed in

⁶ These sub-divisions are Thulamela, Thabazimbi, Polokwane, Mutale, Musina, Mookgopong, Molemole, Mogalakwena, Modimole, Maruleng, Makhado, Makhuduthamaga, Lephalale, Greater Tzaneen, Greater Tubatse, Greater Letaba, Greater Giyani, Fetakgomo, Ephraim Mogale, Elias Motsoaledi, Blouberg, Bela Bela, Baphalaborwa, Aganang and Lepelle-Nkumpi local municipalities.

Schedules 4 and 5; developing and implementing provincial policy; co-ordinating the functions of the provincial administration and its departments; preparing and initiating provincial legislation; and performing any other function assigned to the provincial executive in terms of the Constitution or an Act of Parliament (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 6 (Section 125(2)(a-g)).

The role of the Premier is to assent to and sign Bills; refer a Bill back to the provincial legislature for reconsideration of its constitutionality; refer a Bill to the Constitutional Court for a decision on its constitutionality; summon the Legislature to an extraordinary sitting to conduct special business; appoint Commissions of Inquiry; and call referenda in the province in accordance with national legislation (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 6 (Section 127(2)(a-f)).

Table 4: Limpopo's Premiers since 1994

| Name | Party | Date of election | Departure from office | Reason for departure |
|---------------------------|-------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Ngoako Ramathlodi | ANC | May 1994 | 22 April 2004 | Term ended |
| Catherine Mabuza (acting) | ANC | 22 April 2004 | 26 April 2004 | Term ended |
| Sello Moloto | ANC | 26 April 2004 | 2 March 2009 | Term ended |
| Cassel Mathale | ANC | 3 March 2009 | 15 July 2013 | Resigned after being recalled by the ANC |
| Chupu Stanley Mathabatha | ANC | 18 July 2013 | Incumbent | Incumbent |

Source: Ramashala (2013: Interview).

The role of the Premier as diplomat is to explore and market the province to economic opportunities, establish new partnerships and review and strengthen existing partnerships. The NCOP provides a direct channel for provincial governments and Premiers to interact and to participate in policy-making at national level. The NCOP is designed as a communication platform for provinces to voice their international interests to the central government.

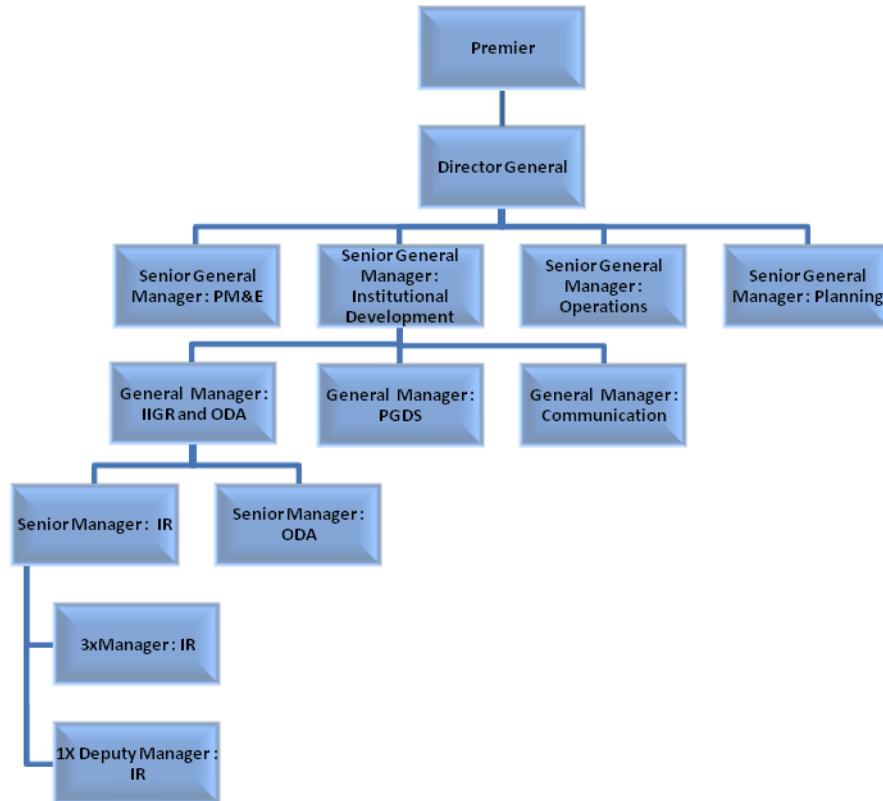
4.3 The Office of the Premier of Limpopo

Established in 1994, the Office of the Premier of Limpopo (OtPL) is responsible for providing leadership and policy direction and setting the standard for government administration in the province (LPG, 2013: 1). Its main strategic objectives and goals include facilitating economic growth that produces employment, maintaining existing

services and addressing backlogs, developing infrastructure and maintaining existing infrastructure and building the administration. The organogram of the OtPL is indicated in Figure 2 below.

A crucial responsibility of the OtPL is to provide leadership to provincial departments on matters of policy regarding organizational arrangement, employment and other personnel practice, labour relations, public services transformation and reform. Transformation is thus identified as a major strategic focus area of the OtPL (LPG, 2013: 1).

Figure 2: Organogram of the Office of the Premier



Source: Ramashala (2013: Interview).

The mandate of the OtPL is to support the Premier in executing his constitutional responsibilities and other political and ceremonial functions. The functions of the Office of the Premier are:

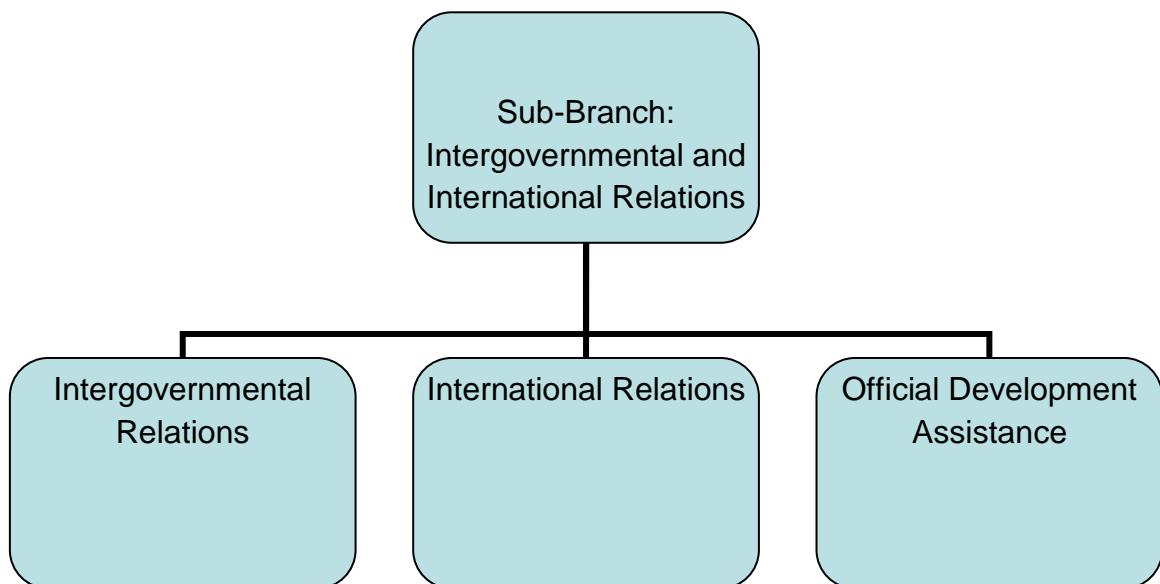
- management of policy development, research, and strategic guidelines;
- implementation of provincial planning and the Limpopo employment, growth and development plan;
- management of performance monitoring & evaluation of service delivery in the province;
- facilitation and coordination of the institutional support services; and
- provision of administration support services.

(Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

In essence, the role of the OtPL is to manage political processes and outcomes for the greater benefit of the whole Province. As a result of the province's international engagements and in an effort to conduct international relations in a coherent manner, the OtPL established the IRU, located within the Intergovernmental and International

Relations and Official Development Assistance Directorate (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Structure of the sub-branch: Intergovernmental and International Relations and Official Development Assistance Directorate in the Office of the Premier of Limpopo



Source: Ramashala (2013: Interview).

There is a strong working relationship between IGR and the IRU; both focus on building relationships and interactions between governments although the IRU works at an international level with foreign countries and locally, provincially and nationally in all spheres of government for IGR (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). Both share in the mission to establish relations in order to benefit the country and boost development. IGR contributes to the IRU and foreign policy through its government-to-government programmes at its own level, implemented internationally to improve relations with other countries. IGR provides leadership and encourages positive interaction between the province and local government; and the IRU focuses on interactions with regions and cities in other states (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

The mandate and aim of the IIGR and ODA include the:

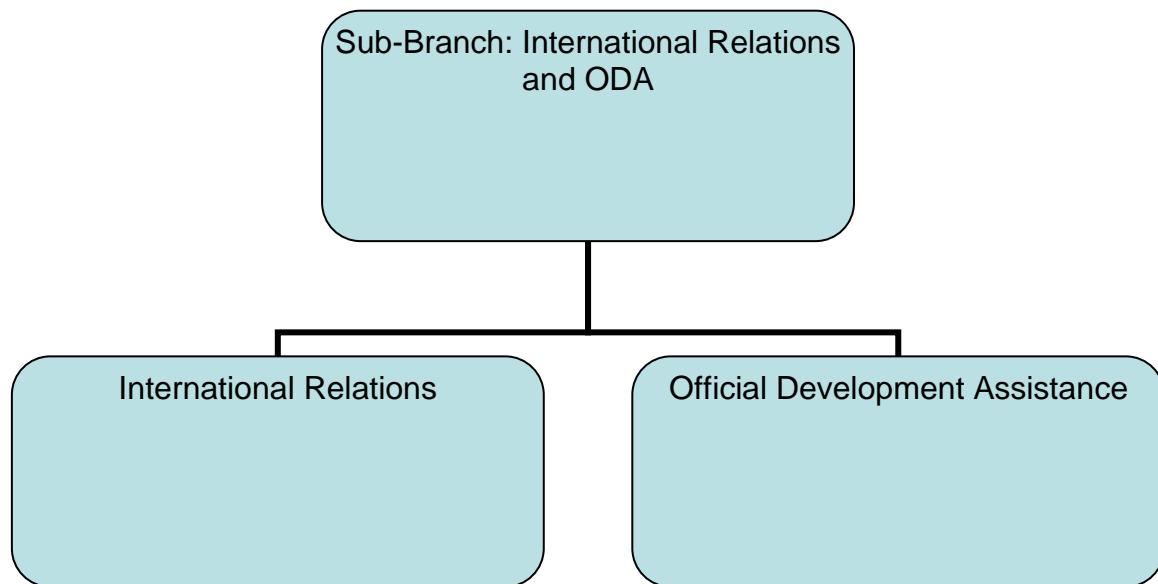
- consolidation of the African Agenda through the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD);

- conduct and co-ordination of South Africa's international relations and promotion of its foreign policy objectives;
- monitoring of international developments and advising provincial government on foreign policy issues;
- improving cooperation with SADC, Africa and the world;
- demonstrating South Africa's commitment to NEPAD by implementing the provisions of its national strategy;
- promoting the Agenda of the South through South-South Cooperation and North-South partnerships; and
- promoting the image of Limpopo Province globally as an investment and tourism destination (LPG, 2006: 5-6).

The objectives of the IRU include the co-ordination and facilitation of international visits and the Province's international relations programme as set out in the International Relations Policy Framework (IRPF); co-ordination of the Province's international relations by offering international relations advisory services to stakeholders; co-ordination regular meetings of the provincial International Relations Committee (IRC); and co-ordination and facilitation of the servicing of bilateral relations with sister provinces through existing twinning agreements and MoUs (LPG, 2006: 7).

In 2005, the IRU and ODA was reformed and detached from IGR to form the IRU and the ODA. Units within the department are restructured and reformed by the Premier every five years in order to better meet institutional and service delivery goals. Figure 4 shows the structure of the IR and ODA in 2005-2006.

Figure 4: Structure of the sub-branch: International Relations and Official Development Assistance Directorate



Source: LPG (2009: 4).

In order to allow the Office of the Premier to plan and implement its policies and for the smooth running of daily functions in all units, there need to be appropriate institutional structures such as the ones described above. Institutional structures assist departments to meet their developmental and service delivery goals.

In terms of foreign policy and diplomacy, the Minister of DIRCO is entrusted with the formulation, promotion and execution of South Africa's foreign policy and assumes overall responsibility for all aspects of South Africa's international relations (DIRCO, 2010: 6-7). DIRCO and IRU collaborate on issues such as diplomatic visa and passports processing, advising on legal implications before signing of the MoUs, application of *notes verbales* and international incoming and outgoing visits. Institutional frameworks make coordination of international relations activities easier and avoid duplication and contradiction between provincial and national government. The institutional framework helps to bring synergy and harmonization between different layers of government.

4.3.1 The functions of the IRU

The IRU is mainly responsible for coordinating incoming and outgoing international visits of provincial government departments and public entities, and liaising with DIRCO and relevant South African missions on official visits abroad (LPG, 2006: 5-6). The functions of the IRU include:

- *Coordination of international visits:* When preparing for an official visit abroad, the following are essential and must be forwarded to the IRU in the OtPL eight weeks prior to the date of departure: approval for the international visit; and the purpose and objective of the visit, including detailed information on the status and specific fields of interest. International visits are used to explore economic opportunities and market the province, establish new partnerships or review and strengthen existing ones.
- *Facilitation of passports and visa application:* The IRU on a daily basis deals with assisting officials in the province with applications for passports and visas.
- *Coordination of signing of MoUs:* The province maintains friendly ties with other provinces through MoUs in other countries. The intention is to promote trade, investment and social relations between and amongst countries. MoUs create opportunities for the extension of mutual understanding, visits, contact and cooperation as well as the exchange of knowledge and information about the various activities in the respective provinces.
- *Authorization of international relations visits:* The IRU verifies that visits by officials are approved by the relevant persons. The Premier authorizes visits by MECs, Directors General, heads of departments and officials in provincial departments.
- *Reports and database:* The IRU keeps and updates a database of incoming and outgoing international visits. It contains information regarding the provincial departments involved in the visit; destinations to be visited and dates of visits; particulars of the delegation; and the purpose, objectives and benefits of the visit. A person or delegation must, within 7 days upon returning from an international visit or having hosted an international guest, submit a

written report to the IRU which is filed.

- *Protocol services*: Protocol is commonly used to designate the code of behaviour as practiced on diplomatic occasions. When a group of people or delegation comes together during visits, they are regulated by protocol, which warrants that they conduct their affairs in ways that conform to what is accepted as good behaviour at diplomatic level (LPG, 2006: 5-6).

4.3.2 Strategies of conducting sub-state diplomacy: the IRU

The strategies that the IRU uses to engage in international relations include:

- *Signing of MoUs and twinning agreements*: Provinces may only enter into legally non-binding agreements: MoUs and twinning agreements.
- *International visits and school programme exchanges*: The intention of international visits is to promote trade and market the province to new economic opportunities investment in other regions.

4.4 The ideological alignment: who and why the IRU interacts with

As mentioned earlier, seven of the nine South African provinces are adjacent to sovereign states, with Limpopo bordering on Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Botswana. It has partnerships and agreements with two of its immediate neighbouring countries: Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The leadership of Limpopo and of Matebeleland South in Zimbabwe (specifically Beitbridge, Gwanda, Umzingwane and the City of Bulawayo) signed an MoU in 2000 which resulted in the formation of the Trans-Limpopo SDI. The initiative has since been expanded to include the provinces of Matebeleland North and Bulawayo in Zimbabwe, and has prompted the provincial governments to work closely together to explore benefits and to find ways to integrate these into a broader development programme. Such a programme would lead to the productive exploitation of the existing opportunities. Through the MoU, the coordinating structures comprising members from both countries have been engaged in assessing socio-economic, infrastructural and socio-cultural conditions, appraising development potential and identifying key and strategic actions required to facilitate

development (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

Limpopo Province also has bilateral relations with Gaza province of Mozambique on areas of economic development, environmental affairs, security, social and cultural development, shared infrastructural development, trade and investment promotion, health and agriculture. The province has not limited its bilateral relations to neighbouring countries but also has such relations with developing countries of the south and developed countries in the north. Those of the south include India, Cuba, Zimbabwe and Mozambique and those of the north include Italy and France (OtPL, 2010: 14-17). It is important to note that provinces do not pursue agreements with states or countries as a whole but with provinces, cities and regions within countries.

In order to decide which province or city to align with, Limpopo identifies cities or provinces in other countries which can fulfil specific needs. Thus, it identifies a province or region which has more resources or expertise in issues that it is dealing with in the province. Thus, Limpopo's bilateral relations with the provinces of Matebeleland are fuelled by the fact that both provinces boast major mineral deposits including gold, diamonds, platinum and copper; and the region has a high potential for agricultural activities such as fruit, especially citrus, and vegetable growing and tourist and cultural attractions which could be jointly explored and promoted. Furthermore, manufacturing is viewed as an economic opportunity as the region is endowed with natural resources that need value addition. This could stimulate economic development that will assist in reducing high levels of unemployment.

Provinces align with provinces and cities which South Africa as a state has bilateral relations in certain areas; this is in line with the views of the neo-functionalists who maintain that the state acts as a model for integration for SNGs. Limpopo has indeed aligned itself with provinces with countries with which South Africa has bilateral relations. South Africa has bilateral relations with, for example, some countries in the SADC, Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America. South Africa has bilateral relations with the SADC region on issues such as coordinating mechanisms, promotion of trade and investment, regional development and interaction with South African provinces bordering SADC states (OtPL, 2010: 12-14).

South Africa has bilateral relations with some countries in Asia (China and India) in

areas such as human resources development, service sector development, mutual technology transfers and bilateral tourism, trade and investment. Politically, the region offers several bilateral and multilateral opportunities for cooperation, in terms of South-South cooperation, the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement and in terms of defining a new international economic order. This region has, in large measure, successfully managed to overcome economic and structural backlogs to compete successfully on the international stage. For example, Limpopo has bilateral relations with the state of Punjab in India in areas such as trade; science and technology; agriculture; tourism; human resources development; and education and applied research (OtPL, 2010: 1-5).

South Africa has bilateral relations with countries in Europe on economic and political issues. Limpopo also has bilateral relations with the Marche region in Italy in the areas of education, health, sports, and arts and culture; and with Rhone Alpes in France in the areas of economy, trade, science and technology, agriculture, tourism, capacity building and human resources (OtPL, 2010: 6-9).

Finally, South Africa has bilateral relations with some countries in Latin America on issues such as trade and economic and social reconstruction programmes. Limpopo province also has bilateral relations with Holguin in Cuba in the areas of education, health, culture, sports, tourism and trade (OtPL, 2010: 18).

In relation to the above, the neo-functionalism perspective is relevant because it states that SNGs capitalise on and exploit the political momentum created for them by nation states' interaction with other states, as well as integration. Because the state is used as a model, the result of the process of integration, assuming continued forward movement, is a gradual shift from the diplomatic to the domestic. The above discussion also indicates how, in line with neo-functionalism theory, provinces reinforce integration from below by building relations with counterparts in Southern Africa and beyond and through the spillover effect.

4.5 Reformation of the IRU: resilience in international relations

In 2005, the IRU and ODA was reformed and detached from IGR to form the IRU and ODA. The organisation of the Office of the Premier is changed every five years to strengthen its capacity to deliver services to the people of Limpopo (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

There was continuity in the reformed structure, with new agreements signed with countries including the People's Republic of China (PRC), Italy, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Not only has there been such continuity in signing of new agreements and MoUs since its reform but the IRU has also developed the IRPF adopted by EXCO; consolidated the calendar of all visits; implemented the Gaza-Limpopo and the Trans-Limpopo Spatial Development Initiatives; and identified the provincial needs and developmental areas of intervention for provincial growth, namely mining, agriculture and tourism and improving people to people relations with other provinces in SADC. Most of these agreements are still active.

4.6 Sectoral diplomacy: nature of MoU agreements

Limpopo is actively contributing towards South Africa's foreign policy implementation and conduct of international relations through signing MoUs in line with foreign policy and legislation and other relevant policies. MoUs signed can include arrangements for selected learners from institutions in the province to study in another country or for selected people to receive language training in other countries which they can use on their return for the benefit of the country. Officials and students in the province undertake Exchange Programmes. The IRU has signed agreements and MoUs of a political, economic, and cultural nature; these are discussed below.

4.6.1 Political agreements

There are a variety of political reasons for regions to enter into international relationships. SNGs may seek to develop a "set of international relations that will affirm the cultural distinctiveness, political autonomy and the national character of the community they represent" Lecours (2008:2-4). Local governments may join efforts internationally to pressure their central governments into a desired course of action such as wanting full autonomy on international relations and signing of treaties. This

is typically the case of Quebec, Flanders, Catalonia and the Basque Country (Lecours, 2008: 3). However, in the case of Limpopo, no MoU or agreement has been signed for political reasons with any province or region. Limpopo supports the central government policy of international relations and the African Agenda (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). Thus, the international relations activities of provinces are concerned with economic, social, and cultural issues without the aim of establishing a fully sovereign state. This is as stated by the neo-functionalists, who recognise SNGs in international relations but do not dismiss the importance of states, which continue to play a key role in integration by evaluating and setting the terms of the scheme.

4.6.2 Economic agreements

SNGs look for “investment, markets for their products, and technology for modernization” (Keating, 1999: 4). They also enter into international relations for the purpose of attracting foreign investment, luring international companies to the region and targeting new markets for exports. As well as the inward investment that these governments aim to attract, they also try to “increase the internationalization of their economies” and to develop their local firms and markets through “outward investment” (Keating, 1999: 4). Limpopo has, as indicated, collaborated with neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe in areas of economic development. Neo-functionalists state that actors act in pursuit of self-interest. Constructivists argue that interests are more varied; issue-specific, less ‘egoistic’ and targeted at structures and global public goods. Limpopo is engaging with other countries for economic gains in order to address socio-economic conditions such as high levels of poverty and unemployment, a largely unskilled labour force and an underdeveloped economy that relies on mineral and agricultural exports (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.6.3 Cultural agreements

Another reason why SNGs move into the international arena is to seek international support for their culture and language or to promote themselves internationally as autonomous cultural entities, especially where their national governments are not sympathetic towards them. Limpopo supports the promotion of culture and languages through the national government in the whole of South Africa (Ramashala, 2013:

Interview).

4.7 Diplomatic practice, implementation and progress

Limpopo has signed eight MoUs with various SNG's world-wide including Matabeleland North and South and Bulawayo Metropolitan (Zimbabwe); Gaza (Mozambique); Holguin (Cuba); Warmland (Sweden); Region Marche (Italy); Rhone Alpes (France); Punjab (India); and Henan and Anhui (People's Republic of China) (Ramashala, 2010: Interview). This section will look at the MoU's that the IRU has signed between 2000 and 2010 and what some of the outcomes were.

Before Limpopo signs an MoU, consideration must be given to its advantages and disadvantages; the extent to which it can contribute to the achievement of the PGDS objectives; whether sufficient funding is available; the knowledge and expertise required for implementation; time-frames for monitoring and evaluating implemented projects flowing from the agreement; and regular communication and information sharing with DIRCO and other role-players (LPG, 2006: 13-16). MoUs must create opportunities for the extension of mutual understanding, visits, contact and cooperation as well as an exchange of knowledge and information concerning the various activities of the respective provinces. Coordination and signing of MoUs remains the most important strategy of the IRU in conducting and engaging in international relations (LPG, 2006: 13-16).

4.7.1 Matebeleland Province and City of Bulawayo (Zimbabwe)

The MoU between Matebele province, the City of Bulawayo and the IRU was signed in 2000 in the areas of economic development; security; socio-cultural development; tourism; transport; infrastructure development; industry; and HIV and AIDS (OtPL, 2010: 12-14) (see Addendum D).

The Limpopo Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) implementation plan has been developed and approved by the Joint Provincial Council (JPC). This is responsible for policy formulation and is made up of political leaders of the two cities involved in the MoU, with support of their officials. A Joint Executive Committee (JEC) and a Joint Technical Working Committee (JTWC) Committee were established to coordinate the

implementation of the programme and the MoU. The JEC is responsible for strategic and technical aspects of planning and implementation of programmes, projects and reports to be tabled to the JPC (see Addendum D).

The MoU between Limpopo province, Matebeleland and the City of Bulawayo has been successful. Forty Zimbabweans have been trained on spraying techniques and handling of dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) in terms of international standards by the provincial Department of Health and Social Welfare of Limpopo. The department donated twenty spray cans and 20 pumps and 10,000 tonnes (30 000 of Fansidar tablets) worth R150, 000 to Zimbabwe (see Addendum D). There is ongoing progress on cross-country projects like malaria management, cross-border control of movement of livestock, transfer of agricultural technology, disease control and livestock products. There is also an on-going joint HIV/AIDS campaign which focuses on distributing condoms to truck-drivers (see Addendum D) (OtPL, 2010: 12-14).

In 2000, the political leadership of Limpopo Province and Matebeleland South (specifically Beitbridge, Gwanda, and Umzingwane) and the City of Bulawayo signed an MOU. This initiative has prompted the provincial governments to work closely together to explore the mutual benefits, and to find ways to integrate these into a broader development programme. Through the MOU, coordinating structures comprising members from both countries have been engaged in assessing socio-economic, infrastructural and socio-cultural conditions, appraising development potential and identifying key and strategic actions required to facilitate development. The discussions between Limpopo and Zimbabwe were conducted on a temporary level and took the form of bilateral relations involving diplomatic representatives at sub-state level.

4.7.2 Gaza (Mozambique)

The MoU between Gaza and the IRU was signed in 1998 in the areas of health, education, agriculture and trade and investment promotion. The Limpopo Premier and the Gaza Governor signed a work plan that would be the guiding document for the implementation of the MoU. The Governor of Gaza visited Limpopo from 18 to 21 July 2007 for a JTWC meeting. During the visit, the Premier donated two computers to the province of Gaza (see Addendum E) (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

A delegation from the Governor of Gaza's Office visited Limpopo in February 2006 to discuss areas of mutual cooperation in farming and agro-processing, including the milk industry, cold meat processing and rice production. A technical team mission went to Gaza on a working visit. So far there has not been any further progress but there is continued exchange of information (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

Limpopo officials attended the Conference of Investors in Mozambique in 2006. The MEC of LDA led sixty farmers to Gaza and discovered that there is great agricultural potential to invest in Gaza; however issues of land, equipment crossing the border, availability of banking institutions to fund farmers would need to be addressed. Opportunities identified included meat processing, chicken farming and livestock farming. The National African Farmers Union (NAFU) has offered to assist small-scale farmers and commercial farmers with technical skills. The future plan is to support the private sector to obtain fresh produce from Mozambique for processing in Limpopo: for example, maize for Progress Milling and cassava for the starch factory in Dendron (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

The Department of Health and Social Development of Limpopo visited Gaza in November 2006 to finalize the plan of action to twin Polokwane Mankweng Hospital Complex with Xai-Xai provincial hospital; and perform cataract operations and nursing-related exchanges particularly relating to Intensive Care Unit training and exposure visits and practice. The Polokwane Mankweng Hospital Complex laid the foundation for a cataract operations mission in June 2007. The Governor of Gaza visited Limpopo on 18-21 July 2007 for a JTWC meeting. During the visit, the Premier donated 16 wheel-chairs to the province of Gaza. The future plan is to twin Mankweng Hospital with Xai-Xai Provincial Hospital. The Premier has indicated his wish to donate assistive devices to NGOs in Gaza as a gesture of goodwill (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

A business seminar was held in November 2006 to mark the one-year anniversary of the existence of the agreement and to expose Limpopo farmers to agricultural opportunities in Gaza. Future plans include establishing farming opportunities in Gaza. To date, roads and transport infrastructure has been developed and is being managed. The 20 km untarred road from within the borders of South Africa will be

tarred. The Masingire via Griyonde road will be tarred with the assistance of the Mozambican Department of Public Works as funding has been a problem. A traffic station has been completed and handed over to the district (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

The MoU between Limpopo and Gaza provinces has been successful and has prompted the provincial governments to work closely together to explore mutual benefits and to find ways to integrate these into a broader development programme.

4.7.3 Holguin (Cuba)

An MoU between Limpopo Province and Holguin Province was signed in 2006 in the areas of education, health, culture and sports, tourism and trade. Thus far, the South African Ambassador to Cuba invited the Premier to visit Holguin with the aim of resuscitating the MoU. The visit was intended for December 2010 (see Addendum F). In 2011 the Ambassador of Cuba, H.E. Mr. Angel Villa visited the OtPL. The purpose of the visit was to reaffirm the bonds of friendship and solidarity existing between Cuba and the Limpopo province.

4.7.4 Warmland (Sweden)

The MoU between the Limpopo province and Warmland was signed in 2003 in the areas of trade and economic opportunities. Since signing, the MoU has been dormant; and no activities have taken place between the two provinces. Limpopo plans to send a technical team to Warmland in an effort to revive the MoU in the future (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.7.5 Region Marche (Italy)

The MoU between Limpopo Province and Region Marche was signed in 2008. The areas identified for cooperation include education, health, culture and sports and tourism and trade. The South African Ambassador to Italy visited Limpopo in 2009; however, little progress has been registered (Addendum G).

4.7.6 Rhone Alpes (France)

The agreement between France (Rhone Alpes) and Limpopo was signed on 21

March 2002 in the areas of economic development, trade promotion, science and technology, agriculture, tourism and human resources (Addendum B).

In terms of trade promotion, Arvid Smedsrud, the Managing Director of Pepperoni Pickles Uganda Limited approached MEC of Economic, Development, Environment and Tourism Collins Chabane to assist with the development of a processing plant in Limpopo with local farmers and provision of land for additional production of pepperoni. The establishment of a processing plant in Limpopo would require 50 hectares of agricultural land and could yield 250 jobs in the province. In 2010, the Chief Executive Officer of Trade and Investment Limpopo led a delegation to Rhone Alpes with a view to resuscitating the MoU. Both parties agreed that Rhone-Alpes would submit a draft partnership agreement in the field of agriculture, trade and economy to the Embassy of South Africa in Paris for translation; once the agreement was translated it would be sent to Limpopo for inputs and subsequently the Premier would visit Rhone-Alpes to sign the MoU (Addendum B).

MEC Dikeledi Magadzi and the Director General of the Department of Education accompanied nine Limpopo business women to attend a bilateral seminar with the Ladies First International Club in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the women's march to the Union Building in Pretoria. The Ladies First International Club is a non-governmental organisation whose members include 450 women leading in business from 55 nationalities (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). The MEC verbally invited the President of the Ladies First International Club to Limpopo.

4.7.8 Punjab (India)

The MoU between Limpopo Province and Punjab was signed in 2002 in the areas of technological transport information and communication technology, agriculture, education, capacity building, research provision, monitoring and evaluation, information and communications technology (ICT) and human resource development (Addendum A).

The Directors of the Department of Technical Education of Punjab State and the Limpopo Department of Education identified areas of collaboration which include exchange programmes for Further Education and Training (FET) college staff and

lecturers; capacity building programmes for curriculum developers within FET colleges; consultancy services provided to the Limpopo Department of Education; and research services undertaken in FET colleges of education for the province. The Director and Chairman of the Punjab College of Technical Education (PCTE) indicated their interest in offering a scholarship to Limpopo learners in computer studies (Addendum A).

In terms of agriculture, the Governor of Punjab, Ret. Army General SF Rodriguez, emphasised the “green revolution”. He invited officials from the Limpopo Department of Agriculture to learn from them in areas such as maize cultivation, sugar cane, methanol production and citrus farming. He emphasised that the major challenge in the agricultural sectors was agro-processing, marketing and retailing. The Managing Director (MD) of the Punjab State Co-Operative Milk Producers Federation Ltd. (PSCMPF) agreed on possible collaboration with the Limpopo Department of Agriculture. The areas of collaboration identified include amongst others organizing farmers to form co-ops (together with the Limpopo Department of Agriculture); and providing training, including farmer exchange programmes and exchange of genetic material. The Vice-Chancellor of Punjab Agricultural University indicated his willingness to provide support to farmers through scientific research, training and outreach programmes (through farmers-fairs, television, radio and print media) (Addendum A).

In terms of human resource development, the Director General of the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD) in Punjab outlined that the major focus of their programmes is on poverty eradication. The Limpopo Department of Public Works identified areas of collaboration in geomatics and technology transfer. In future, the Limpopo Department of Public Works aims to engage the Institute in integrated infrastructure planning and the application of sustainable technologies in the fields of construction and sanitation (Addendum A).

4.7.9 Henan and Anhui (People's Republic of China)

The MoU between Limpopo Province and Henan Province in China was signed in 2000 in the areas of economy, trade, science and technology, agriculture, tourism and mining. A delegation led by the Premier of Limpopo visited the Provinces of

Anhui and Henan from 16 to 28 September to establish a Joint Implementation Committee to establish sector-specific sub-committees and implementation of projects and programmes (Addendum C).

The Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism has agreements with the province of Anhui in the areas of economic development and trade, technological cooperation, trade relations (machinery, chemicals, brewery and agro processing, resource planning, exploration and management of mining rights, collection and use of royalties, environmental protection, exploration and mining and saving and protection of resources). However there has not been any progress. Neither province has submitted their plans for the future (Addendum C).

The Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism also shared the same interest in construction with the province of Anhui. Officials from the Department visited Anhui during the Ministerial Mission to China in September 2006. Anhui has interests in international construction contracting, real estate development, supermarket chains and hotels and tourism in Asia, Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar and Latin America. At the meeting, the MEC of the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism, Mr Collins Chabane, explained the boom in the construction industry, dam construction, Eskom's power stations, industrial parks, commercial centres, stadiums, hotel and convention facilities in anticipation of the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) 2010 World Cup and beyond (Addendum C).

Officials in Anhui province have since applied for a "construction qualification certificate" in South Africa. Ex-President Zhejin Jiang showed a keen interest in Limpopo and a desire to do business there. He requested Limpopo government support with visas, immigration and work permits to facilitate the process as well as incentives and provision of safety and security. The interests of Anhui province in Limpopo are supermarkets and tourism projects (Addendum C).

From 1 to 3 June 2010, officials and the MEC in the Limpopo Department of Local Government and Housing visited Anhui Province during the Shanghai 2010 World Expo. An agreement was reached to establish a building construction park and cement manufacturing plant in Limpopo to reduce housing costs and halve the

housing delivery backlog (Addendum C).

From 11 to 19 October 2010, the Premier of Limpopo together with officials from the provincial Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism met with the Deputy Governor of Henan with a view to elevate the existing letter of intent to an MoU relating to specific projects such as solar energy, wind power, coal mining, agro-processing as well as research & development. The MoU was expected to be signed in Limpopo in 2011 (Addendum C).

A delegation from Jilin visited Limpopo in March 2006 in preparation for a visit by the Vice-Governor of the province in August 2006 when the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism and Polokwane Municipality shared some interests in investment promotion with the province of Jilin. A letter of intent was signed by the Mayor of Polokwane and the Vice-Governor of Jilin City. The Mayor and the Premier were invited to visit Jilin (Addendum C).

On 1 July 2005, the Limpopo Department of Agriculture shared some interests with the Province of Jiangsu in the areas of agriculture, economic development, technology exchange, mushroom growing, fish farming and rabbit raising. There has not been any progress as neither province has submitted plans for the future (Addendum C).

The Corridor Mining Resource (CMR), the University of Limpopo (UL) and the University of Venda (UNIVEN) showed an interest in establishing relations with the China Coal Technology and Engineering Group (CCTEG) in the area of mining. A delegation from China led by the Vice Chairman of CCTEG, Professor Tian Hui, visited Limpopo in August 2010. The visit culminated in CCTEG signing three MoUs with CMR, UL and UNIVEN on skills development, clean coal technology and an exchange programme (Addendum C).

4.8 Other initiatives

Apart from the activities discussed above, Limpopo has also engaged with New Delhi and Beijing without any signed MoUs.

4.8.1 New Delhi (India)

Limpopo province and New Delhi have bilateral relations in areas of agro processing, trade promotion and investment since October 2006. Mr. Tarun Das, Chief Mentor of the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) indicated his willingness to provide training opportunities in Limpopo. The CII agreed to partner with the province in fields including environment, quality, manufacturing and logistics (Addendum H).

The Limpopo Department of Agriculture and the National Research Development Corporation in New Delhi are in the process of concluding an MoU in this regard. It was agreed in principle that the National Research Development Corporation would be involved in bio-diesel processing in Limpopo; and exploring the possibility of signing an MOU between the Limpopo Department of Agriculture and the National Research Development Corporation. The envisaged MOU is to include technology transfer, irrigation water and fertility management, mechanisation, crop and animal production, agro-processing and value adding (Addendum H).

In terms of trade and promotion, Visa Power Limited in New Delhi showed a keen interest in the Sekoko Coal Resources deposits in the Soutpansberg and Waterberg regions. Visa Power is involved in the coal and energy industry, manufacturing steel at its own plants (requiring ferro-chrome). The company is looking to procure coking coal with low ash, low sulphur and high volatility. Visa Power was urged to visit Limpopo to hold discussions with Sekoko (Addendum H).

Also in 2006, Rajiv Bahadur, Senior Executive and Director of Gem Granites in New Delhi, indicated that his company mines and processes granite and has other interests in textile spinning and weaving plants. He was persuaded to visit Limpopo, in view of the granite deposits in Mopani District where Katlego Holdings holds prospecting permits. He accepted the invitation and visited Limpopo in November 2006 with his geologist and quarry manager. They visited five sites including Katlego Mineral in Giyani. Future plans include Gem Granites' needs to source and mine black granite. However, a beneficiation plant in Limpopo would need to be able to process a variety of colours and types, for both the South African and international markets. Gem Granites had plans to do quarrying, beneficiation and international marketing. Officials from the Department of Trade and Investment Limpopo visited

India in October 2007 upon receiving an invitation from Gem Granites in Chennai and the project is to date still in the process of being finalized and awaiting implementation by the Department of Trade and Investment Limpopo project team (Addendum H).

4.8.2 Beijing (PRC)

Limpopo Province and Beijing established bilateral relations in the areas of trade promotion and facilitating official access of mangoes to China, in September 2005. MEC Chabane led a business delegation to China in Beijing in March 2007 to facilitate access of tropical fruit to the Chinese market (Addendum H).

The Department of Trade and Investment in Limpopo hosted Luanhe International Investment Development Holding Company from China in 2006. The President, Vice President and Project Director of the company met with the MEC for the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment & Tourism (LEDET) and also attended the Africa Celebration Gala Dinner where they had the opportunity to network with local businesses. They had one-on-one meetings with local business persons with mining interests such as Abrina Pty Limited, Nkgapo Investments Pty Limited, Zet M Mining Resources and ASA Metals and also conducted site visits to the Dilokong Mining Corridor where they toured ASA Metals chrome mine in Greater Sekhukhune District Municipality. The President of Luanhe International Investment Development Holding Company signed a confidentiality agreement with Abrina Consortium of Limpopo whereby the two parties agreed to collaborate and exchange information in pursuance of potential projects in the mining sector (Addendum H).

On 13 September 2006, Limpopo was showcased at the China International Festival for Investment and Trade (CIFIT) in Xiamen during a business seminar in Shanghai and Hong Kong (Addendum H).

4.8.3 Andhra Pradesh (India)

Limpopo province and the province of Andhra Pradesh in India have had bilateral relations since 2006 in the areas of capacity building on technology, transport,

information and communication technology, human resource development, research provision and monitoring and evaluation (Addendum H).

The Director General of the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRU) in Andhra Pradesh India and the Limpopo Department of Education agreed to explore possibilities of embarking on joint research projects on rural development and poverty alleviation and also to explore the possibility of joint programme evaluation activities in small, medium and micro-sized enterprises (SMME) development activities in the field of agriculture (Addendum H).

Twelve young graduates from Limpopo went to Andhra Pradesh India in June 2006 for twelve months' training as software engineers. Selected officials from the Limpopo Department of Economic Development, Environment and Tourism, Department of Education, Department of Agriculture and Department of Roads and Transport went for Chief Information Officers training in information technology in Andhra Pradesh India from 05 February 2007 to 21 April 2007 (LDRT) (Addendum H).

4.9 Summary of Limpopo's diplomatic relations and events

Limpopo Province conducts its diplomacy at a temporary level and in the form of bilateral relations involving diplomatic representatives at sub-state level. Limpopo's diplomatic relations include sending officials abroad to establish economic and trade opportunities, participating in regional organisations, academic exchanges, promoting investment, tourism and cultural exchanges activities. A few of the MoU that the Limpopo province has signed have been successful with projects and programmes implemented to actualise the MoU. However, some MoUs have not progressed due to lack of plans and resources to actualise them.

In its conduct of diplomacy, Limpopo is aligned with national government policy by promoting the priorities of consolidation of the African Agenda; and promotion of South-South co-operation, North-South dialogue and global governance. It can be deduced from Limpopo's diplomatic activities and events that it is committed to economic development through regional and international co-operation in an interdependent and globalised world without disregarding the national government or its foreign policy. Limpopo's diplomacy tends to be conducted at senior level by

MECs or premiers; is economic in nature; tends to focus on minerals and mining, tourism; ICT and electronics and agricultural economic sectors; and tends to also factor in political ideology which is evident in the focus on Asia and Latin America for example.

4.10 Symbolic activities

Symbolic activities conducted by Limpopo include international visits and symbolic agreements. Officials from Limpopo have visited countries such as Mozambique, India, China and Zimbabwe. A Letter of Intent was signed by the Mayor of Polokwane and the Vice Governor of Jilin City.

Limpopo was invited to Bulawayo to attend the Gwanda Cultural Festival in 2012 and Limpopo annually invites delegations from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, India and China to attend the Marula Festival, the Mapungubwe Festival and Africa Day Celebration events (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.11 Implementation agency

Once an MoU has been signed, the most time and attention must be paid to the aspect of implementation. Ideally, agreements and MoUs signed are implemented and monitored continuously to make sure that objectives are reached and that the signatories are benefiting from the arrangement (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

For most of the MoUs signed by Limpopo, there are no implementation agencies to coordinate planning implementation of programmes and projects that promote the objectives of the MOU. There are also some MoUs that are not active due to the lack of strategy and skilled personnel to actualise them, such as those concluded with entities in Sweden, Italy and Cuba (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.12 Limpopo as a donor

Limpopo has donated eight ton of seedlings to Gaza and they continue to facilitate access to information on sources of other seeds and vegetative material. The province also donated 10,000 tons (30 000 of Fansidar tablets) worth R150, 000 to Zimbabwe for malaria treatment (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

The Governor of Gaza in Mozambique visited Limpopo from 18 to 21 July 2007 for a JTWC meeting. During the visit, the Premier donated two computers and 16 wheelchairs to an NGO in Gaza (OtPL, 2010: 14-17).

The ability of Limpopo to donate signifies its commitment to promoting cooperation in international and regional socio-economic development as outlined in the foreign policy of South Africa (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.12.1 Limpopo as a recipient

The Limpopo Economic Development Enterprise (LimDev) in collaboration with the High Commission for India trained more than 300 Limpopo ICT graduates through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC). ITEC is a programme of the Indian government's technical cooperation effort focused on addressing the needs of developing countries. Students were drawn from government, public and private sectors, universities, chambers of commerce and industry (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

Limpopo province has benefited significantly from development assistance funding. External donors that have funded projects in the province include the German Development Cooperation (1998/99–2003/04); the Finland Development Cooperation (2001/02-2004/05); and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) whose project budget was estimated at US\$1.3 million. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) funded a Special Programme on Food Security (SPFS) to the tune of R150 million, in partnership with the South African government; and US\$ 5000.00 was provided for the preparation for the project take-off in the 2001/02 financial year. Other agriculture projects from donor funds include a USA/South African Bilateral Commission-sponsored Rural Enterprise and Agricultural Project (REAP (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

Receipt of donations from counterparts shows concrete results and progress from MoUs signed. It also shows that results are not one way and that Limpopo is benefiting from its activities.

4.13 South African foreign policy and the impact on it of Limpopo's sub-national diplomacy

It is impossible to discuss the international relations of South Africa in isolation from the country's foreign policy. Foreign policy is a government activity, and the government acts as the representative of the country and its people in international relations. South Africa's foreign policy is based on the principle of universality and a strong moral dimension and aims to create wealth and security for all South Africans. It is informed by its domestic policy, with the two being mutually reinforcing.

This is guided by the mission of a better world for all; a sort of idealism about the changes needed for South Africa to prosper (DIRCO, 2010: 6). Some of its principles include a commitment to:

- the promotion of human rights;
- the promotion of democracy;
- justice and international law in the conduct of relations between nations and international peace and internationally agreed-upon mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts;
- the interests of Africa in world affairs;
- economic development through regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world.

(DIRCO, 2010: 7).

Overall, the sub-national diplomacy of the Limpopo province has complemented South Africa's foreign policy rather than resulting in conflict with and contradiction of the objectives of national government. Limpopo's diplomacy reinforces the objectives and aims of South Africa's foreign policy. The IRU developed the IRPF which shares the objectives and priorities of consolidation of the African Agenda through SADC and NEPAD; improving cooperation in SADC, Africa and the whole world; south-south and north-south cooperation; and strengthening bilateral relations with other nations of the world. Limpopo supports the central government policy of international relations in that its diplomacy is conducted at a temporary level and in the form of bilateral relations involving diplomatic representatives at sub-state level thus respecting international law with regard to international relations.

The promotion of Limpopo's interests and image as an investment and tourism destination globally is done in a way that supports and promotes South Africa's foreign policy objectives. Because the needs and interests of all provinces and of South Africa as a state are centralised and represented in foreign policy, it is important that national government is informed about the needs of provinces. Centrality of international relations interests does not mean unity between national government and provinces.

Provincial governments are generally better disposed than central government to address their needs and concerns regarding international relations interests. Moreover, provinces should be encouraged to discuss foreign policy objectives and outcomes of central decision-making that affects them.

South African foreign policy represents the diversity of interests within the country and allows provincial leaders to discuss international relations activities and objectives related to their area of jurisdiction through the NCOP. Outside government, a large number of civil society groups and organizations such as NGOs and social movements may influence foreign policy-making but the final decisions rest with the government (Venter, 2001: 333). National government and the provinces should continue to seek a deeper partnership regarding their international relations interests.

4.14 The conduct of sub-state diplomacy

Duration refers to the nature of diplomacy in that it can be conducted on a permanent or temporary basis, such as in the case with a resident mission in a particular state. Form refers to the number of actors involved, for example bi- or multilateral; and level-type refers to the status of diplomatic representatives. Limpopo conducts its diplomacy on a temporary level in that it does not establish resident diplomatic missions in other countries, but undertakes regular visits and occasional review of cooperation programmes. Its diplomacy takes the form of bilateral relations involving diplomatic representatives at sub-state level.

4.15 Future diplomatic plans

Limpopo province has bilateral relations with neighbouring and international states in areas of benefit to Limpopo's economic growth and development. The Premier of Limpopo asserts that the province will continue to establish and maintain friendly relations of mutual benefit with provinces and regions in other countries (LPG, 2009: Internet source). The intention will be to promote trade, investment and social relations between and amongst countries, especially on the African continent.

National government is likely to support provinces' future plans to engage in international relations as they assist local government to create wealth and well-being for the citizens (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). This is made all the more likely by the intention of national government to improve its economic diplomacy and look for greater investment opportunities in other parts of the world.

4.16 Challenges

Provinces face constitutional, political, resources, coordination and implementation challenges in relation to managing their international relationships. These are discussed below.

4.16.1 Constitutional challenges

Foreign policy, international relations, negotiation and signing international agreements are the responsibility of the National Executive (South Africa, 1996: Chapter 14 (Section 231(1)). The President is responsible for the country's foreign policy and international relations; thus all matters relating to the international relations of national, provincial and local government as well as of other institutions of state are the prerogative of the President.

It can be deduced from the Constitution that South African provinces do not have a role in the execution of international relations and that they are not recognized as actors in this sphere. Through the NCOP, provinces can however get involved in the decision-making process on foreign policy about interests that concern them. Provinces are autonomous in legislating on a variety of matters within their constitutional powers and are using their legislative autonomy to engage in

international relations in the world and with countries that border them.

4.16.2 Coordination and implementation challenges

Coordination and implementation challenges include the absence of strategy to actualise MoUs. Others include the fact that the signing of MoUs is not preceded by research; lack of compliance with the IRPF by parastatals when it comes to international visits; and not following proper processes of implementation (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). There are also challenges in that there is no Joint Provincial Council to oversee planning, implementation and promotion of bilateral programmes in the fields of economic development and security; no Joint Executive Committee to coordinate planning implementation of programmes and projects that promote the objectives of the MoU; or Joint Sectoral Working Committees to monitor and spearhead implementation of MoUs (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

Lack of proper planning; weak focus; poor infrastructure; bureaucracy and delayed decision-making are some of the challenges that provinces face in conducting and implementing MoUs (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). In relation to Zimbabwe, another challenge identified is lack of incentives for the implementation of cooperation programmes. It is recognised that for investors to consider investing in a designated economic development corridor, a package of attractive incentives unique to that corridor has to be put in place. Such corridors traverse boundaries and what is offered as incentives on both sides of the border should be approximately the same (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

The success of agreements lies in overcoming the above-mentioned constraints. This can only come about if both parties show political will and commit resources to the success of initiatives (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.16.3 Resource challenges

The reason for some agreements being dormant is the lack of financial commitment by sector-departments to operationalise MoUs, with provinces spending more than their budget in conducting diplomacy. Another challenge is the fact that provinces are not very experienced in conducting international relations and most of them lack

personnel and negotiating skills at the international level; officials in the provinces should thus receive the same training as those in DIRCO.

4.16.4 Political challenges

Changes in political leadership stall progress in coordinating international relations and efficiently implementing MoUs. Political instability and lack of resources to fund projects from Zimbabwe and Mozambique add to these difficulties and results in lack of security for officials involved in MoUs (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

In conducting its diplomacy, Limpopo has been fortunate in being led by Premiers who are in support of the province's establishing and maintaining friendly relations of mutual benefit economically and socially. The ANC also supports the establishment of friendships in Africa and throughout the world in order to promote South Africa's national interests (Ramashala, 2013: Interview). Thus Limpopo does not face political challenges from the ruling party or the Premier in conducting its diplomacy.

4.17 Public participation

Public participation is minimal; however the private sector is on board in the implementation of the MoUs and other economic activities (Ramashala, 2013: Interview).

4.18 Conclusion

The Office of the Premier in Limpopo was established in 1994 and has the responsibility of co-ordinating the functions of the provincial administration and its departments and ensuring that national and provincial government policies are implemented appropriately. As a result of the province's international engagements and in an effort to conduct its international relations coherently, the Office of the Premier established the IRU in 2005. As discussed, the role and function of the IRU include coordinating incoming and outgoing international visits of provincial government departments and public entities; passports and visa applications; protocol services; and signing of MoUs. The IRU's strategies for conducting sub-state diplomacy are directly linked to the functions of the unit on a daily basis. Limpopo is actively contributing towards South Africa's foreign policy implementation and

conduct of international relations through signing of MoUs.

MoUs create opportunities for the extension of mutual understanding, visits, contact and cooperation and an exchange of knowledge and information concerning the various activities of the signatories. The IRU has financial challenges which result in MoUs not being implemented. Coordination and implementation challenges include the absence of strategy to actualise MoUs; the fact that MoUs are signed without prior research; lack of compliance with the IRPF by the parastatals in relation to international visits; and failure to follow proper processes of implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: MAIN FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the main research findings of this thesis. First, the basic findings of each of the four chapters are discussed. The chapter then draws conclusions, makes recommendations and ends with an elaboration of potentially rewarding future research directions based on the findings of this dissertation. The purpose of the thesis was to contribute to a better understanding of sub-state diplomacy through neo-functionalism, which is useful for explaining the development of sub-state diplomacy and the involvement of SNGs in international relations and foreign policy in South Africa.

5.2 Overview of findings

Chapter 1 outlined the statement of the research problem, the aim and objectives of the study and the motivation for and significance of the study. The engagement of SNGs, provinces, regions and cities in international relations and foreign policy is wide spread and has recently received attention from scholars. With the growing interest of provinces and SNGs in sub-state diplomacy, it is necessary to analyse how the phenomenon of sub-state diplomacy developed, why and how provinces engage in international relations and foreign policy. In order to illustrate this, the South African province of Limpopo was used as a case study. In particular, the study analysed the role of the International Relations Unit (IRU) within the Office of the Premier. Limpopo was taken as the main focus of this study because it has, *inter alia*, three neighbouring countries which place it in a good position to engage in international relations, mutual intentions and friendly relations with neighbouring and more distant countries.

The main findings in this chapter are that there are limitations in the theoretical approach to sub-state diplomacy, with researchers tending to follow the

constructivist, liberal and realist approach. The theoretical approach of this study is embedded in neo-functionalism. It aims to bridge the gap in literature by indicating, through the Limpopo province as a case study, the theoretical development of sub-state diplomacy through neo-functionalism. In so doing, this study followed a combination of qualitative and case study methods.

The purpose of Chapter 2 was to provide a conceptual analysis of the nature, scope and practice of sub-state diplomacy while outlining the analytical and theoretical framework of the study. The chief concepts were discussed and it was shown how they are inter-related. The main finding in this chapter is that international relations and foreign policy making are conducted between different actors and as an instrument of foreign policy diplomacy acts as a catalyst through which foreign policy objectives and national interests are met. The chapter borrowed from the literature study in Chapter one to develop a theoretical framework, neo-functionalism, which is used in the study.

The main finding in this chapter is that the theory of neo-functionalism is useful in explaining the development of sub-state diplomacy and the involvement of SNGs in this phenomenon in the South African context. The theory of neo-functionalism acknowledges that states are not the only actors in the international system and that non-state actors are important in international politics. Neo-functionalism also recognises the relevance of different actors at the supranational, national and sub-national levels and goes a long way in explaining the motivations of actors and not just the processes through which they pursue their interests. Neo-functionalism also states that actors, whether supranational organizations or not, act not in pursuit of an ideal or the greater good but self-interest. Neo-functionalism is effective at identifying how and why sub-state units engage in sub-state diplomacy. As a theory of integration, neo-functionalism affirms how provinces reinforce integration from below by building relations with counterparts in Southern Africa and beyond and through the spillover effect.

The purpose of Chapter 3 was to analyse the South African constitutional and political framework enabling SNGs to practice sub-state diplomacy. The main finding in this chapter was that the President is responsible for the country's foreign policy and international relations and is thus the entry point on all matters relating to the

international relations of national, provincial and local government and of other institutions of state. It can be deduced from the Constitution that South Africa's provinces do not have a role in the execution of international relations and that they are not recognized as actors in international relations. Parliament and DIRCO feature as the main actors in South Africa's international relations and foreign policy, as instructed by the National Executive.

Another finding in this chapter is that the IR unit contributes to the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy by signing MoUs and establishing collaboration with sister governments in other countries. Provinces are autonomous in legislating on a variety of matters within their constitutional powers and are using their legislative autonomy to engage in international relations. The NCOP is a link between provinces and national government with regard to international relations and foreign policy-making by representing and communicating the interests of provinces to the national government during foreign decision making process. The national government also consults provinces during treaty negotiations especially on issues that concern them.

Chapter 4 focused on Limpopo, the case study of this dissertation. With the main conclusions of Chapter 3 in mind, this chapter set out to explore how and why provinces engage in international relations. It also analysed the impact of Limpopo's diplomacy on South Africa's foreign policy; and looked at the agreements that Limpopo has signed and how they have progressed.

The main finding of this chapter is that the IRU's strategies for conducting sub-state diplomacy are signing of MoUs, international visits and school programme exchanges. The functions of the IRU include coordinating incoming and outgoing international visits of provincial government departments and public entities; passports and visa applications, protocol services and signing of MoUs.

Limpopo is actively affecting South Africa's foreign policy implementation and conduct of international relations through signing MoUs as this is done in line with foreign policy and legislation and other relevant policies. Limpopo has developed a number of relationships with other countries and provinces in order to market itself internationally and to attract business opportunities. MoUs create opportunities for the extension of mutual understanding, visits, contact and cooperation as well as for

the exchange of knowledge and information concerning the various activities of the respective provinces. It was noted in this chapter that the IRU has a challenge in assisting departments to implement MoUs because of lack of capacity, planning and financial resources. However, some MoUs have been successful despite the constraints while some agreements are only symbolic and not project specific.

Another finding in this chapter is that the engagement of provinces in international relations and foreign policy-making is parallel to, complements and is innocuous to national government's foreign policy. Provinces' international relations activities are concerned with economic, social, and cultural issues without the aim of acquiring a monopoly over international relations or undermining the objectives of South Africa's foreign policy-making.

5.3 Implications of findings

The findings of this study respond to the study's research questions and help to achieve its goals, which are to bridge the gap in the literature by indicating, through the Limpopo province as a case study, the theoretical development of sub-state diplomacy and why provinces engage in this phenomenon; and highlighting the link between provinces and national government with regard to international relations and foreign policy-making. The study also indicated that provinces have become important foreign policy and international relations actors in the area of low politics; however the national government remains the main actor in the international relations and foreign policy making process.

The impact of SNGs' diplomacy depends on their degree of autonomy to engage in international relations and foreign policy based on the constitutional position governing them. In South Africa, foreign policy, international relations and the negotiation and signing of international agreements are the responsibility of the National Executive. Provinces are autonomous in legislating on a variety of matters within their constitutional powers and are using this legislative autonomy to engage in international relations with nearby states.

These findings do not have significant negative implications for the national and provincial governments or for South Africa's foreign policy. Limpopo is being

proactive in facilitating and accelerating the realisation of its foreign policy objectives since provinces engage with international activities that run parallel with the objectives and principles of national foreign policy. Provinces' engagement takes place in the area of low politics and does not threaten the position of the state in international relations and foreign policy making.

5.4 Recommendations

With the growing interest of provinces and SNGs in international relations, it is recommended that the right of provinces to engage in international relations through MoUs and other contracts with other SNGs abroad should be strengthened and recognised in the Constitution, with national government continuing to have full rights to conclude treaties. However, provinces should be consulted during treaty negotiations especially on issues that concern them specifically. National government has more capacity and resources than the provinces for concluding and implementation treaties, which naturally puts it in a leadership position in respect of concluding such treaties. Provinces must continue to support national government foreign policy objectives through their international relations activities and diplomacy; national government must assist provinces to develop the financial resources, administrative capacity and qualified and skilled staff to coordinate and implement their MoUs; and the NCOP must play a stronger role in representing the interests of provinces to the national government.

National government should grant provinces substantial powers in regulating and promoting local foreign economic relations and attracting and approving foreign investment projects locally while national government retains its authority over foreign policy. For this to be achieved the functions and powers of provinces would need to be reformed or re-evaluated and national government would have to make it a matter of policy to support sub-state diplomacy.

A further recommendation is that a strong and effective intergovernmental relations mechanism should be established to improve the relationship between the national government and provinces with regard to international relations activities and foreign policy making. Regardless of the increased activity of provinces in international relations, the national government retains its authority over foreign policy. National

government should constitutionalise the engagement of provinces in international relations through MoUs and twinning agreements and also increase their budget in this regard in order to address their socio-economic conditions. It is possible for the national government to retain its authority over foreign policy and for provinces to engage in international relations and foreign policy making process simultaneously

In the case of Limpopo, the IRU should have an implementation, monitoring and evaluation plan for the MoUs signed which identifies the means and structural mechanisms to realise the objectives of the MoUs. Implementation should be driven by annual, medium and long-term targets derived from the various stakeholders, and through partnerships steered and guided by the Premier's Office. Appropriate systems and institutional arrangements to assess performance against set targets, objectives and strategies should be set by all parties participating in an MoU.

The IRU should take responsibility for coordination and monitoring implementation and addressing blockages in the system. Appropriate and relevant technical support structures as well as technical capability, supported and led by decision-makers, are crucial to the coordination and implementation of MoUs. The resources and actions necessary to implement them must be prioritised and the necessary implementation actions and steps put in place. The various spheres within provinces involved in the MoU need to align their strategic programmes and co-ordinate resource allocation in order to translate agreements into firm commitments.

There is also a need to improve the popularizing and marketing of the IRU. It is important to develop a communication strategy that will clearly articulate its role to departments and public entities. This will inform stakeholders about the role of the IRU in the conduct of international relations; contribute towards South Africa's foreign policy implementation; and assist to improve the role of the IRU.

5.5 Limitations and delimitations of research

This study has a few limitations. Firstly, the major obstacle that was encountered in this research study was that the progress and outcomes of MoU's available were not up to date as activities are not registered regularly. However, this limitation does not affect the results and interpretation of the study findings. Secondly, this study is a

case study only focusing on the Limpopo province and did not include an analysis of the other eight provinces international relations activities so it was not an in-depth study of all the provinces in South Africa. Thirdly, the time frame of the case study is from 2000-2010 and focused on the MoU's signed in that period. It is assumed that there has been progress with plans and outcomes of MoU's since 2010, which then warrants for further research from 2010 to 2013. Finally, there is little literature on the sub-state diplomacy of Limpopo to form a background to the study.

5.6 Future research directions

There is limited scholarship on SNGs in Africa and South Africa, with the study of sub-state diplomacy largely focused on Western and Asian countries. A case study approach was employed in conducting this study. Case studies are criticised for providing little basis for scientific generalisation since they use a small number of subjects and some are conducted with only one subject. A potentially rewarding future research directions based on the findings of this dissertation would be a continued study of the international relations activities of SNGs in South Africa and in other African countries in order to offset the geographical imbalance in the current literature and to develop theories that explain the development of sub-state diplomacy, especially in African countries by employing other theories that have been ignored including African theories.

5.7 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to bridge the gap in the literature by indicating, through the Limpopo province as a case study, the theoretical development of sub-state diplomacy and why provinces engage in the phenomenon, and to highlight the link between provinces and national government with regard to international relations and foreign policy-making. In order to illustrate this, Limpopo Province was used as a case study. This study has shown that provinces are indeed increasingly engaging in international relations and foreign policy making through various strategies. Adjustments to the Constitution should be reconsidered as provinces such as Limpopo are assisting the national government by carrying out some of its international relations responsibilities.

ADDENDA

The following table list the international agreements and MoUs of the Limpopo province. The table also indicates areas of cooperation, agreement implementation, monitoring plans and progress.

Addendum A: India Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Department s | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| India-Punjab | 21/11/2002 | Economy, Trade, Science and technology, Agriculture, Tourism, Education, applied research. | Agriculture, Economic Dev, Education | MEC for Agriculture & HOD visited India as part of National delegation. The following areas of interest were agreed on, training of Agricultural Engineering students (in cooperatives management) | To explore opportunities in dairy cooperatives - model smallholder farmers. | Enterprise Development: SMMEs and Cooperatives Development Program me |
| Punjab | 21/11/2002 | Youth development, Sports and technology, Human resource development | OtP lead other sector departments | In order to revive our MoU with Punjab, the Premier identified areas of possible cooperation | Need to establish a technical committee to interact with the State of Punjab. | Regional Economic Development and Integration Program me |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | n as mining, agriculture, skills development and biodiversity. The Chief Minister expressed a desire to forge a partnership with the Province. A letter from the Premier has been sent through our High Commission in New Dehli, inviting the Chief Minister. | | |
| Punjab | 8-14/10/2006 | HRD | OtP | National Institute of Smart Governance (NISG) in Punjab, areas of possible collaboration were identified as defining and refining the customer needs of | Research, Monitoring and Evaluation Unit in the OtP get in touch with NISG. | Education and Skills development programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | good governance; enabling the customer to select the best skills in designing systems; and facilitating the establishment of the right partnerships in implementing initiatives. | | |
| Punjab | 8-14/10/2006 | HRD | Public Works | The Director General of the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRU) in Punjab outlined that the major focus of their programmes is on poverty eradication. Public Works identified the areas | Public Works to engage (NIRU) to be intensively involved in integrated infrastructure planning and the application of sustainable technologies in fields of construction and sanitation. | ICT and Innovation Enabled Industries |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | of collaboration in Geomatics and Technology transfer. | | |
| | 8-14/10/2006 | HRD | Education | As a basis to revive the MoU, the Directors of the Department of Technical Education for the Punjab State and the department of Education identified areas of collaboration - exchange programmes for FET College staff / lecturers; - capacity building programmes for the curriculum developers within the FET Colleges; - consultanc | Enter into exchange programme with College lecturers and FET College lecturers. | Education and Skills Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | y services provided to the LDoE; and - Research services undertaken in FET Colleges of Education for the Province. | | |
| | 8-14/10/2006 | HRD | Education | Director and Chairman of the Punjab College of Technical Education (PCTE) indicated their interest to offer a scholarship to Limpopo learners in computer studies. In this regard Limpopo Province will - seek to implement the provisions of the MoU on Education in full. | The Dept of Education to send a total of 12 learners next year to study Bachelor of Computer Applications on full scholarship ; and NB: PCTE is expected to provide consultancy services to the LDoE in areas of ICT and district connectivity. | Education and Skills Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Punjab | 8-14/10/2006 | Trade promotion and Human resource development | Agriculture and OtP | The Governor of Punjab, Ret Army General SF Rondrigues, emphasised the “green revolution”. He invited Limpopo to learn from them on areas such as maize cultivation, sugar cane, methanol production, citrus farming, etc. He emphasised that the major challenge in the agricultural sectors was agro-processing, marketing and retailing. | LAD interact with the Governor's Office on opportunities to be exploited in agro-processing; assisting Limpopo on harmonizing ways and strategies in the agricultural industry; training farmers in the acquisition of marketing and retailing skills. Consider exchange programmes. | The Green Economy and Creation of Green Jobs |
| | | | Agriculture | The MD of Punjab State Co-Operative Milk Producers Federation | The LDA to invite the PSCMPF when proper arrangements are in | Enterprise Development: SMMEs and Cooperat |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | LTD (PSCMPF), agreed on a possible collaboration with LDA; The areas of collaboration identified include amongst others organizing of farmers to form co-ops (together with LDA); provide training, including farmer exchange programmes and exchange of genetic material. | place, for them to interact with farmers in Limpopo to assess their understanding about a co-op. | ives Development Program me Agriculture and Rural Development Program me |
| | 8-14/10/2006 | HRD | Agriculture | The Vice-Chancellor of Punjab Agricultural University indicated their willingness to provide good support to farmers | It was agreed, in principle, that : LDA may send students to PAU to do a B.Sc. Agric. Engineering Degree; | Education and Skills Development Program me |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>through scientific research, training, and outreach programme (through farmers-fairs, TV, radio and print media. Punjab produces mostly wheat, rice, cotton and sugarcane. As a result of good technologies, yields of wheat and rice have increased from 1 ton / ha to 5 tons / ha over the past years.]</p> | <p>and Experts may be sent by PAU to Limpopo to train staff in Agricultural Engineering;</p> <p>NB: The details of the studies and farmer training arrangements are to be concluded with the Dean of Agric. Engineering.</p> <p>*</p> <p>Discussions were made with Sub-branch – HRD of LDA and agreement was reached on the need for students to be sent to PAU to do B.Sc. Agric. Engineering</p> | |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | | g. The possibility of experts from PAU coming to Limpopo to train staff was also welcomed. | |

(Source: OtPL, 2010: 1- 6).

Addendum B: France Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| France Rhone Alpes | 21/03/2002 | Economy, trade, science and technology, agriculture, tourism, human resource development | Agriculture, Economic dev. Education | None | Not clear at this stage as departments haven't interacted with counterparts. | |
| Rhone Alpes | 21/03/2002 | Trade promotion and human resource development | Agriculture | None | Not clear at this stage as departments haven't interacted with counterparts. | |
| Rhone Alpes | 21/03/2002 | Economic development and trade, technological cooperation, | Economic development | None | Not clear at this stage, as departments haven't | |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | trade relations, (machinery, chemicals, brewery and agro processing) | | | interacted with counterparts. | |
| | 23 rd Oct 2006, | Capacity Building: Women in Business facilitation and capacitating | OtP, Dedet, Women in Business | On the 23 rd Oct 2006, the MEC had a meeting with Ms Chantal Clairicia President of Francophone Black Business Owners to discuss possible linkages with Limpopo women in business for Joint Venture partnerships and skills transfer. | The department should invite the President (Ms Clairicia) to Limpopo to establish the relationship. | |
| | Jan 2007 | Economic Developmen t (in relation to Transportati on); Capacity Building; Exchange Programmes . | Roads and Transport; Education | Interaction with Ministry of transportation and roads started. Capacity building and exchange visits | Programmes targeted include: Implementation of the road infrastructure maintenance and transport related | Public infrastructure development Program me |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | planned. | aspects; Management of freeway traffic and law enforcement; and Management of safety on the roads. | |
| | 23 rd Oct 2006 | Tourism promotion | DEDET | In line with the skills gaps as identified in Limpopo, a meeting was held on the 23 rd Oct 2006 between Messrs. William Mackenzie (Director: ACMK Consulting Limited: Tourism Development) and Guy Madec representing a firm of training and skills transfer specialists | The department will link up with Mr. Guy Madec to discuss how best to address the skills gap in the province. | Education and Skills development Program me |
| | 23 rd Oct 2006 | Trade promotion | DEDET, TIL | During the SIAL exhibition | The establishment of a processing | Agriculture and Rural Develop |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | Smedsrud, the Managing Director of the Pepperoni Pickles Uganda Ltd, approached MEC Chabane to assist on developments of a processing plant in Limpopo with local farmers and provision of land for additional production of pepperoni. | plant in Limpopo is desired to expand the business operations of DEWINA Group, and that development will require additional 50 hectares of agricultural land, and can yield 250 jobs for the Limpopo Province. | ment Program me |
| | 21 November 2006 | Capacity Building | OtP, Agriculture and LEDET | MEC Magadzi and the Director General accompanied nine Limpopo business women to attend a bilateral seminar with the "Ladies First International | To invite the Technical team from Rhone-Alpes and ladies first international club in July 2007, the POA will be shared with our Rhone-Alpes counterpart | Green Economy and Creation of Green Jobs |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions /Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | al Club" in celebration of the 50 th anniversary of women's march to Union Buildings, the MEC verbally invited the President of Ladies First to Limpopo | ts. | |
| | 10/2010 | Trade promotion | TIL | The CEO of TIL led a delegation to Rhone Alpes with a view to resuscitate the MoU. Both parties agreed that Rhone Alpes would submit a draft partnership agreement in the field of agriculture, trade and economy to the RSA Embassy in Paris for translation, once the agreement | The Mission is expected to send through the draft agreement for inputs | Agriculture and Rural Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|------------------|------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| | | | | is translated it will be send to Limpopo for inputs and subsequently the Premier will visit Rhone Alpes to sign the MoU. | | |

(Source: OtPL, 2010: 6 – 9).

Addendum C: People's Republic of China (PRC) Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| PRC Anhui | 31/10/2000 | Economy, trade, science and technology, agriculture, tourism and mining | Agriculture, Economic dev. Education | Delegation led by the Premier visited the Provinces of Anhui and Henan (16 to 28 September 2005), the following were agreed on, establishment of Joint Implement | Agriculture, LEDET and Education, to work on a follow-up visit by the Chinese delegation | Green Economy and Creation of Green Jobs |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Are a of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | ation Committee (which would establish Sector-specific sub-committees Development, approval and implementation of projects and programs for co-operation | | |
| Anhui | 31/10/ 2000 | Economic development and trade, technological cooperation, trade relations (machinery, chemicals, brewery and agro processing) | Economic developmen t | None | The Department has not submitted their plans for the future | Green Economy and creation of green jobs |
| Anhui | 31/10/ 2000 | Resource planning, exploration and management of mining rights, collection and use of royalties, | Economic developmen t | None | The Department has not submitted their plans for the future | Environmental and Natural Resources Development Program me |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Are a of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | environment al protection, exploration and mine, saving and protection of resources. | | | | |
| Anhui | 09/2006 | Trade promotion, especially construction | Dedet | This group was visited during the Ministerial Mission to China September 2006. They have interests in Asia, Africa [Mozambique, Madagascar], Latin America, etc – 20 countries. Its core business is International Construction Contracting, real estate development, chain supermarkets, hotels and tourism. -The MEC explained the “boom” | R Bester met with Mr. Zhang in Shanghai during October/06 and invited the group to establish an office in Limpopo to investigate projects there. They have applied for “construction qualification certificate” in SA. Mr. Jiang showed keen interest in Limpopo and in a genuine desire to do business there. He requested Limpopo | Public infrastructure Investment Programme |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Are a of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | in the construction industry [Dam construction, Eskom's power stations, Industrial parks, Commercial centers, Stadiums and Hotel & convention facilities in anticipation of FIFA 2010 and beyond]. He reassured President Jiang of support and link to Tourism and other projects if they undertake to visit Limpopo and establish an office and a presence there. | Governme nt support with visas, immigration and work permits to facilitate the process as well as incentives and provision of safety and security. Their interest would be supermarket s and tourism projects. | |
| Anhui | 1-3/06/2010 | | Local Government and | The MEC of Local Governme | Local Governme nt and | Public infrastruct ure |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | Housing | nt visited Anhui Province during the Shanghai 2010 World EXPO. The MEC met with the Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development. An agreement was reached to establish a Building Construction Park and Cement Manufacturing Plant in Limpopo to cut down on housing costs and half the housing delivery backlog. | Housing to invite Anhui Department Housing and Urban-Rural Development as well as Anhui Province Development and Reform Commission in July 2011 immediately after the Local Government Elections. | Investment Program |
| Henan | 11-19/10/2010 | Trade and economy, youth development | OtP, Economic Development | The Premier met with the Deputy Governor of Henan with a view to elevate | LEDET is anticipated to arrange a targeted business to business delegation | Public Infrastructure Investment Program |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|------------------|---------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | the current letter of intent into the MoU with specific projects such as solar energy, wind power, coal mining, agro-processing as well as Research & Development. The MoU is expected to be signed in Limpopo in 2011. | to Henan in March 2010 and also arrange the Henan incoming mission in December 2010. Office of the Premier to invite the Governor of Henan to Limpopo in 2011 to sign the MoU. | Education and Skills Development Programme, Environmental and Natural Resource Development |
| Jilin | 08/2006 | Investment promotion | Dedet and Polokwane Municipality | The delegation came in March 2006 in preparation for a visit by the Vice Governor of Jilin Province in August 2006. | A letter of Intent was signed by the Mayor of Polokwane and the Vice Governor of Jilin City. The Mayor and the Premier were invited to visit Jilin. | Corporate Governance |
| PRC | 1/07/2 | Agricultural | Agriculture | None | The | ICT and |

| Countr y/provi nce | Date | Sector/Are a of Cooperatio n | Institutions /Departmen ts | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Jiangsu | 005 | economic dev, technology exchange, mushroom growing, fish farming, rabbit raising | | | Department has not submitted their plans for the future | Innovation Enabled Industries |
| China Coal Technology & Engineering Group (CCTEG) | 27-28/08/10 | Mining | Corridor Mining Resource (CMR), University of Limpopo and University of Venda | The delegation from China led by the Vice Chairman of CCTEG, Professor Tian Hui visited Limpopo in August 2010. The visit culminated in CCTEG signing three MoUs with CMR, UL, UNIVEN on skills development in clean coal technology , exchange programme etc | CCTEG will send the contact person and equally CMR, UL and Univen must also identify the contact persons | Education and Skills Development Programme |

Source: OtpL, 2010: 9 – 12).

Addendum D: Zimbabwe Memorandum of Understanding

| Countr y/ provinc e | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperatio n | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective (s) addresse d and future plans |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Matebel eland (North & South) and City of Bulawayo | 2000 to 2006 | Economic development, security, socio and cultural development, tourism, transport, infrastructure development, industry, HIV and AIDS, one stop border post | Economic dev., Agriculture, Sports, Arts and Culture, Roads and Transport, Health, Safety and Liaison | The Trans Limpopo SDI Implementation plan has been developed and approved by the Joint Provincial Council (JPC). Anchor and sectoral projects identified from both sides. Joint Executive committee (JEC) and Joint Technical Working Committee (JTWC) established to coordinate the implementation of the programme. 40 Zimbabweans were trained on | Cross border control for movement of livestock, disease control and livestock products-ongoing. Exchange of info. on prevalent diseases, Trans-frontier trade, livestock trading, marula industry, Transfer of agricultural technology – ongoing. Establish interim Secretariat to facilitate the implementation of the programme. TIL and indoor residual house spraying (for farm | Regional Economic Development and Integration Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|------------------|------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>spraying techniques, and handling of DDT, in terms of international standards by the Department of Health and Social Welfare.</p> <p>20 spray cans and 20 pumps have been respectively serviced and fixed. Spraying has commenced in the high-risk areas in Southern Zimbabwe.</p> <p>10,000 tons (30 000 of Fansidar tablets) worth R150,000 donated to Zimbabwe for malaria treatment</p> | <p>and private home dwellings). Its Zimbabwean counterpart ZIC to constitute the interim secretariat. Consult and confirm with departments on budget for agreed projects.</p> <p>Joint HIV/AIDS Campaigns (e.g. distributing condoms to truck-drivers).</p> <p>Develop and share common approach to the alleviation of HIV/AIDS.</p> <p>Cross-country projects like Malaria management</p> | |

(Source: OtPL, 2010: 12 - 14).

Addendum E: Mozambique Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Mozambique-Gaza province | 1998 | Economic development, Environmental affairs, security, social and cultural development | Economic dev, Health, Sports, Arts and Culture, Safety | Delegation from the Governor of Gaza's Office visited Limpopo (Feb 2006) – areas of mutual cooperation: Farming and Agro-processing, i.e. milk industry, cold meat processing, rice production, etc. Technical team mission went to Gaza on a working visit. | Cooperate in disease control, cross country disability projects and strengthen cross-country disability network). | Regional Economic Development Integration |
| | March 2006 | Health, Education, Agriculture, Trade and investment promotion | OtP and sector departments | The Premier and the Governor signed a work plan that would be a guiding document | Meeting of political principals scheduled for July 2007 – to receive an update on what has since | Regional Economic Development Integration |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | for the implementation of the MoU. The Governor of Gaza visited Limpopo on the 18-21 July 2007 for JTWC meeting. During the visit the Premier donated two computers to Aripachio NGO. | transpired | |
| | May 2006 | Trade and investment promotion | Dedet | Limpopo (TIL) attended the “Conference of Investors” in Mozambique – | Continued exchange of information | Regional Economic Development Integration |
| | November 2006 | Trade and investment promotion | Agriculture | Promotion of trade and marketing linkages of commodities: seek to facilitate linkages between | Support Private Sector to obtain Fresh produce from Mozambique for processing | Regional Economic Development Integration |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | agribusiness | in Limpopo - Maize for Progress milling, Cassava for Starch factory in Dendron. Other commodities | |
| | November 2006 | Trade and investment promotion | Agriculture | Facilitate linkages, Movement permits, Export Certificate of Farmer to Farmer cooperatives Trade & Exchange of Livestock genetic material for breeding purpose. | Facilitate Livestock Breeding material to Mozambique for restocking | Regional Economic Development Integration |
| | November 2006 | Trade and investment promotion | Agriculture | -MEC of Agriculture led sixty farmers to Gaza; their feeling is that there is great agricultural potential to invest in Gaza; however issues of land, | POA of Agriculture has been finalized; it includes promotion of trade and marketing linkages of commodities, access to livestock for restocking, | Regional Economic Development Integration Agriculture and Rural Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>equipment crossing the border, availability of banking institution to fund farmers should be addressed. Opportunities identified: Meat processing opportunities, Chicken farming, and Livestock farming. NAFU has offered to assist small-scale farmers and commercial farmers with technical skills.</p> <p>-Limpopo has donated eight ton of seedlings to Gaza and they continue to facilitate access to information</p> | <p>technology, skill and information.</p> <p>-Sectoral meetings are going very well, the Director of Agriculture will be meeting with Mr Manya and Director of Progress Milling to discuss provision of seeds and pesticides to Gaza</p> | |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | on the sources of other seeds and vegetative material. | | |
| | 2007 | Capacity building in the Ophthalmology and Surgical section. | Health | The Department of Health and Social development visited Gaza in November 2006 to finalize the PoA, i.e. to twin Polokwane Mankweng Hospital Complex (PMHC) with Xai-Xai provincial hospital; Perform cataract operations and clinical nursing exchange of specialty of nurses especially ICU training and exposure visits and practice. PMHC has just | Twin Mankweng Hospital with Xai-Xai Provincial Hospital. -The Premier has indicated his wish to donate assistive devices to NGO as a gesture of goodwill. | Regional Economic Development Integration Health Care Development Program me |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>returned from their successful mission in Gaza where they have laid foundation for cataract operations mission in June.</p> <p>The Governor of Gaza visited Limpopo on the 18-21 July 2007 for JTWC meeting.</p> <p>During the visit the Premier donated 16 Wheel-Chairs to Aripachio NGO.</p> | | |
| | 2006 | Trade and investment promotion | LEDET | <p>TIL and CPI held a business seminar in November 2006, to mark the one year anniversary of the existence of the Agreement and to</p> | <p>Establish farming opportunities in Gaza.</p> | Regional Economic Development Integration |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | expose Limpopo farmers to agricultural opportunities in Gaza. | | |
| | 2006 | Shared infrastructural development | Roads and Transport | Roads and Transport infrastructure development and management. The 20 km un-tarred road from within the borders of South Africa will be tarred in consultation with RAL or alternatively DORT can make it a project and prioritize it in its 2008 budget. The Masingire via Griyonde will be tarred with the assistance of the | Development of the Weigh bridge along the Maputo Corridor. Feasibility study of the present infrastructure for rail is being conducted. | Regional Economic Development Integration Public Infrastructure investment Program me |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | Mozambican Dept. of Public Works as funding has been a problem. Traffic Station completed and handed to district | | |
| | | | Education/Sports Arts and Culture and Transport | Sectorial meetings are not taking place and the PoA has not been finalized for the three Departments. | Future plans were not submitted. | Regional Economic Development Integration |

(Source: OtPL, 2010: 14 - 17).

Addendum F: Cuba Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Cuba Holguin | 2006 | Education, Health, culture and sports, tourism and trade | Economic dev, Health, Sports, Arts and Culture | The South African Ambassador to Cuba invited the Premier to visit Holguin with the main purpose to resuscitate the MoU. | The visit was supposed to take place in December 2010. The mission has been informed and they are working on the Premier's Programme | Health Care Development programme Education and Skills Development Program me |
|-----------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

(Source: OtPL, 2010: 17).

Addendum G: Regional Marche (Italy) Memorandum of Understanding

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institutions / Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGDP objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|------------------------|------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Italy Region Marche | 2008 | Education, Health, culture and sports, tourism and trade | Economic dev, Health, Sports, Arts and Culture | The MoU has been dormant since signing. The South African Ambassador to Italy visited Limpopo in 2009; however, little progress has been registered. | | The Green Economy and Creation of green jobs |

Addendum H: Countries Collaborating with OtPL without an MoU

The following table indicates countries with which the OtPL is collaborating in different areas but with no MoU in place.

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objective(s) addressed and future plans |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| India Andhra Pradesh India | 8- 14/10/ 2006 | Capacity Building on Technological Transport Information and Communication Technology | Roads and Transport And Education | Discussions planned on ITC infrastructure; Capacity building and exchange visits; etc | Roads and Terminal connection with municipalities. Management of non-motorized transport. Continued interactions with ministry of transportation and roads. Upgrading the Technological infrastructure in the Department of Roads Transport | Public Infrastructure Investment Programme |
| | | Capacity building, research provision, monitoring and evaluation | Education and Agriculture | The Director General of the National Institute of Rural Development (NIRU) based in Andhra Pradesh | Explore the possibility of exchange programmes with the NIRU and Province, in | Education and Skills Development Programme Enterprise |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | India and the department of Education, agreed to explore possibilities of embarking on joint research projects for the accentuation of rural development and poverty alleviation. Explore the possibility of joint programme evaluation activities in SMME development activities in the field of agriculture. | particular, FET College lecturers and Agricultural officers. | Development: SMME S and Cooperatives Development Programme |
| Andhra Pradesh India | 8-14/10/2006 | ICT | PGITO | TCS in a partnership with MMC strategic information systems developed plans for the Departments of Agriculture | PGITO, to explore the state-wide M & E system which monitors 20 000 projects daily in Andhra | ICT and Innovation Enabled Industries |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>in 2005, of Sports, Arts and Culture in 2006, and they are currently busy developing a strategic information systems plan for the Dept of Safety, Security and Liaison.</p> <p>- Satyam is currently busy with the development of strategic information systems plans, one for each of the five parastatals of Limpopo, namely, Trade and Investments Limpopo (TIL), Limpopo Parks and Tourism Board (LPTB), Limpopo Manufacturing Advice Centre</p> | <p>Pradesh India.</p> | |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | (LiMAC), LimDev, Limpopo Business Support Agency (LIBSA) and Limpopo Casino and Gambling Board (LGB). | | |
| Andhra Pradesh India | 05/02/2007-21/04/2007 | Human Resource Development | DEDET, DLGH, LDA, RR | Twelve young graduates from Limpopo went to Andhra Pradesh India in June 2006 for training for 12 months as software engineers by Satyam - The following officials went for CIO training in Andhra Pradesh India from 05/02/07-21/04/07: -Mr Ghoor-DEDET -Mr C.Rathogwa | To check if Satyam is still offering training to Limpopo officials | Education and Skills Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | -DPLGH -Mr M.Chauke-LDA -Mr R Chuene Roads and Trans | | |
| New Dehli | 11/10/2006 | Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), Mr Tarun Das, Chief Mentor. | OtP | The CII indicated its willingness to share and provide training opportunities in the Province. The CII agreed to partner with the province in the fields of environment, quality, manufacturing, logistics, etc. | The Premier extended an invitation to Mr Tarun Das, to visit Limpopo. To send a formal invitation to Mr Tarun Das through Dr Ali Wahai, the Chief of Planning Commission. | Education and Skills development Programme |
| | 11/10/2006 | Coordination of research and technology development in India; works with research councils, including India Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) with | Agriculture | - On the sidelines of the India-Africa Conclave Project, the National Research Development Corporation (NRDC) of India is playing a | It was agreed "in principle" that NRDC will be involved in bio-diesel processing in Limpopo; Exploring the possibility of signing | ICT and Innovation Enabled industries |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| | | 60 commodity-focussed institutes; most technologies in India are developed under the NRDC. | | major role. - NRDC works with research councils, including India Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) with 60 commodity-focussed institutes; most technologies in India are developed under the NRDC. LDA and NRDC are in the process of concluding a MoU in this regard. | an MOU between LDA and NRDC. (The envisaged MOU to include technology transfer on, but not limited to Irrigation water and Fertility Management, Mechanization, Crop and Animal Production, Agro-processing and Value Adding). | |
| | 11/10/2006 | Trade Promotion and Investment | DEDET | Visa Power Ltd is a company involved in the coal and energy industry, manufacturing steel at its own plants (requiring Ferro-chrome). | Visa Power Ltd, showed a keen interest in the Sekoko Coal Resources deposits in the Soutpansberg and Waterberg regions. | Environmental and Natural Resource Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
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| | | | | The company is looking to procure cooking coal with low ash, low sulfur and high volatility. | Visa Power Ltd was urged to visit Limpopo to hold discussions with Sekoko. | |
| | 11/10/2006 | Trade Promotion and Investment | LEDET(TIL) | Mr Rajiv Bahadur, Snr Executive and Director of Gem Granites, indicated that his company mines and processes granite and has other interests in the textile spinning and weaving plants. It exports to the US, EU and parts of Asia. Mr Bahadur was persuaded to visit Limpopo, in view of the granite deposits in Mopani | Gen Granite needs to source/mine black granite. But a beneficiation plant in Limpopo would need to be able to process a variety of colours and types, for both the RSA market and international. Their company will be registered in Limpopo in J-70% GEM AND 30% LOCAL. GEM will do quarrying, | Environmental and Natural Resources Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | District, where Katlego Holdings holds prospecting permits. Mr Bahadur accepted the invitation and VISITED Limpopo in November 2006 with his Geologist and quarry Manager. They visited five sites even Katlego Mineral in Giyani. | beneficiation and international marketing .Mr R.Bester and Mr D.Hlabany ago visited INDIA on 10/02/07 upon invitation from GEM GRANITE S in Chennai and the project is finalized and awaiting implementation by TIL project team. | |
| | 11/10/2006 | Agro processing | LEDET(TIL) | Forsberg Aristech (India) PVT, LTD. Forsberg Agriculture Company deals with agro-processing, especially bio – diesel from different crops; | The Executive Director, 1 Engineer and 1 Technologist to visit Limpopo during 1 st quarter of 2007 to study our environment & develop | Agriculture and Rural development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | installs processing plants of different capacities – from individual farm units to big projects units. Forsberg and LDA are in the process of concluding a MoU. | detailed plan of intervention; Pursue discussions on a possible Partnership to deal with Supply & Installation of Processing Plants at Tompi Seleka; including training operators, provide technical know-how and training to entrepreneurs; and Consideration is being given to a possible exposure (learning) visit to India (to both NRDC and Forsberg Agritech with | |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | | entrepreneurs & other major stakeholders from Limpopo. | |
| PRC Beijing | Ministerial mission of 09/2005 | -Trade promotion in facilitating official access of mangoes in China | DEDET and Agriculture | Requests have been forwarded to National Department of Agriculture and from them the request would be forwarded to the Chinese Government. -Presently, various agricultural products such as mangoes are accessing this market through the so-called "grey channel". Official access is now a priority so as to increase volumes to this market, as the "grey | The mission is in China -Held road shows (2006) in preparation for the mission in China for the official access of mangoes and avos in January 2007. -On 12-20/03/07 MEC Chabane led a business delegation to China in Beijing to facilitate access to the Chinese market. Continued lobbying at political level and engage major | The Green economy and creation of green jobs |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | channel" would not be available in future. | importers in China aiming to gain access of tropical fruits | |
| PRC Beijing | 08/2006 | Trade and investment promotion | DEDET | TIL hosted Luanhe International Investment Development Holding Company from the PRC. The President, Vice President and Project | Follow up meetings with Sabrina Consortium were held at TIL offices in Polokwane . - Luanhe is now waiting for | Environmental and Natural resources Development Programme |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | <p>Director of the company met with the MEC for LEDET and they also attended the “Africa Celebration Gala Dinner” where they had an opportunity to network with local businesses.</p> <p>-They had one-on-one meetings with local BEE business persons with mining interests, such as Abrina Pty Limited, Nkgapo Investments Pty Limited, Zet M mining Resources, ASA Metals and also conducted site visits to Dilokong mining Corridor</p> | <p>information regarding a gold mining project from Sabrina.</p> <p>- Luanhe has been advised that they need to submit their intention to invest in prospecting prior to information being made available.</p> <p>-A meeting has been arranged with them during the March/07 Ministerial Mission with MEC Chabane. They are opening an office in Polokwane soon.</p> | |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | where they toured ASA Metals Chrome mine at Greater Sekhukhune District Municipality, Participating in this mission was the national - The President of Luanhe International Investment Development Holding Company signed a Confidentially Agreement with Abrina Consortium of Limpopo whereby the two parties agreed to collaborate and exchange information in pursuance of potential projects in the mining sector | | |
| | 3- | Trade | DEDET | Limpopo | Exhibitions | The |

| Country/province | Date | Sector/Area of Cooperation | Institution/s/Departments | Progress to date | Future plans (programs and projects) | LEGD P objecti ve(s) addressed and future plans |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| | 13/09/2006 | promotion LEDET | | was showcased at CIFIT in Xiamen during business seminar in Shanghai and Hong Kong. | were done on projects in the Province | Green economy and creation of green jobs |

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