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South Africa And The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM): Confronting The New Global Challenges

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Masters of Arts

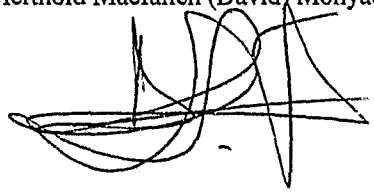
Johannesburg

Declaration:

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts by course-work in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

...17th..... .day of...November, 1999.

Merthold Macfallen (David) Monyae



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Dedication

To my dear parents ...with love.

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Introduction

The nature and purposes of the post-apartheid South African foreign policy have become matters of intense debate and great confusion. This primarily emanates from the political reality of contemporary South Africa and the new global settings in general. The end of the cold war and apartheid provided an opportunity for foreign policy-makers and academics to re-assess South Africa's relations with the rest of the world. These developments raised questions for the democratic government. Where do such changes leave the new South Africa, and more importantly which foreign policy strategies serve it best? As a middle-range power, South Africa joined hands with other like-minded states in embracing multilateral mechanisms as tools of foreign policy.

At the centre of such assessments, various intriguing questions emerge. First, which countries and international organisations are of strategic importance for the furtherance of South African foreign policy objectives and interests in the global arena? Second, how can South Africa contribute positively to the development of peace, economic prosperity, and a human rights culture in an increasingly global setting, where the behaviour of states often hinders the enjoyment of these liberties by people? For many within South Africa's post-1994 foreign policy establishment, the struggle against apartheid is in many ways the fundamental basis for a human rights culture that should guide the country's foreign relations. The prestige South Africa's first black president, Nelson Mandela enjoyed, coupled with one of most liberal constitutions in the world, raised high expectations for the positive role a democratic South Africa could play in the world.

A 1993 article in *Foreign Affairs,* written by Nelson Mandela, embraced the positive image of a South African foreign policy rooted in human rights[1]. This set the tone for the democratic South Africa's foreign policy goals and priorities. The African National Congress (ANC) issued a foreign policy discussion document entitled *'Foreign Policy Perspectives in a democratic South Africa'.* A clear trend emerged in Nelson Mandela's and the ANC's policy statements, as to what were the crucial issues and areas of focus for the new government.

Three years later, in 1996, the ANC government revisited the question of foreign policy. The foreign policy discussion document that defined and spelled out clearly South Africa's foreign policy was open to public scrutiny. In contrast, the apartheid regime's foreign policy that was highly secretive shaped by an overriding goal: safeguarding the material gains and interests of a white minority. Since 1994, discussion about foreign policy has also included important themes previously neglected in South Africa, such as the North-South relations, human rights, migration and refugees, nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control, and the environment. These all featured prominently in the 1996 policy review document.

Although the document evoked widespread criticism in the media and academic circles, it set the tone and direction that South Africa subsequently followed. Those who drew up this foreign policy document were motivated by various considerations. The normative questions in particular were considered a major driving force behind some of these foreign policy elite. In essence, the foreign policy discussion document was a reaction to, and a repudiation of, the apartheid history of South Africa. Whereas the apartheid regime designed a foreign policy to safeguard the security of a white minority less than 15 per cent of the total

[1] Mandela, N, (1993) "South Africa's Future Foreign Policy", **Foreign Affairs** 72 (5): 86-97.

population of the country, the new foreign policy seeks to advance the interest of all South Africans. The apartheid regime also engaged in the destabilization of its neighboring states in Southern Africa, destroying their infrastructure, environment, and causing much suffering in the lives of people. It is a history that the new government tries to redress through regional institutional mechanisms such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The making of foreign policy remains a daunting task, especially in a young democracy such as South Africa. The negotiated transition in South Africa brought greater challenges for South Africa. Because the African National Congress (ANC) lacked the experience of governance, the implementation of foreign policy was prolonged. South Africa's foreign policy, therefore, was made on an ad hoc basis, especially within the office of the President Nelson Mandela, and his Deputy, Thabo Mbeki. According to Jeffrey Herbst, an expert on South African foreign policy, "South Africa is becoming a normal country: it is now moving away from its 'constitutional moment' and the government is increasingly focusing on the mundane, but critical, issues of how to promote economic growth and restore order".[2] The greatest challenge has always been how to define and put into practice a foreign policy that can be easily understood internally and externally. South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) confronted the task of formulating a foreign policy, which would prioritize and serve the need of the democratic South Africa to the outside world.

The foreign policy discussion document set the pace for democratic, open and consultative channels, which members of the general public could participate in.

[2] Herbst, J. "South Africa" Robert Chase, Emily Hill, & Paul Kennedy, (ed). **The Pivotal States: A New Framework for U.S. Policy In The Developing World**, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1999, p, 144

The most remarkable attribute of the foreign policy discussion document was the endorsement of peace, democracy, and human rights as key driving principles for the young democratic state. It vigorously expressed the need to move to a 'de-ideologized' and 'universalized' foreign policy, making human rights the central guiding principle or 'cornerstone' of South African foreign policy[3].

In light of the many other pressures facing the government, especially the need to redress past inequalities, to promote economic growth, and preserve law and order, those responsible for the country's foreign policy, face enormous challenges. One such challenge is to reconcile the burgeoning foreign policy goals with the ever-shrinking resources available to achieve these novel goals. The big question within the foreign policy establishment today is therefore, how to devise a foreign policy strategy that yields maximum goals at a minimum cost.

While all other sectors of the government apparatus began transforming, the Department of Foreign Affairs was among last to undergo change. The promotion of the highly talented and widely respected, Jackie Selebi in 1996 to Director-General of Foreign Affairs was seen as a clear signal of much-needed change in the ministry. Selebi's experience and skills acquired as an ANC's diplomat in exile, and the new government's representative to Geneva, elevated the ministry that was previously seen to be lagging behind others as South Africa enters the new millennium. His first major task as the Director-General of Foreign Affairs was to call a 10-day strategic planning retreat a meeting between all of South Africa's ambassadors and representatives from all levels of staff from the department. A document entitled *Transformation process, strategic planning and core business of the DFA*, which boosted the morale in the department.

[3] *Opcit, Nelson Mandela.*

At the *Head of Missions Conference* in December of 1998 the main objectives was to outline the content and parameters of South Africa's foreign policy interests and priorities. The conference defined South Africa's mission as the effective promotion of South Africa's national interests and values abroad. According to DFA's document formulated at the conference, the mission will be to "enhance South Africa's capability to ensure the sovereignty and security, and to promote the policies aimed at furthering the *African Renaissance*, the creation of wealth, and the improvement of the quality of life of all its citizens."[4] In addition, the conference's other objective was to bring unity, boost, and gear the amalgamated personnel from three different backgrounds, the liberation movements, apartheid regime, and the former Bantustans for the task at hand. The conference categorically put a stamp of stability on South Africa's external policies that tended or appeared contradictory and haphazard.

The other task of the *Head of Missions Conference* conveyed by the DFA was to establish proper channels of communication among all relevant state structures or 'line-functions' as they are commonly known, concerned with the country's foreign relations. The conference document entitled "Thematic Reviews: Strategic Planning", spelled out clearly how South Africa's foreign department will go about implementing the country's foreign policy. It assessed the post-cold war, post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy and suggested strategies of selecting and setting foreign policy priorities regarding the manner in which the country will engage the rest of the world.

While maintaining and strengthening the traditional bilateral ties with major industrialized countries in the world, the DFA concretized how South Africa will practically engage its foreign policy both bilaterally and multilaterally. What

[4] Department of Foreign Affairs. Draft Thematic Review, Pretoria, 1999, p, 1

emerged from this conference was the demarcation of the world's regions or continents with clearly defined agenda for each region. More emphasis was placed on countries, regions and multilateral forums that are compatible with South Africa's foreign policy aims. The main goal of grouping countries and multilateral forums according to their importance for South Africa's foreign policy is to maintain the country's strategic position in the world. It also enhances South Africa's ability to achieve two most central foreign policy goals, meaning creation of wealth and security.

Unsurprisingly, the Head of Mission conference's review of South Africa's foreign policy suggests that, under a new policy of 'directed multilateralism', South Africa would attempt to target its multilateral interests based on the effectiveness and importance of a particular multilateral forum. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was singled out as meriting a more important place in South Africa's foreign policy. The general task of this thesis is not to probe South Africa's foreign policy, but to study the multilateral aspect of it. This study is also limited only to NAM, a state-based multilateral forum that South Africa chairs until 2001.South Africa, the thesis will argue, should use the goodwill flowing from the international community to influence NAM. Due to NAM's size, its history and political, economical diverseness, the role South Africa as the chair can play is limited. But NAM's platform should be used to seek 'global consensus' on transformation of international institution of global governance. Hence for South Africa, NAM leadership will be an opportunity to meet some of its multilateral diplomatic goals.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND

1.1 Defining Multilateralism

It's extremely difficult to define nonalignment as a concept, without relating it to the concept of multilateraiism in international relations. At its core, multilateralism refers to coordinating relations among three or more states in accordance with certain principles.[5] According to Cox and Sinclair, multilateralism refers to states, if one follows the historical and diplomatic usage of the term[6]. For the purpose of this thesis, multilateralism is used only when referring to state-based relations, though the concept increasingly has been expanded to include non-state actors in a world characterized by the phenomena of globalization.

1.2 Nonalignment and its historical origin

The concept nonalignment can be traced as far back as in the era of Greek City states[7]. The term has been used prior the formation of nation-states by the signing of the Westphalia Treaty in 1648. Literally the concept nonalignment simply means neutrality, non-involvement or being free from any given constrains. The term has been in usage throughout the history of international relations. The most prominent application of the concept nonalignment was in the post Second World War era. The newly independent states formulated nonaligned foreign policy as an attempt to resist being incorporated within a bipolar world order, characterized by a Cold War.

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[5] Ruggie, J.G., "Multilateralism: the anatomy of an Institution", In **International Organization** Vol. 46, No. 3, 1992, p, 568.
[6] 15Cox, R.W., & Sinclair, T.J., **Approaches to World Order**, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p, 495.
[7] 9Jackson, Opcit, p5-6

When formerly colonial territories of Asia and Africa attained political independence in the 1950s and 1960s, a bond or group consciousness began to develop among these countries. It became a bond strengthened by a common experience of colonialism, and the desire to be independent nation-states within international relations. This idea of securing an independent foreign policy from the superpowers included a wide range of other issues that these countries would use as a common voice to raise issues with the rich nations of the North. Given this scenario, the concept nonalignment evolved overtime and lost its original meaning.

1.3 Theoretical backdrop of the NAM

Non-Aligned Movement is a state based multilateral body. Robert W. Cox and Timothy J. Sinclair's book *Approaches to World Order (Cambridge University Press, 1996)* was useful in this research. The 'middle-power' concept is a useful analytical tool with which to gauge South Africa's prominent leadership position in a multilateral forum, such as the Non-Aligned Movement.

The term is derived from the inter-state transitional system. In this case, only relationships involving diplomatic channels or inter-state organizations are referred to as 'multilateralism'. The emergence of globalization defines primarily the way in which Multinational Corporations (MNCs) operate across national boundaries. The meaning of multilateralism has rapidly expanded to accommodate new non-state actors in the international relations. Cox and Sinclair address three important theories to explain multilateralism: realism, liberal institutionalism, and world-system structuralism.

1.3.1 Realism

Realism has been regarded as the most influential theory in the study of International Relations. Realists oppose what they call 'utopian liberal internationalism' and the 'moralism' that ignores realities of power. Nation-states as they are known today are perceived by realists to be the most desirable form of organization. They take a rather dim view of international organizations, as Stanley Hoffman argues, *the role of international organization or any interstate formation such as NAM, whether regional or global, was largely irrelevant. International relations therefore, is about the struggle about power in a world where 'international agencies can perform only modest service*[8]. The world is anarchical, and there is no world government to defend the interest of sovereign state but they owe it to themselves to protect their sovereignty.

Realism as a theory stems from the writings of Thucydides from Ancient Greece. Other prominent fathers of this school are Niccolo Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. In the post-Second World War global setting, realism became the main tool of analysis of a world defined by rivalry between East-West countries. Hans Morgenthau and E.H. Carr and Kenneth Waltz elevated the theory to greater heights. Carr, for example, argues that the main actors on in the international arena are states, and their main motivation is the pursuit of power.[9]

The movement NAM came into existence when the world was threatened by the tremendous build-up of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the superpowers. The elimination of nuclear weapons and establishment of peace

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[8] Fawcett, L. & Hurrell, A. Ed Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organisation and International Order, Oxford University Press, 1995, p, 12-12.

[9] Burchill, S, "Realism and Neo-realism" in Theories Of International Relations (ed) Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, St. Martin Press, New York, 1996. The school views the state as the principle actor in international relations. States have no higher authority above them.

featured highly alongside other pressing priorities in the movement. Moral questions occupied a special place within NAM's global agenda. These included the question of equality and fairness in trade. However, contrary to the picture painted by its various agendas, NAM is thorough realist multilateral body. Its main aim was to strengthen and consolidate the power of fragile states in a world defined by the hegemony of USSR and U.S. Even after the end of the Cold War, NAM has maintained its state-centric position.

The collection of newly independent sovereign states to counter any attempts at eroding their hard-won freedom during the Cold War follows the pattern of realist thinking. The language used in drafting NAM principles is the language of the realist school. NAM as a movement strongly believes that nation-states are the supreme actors in international relations. Hence, as the realist school purports, no space has been left for the non-governmental authorities and international markets to play a constructive role within NAM.[10]

As the thesis will argue, the reliance on realism became one of the shortcomings of the movement. This will be demonstrated by the failure of the movement to deal with the post-Cold War conflicts that are mostly within states. The whole idea of absolute respect for the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state questions NAM's role. In most instances NAM carries a political baggage of keeping silent when a member state violates the fundamental human rights of its people. This has resulted in the formation of what some scholars see as a NAM exclusive 'statesmen club' that does not involve the governed from participating in finding solutions that affect them on the ground.

[10] Ibid, p, 78.

1.3.2 Liberal Institutionalism

The foundations of contemporary liberal institutionalism were laid in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries. Writings of Kant, Rousseau, Cobden, Joseph Schumpter and Doyle are among the most important liberal scholars. Peace, in the eyes of liberals, is the normal state of affairs and it can be perpetual. Writers like Scott Burchill believe in the power of human reason and the capacity of human beings to realize their inner potential; they remain confident that the stain of war can be removed from human experience[11]. The formation of the League of Nations and subsequently the UN, was a direct result of liberal thinking. Collective security, instead of balance of power, was thought to be the best way to deter would-be aggressors in the international system. It was not until the end of the Second World War, and the formation of the United Nations, that serious study of multilateralism started.

The main concern of most theories was finding ways to strengthen international institutions, in order to prevent another world war. One of the leading theories has been liberal institutionalism. David Mitrany's functionalism integration became a leading school. The primary argument of functionalism-integration theory is that associating professions and technicians can work towards minimizing wars through joint projects.

In short, the school holds the view that international organizations that deal with technical issues are better equipped in meeting health, education, and welfare problems of in the world. International institutions within the UN that sprang up after the Second World War were influenced by such ideas. In the 1960s these

[11] Opcit, Scott Burchill

specialized agencies spread to developing countries. Due to the cold war these agencies found it extremely difficult to spread their projects globally.

The neo-functional integration theory, to a greater extent, filled the loopholes within the functionalism theory. Firstly, the neo-functionalist theory argued that the scope and authority of international institutions would be increased through a conscious strategy of leadership[12]. The proponents of this school abandoned the view that states are the main actors in the international system. Other relevant actors outside the state system were included, such as the elements of civil society: trade unions, industrial associations, consumer groups and other advocacy groups, as well as political parties.

In the Durban 12th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, bold moves were made to grant few members of the civil society as observers into the open deliberations of the movement. One of the criticisms leveled against NAM, is its continuous denial of civil society participation. It therefore, remains a challenge for the NAM chair, South Africa, to lead the movement by involving non-state actors on issues that affect the movement.

[12] Esman, M.J, & Telhami, S., (ed) **International Organizations and Ethnic Conflict**, Cornell University Press, London, 1995.

1.4 A historical ba ·kground of NAM

The changing nomenclature of the state-based multilateral body that came finally to be known as Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) reflected the revolutionary changes that had taken place in the post-Second World War era. The rise of nationalism in Afro-Asian colonies of the European powers triggered a chain of political independence granted to the oppressed people in these countries. As new states in the world system which had been previously dominated by European countries, faced common problems of nation building, development and a global order defined by the rivalry between the world's superpowers. The history of colonialism and others problems became the bond among Afro-Asian states in their endeavor to seek common solutions to their fragile new states in international relations.

The Bandung conference in April 1955 was one such meeting where 29 Afro-Asian states put in place strategies that would enable them to exercise an independent foreign policy from their former colonial masters and the superpowers. This meeting eventually culminated to what is today commonly known as the "The Bandung Spirit", that led to the formation of the NAM in Tito's Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1961[13]. It was the policy of developing countries to apply 'positive neutrality' in their foreign policy towards the East-West rivalry.

NAM became an international pressure group, which has been constituted by countries with diverse forms of government, culture, tradition and norms. The ability of the chair to keep together such a disparate group remains a challenge. It differs from other international organizations in many respects. First, NAM unlike the United Nations (UN) lacks a written constitution. It does not have contractual obligations, no laid-down rules or a Charter to guide it. Since its

[13]16 Jackson, R.L., The Non-Aligned The UN And The Superpowers, Praeger, New York, 1983.

formative years, NAM does not have a formal Secretariat. Over the years of its existence the Movement has had numerous principles, conventions, declarations and statements reacting to international events affecting it. All members of the NAM are expected to reach agreements through consensus mechanisms.

The five enduring principles of NAM are as follows: a) respect for territorial integrity, b) mutual non-aggression, c) non-interference in each other's internal affairs, d) sovereignty equality, and e) peaceful co-existence[14]. The freeing of people from the yoke of colonialism and apartheid in the Global South, was one of NAM's objectives. The Non-Aligned Movement on many occasions was thus used for good effects, especially in the struggle against colonialism, and apartheid in the Southern African sub-region. In so doing, NAM countries attempted to avoid being involved in the ideological battles between the East and West. Protecting their hard won independence and sovereignty informed these countries' policies. It was at a later stage in the 1970s, that the Movement increasingly shifted its focus to the North - South relation[15].

Nevertheless, the end of the Cold War and additionally, the failure of the movement to deal with the enormous political and economical ills faced by its members brought great dissatisfaction within NAM. Many people have questioned the relevance of the movement in the post Cold War period and the 21st century. In many cases the developed world did not respond positively to the concerns of the developing countries. The emerging process of globalization further threatened the poorly performing economies of the Global South.

[14] John Stremlau, The Star, Wednesday August 12 1998.
[15] Ibid, Jackson

To inject life into the movement, member states realized the importance of shifting the strategies used to attain sustainable development. Among the new strategies devised in the Jakarta Summit of 1992 was the implementation of a moderate approach in dealing with the North-South question. The Northern countries' grouping called the Group of 8 (G8), received a positive message from the then chair of NAM, Indonesia, calling for greater cooperation between the countries of the North and the South. A precedent was set, showing that it is possible to create a conducive environment for close cooperation between the developed countries and developing ones.

Henceforth, the 10th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement became a landmark in the history of the movement. There was a clear fundamental shift in the thinking within member states on various political and economical issues. I would argue that the shift to politics of moderation within NAM was caused by the following realities. First, regardless of many principles, declarations, and statements on the situation of the Less Developed Countries (LDC's), within the movement remained unchanged. Second, for NAM to survive as a political and philosophical umbrella body for the global South, it would have to deal seriously with its own internal political and economical problems.

While countries of the South were completely becoming independent from external colonization, some of the political leaders put in place new forms of oppression. Military dictatorship and autocratic form of governance became the order of the day in some of the member states within NAM. Third, the new thinking within NAM was to focus more intensely on the principles of democracy, good governance and respect for human rights. The movement encouraged states under military dictatorship or sit-tight autocratic leaders to embrace multi-partyism. Therefore, it is proper to conclude that the shift in political and

economical approaches within the Non-Aligned Movement was prompted by its need to be relevant in the changing world. It should also be borne in mind that NAM is not is empowered to prescribe solutions, rather it is a pressure group that seeks to advance the interest of developing countries in a world dominated by the rich and powerful countries of the North.[16]. This is done through close cooperation with the United Nations, and other technical multilateral forums such as the UNCTAD.

1.5 NAM Structure

NAM is not an international organization and therefore it has no secretariat, executive body or constitutions. The movement has a Joint Coordinating Bureau (JCB) at the United Nations in New York, which coordinates all of its activities, including a meeting once a month between all NAM countries' representatives at the UN. It also implements NAM decisions. Its decisions are taken at the summit level. Summits, irregular in the past, now take place every three years. In between the summits, foreign ministers meet and various other ministerial meetings take place on specific issues. When and if resolutions are made, members exercise their discretion and may later enter reservations for the record. The does not also enter into high technical trade negotiation with the developed countries within World Trade Organization (WTO), it is its counterpart United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) that handles that task. It is the chair's responsibility to be the spokesperson of the movement and also prepare a draft summit document in which member states contribute and thereafter adopt using the principle of consensus[17].

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[16] Minty, Abdul, A paper read on his behalf by Thuthukile Mazibuko-Sweyiya at the **African Institute of International Relations (SAIIA)** 10th of June 1998.

[17] 18 Lambrechts, K., "background document Non-Aligned Movement" **Foundation for Global Dialogue** (FGD), Jhb, 1998

The role of a chair is very crucial; it is the chair that represents NAM countries on all world events. The chair of NAM becomes the custodian for a period of three years. For the sake of continuity and consistency, the previous two chairs of the Movement work hand in hand with the upcoming chair. This group is called the Troika. The chair is not allowed to use its chairmanship to advance its own national interest. In most instances NAM works alongside the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Group of 77 and China. NAM, is therefore, the 'political and philosophical power-house' of the developing countries of the South?

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICA AND NAM

2.1 South Africa and the NAM: Forging a new relation

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the historical relationship between South Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement. Furthermore, it seeks to evaluate South Africa's leadership of the movement since its 12th summit in Durban in September 1998. As South Africa enters 21st century as the leader of the NAM, it will increasingly be judged not on the rhetorical speeches made during the summit and after, but rather on current achievements and future programmes put forward on behalf of NAM on the world stage.

When asked how can South Africa's relationship with NAM be characterized, Abdul Minty, Deputy Director-General of the DFA noted: "Although South Africa was formally admitted to the Non-Aligned Movement in May 1994, South Africa's commitment to non-alignment stretches back to the Afro-Asian conference held in 1955 in Bandung".[18] The movement took a decision to grant South Africa's liberation movement an observer status at the Bandung conference in 1955 and in Belgrade in 1961, when it was formerly established.[19]

The launch of the Non-Aligned Movement coincided with the new political developments initiated by the Apartheid government in South Africa. First was the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and subsequent declaration of South Africa as a Republic. Second were the isolation of the apartheid regime from multilateral forums, the United Nations agencies, the Commonwealth, and the application of limited sanctions against the regime. The question of Apartheid featured prominently on NAM's first summit, in Belgrade. As part of its mission, the

[18] Telephone interview of Mr. Minty by David Monyae, Wednesday 8 August 1999.
[19] Ibid

movement rendered material, political, and moral support to the people of South Africa in their struggle against Apartheid.

NAM became a useful platform for the liberation movement and other anti-apartheid activists to strengthen relations with various countries, especially African states, which constituted the largest representation within the movement. In joining NAM as a member state, South Africa identified itself with the interests and aspirations of developing countries and pay same solidarity that others selfishly rendered to the majority of South Africa during the colonial and apartheid era. It must be clearly pointed out that South Africa's membership of the movement and its assumed leadership was never an altruist act. But a move to strengthen its mediating and 'bridge-building' role in the North-South relation in the international relations.

2.2 South African foreign policy towards NAM

A strong sense of interconnectedness between domestic and foreign policies has been a hallmark of South African foreign policy towards NAM since the birth of the new democratic government in 1994. South Africa's foreign policy towards the movement has been influenced by internal and external factors. Though there is no clear written *Foreign Policy White Paper* regarding NAM, the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), since 1996 has been devising long and term strategic interests and priorities for South Africa.

Certain sets of principles or orientations emerged from the DFA's process of defining the country's foreign policy. These principles are essential to a comprehensive understanding of the country's foreign relations towards NAM. The first principle would be to advance the interests of developing countries to

overcome the shared heritage of colonialism. Since the establishment of the Republic in 1910, South Africa has been politically and to a greater extent economically separated from its African and generally Southern neighbors. South Africa became culturally linked to countries in the North because most of the white population perceived itself as belonging to a greater Anglo-Saxon community whose cultural center is Europe. Garth Shelton argues for instance that *South Africa's anticommunist stance in the East-West struggle, as well as its strategic interests position and raw material reserves makes the Republic an important element of the Western World*[20]. Emerging from that past, the 'Founding Fathers" of a democratic South Africa (Mandela and Mbeki) sought to dispel the Euro-centric image of South Africa as a European outpost in Africa. Thus, President Nelson Mandela argued that '*South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fell victim to the forces that brought ruin to its various parts. Overcoming the problems that bedevil the African continent and others within NAM, South Africa was destined to play a great role in the world*[21].

The ANC-NAM connection was strongly influenced by the ideological context of the ANC's foreign policy while in exile. As succinctly noted by Scot Thomas, a prominent observer of the ANC's politics and international relations, it is difficult to understand South Africa's foreign policy particularly towards the South without appreciation for the influence the struggle against apartheid left on the new South African diplomats within the DFA. Hence, a strong commitment to integrate South Africa with other developing countries and adherence to the concept of non-alignment was the primary goal of the new political elite in the post-apartheid government.

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[20] Shelton, G. United States - South African Relations: 1974 - 1979, MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1983, p, IV.
[21] Mandela, op cit., p. 89.

Thirdly, the seriousness with which the South African policymaking elite approaches NAM as a useful multilateral forum is related to the internal and external environment that informs its foreign relations. The legacy of institutionalized white rule has left behind a racial socio-economic disparity, which continues to haunt South Africa into the next millennium. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) painted a good picture of the daunting task that South Africa faces. In its 1996 document, the UNDP stated that: *'If white South Africa were a country on its own, its per capita income would be 24th in the world, next to Spain while if black South Africa on the other hand, were a separate country, its per capita income would rank 123rd globally, just above the Democratic Republic of the Congo.*[22]. South Africa therefore, constitute a developing country in terms the poor standard of living. It shares with the rest of the Southern countries a burden of foreign debt, alarming AIDS infected population and a poor education system.

Coupled to this, is the fact that though South Africa is possibly the most highly developed country in Africa, it is nonetheless, a small country with big needs and scarce resources, and it lacks the military and economic power to influence global events.[23] These internal and external realities call for action from the democratic government pursuing a foreign policy for South Africa. Diplomats from the Department of Foreign Affairs offer three rationales for South Africa's staunch support for NAM.

The simplest reason is the firm belief that there is strength in numbers. To effectively participate in an increasingly competitive international economic

[22] Mamdani, M. "There Can Be No African Renaissance without an Africa-focused Intelligentsia", (ed) Malegapuru William Makgoba, African Renaissance, Mafube/Tafelberg Publishers, 1999, p. 126.
[23] Stremlau, J. Business Day, Wednesday, August 18 1999.

system, dominated by the economic superpowers (e.g. the US and Japan) and powerful regional economic entities (e.g. the European Union and the North American Free Trade Association), South Africa must band together with the South, and therefore NAM, to safeguard their common interest and avoid marginalization in the global economy.

First, South Africa's policymakers argue that NAM's previous eleven summits raised the grave concern over the increasing number of inter-state and intra-state conflicts on the African continent.[24] South Africa's successful transition from apartheid to democracy gives it a better chance to use the NAM chairmanship to advance the democratization of the international system, through measures such as the United Nations reforms, advocated by General Secretary Kofi Annan.[25] Such an agenda, this thesis will argue, could place NAM right at the center of international affairs in the next millennium as a relevant multilateral body in the world politics. Influencing the transformation of the UN especially during its Millennium Assembly next year (2000), and beyond, should be South Africa's litmus test in its leadership of the developing countries.

Promoting a people-centered notion of security has been a major move of South Africa's foreign policy towards the Non-Aligned Movement. It will not be an easy task for South Africa to advance this idea among NAM countries which has been known for protecting state sovereignty in a Cold War era, with the heavy consequences of upholding state sovereign rights above human rights. Analyzing the role South Africa could play at the world stage, Professor John Stremlau said, *Nonetheless, for President Thabo Mbeki's foreign policy until 2001, as chair of NAM, must be increasingly to strive for holding NAM countries*

[24] Albdul Minty op cit telephone interview.
[25] Stremlau, J. Business Day, Wednesday, 18 August 1999.

accountable for good conduct in both domestic and foreign affairs.[26] This ultimately strengthens the NAM's noble cause as the champion of the weak and poor in international relations.

Second, though the thesis argues mainly that South Africa should concentrate its energies towards the advancement of NAM's political agenda, it is difficult to separate politics from economics. The idea of a South-South cooperation as a policy appears at all NAM gatherings since the Algeria summit in 1973. The marginalization of the developing countries, and especially those of the African continent, in global finance, trade, technological and telecommunication knowledge should be assessed with an aim to encourage economic regionalism as a practical solution to the ever increasing economic crisis among NAM countries. For South Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) should be the starting point for the promotion of a South-South cooperation, as advocated by the movement. South Africa's chairing of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) concurrently with its sister group NAM gives it an even greater coordination in presenting the interests of the Global South, and also the improvement of the North-South relations, which reached all-time lows in the 1980s.

For South Africa the major goal is to create wealth in order to overcome the racial disparities among its citizens. To achieve this however, it cannot develop in a vacuum, as a unilateral approach to development could stand as an obstacle to its domestic security. Therefore, while vigorously putting into place sound economic policies, such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), at home, South Africa should constantly engage its neighbors through SADC structures *to*

[26] Stremlau, J. "African Renaissance and International Relations", (ed) Malegapuru William Makgoba, African Renaissance, Mafube/Tafelberg Publishers, 1999, p.101.

broaden its internal goals. Hence a Southern African RDP was identified as the route to take to achieve one of the central objective of the post-Cold War NAM, stronger South-South cooperation. Therefore, South Africa's foreign policy towards NAM lies in its endeavors to ensure that its relationship to the rest of the world revolves around protecting individual civilians and improving their lives. Such a policy seeks to put the security of the people at the center, rather than focussing only on the security of territory or governments. Implicitly this policy recognizes that democracy, development, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, and sustainable development are as important to global peace as arms control and disarmament.

2.3 South Africa: Leading the Rebirth or Death of NAM?

The Non-Aligned Movement, like other multilateral bodies that emerged after the Second World War - a world characterized by the rivalry between the United States and the whole of the free world and the Soviet and its communist empire - faces an existential crisis at the end of the Cold War. The 1990s created new challenges for NAM in many ways. The threat of a nuclear Third World War (TWW) between the United States and Soviet Union disappeared, leaving the US as the 'lonely military superpower'[27] in the world. What was the need for the continuation of a nonalignment policy? Who are these countries nonaligned against? In all activities undertaken the Non-Aligned Movement since 1963, the leadership of the country which hosted the movement, guided it throughout the three years before the following summit. Though the introduction of a *Troika* has fundamentally transformed the manner in which the chair country handle the activities of the movement (from unilateral to more inclusive decision-making together with previous and future chairs), chairs still retain influence over the

[27] Huntington, S.P, "Lonely Superpower" Foreign Affairs, Winter, 1999

agenda and tone of NAM's role. The chair of NAM, in effect, becomes the spokesperson for member states in the world.

The success of NAM's chair in executing its activities depends on various factors, such as the ability of the chairing country to express NAM's position on issues within the UN and other major international organizations. When examining NAM's activities for the past three decades, one finds that the movement received great publicity and attention, particularly within the UN, whenever the chairing country played an active role within the diplomatic circles and showed strong negotiation skills. While South Africa attained a 'political miracle' and, endowed with a new leadership, prepared to enter into the new millennium upholding internationally recognized norms and values that respect human rights, political tolerance, and democracy, its global leadership remains untested. To what extend did the NAM's Durban summit present a platform for South Africa to prove its 'world moral leadership' role?

NAM played a role in the dismantling of four hundred years of colonialism and apartheid. It helped the promotion of a peaceful transition to independence and self-government among the developing countries, as the largest voting bloc within the powerless United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). NAM became largest platform the South African liberation organizations utilized to gain support from the international community, particularly the South. NAM's chairs from India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru to Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe raised the South African question within the UNGA. Its record on colonial problems has not been without blemishes. Some of the founding members of the movement such as Indonesia, embarked upon their own colonialist mission in the name nation building. The resulting East Timor political crisis is a case in point. There are many cases where NAM kept silent while its members violated human rights at home. The principle of non-intervention in sovereign or domestic affairs

allowed the movement to house some of the 20th century's worst dictators. This dichotomy was brought about by the movement's desire to broker peace among states while strengthening the Westphalia notion of sovereign states[28]. The dilemma that NAM is confronted with, with the collapse of communism and the Soviet Empire, and the subsequent closing of the 20th century, is the need to redefine its purpose and principles for the changing world.

Though NAM's 12th summit in Durban did not provide magic solutions to the political, economical, social and environmental problems faced by its members, the summit did nonetheless open an opportunity for its rebirth in which South Africa, as its midwife became the chair of the movement. There are valuable ideas within the rather long NAM communiqué from Durban that serves as the mandate to guide South Africa's leadership. NAM's non-binding nature and the principle of consensus reaching as the way to arrive at resolutions allows chairs a room to maneuver during the three year span of NAM's chairmanship.

The Durban summit transpired at a transition moment in South Africa's history. First, it was President Nelson Mandela's last major international event to host, as the leader of the country. Political power was increasingly in the hands of the Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. In his speech, he outlined NAM's agenda for the 21st century. Central to this, was the concept of African Renaissance, that would be used as an alternative to the negative impacts of globalisation in the developing countries.

The DFA's elite has entrenched the African Renaissance vision as a driving force within the modern South African foreign policy. This policy has great implications beyond the African continent, as it foresees an increasing role for African leaders

[28] Rozt, P. NAM's role in the international relations, unpublished draft paper, 1997.

to play on the international stage. Simply put: *African Renaissance conveys a positive Africa as a peaceful, democratic and market-oriented region that attracts foreign trade and investment, as well as the return of thousands of talented Africans and billions of flight capital now in safe havens abroad.*[29] Such a policy should serve as the vehicle for outreach to incorporate the NAM countries. The premises upon which the African Renaissance policy was predicated may be summarized by the pessimist image created in the West through the international media. These images depict Africa as a continent prone to wars, undemocratic, not conducive for investment, and corrupt.

What were the issues raised in NAM's 12th summit that South Africa should vigorously pursue in its short period of NAM leadership? In his annual address at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), the first post-apartheid minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Alfred Nzo, summed up issues that NAM raised that South Africa was mandated to pursue as its chair by the movement.

The minister alluded to the fact that the three post-cold war realities South Africa and the developing countries in general confront are: *First, the apparently untouchable direction of the twin process of globalization and liberalization; the dominance of the market and concomitant decrease in the sovereignty of states. Second, the apparent inability or unwillingness of some [leaders] to act to bring and end to political oppression in all its facets. Third, the institutions of global governance, central to the achievement of our aims, must be restructured and refocused as a matter of priority.*[30]

[29] Op cit John Stremlau
[30] Annual address by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo to the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), Johannesburg, 1 October 1998.

A central theme that has infused many of the debates around South Africa's leadership of NAM has been whether it should simply serve as an example to be emulated, or whether it should play a role of a crusader for a people-centered international relations. Undoubtedly, leading NAM has given South Africa an opportunity to emerge from its past as a pariah state to one that can be characterized by unprecedented internationalism and involvement in global affairs in the next millennium. Using skillful diplomacy, South Africa could help put the reform of UN right at the center of agendas of influential multilateral forums. Primarily, Thabo Mbeki was determined at the NAM summit in Durban to refashion South Africa's approach to international relations. Thabo Mbeki reminded world leaders gathered at this event that NAM needed in order to copy.

Since assuming NAM leadership in 1998, South Africa has become the barometer of how the movement intends confronting new global challenges of the next millennium. This close focus started with the manner in which South Africa handles conflicts on the African continent, a region that constitutes the largest membership of NAM. One of the world's worst genocide after the Second World War took place on African soil, in Rwanda 1994, a stark reminder of the urgent need for an effective UN and a culture of human rights.

The ineffectiveness of the UN, lack of resources and the general exercise of state sovereignty have often resulted in the gruesome abuse of human rights. The UN's general secretary, Kofi Annan, reminded African leaders at the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in Harare in June 1997 that: *The conflicts that have disfigured our continent have, all too often, been accompanied by massive human rights violations. I am aware of the fact that some view this concern as a luxury of the rich countries for which Africa is not ready...I find these thoughts truly demeaning of the yearning for human dignity that resides*

in every African heart...Human rights are African rights, and I call upon you to ensure that all Africans are able to fully enjoy them.[31]

The world's poorest people and weakest states and people are in Africa. Thirty-three of the forty countries labeled Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) in the world are in Africa, *whose total debt has been estimated to be US$300 billion.*[32] An effective leadership of NAM by South Africa at this juncture, particularly on restructuring and strengthening the United Nations meets most of its African Renaissance goals that currently preoccupies it. The NAM leadership should not be seen as far-removed from South Africa's most vital foreign priorities in southern Africa and Africa in general. The Non-Aligned Movement provides South Africa with an advantage and an opportunity to secure consensus with its fellow African countries and the South on how to solve problems that have bedeviled them since independence.

It is fair to state that South Africa successfully ran the NAM summit in 1998, but it is the bulk of the work that lies ahead that will ultimately determine its success. However, South Africa's leadership would be fairly judged on its ability and will to gather support for the transformation of the United Nations, the promotion a people-centered rights, and development within the movement and the African continent in particular. In summary, therefore, one can conclude that South Africa's turn to host the 12th NAM summit in Durban was a success. But as already stated the main task does not lie in hosting NAM, but in representing the movement at the world stage until 2001. Given the massive volume of issues raised by NAM countries during the three-day summit, South Africa's primary

[31] United Nations Press Release, SG/SM6245/Rev. 1, 2 June 1997.
[32] Garth le Pere, "The G8 debt relief initiative: tilting at windmills?" in Global Dialogue, Vol. 4.2 August 1999, p, 1.

task would be to skillfully select the more pressing and urgent issues and prioritize them in its short leadership period.

South Africa's transition to democracy represents the victory of some of NAM's founding principles, particularly the complete eradication of imperialism, colonialism, racism, and white minority rule in Africa. However, the manner in which these independent states treat their own subjects would enable the movement to be a relevant multilateral body in the 21st century. Such a task can only be successful if the UN transforms and endorses a new people-centered charter for the new millennium. South Africa's ability to raise NAM's position and also negotiate with other multilateral forums and countries would be the greatest challenge for its leadership. An equally important and urgent issue that was raised in Durban that needs South Africa's attention is the negative effect of globalization especially on developing countries. A region- based South-South cooperation, therefore, should be the right direction to take achieves NAM's goals and objectives set in Durban in 1998.

CHAPTER THREE: Managing Multilateral Diplomacy

3.1 Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) and NAM

The success of a country's foreign policy does not solely depend on its leader and few top officials but on the whole foreign policy establishment. Does South Africa have the needed skilled human resources within its Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA)? How capable is the DFA in advancing South Africa's leadership of NAM and generally the foreign policy that guide it? A historical analysis will be given to find out the DFA's capabilities to negotiate and strengthen NAM's mandate at the world stage. The development of skilled black South Africans and the dismantling of institutional racism embedded within most of South Africa's foreign policy constituency should be the primary focus of the government to achieve its broad foreign policy, particularly towards the developing countries.

From 1948 to 1994, the Department of Foreign Affairs' task was to defend South Africa's Apartheid policy internationally. Although South Africa has redeemed itself of its old pariah image, some disturbing remnants remain. This was reflected in government's efforts at bureaucratic shuffling, with the aim of balancing the current racial inequalities within its structure at home and missions abroad. Building a DFA that represents the demography of the country and aspirations of its people remains a challenge in South Africa's foreign policy establishment including the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that specialize in international relations.

From the 1960s, as the struggle against apartheid intensified, the DFA's role was diminished due to the military's increased intervention in matters of foreign policy. The use of military force was used as the main tool to achieve foreign policy objectives. The destabilization policy in Southern Africa, that has left the region

extremely poor, fully demonstrates the extent to which the DFA lost the practicalities of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.

In all government documents, the apartheid bureaucrats portrayed South Africa as an extension of Europe in Africa. Due to apartheid, other salient themes in the post-Second World War international affairs, such as the North-South relation, human rights, migration and refugees, nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament and arms control, and the environment, were overshadowed to an extent that they virtually non-existent in South African foreign relations[33]. Coupled with exclusions from playing a meaningful role on the world stage, the Foreign Service lost touch with the practice of multilateral diplomacy. The DFA viewed Cold War through the prism of Apartheid, and emphases global order at the expense of global justice. The remnant of an Apartheid bureaucracy, schooled in hard-realist, is a matter of concern especially when South Africa adopts a broad people-centered approach to its foreign policy. Coupled with the lack of highly skilled and trained diplomatic cadre from the previously disadvantaged communities, it strained South Africa's ability to utilize the goodwill flowing from the international community in its multilateral diplomacy.

Meanwhile, the ANC, as a liberation movement, acquired enormous diplomatic experience while in exile. Unlike many other liberation organizations in the world, the ANC boosted 28 diplomatic offices earmarked for the isolation of the Apartheid government. But as a non-state actor, the ANC did not enjoy the diplomatic status that sovereign states did within the international arena. The lack of diplomatic experience, especially in the field of technical skills needed in trade negotiations, has posed obstacles to achieving trade-initiated goals within the Foreign Service. First, it takes a long time to adapt to a new role and

[33]31Opcit, Murray Faure & Jan-Erik Lane (eds), p, 122.

environment, especially implementing policies that one previously rejected, such as the sale of arms. Second, the ANC government will have to rely on the foreign policy expertise of a bureaucracy that does not necessarily share the same political aims and aspirations. Given all the difficulties of integration process within the DFA, it would be inappropriate to expect South Africa's foreign policy in general to be coherent, well coordinated, and being the product of, as it is, a single 'rational actor' sitting in Pretoria. Notwithstanding traditions of political authoritarianism in Apartheid South Africa, the democratic regime inherited great many different interests, bureaucratic and otherwise, many having their own divergent or competing agendas. The reconciliation of these interests at the level of state, will continue to be incomplete and confusing, within South Africa's multilateral involvement such as NAM leadership.

In 1994, the DFA, like other departments, accommodated personnel from the NP government, the ANC, PAC and the TBVC Bantustans. The new DFA became a mixed basket filled with people from all walks of life and political persuasions. As a mixed basket with both good and bad fruits, the government's aim was to achieve national unity, meeting the requirements of the negotiated settlement reached at Kempton Park. The Department of Foreign Affairs became transparent and its duty monitored by the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs, media, and the civil society. This was shown by the openness in which people outside government evaluated the DFA. Peter Vale, a foreign policy analyst and scholar criticized South Africa's foreign policy for its continuous hegemonic tendencies within the Southern African region. While Greg Mills, the national director for the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), leveled his critiques against South Africa's foreign policy towards countries considered to be pariah states, and enemies of the Northern countries,

particularly Cuba, Libya, Iran and Iraq[34]. Given the role especially Cuba and Libya played in assisting the ANC during the liberation struggle, their membership to NAM, South Africa counterbalance its relationship with the developed countries. Unlike Greg Mills, I would argue that South Africa's relationship with Libya paid its dividends with the progress made by the former President Nelson Mandela, in the Lockerbie case. As Mandela brokered the deal that allowed the trial of the two Libyan in a neutral country, it positively demonstrated South Africa's role as a 'peacemaker' in the world.

In spite of criticism, the DFA emerged from the NAM summit with more credibility. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the appointment of the out-going Jackie Selebi as the new Director General contributed positively. Selebi, a natural diplomat, handled the media conference well, giving the general public a good perception of the DFA ability to run international summits. According to Chris Landsberg, deputy director of the Center for Policy Studies, *Jackie Selebi is skillful and self-assured, and is generally seen as tough enough to chart the DFA through a convoluted process of restructuring*[35]. The close cooperation and coordination between the DFA and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) allowed cohesion in South Africa's position in most central committees during the summit. The joint operations and planning among all departments involved with issues of foreign policy nature contributed greatly to the successful running of the NAM summit.

To deal with its weaknesses, the DFA relied on the expertise of a small group of the civil servants from what is called the 'line function' departments. Unlike during the apartheid era, the DFA was not the only department that dealt with all issues.

[34]33 Opcit, Greg Mills, p, 3.
[35]34 Chris Landsberg, "Foreign affairs need change. in Sowetan, Tuesday July 7 1998, p, and 12.

The department of Finance, Trade and Industry, Home Affairs, Environment and Tourism and Defence increasingly became involved through their Liaison Officers in the running of South Africa's foreign policy. A strong *Interdepartmental Committee* is put into place before any major conference or summit hosted by South Africa. Such a committee has, and could in many ways, assist the DFA in avoiding contradictions in the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy.

The role of Interdepartmental Committee in the DFA ensures that South Africa speaks with one voice at the international level. Officials within the DFA also guard against the tendencies of advancing only South Africa's domestic positions in international negotiations. In other instances, this also ensures the application of an international dimension to a particular issue. A good example would be the demand by the Home Affairs Department to restrict the penetration of illegal immigrants or refugees into South Africa. South Africa's current position violates the international agreement on the movement and the status of refugees and other misplaced individuals. When South Africa argues its case in a multilateral forum such as the NAM, diplomatic skills are needed to effect its goals and objectives.

3.2 The Coordination of NAM and the Relevant International Organizations

The history of the Movement demonstrates that the chair can, to a great degree, shape NAM's international image and agenda. Therefore, the way in which the chair handles the day to day running of the movement goes a long way in reflecting the general standing of the Movement in the global arena. During its formation period, NAM relied on the international prestige of founder members such as Tito of Yugoslavia, Gandhi of India and Nasser of Egypt. The role these leaders played, especially their appeal to the United States and the then Soviet

Union, made a great difference. Messages of peace were regularly sent to the superpowers, to reduce their weapon of mass destruction was exceptional[36]. Due to the lack of a permanent secretariat to run the day to day activities of the movement, NAM experienced enormous problems. The hosting of Non-Alignment Movement summits in small and economically weaker members, or controversial countries such as Cuba, often invites problems. The lack of a strong and an internationally renowned leadership in these countries usually fails to advance the agenda of the movement in the world. NAM's obsession with the consolidation and protection of state sovereign in a Cold War was the reason that limited the role it could play in the world.

A clear example would be Cuba's chairmanship in 1979-1982. Castro attempted to argue for the extension of friendship to the Soviet Union[37]. This move nearly dissolved the NAM. Firstly, Castro's position that the Global South had a lot in common with the Soviet Union violated one of the key principles of the movement: Its neutrality in the bipolar world. According to Anthony van Nieukerk, the director for research at the Foundation for Global Dialogue (FGD), the Cuban leadership marked the NAM's crisis period[38]. From the Havana summit of the movement till the Harare summit in 1986, NAM had the question of the struggle against apartheid as the only unifying issue. The question of ideology drifted member states apart. On the one side of the camp, there was a strong anti-capitalist feeling led by the pro-Soviet group. While on the other side of the camp, countries that favored Western capitalism stood on their own. At the center, remained countries such as India, and Indonesia that held the Movement together.

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[36] Opcit, Jackson
[37]35 Opcit, Jackson.
[38]36 Opcit, van Nieukerk

Generally, the movement formulated a confrontational approach towards the Group of Seven-country (G7). Their main demand, as was the case with the Group of 77 and China, was the restructuring of the International Political Economy, based on a New International Economic Order (NIEO). The NAM's chairs in most cases did not have a conducive environment to pursue the agenda of the South due to a hostile global order. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent demise of socialism in the Soviet Union and its Empire set a new and constructive role for the chairs of the Non-Aligned Movement in the global arena.

One of the fundamental shifts within the NAM chairmanship, was the formation of a Troika system. Instead of relying on the leadership of one Member State, NAM involved the two previous chairs and the future chair in the daily running of the movement. The main advantage of a Troika system was that a collective leadership came into place. This meant that continuity of leadership was instituted. In most cases the previous leaders of the movement would boost the new and inexperienced chair. At the same time, the forth-coming chair of the NAM is also given an opportunity to observe how the movement is run. The current *Troika* countries are South Africa the chair, Columbia, previous chair and Bangladesh, the future chair.

Some of the skeptics of NAM argue that the current arrangement of a *Troika* system is undemocratic as it gives power to only a few countries. The movement will have a group of leaders that dictates to others as to which route to take. The movement draws a final document in all of its summits. The chair of the movement at any given moment will be guided by the mandate given by all member states at the summit. As is the case with South Africa, it has an

enormous but also beneficial task of consulting with other members on the progress made during its tenure as a chair. Since the Durban summit, South Africa has vigorously initiated programs that will maximize the effectiveness of NAM in tackling the political, economic, and social problems that the global South confronts as it enters the new millennium.

3.3 The benefits of hosting and chairing NAM for South Africa

Hosting and chairing international conferences or summits of NAM's magnitude is a very expensive and demanding process. The benefits that a country obtains are often more than the efforts made in ensuring the successful running and chairing multilateral forums. Regardless of the criticism leveled against the government for hosting NAM, the biggest summit ever in South Africa, plans to ensure the smooth running of the summit went ahead. There are many long-term benefits that South Africa would gain in future from chairing the NAM summit. Undoubtedly, observing the role that other middle-range countries played in leading multilateral organization, such as Canada, South Africa stands to gain, if NAM tackle relevant issues in the global arena. The planning and preparation for the summit was done with the involvement of the Durban Metropolitan Council and business community. But a closer look at government's intentions to host and chair NAM, lie in the prestigious status that South Africa intends occupying in the international relations.

The Non-Aligned Movement as a multilateral body became the rightful platform in which South Africa could advance its foreign policy. Raymond Suttner, the former Chairperson of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Policy had this to say: *There is no real need for criteria for why you want to develop any*

particular relationship. The principle of universality appears to be the desire to be well received by all and the assumption is that this is how to advance the South African interest[39].

Hosting the Non-Aligned Movement benefited South Africa in many ways. Firstly, the gathering of 113 member states and various observers and representatives from the North exposed South Africa's tourist industry to the world. It was a lucrative market for the service sector. The city of Durban marketed itself well and many jobs were created during the summit. When the dignitaries left South Africa, they had a good idea of what South Africa can offer in terms of tourism. Besides the promotion of the tourist industry, Durban's NAM summit was seen as a platform for selling South Africa's good image, value and norms to the outside world. One would argue that the NAM summit provided a window through which the world could see the hidden and rich places, cultures and people buried by the apartheid regime. At the end of the day the NAM summit in Durban went a long way in enhancing the international prestige and also as a centre for international diplomacy.

The South African Foreign Service emerged from apartheid without any skills to handle a summit of such magnitude. For most of the diplomats involved in the various committees, it was an opportunity for them to increase their knowledge on the operation of multilateral diplomacy. The practical skills learnt during the NAM summit will in future be of great assistance to South Africa's involvement in other political and economical negotiations at home and abroad. Given the lack of international multilateral diplomacy within the Foreign Service, one would argue that great achievements were made during the NAM summit in Durban. A number of South Africa's proposals went through to the NAM final document. For

[39]39 Ibid, p. 445.

instance, the idea of presenting a common NAM Durban Declaration: South Africa drafted the declaration document and presented it, which was subsequently well-received and adopted by member states.

Addressing the Parliamentary Media Briefing a week before the hosting of the NAM summit, the Minister of Foreign Affairs noted, *Within the context of intensified globalization, South Africa will endeavor to enhance the position of NAM, countering the marginalization of developing countries and enabling their peaceful development. In hosting the NAM summit, South Africa's moral and political standing within the international community will be enhanced. As an African chair, South will endeavor to improve the profile of Africa and give further impetus to the African renaissance initiative.* Hence, hosting NAM allowed South Africa to strengthen its relationship with the developing countries. As illustrated by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo, quote above, chairing NAM gave South Africa an extra advantage to advance its *African Renaissance* vision.

Having the NAM summit on its soil provided South Africa with a greater opportunity to strengthen its role as a bridge between North and South. The increasing faith in multilateral diplomacy, displayed by South Africa hosting the movement, should also be seen as an increasing desire to play a meaningful role on the world stage. It was South Africa that extended the invitation to the U.S., Britain, France and German as obverses at NAM's 12th summit. From a preliminary and qualitative examination of statements by South African's foreign policy makers, three major roles of mediator/integrator, developer and defender of values comes out. It was in Durban where attempts were made to bring Laurent Kabila of the DRC and the rebels on the round table. On the other hand, Nelson Mandela urged India and Pakistan to resolve their differences through

peaceful means over Kashmir. In all these, South Africa demonstrated its increasing role as a mediator or integrator.

As demonstrated by the then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's speech at the summit, South Africa, persuaded NAM members to build a common position ways to handle the negative impact of globalization. The focus of his speech was more African oriented. In that sense, South Africa seeks the role of a developer. Mandela and Mbeki emerged from the NAM summit as defenders of values of human rights. South Africa seek to work through international forum to spread the values of human rights, civil liberties and democracy that it demands for itself.

3.4 Thabo Mbeki's Presidency: The African Renaissance as a modern South African foreign policy

President Nelson Mandela's presidency was preoccupied with the task of designing appropriate policies that guides South Africa's engagement with the world. Under his successor President Thabo Mbeki, the rhetoric of South African foreign policy became more assertive, more insistent on South Africa's special relationship with Africa and outwardly firm towards the Non-Aligned Movement. But the general direction of this policy did not change significantly from that of Nelson Mandela. In the first hundred days of Thabo Mbeki's presidency, the vision of an African renaissance became a keynote of a modern South African foreign policy.

Hermann and Hermann argue that a country's leader guides the foreign policy decision-making process[40]. Most constitutions allow the Head of State or Government enormous powers to make choices for the country's foreign policy. It

[40] Neack, L, Hey J. & Haney P, Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1995, p, 20

must however be said that not all leaders choose to do so, Presidents with knowledge and interest in foreign policy tend to be more active than the ones who solely rely upon the bureaucrats. Though President Wilson, one of America's great leaders with internationalist perspectives, had a vision and solutions to the global challenges, he failed to win congressional support at home. Nonetheless, he remains an important figure in multilateral diplomacy[41]. Can President Thabo Mbeki, be Africa's Woodrow Wilson, and how does his belief system or operational code impact on South Africa's foreign policy? Unlike Woodrow Wilson, Mbeki runs a relatively less complex democracy compared to the one in the U.S., and has enormous support from a constituent that emerged from an anti-Apartheid struggle that was widely supported internationally. Mbeki is an well-articulated and knowledgeable person. He gained experience while serving the ANC as a senior diplomat in exile as well as advisor to Oliver R. Tambo the president of the ANC since 1971 puts him in favorable position.

Since 1994, Thabo Mbeki has been the central figure in foreign affairs. He undoubtedly, has a modernist bureaucratic backup. It is important to point out at this juncture that Mbeki operates within the ANC, where most government policies originate and are debated democratically among its members. As in most democratic countries the ruling political parties' foreign policy sets the country's foreign policy priorities. One has to understand the ANC's internal politics and its foreign policy discussion papers to understand Thabo Mbeki's belief-systems. He is a 'party-person'[42] and writes and fully participates in all decision-making particularly on foreign policy in the organization.

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[41] LaFeber, W, American, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996, 8th Edition, The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., New York, 1997.

[42] Thabo Mbeki went into exile after the trial and imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and his father in early 1960s. As a young man he went to Sussex University in United Kingdom and spent the rest of his life after obtaining a Masters degree in economic, as an influential ANC member. Hence he has been groomed by the ANC the liberation organisation that fought against apartheid. Therefore, party-person in this instance is a term use to refer to a person that strongly believes in a party organisation.

Therefore, his personal attributes, degree of sensitivity to the international and domestic environment and finally his belief system continuously shapes the tone and focus of South African foreign policy. Firstly, the lack of human resources within the Department of Foreign Affairs especially at middle and low management level. Most of the pool of personnel in DFA is either inexperienced or not properly trained in the field of international relations, as is the case with the majority of the young black cadres. This has to do with the long history of apartheid's Bantu Education policy that denied the opportunity of blacks in specialized academic fields such as international relations. Most of the expertise of these officials was attained from exile and within the liberation organizations. Their newly learnt skills in foreign policy often lacked the direct domestic environment in which their expertise would be fully tested.

There remains a serious challenge for the government to properly coordinate all units or desks of its Foreign Service, ensuring a clear understanding and easy trickle down of information on government policy on issues to the junior diplomats at home and abroad. The existing vacuum limits South Africa's meaningful leadership at the world stage, and could only filled giving the needed coherence. On the other hand, their white counterparts from the apartheid regime lack an internationalist perspective and legitimacy regarding the role their country should play in the world. It is multilateral forums such as NAM and the UN that provides the world platform for the President to present his message to the international community. They lack a clear understanding of Africa, the primary area of engagement of South Africa's foreign policy.

Apartheid brought about an 'ultra-isolationist' foreign policy that relied heavily on power politics to achieve state interests. More than often the white officials got

locked up within the traditional debates about sovereignty and the protection of South Africa's 'special ties' with Europe and the rest of the North. The transition from apartheid to democratic South Africa did not give them enough room to grasp new challenges for international institution of governance, states and most importantly the people within them. The vast experience they attained in their long service within DFA during apartheid era fails to meet the demands of a democratic South Africa that has nothing except the moral authority to lead in international relations.

Though the former Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Jackie Selebi, has made efforts, such as bringing all heads of missions for a strategic conference to identify South Africa's foreign policy priorities in 1998, great challenges still lie ahead for the department. The junior diplomats need more professional training especially by foreign experts in international relations. South Africa does not have a strong team of experts in this area. The African Renaissance advanced by President Thabo Mbeki should include a programme whereby Africans or highly knowable experts from the developed countries assist in the re ewal of the continent. Empowering of junior diplomats through their retraining in diplomacy and other new international relations concepts, as people-centered security is vital and a priority for the DFA.

Though South Africa's new constitution permit greater openness and transparency in the decision making process within South Africa's foreign policy, thus allowing the input of the parliament and the civil society, the President still retains more powers in this area. The constitution allows the President to appoint the country's diplomats and receive foreign dignitaries and heads of states, and also to sign major international treaties or agreements with foreign governments. Furthermore, South Africa's president, as is the case with his counterparts in

other countries, especially the US, access to resources and the media gives him more power to influence the general public opinion on issues of foreign policy. All these factors leave room for President Thabo Mbeki to use his experience in international affairs, especially the task of selling the ANC to Western powers at a time when many such powers regarded the ANC as a terrorist organization.

African renaissance is broad vision that guides Thabo Mbeki's belief system. It is a vision that originated from the first generation of Africa's political leaders like Ghanaian Kwame Nkrumah[43], Tanzanian Julius Nyerere and South African Mangaliso Sobukwe. The major task of these political leaders was to fight against imperialism and racism in the Afro-Asian world. In Africa this policy included a formation of a *United States of Africa"* failed due to the Cold War. Thabo Mbeki's stay in Zambia, Lesotho and Nigeria as the ANC's representative, as well as his participation in NAM and other multilateral forum as an observer, gave him first hand experience of Africa's problems

While blaming Africa's ills on external forces. Mbeki acknowledges the enormous role played by African political leaders in inflicting pain through human rights violation, bad governance, war, and violent strife, the absence of development, and hunger on an enormous scale to their own people. Unlike the Kwame Nkrumah's ambitious African renaissance, the present day variant of African renaissance is much less ambitious, more realistic and practical, as it seek to facilitate Africa's reintegration in the Western dominated global economy and promote "good governance" and democratization. Nkrumah's vision of an African Renaissance was top-down, leaders determining what is good for the people. Mbeki adopts the same vision, but it is more people-driven African renaissance and democratic.

[43] Nkrumah, K. Africa Unity, Heinemann, London, 1963

President Thabo Mbeki strongly believes in Africans' ability to rise above complex problems, as he stated in his address to NAM leaders at its 12th summit in Durban. For Mbeki, people of the South have no one liberate them from poverty, but themselves. Therefore, President Thabo Mbeki can be best characterized as a leader that believes that Africans are capable of and responsible for actively promoting their own lives. They are their own liberators and the role of the international community's assistance should be limited to catastrophic situations such as civil wars, hunger and diseases that kill more Africans than any other people in the world.

Advocates of an African renaissance are simply stating that the international community has an irrefutable self-interest in extending a helping hand to the poor and weak people of the South, particularly in Africa. Because most of the world's contemporary challenges - war and conflict, mass migration, the violation of human rights, international crime and terrorism, the degradation of the global environment and rapid population growth - are rooted in underdevelopment and poverty. According to the Center of Conflict Studies (CCS), a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) based in Britain, out of 110 000 people killed in world's conflicts between 1998 and the first half of 1999, 60% of this figure were Africans[44]. It is difficult to argue the figures and facts presented by the CCS and other political analysts, but what is disturbing is the rise of Afro-pessimism among these serious academics. They are the ones that feed the international media with unfounded predictions that give rise to the negative images on the African continent.

[44] South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), News at 2000hrs, Thursday, 21 October 1999.

Predictions made by some of these organizations is not something foreign to most people in international relations, but a trend that originated from the colonial mentality that seeks to prove that Africans are incapable to resolve their conflicts in a civilized manner as Europeans do. In his interview with Sharon Chetty, from the Sowetan, the former president Nelson Mandela had the following to say, when asked if he felt a sense of achievement after the five years of his government. He said, *but the general picture is one of achievement, because serious political analyst predicted that there would never be a transformation without the country being covered in rivers of blood*[45].

African people have endured the most horrendous acts of human rights violations, corruption, and bad governance in the world. Some of these behaviors transpired at a time when the spirit of 'brotherhood' in Africa especially within OAU and NAM. The Non-Aligned Movement and all other regional organizations allied to it, kept silent while the people it claims to represent were slaughtered by their own leaders. The records of these multilateral forum does not reflect any records where some of Africa's worst human rights violations as in Idi Amin Dada's Uganda or Mobutu Sese Seko of former Zaire are recorded. Peace and economic prosperity are remains foreign concepts in most African countries today. President Thabo Mbeki's pronouncements of an African renaissance seek to promote a new sense on Africa's self-awareness and self-determination.

Hence Mbeki's African renaissance rhetoric has begun to attract support in South Africa's leadership of some multilateral forums. Africa's plight features prominently in all Thabo Mbeki's speeches not as a beggar and helpless continent but with tentative solutions and strategies to minimize the suffering caused by wars, hunger and diseases. The speech by Thabo Mbeki at NAM's

[45] Friday October 22 1999, Sowetan, p. 9

Durban summit captures democracy and good governance as the right (ion for the developing countries to overcome their complex humanitarian and political crises[46]. Political stability in any society is a prerequisite for any economic development. Africa therefore, can not develop while at war with its self. Nor will India and Pakistan both prominent members of NAM, prosper economically and uplift millions of people in these countries while their national budgets prioritize the acquisition of nuclear weapons of mass destruction to win the war over Kashmir.

3.5 South Africa: A Reassertion of Its Role as a Middle Power

In first five years as a democratic state, South Africa was preoccupied with finding the rightful role to play on the world stage. The emergence of South Africa from a pariah state to middle power has often been highlighted by the vast majority of foreign policy specialists, who, perhaps unconsciously adhere to the idealist current in international relations, and share an internationalist vision. They highlight the miraculous escape from the abyss of a race war through peaceful negotiation, the willingness to forgive the atrocities committed for the protection of the 'evil system' apartheid, and the liberation struggle. The new South Africa can contribute to defining a new international order founded on such values as multi-lingualism, harmonious ethnic relations, and protection of human rights. South Africa also has relatively high level, and its relative development makes South Africa a moral authority and *middle power*[47] in international relations.

[46] Opcit, DFA NAM document.
[47] Dewitt, D. & Kirton, J. Canada as a Principal Power, Toronto: Wiley, 1983. The term middle power first appeared in 1926 when Germany was admitted to the League of Nations (LN). The term referred to a handful of states that held a certain degree of influence, albeit less than the major powers, due to their major contribution to the Allies victory in the war.

South Africa, with its diverse population, its natural resources, and its technology, contributes to defining a new international order founded on such values as multi-lingualism, harmonious ethnic relations, and protection of human rights gives can extent its moral authority in the global arena. This will however, depend on whether it can overcome huge and pervasive racial social and economic inequalities. It is this moral authority that the thesis strongly argues that must not be either underestimate nor eroded to advance transformation at regional and international level. There is no better opportunity than NAM leadership position that South Africa occupies until 2001, to advance for the transformation of international institutions of governance and a new international order based on people-centered development.

The African renaissance as a vision of South Africa's foreign policy is part of the idealist current in the international relation. It seeks put people, not state as centre of international relations. Thus, from strict respect of sovereign equality and security between states to ensuring the equality and security of people within them. Thabo Mbeki, the then deputy president, and Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, two emerging African leaders of the 21st century, proposed a people-centered development.

The message that these leaders sent to 113 nation-states and many others was, that political leaders should acknowledge the need to promote democracy, human dignity, social justice, cohesion and solidarity at national, regional and international level.[48] Head of States and Governments identified the strengthening of the United Nation as their main task at the turn of the century. The United Nations should be restructured giving proper global representation especially the UNSC, which holds the powers or authorize any use of

[48] Selebi, J. Business Day, Monday, October 18 1999

peacekeepers in the conflict areas. The UN reform is the major issue to which NAM leaders pledged their full support, urging the developed countries to ensure that the world body takes its rightful position in world affairs.

CHAPTER FOUR: NAM's PLACE IN THE NEW GLOBAL ORDER

4.1 NAM and the United Nations: Question of Reform

Transformation of the institutions of international governance, was central item on the agenda of NAM in Durban. NAM countries argued that the United Nations does not fully meet the complex political and economic problems of the post-cold war era. As the 20th century comes to a close, a new vision with innovative strategies is needed to create a world body accountable not only to the governments of the nation-states but to the governed. There should be a shift in NAM's traditional position that protects state sovereignty as something sacrosanct. *One of the advantages that South Africa as the NAM chair should seize would be the 113 membership of the movement. It remains too large and unfocused to be more effective in its confrontation with the North on those with power and resources in the North, particularly on the question of UN reforms.*[49]

In this vein, the main task of this chapter is to argue that South Africa as chair of NAM should go beyond the limited demands made by NAM on the question of UN reform. Neither should the South Africa allow its legitimate intention in arguing for a permanent seat on UNSC to undermine its role as NAM leader in proposing broad UN reform. General secretary of the UN, Kofi Annan, new vision for the UN, needs South Africa's support. Therefore, South Africa's challenge should be find a compromise between what NAM wants on the one hand and Kofi Annan's vision for the 'new world order' is not far fetched from the one that South Africa wants to see place in the international relations.

[49] The Tsar, Monday October 5 1998.

While South Africa continues consolidating the moral authority that emerged from its political accomplishment, inconsistencies within its foreign policy remain the biggest challenge? There seem to be two sets of values, idealism and pragmatism running parallel to each other within South Africa's foreign policy, and in some instances, justifications are given when its arms are found in countries involved in political conflicts. A typical example one could give, would be the arms sold to almost all parties in the DRC's conflict. The 'Arms diplomacy' does not work in a continent torn apart by civil wars such as Africa. Therefore, South Africa's sale of arms in Africa is an irresponsible act. A self-critical evaluation needs to be taken prior to South Africa being able to fully engage the North on behalf of NAM on the question of UN restructuring. There are four events that took place since the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela that seriously question South Africa's ability to lead the global South.

The UN approved the US-led bombing in Kosovo and the Australian-led peacekeeping forces in East Timor recently. South Africa's reaction to these two global events was misguided and to a greater extent misinformed. In the first case South Africa opposed the intervention to stop Milosevic's human rights abuses of the kosova's, while in the second case, approving it [50] The award of the Cape of Good Hope granted to the former Indonesian dictator responsible for the death of 800 000 people in his country, was another political blunder of the democratic South Africa.

Lastly, the 1998 embarrassing geopolitical inconsistency of opposing regional military intervention in the DRC, while leading it in Lesotho.[51] While President Thabo Mbeki was on his way to the 54th session of the UN, evidence emerged

[50] The Star, October 24 1999.
[51] Ibid

that South Africa sold small arms to all warring parties in the DRC. Leadership comes at high cost in terms of national interest in the international relations. South Africa can only hope to influence both the North and South countries on how and why the UN should be restructured if it corrects the contradictions between the ideal and real aspects of its foreign policy. South Africa's international policies and its domestic policies should be inseparable or at least complementary.

The debate about the UN and later its restructuring is not something new in NAM. The United Nations cannot be immune from such analysis. The problem that confronted those keen to restructure the UN has been how to go about it. Which recipe will best suit the UN, the one provided by the world's rich and powerful countries of the North, or the poor from the South?

One of the most far reaching resolutions taken at the NAM's 12th summit was specifically based on the UN. The hegemony of the five permanent members of the UNSC continues, regardless of the burgeoning of UN membership from 45 countries at its formation to 185[52]. In the NAM Durban summit in 1998, the member states noted and adopted the efforts of the UN General Secretary, Kofi Annan's report presented to the UN General Assembly in 1997. In the report entitled, '*Renewing the United Nations: A program of Reform*', Kofi Annan suggested ways and means to modernize the organization and also improve its functioning[53]. The UN reform in particular, featured in almost all NAM summits since the 1980s. No concrete or tangible solutions that NAM has offered as a collective force in the international relations managed to receive a hearing from the North. Richard Jackson argues that the tendency by NAM as loose collection

[52] The Tsar, Thursday June 17 1999.
[53] HYPERLINK http://ww.g.77.org/Docs/policy%20brief.htm A commentary on **"Renewing the United Nations: A Programmme for Reform"**

of diverse countries, to take a radical position, mostly backing the Soviet Union within the general assembly, often made it unfavorable to the Northern countries.

Kofi Annan's UN restructuring has a three-dimensional vision attached to it: First, to gather global consensus on the re-definition of sovereignty. According to Kofi Annan, *States are now widely understood to be instrument at the service of their peoples, and not vice versa*[54]. In a world where the definition of sovereignty favors states over their citizen, these civilians are all too often at the receiving end when states protect their sovereign rights at the expense of their subjects. What should be considered is a principle that take the treatment of people international relations by their states as a measurement of their fitness to exercise their sovereignty. Secondly, to democratize decision-making and the global representation of countries within the UNSC. The need for the UNSC to act faster and effectively in all regions of the world engulfed in civil wars that result in massive slaughtering of helpless civilian populations also should urgently be addressed.[55] The inaction of the council to decisively deal with Rwanda's ethnic cleansing of 1994 reminds us of the urgently needed transformation.

Third, Kofi Annan's believes that the UN has to be on a strong financial footing to be in a position to discharge its duties. Most of the UN peacekeeping missions or other humanitarian actions are hindered by the deliberate non-payment by the world's richest and most powerful state, the US. Currently the US Congress blocks all efforts made by President Clinton to pay the US$1.3 billion owed to the ', which, if not at least partially paid by December 1999, will lead to the United

[54] Kofi Annan, Address to the UN's 54th General Assembly, http://www.economist.com/editorial/freeforall/current/ir6356.html, p1.
[55] The New York Times On the Web, September 21, 1999.

States losing its vote in the general assembly. What difference can South Africa's NAM leadership make on UN reform?

4.2 Creating a Global Neighborhood: Dream or Challenge for NAM in the 21st century?

The global debate about the transformation of the United Nations has begun more on issues related to security and well-being of people rather than the traditional concerns of preventing and resolving state conflicts. New possibilities for the UN to intervene in situations where human rights are violated are gaining political attention. Boutros-Ghali, the previous Secretary-General of the UN, called for a "wider mission" of the imposition of global authority to resolve conflicts within state[56]. Representing NAM requires South Africa to press for fundamental institutional reforms as the world enters the new millennium. The most important issue relates to conflict upholding the sovereignty rights of states and human rights of people within them. What kind of mechanisms, should be provided to ensure the broad expansion of UN activities to include resolution of today's most prevalent conflicts, those results for the suppression of minorities or majorities within states that can lead to civil wars and the collapse of the state. What recommendations would South Africa make as the leader of NAM, in assisting Kofi Annan, in his Millennium Assembly 2000, in developing a new consensus among nation-states on the UN reform? As noted below South Africa should argue for the expansion of the Secretary General's powers in determining areas that need urgent humanitarian assistance and should have powers to intervene prior to the out-break of a possible conflict within a sovereign state or among states.

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[56] Hopkins, R. F. "Anomie, System Reform, and Challenges to the UN System", in International Organisations and Ethnic Conflict, edited by Milton, J. Esman & Shibley Telhami, Cornell University Press, London, 1995.

In June 1999, LeRoy Bennett, from Delaware University in the United States had the following to say about the UN reform debate: *The problem with developing countries' arguments on UN reform is that: 'they seek to protect their sovereign prerogatives, and are determined to promote their national interests, not through an onslaught on the state system but within its framework'*[57]. The striking feature of the Non-Aligned Movement, since its formation has been its opposition to any erosion of state sovereignty. Even in its last summit in Durban, NAM was concerned with the role of the international civil society with its structure. Hence, it has always been the state rather than the people whose interest, many in NAM where concerned that the recognition international civil society could erode the sovereignty of the state than the people and their interest. Is it the states' neighborhood or the peoples' neighborhood for which a reformed UN operates?

The global environment, in which the UN Charter was drawn up in 1945, has transformed tremendously. Events that transpired within nation-states since 1945 require more attention or focus on state behavior, action and inaction in managing their internal affairs. The aspiration of and jealous protection by states of their sovereign prerogatives came under enormous pressure from other non-state actors. Should the reform of the UN be aimed the state security or human security?

While the Non-Aligned Movement raised political issues of human security at its 12th summit in Durban, the communiqué lacked clear details and commitments to deal with countries that violate people's rights within their states. At the same time NAM, demands full participation of developing countries in key decision-making organs of the UN. While the UN's most powerful members, the U.S.,

[57] Lecture notes taken by David Monyae in a course LeRoy Bennett took, at Delaware University, U.S., June 9th 1999. The same statement features in his book International Organisations: Principles & Issues, 5th Edition, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1991.

encourage all countries to open up to democracy and good governance, it refuses to allow the UN itself to become more democratic. The UNSC removes nearly all exclusives domain of the victors in the WWII, U.S., Britain, France, China and Russia. These countries hold enormous powers in their hands, and in some instances, as was the case with Rwanda, fail to react appropriately to the plight of people being slaughtered by their own leaders or fellow citizens.

4.3 Analyzing UN's Shortcomings at the dawn of a new century

The global environment has completely changed since the formation of the UN and the rules and regulations that govern the world need some fundamental change. But as Kurmar Rupesinghe notes *"In the business world, stagnant corporations are swallowed up by more aggressive, youthful competitors or dwindle into bankruptcy. But, with its monopoly on global intergovernmental organizations, the UN does not face that sort of competition or threat. Instead, in its attempt to remain at the centre of international affairs, the onus is on the organization itself periodically to examine and reassess its applicability to world politics"*[58].

The focus for change within the UN systems should start with the core issue of human rights versus sovereign rights. Though the five big powers possess financial, military and political power to determine monopoly of power within the UN structure this state of affairs has always been the center of intense debates since the proliferation of newly independent nation-states from the 1950s to 1970s. The South African delegation at NAM's summit called upon member

[58] Rupesinghe, K. "Coping with internal conflicts: Teaching the elephant to dance", in The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century, Edited by Chadwick F. Alger, United Nations University Press, New York, 1998.

states to adhere to a people-centered transformation of the international institution of governance. South Africa made an impressive input that resulted in adoption of the Durban declaration, the most people-centered communiqué ever produced by NAM. *The Durban declaration's most crucial message states that, Our Movement embodies the aspirations, the hopes and the combined yearnings of the peoples of the South to live in peace and security*[59].

It is this *Durban language*[60] that South Africa should use to seek consensus on the UN reform question. The signal that Pretoria must send to fellow members of movement should emphasize the urgency of UN reform matter. It would be wise to exploit the good will that flows from countries of the North, particularly the civil society. While the protection of sovereignty that NAM countries jealously guard remains important, the manner in which a country treats its subjects should be the yardstick used for leaders to claim sovereignty.

Furthermore, South Africa should ensure that the NAM platform is utilized to legitimize the position it advances on the debate concerning UN reforms. For South Africa and most African countries they stand to benefit more. It is Africa that hosts the world's deadliest conflicts, needs humanitarian assistance and suffers from both curable diseases and non-curable diseases such as AIDS, and carries the heaviest debt. Therefore, South Africa's leadership of NAM should not be separated from its broad African agenda. For NAM to be relevant multilateral body, South Africa should demonstrate that NAM remains the 'conscience and the voice of the weak and the powerless in the face of the dominant hegemony of the strong and the powerful'[61]. A serious and non-confrontational approach must

[59] Department of Foreign Affairs' Durban '98, Compendium of South African Statements During the XII NAM Summit, 29 August - 3 September 1998, p, 4.
[60] Durban Language refers to a people-centred declaration document drafted by South Africa at NAM's 12th summit in Durban in 1998.
[61] Opening Address by H. E. Mr Thabo Mbeki, President of the Republic of South, at the ministers for

been taken by NAM's leader, South Africa, in engaging the developed countries on the UN reforms.

The post-Cold War era presents more opportunities for the international community to rally support around a wide range of issues, including security, not only in a military sense but in economic and social terms as well - sustainable development, the promotion of democracy, equality, human rights and fair trade. South Africa cannot ignore the plight of African countries in all debates concerning the UN reform. In addition, South Africa, I believe, should avoid selfishly demand the restructuring of the UNSC for its own permanent seat. The world, since the 1990s, has undergone an enormous change that differs from the one that prevailed after the WWII. The UN according Raimo Vayrynen was intended to 'take effective collective measures for the removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace'[62]. The millennium assembly in the year 2000, remains an informal world gathering in which South Africa's views for UN's reforms should be heard as NAM's chair.

4.4 South Africa and the UN

The United Nations' role on the African continent has been hampered by the lack of resources, and political support especially from the major powers. Since the independence of most African countries the United Nations attempts to contribute positively have always been marked by controversy. It is undeniable that the UN's record in election monitoring in Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa

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foreign ad heads of delegation of the non-aligned Movement New York, 23 September 1999, p, and 1.

[62] Vayrynen, R. "Enforcement and humanitarian intervention: Two faces of collective action by the United Nations", in International Organisations and Ethnic Conflict, edited by Milton, J. Esman & Shibley Telhami, Cornell University Press, London, 1995.

was a success story. But the record of the UN's intervention in Africa's inter-state and intra-state conflicts has not been impressive[63].

The United Nations' involvement in Africa goes back to its peacekeeping mission in the Congo crisis in 1960. This was the first bold attempt by the organization to deal with African political conflicts. The Cold War, which had reached its pinnacle during this period, rendered the United Nations efforts ineffective. The end of the Cold War brought with it elevated expectations that the UN has not been able to meet. Failure of the UN to press for the peaceful resolution of the twenty-four years on-going war in Angola is a verification of the UN's inability to successfully handle conflicts in Africa. Some African leaders often attribute racism as the main reason behind UN Security Council's neglect of Africa's people. 'Selective morality'[64] has been applied when it comes to conflicts in the world. The Rwandan crises, the largest genocide since the Holocaust, happened while members of the UNSC stood aloof and watch. According to Chester Croker, the former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, *We are saying yes in East Timor, and we said yes in Balkans, but we have said no repeatedly in Africa*[65]. The Non-Aligned Movement registered its dismay with the manner in which the UN operates and deals with conflicts, particularly those on the African continent. Nonetheless, NAM slowly moves from a state-centric premise, where state security rather than human security are the pillars of the United Nations. Given that the nature of conflicts are mostly intra-state and less inter-states, it is extremely important to consider this factor while the delib erating on the best ways to solve global conflicts in the 21st century.

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[63] Alger, C. F., The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century, Edited by Chadwick F. Alger, United Nations University Press, New York, 1998.

[64] 'Selective morality' is simply used to refer to a situation when states or UN choose to intervene in one region due to the moral imperatives while refusing in another when same situation prevail because of fear of unfavourable outcome or racism

[65] The Washington Post, Washington; September 30, 1999

Though South Africa's President presented a good speech which was well received by most countries in the North. South Africa, it can be argued that it is starting to shift the fundamental principles of NAM. The newly appointed South African ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Khumalo and his team will have to cleverly time the right issues, arguments and allies to push for the UN reform. The ambassador has the added advantage of experience in multilateral diplomacy and could thus use it effectively during South Africa's tenure as chair of NAM within the UN. The Department of Foreign Affairs' '*Thematic Reviews: Strategic Planning*' document states that South Africa will assume a higher, more assertive and effective profile and engagement in international institutions[66]. The use of its chairmanship of NAM will form part of the goal to advance the agenda of the South within the United Nations.

The final document of the Durban NAM summit, paragraph fifty-five entitled: *Strengthening, Restructuring, Revitalization and Democratization of the United Nations,* NAM recognized the importance of reinforcing the United Nations for the challenges of the new millennium. But these countries argue for a two-thirds majority vote in the general assembly before any amendments are made on the United Nations Charter. The reasons for this fundamental change within the United Nations are based on the following factors. Firstly, because this body was formed prior to the independence of most developing countries in 1945, hence they are under represented. Secondly, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on the other hand, is a club of *WWII* victors. Due to this reason most of the decisions it takes are undemocratic and also lack credibility. Thirdly, the UNSC lacks the universal character of a world body. Hence, NAM member states

[66] The Department of Foreign Affairs, SA, **'Thematic Reviews: Strategic Planning,** document, 1998, p, 10-11

argued that the expansion of the UNSC should be determined on the basis of the principles of equitable geographical distribution and sovereign equality of states[67].

As a matter of priority, South Africa's DFA rightly would continue vigorously consult and work with other like-minded NAM. Unlike previous NAM chairs, South Africa has an opportunity of leading a multitude of other multilateral bodies at the same time. With the upcoming hosting of the Commonwealth in November 1999, South Africa will be leading four organizations. There is a lot of pressure on its diplomatic cadres to be skillful in negotiating delicate issues at the heart of the developing countries. The restructuring of the UN forms part of these issues.

The lesson that the former South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alfred Nzo, learnt was that diplomacy is not about winning[68]. Diplomacy involves patience, give and take and also requires great knowledge of all the intricacies on the issue at hand. Championing the cause of the developing countries ensuring that they position themselves well for the New World Order will be a challenge for South Africa that requires energy and diplomatic skills. The lack of appropriate human resources, shrinking budgets for the ministry, and finally unavailability of a DFA's Research Unit will disadvantage South Africa's efforts to lead the discussions on UN reform efficiently.

4.5 What Should be South Africa's position on the Way Forward for UN

The Non-Aligned Movement, as already discussed in the beginning of the thesis, is a body constituted by a membership that is very diverse. The extent, nature

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[67] Ibid
[68] The Star, Friday 9 April, 1999

and modalities of NAM make it difficult to have concrete and binding resolutions on many issues. It is its reliance on censuses among member states that prolong the implementation of some innovative ideas to elevate the people of the South. Shannon Field, a political adviser to David Kilgour, the Canadian secretary of State (Latin America and Africa) makes compelling arguments about the lack of coherence within NAM's position on UN reforms, particularly the UNSC[69]. Though in NAM's basic document from the Durban's summit the movement made some remarkable comments on how the UN should be reformed, there seem to be squabbles among NAM countries as to what criteria should be used in determining the countries to gain a permanent seat within the UNSC[70].

Where do the disagreements among NAM or their use of the *consensus principle* as mechanism to prevent speedy implementation of actions, leave South Africa? South Africa should not allow NAM members' lack of a common voice on the restructuring of the UN, prevent its constructive contribution to influence the decision-making processes of multilateralism to the fullest extent, and participate therefore in the determination of the new global agenda. The greatest problem that the UN faces today is not about unilateral decision-making but lack of funds to deal with the ever-proliferating crises. The two most urgent changes needed within the UN system are as follow.

4.6 The Question of UN funding

A fundamental shift should be made to enable the UN to get alternative source of funding its growing activities in the post-Cold War era. One of the weaknesses of

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[69] Shannon Field, "UN Security Council reform: A challenge for the South", in **Global Dialogue**, Vol. 3.3 December 1998, p, 16

[70] **Briefing at the DFA headquarters in Pretoria**, 28 September 1999. Remarks made by a senior officer who does not want to be quoted. This was a trip organised by Professor John Stremlau for his Honours and Masters class.

the UN Charter, was its financial reliance on its permanent members to fund all its activities. While the question of re-instituting a democratic United Nations is vital, NAM is supposed to consider the financial practicalities to that move. The majority of countries in the developing are struggling to secure the security of their people. They are mostly not in a position to contribute substantively to the UN's projects that are international in scope.

The wealth of nation-states has changed significantly since the end of the WWII. Some of the countries considered as aggressors and not fit to take permanent seats within the UNSC are now more cable than some 'big powers'. A typical example would be the United Kingdom and Japan. Though UK, has vast experience in peacekeeping and contribute positively in solving global conflicts, its financial contribution would not be the same with say Japan and Germany, if these countries where part of the UNSC. The addition of regional representative within the UNSC should include the rich and powerful members of the UN to strengthen its financial muscles in dealing with global political, environmental and natural disasters in the next millennium.

There seem to be a goodwill flowing from some of the richest individuals in the world. A good example would be Ted Turner's[71] U.S. $1 billion donation, former owner of Cable News Network (CNN), Bill Gates, of Microsoft[72] 1999 fund for the child in the South. The UN should have powers to get a share of funds confiscated from the foreign banks of the world's dictators. A move to involve the UN in stopping the siphoning of funds from for development, by dictators and

[71] Ted Turner is multibillionaire businessman and former owner of Cable News Network (CNN) in the United States.
[72] Bill Gates has been named the world richest p rson with personal worth that is almost reaching one trillion U.S dollar mark.

corrupt leaders, in most poor countries could help both the people within these states and the UN.

The U.S. is a typical example where the Congress and the President deadlocked how the UN's funds should be used. Some Congressmen refuse to approve the UN payment based on religious or moral sentiments. They reject the continuous funding of abortion projects of the UN, that the U.S. contributes almost twenty-five per cent of the total UN annual budget. This situation led to a situation where the U.S. owing the UN, a figure of US$1.3 billion[73]. A concerted effort will have to be taken to ensure that the UN carries business ventures. The thesis does not argue for the eradication of the current state payments system but rather suggesting more sources for funding the UN's burgeoning role in the 21st century. It is a suggestion that would not be easily accepted by most nation-states, for the fear of loosing sovereign authority over the UN as an international organization. States often do not like a situation where the UN operates outside their control, having autonomous powers.

4.7 Transforming the UNSC

The question of bringing in more members into the UNSC is not the magic answer for global problems Hence South Africa should be well informed and also master the developed countries' stance on this matter, especially the permanent members of the UNSC[74]. South Africa, because of the credibility of its political leadership in the world, stands in a good position to mediate the North and South positions on the UN reforms. Therefore, NAM, and even OAU position should not limit South Africa's role of bridging the North-South differences in

[73] Sens, A. & Stoett, P. Global Politics: Origins, Currents, Directions, ITP Nelson an International Thomson Publishing company, Toronto, 1998.
[74] Mills, G. "UN Security Council Reform", South African Yearbook of International Affairs 1999/2000, SAIIA, 1999, p, 380-381.

order to maximize its UN's ability to respond to various challenges of international life and intervene in order to resolve conflicts. Joseph Nye defines regional organizations as *'a limited number of states linked together by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence'*, hence, regionalism can be defined as *'the formation of interstate groupings on the basis of regions*[75]. Given the expanding role of the UN in the post-cold war era, regional organizations should assist in dealing with some of the problems of their competence. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) demonstrated how the sense of 'communal security' could stop those who violate the fundamental human rights, when it intervened in the Kosovo crisis.

In case of the African region the OAU, becomes the central regional institution that should decide a clear position of the UNSC reform. The OAU has made its position clear: Africa should be granted two seats within the UNSC, which would be rotational. Pretoria does not seem to be sending a clear signal as to what is its position. At the OAU level, South Africa fully supported the OAU position; however, there hasn't clear position from Pretoria. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Dlamini-Zuma, confirmed on a SABC's talk show that South Africa has not yet formulated a position on the question of a permanent seat within the UNSC.

Contrary to top official position in the DFA, the junior officials tend not be clearly informed. In the interviews carried, junior and middle management of the DFA argue for a spread move by South Africa to make its position on the UNSC known. Differences among regional powers and as well as maintaining a united voice should be the first step for South Africa. While dealing with the UN reform

[75] Regionalism in the World Politics: Regional Organisation and International Order, Edited by Fawcett, L. & Hurrell, A. Oxford University Press, 1995,11.

at NAM level and negotiating the modalities, it is imperative for South Africa to influence the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on the issue. The current permanent five will not accept the position that the OAU has adopted. The high morality and credibility that flowed from its successful transition, role as mediator and commitments to multilateralism should give South Africa advantage over Nigeria or Egypt the other two serious African contenders.

Alternatively, South Africa should argue for the inclusion of regional organization in the decision-making process within the UNSC. These organizations have a clear sense of 'regional awareness' and their involvement in resolving conflicts within them would be of a great priority. The concept of 'shared responsibility' in conflict management would gain currency with this idea. The Secretary General of the OAU, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, echoed the same sentiments, when he said, *The establishment of Mechanism was an act of historical significance and self-empowerment. What Africa said to the world is that yes, we may continue to need outside help in dealing with our problems, but we will be centrally involved and provide leadership in many efforts at conflict resolution ... We can longer fold our hands and wait for the foreigners to come and solve our problems*[76].

The OAU, Organization of Arab States (OAS), Asia, European Union (EU), and American continent groups, all these regional organization, should therefore maintain single non-voting seats in the UNSC. There are various advances that will come out of this. First, the UNSC's decisions would be more legitimized and also receive more support from countries within the geographical area concerned. It is imperative for South Africa as the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement to advance a more pragmatic and workable view on this matter. A

[76] Aparajita Biswa, "The 'New' South Africa in Southern Africa' in **Africa Quarterly**, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1998, p. 70

high powered *Troika* delegation led by South Africa should be sent to the general secretary of the UN, Kofi Annan, to assist him in his efforts to rally support in the developed world for UN reform.

4.8 Future of NAM in the International Relations

As the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, President Nelson Mandela addressed the United Nations' 53rd UN General Assembly on the 21st September 1998, and said, *The Non-Aligned Movement, as well as my own country which is a proud member of the Movement, invests great trust in your organization, that it will discharge its responsibilities to all nation [s], especially at this critical period of its existence*[77]. His successor, Thabo Mbeki, continued using NAM's accumulated membership as a weight to raise the importance of cooperation, building a world sensitive to the plight of its most poor, weak and powerless. With its weaknesses, NAM will continue to be a political and conscious forum that challenges the rule of engagement of the system of international relations.

But all NAM's efforts to influence the transformation of the international institution of governance depend on the commitment by its members to adopt a more democratic system and good governance. The Non-Aligned Movement has been confronted with enormous problems and has in many instances, failed the people the movement claims to represent in international relations. There is an increasing demand made by the civil society in the South, for NAM to allow the participation of people within its activities. Most NAM countries do not accept any

[77] Address by the state President of the Republic of South Africa, at the 53rd UN General Assembly, Nelson Mandela in South African Journal of International Affairs,-Vol. 6, Number 1, Summer 1998, p, 127

form of representation of the NGOs in its summits. South Africa set a precedent by accrediting a small group of NGO contingence in Durban.

South Africa, as the leader of the Non-Aligned countries should argue for a broader transformation within the United Nations. Instead of emphasizing state sovereignty, peoples' sovereignty should be advanced to meet the challenges of the 21st century for both NAM and the United Nations. It is an open secret that many governments today hide behind the concept of sovereignty, whilst committing gruesome crimes of among others murdering their citizens. South Africa's chairmanship of NAM should signal or bring about ways of making its members accountable to international accepted conduct internally, enshrined in the UN's Charter.

The issue therefore, should not be more power to disadvantaged countries to exercise their sovereignty, but rather more power to address that disadvantaged. The advancement of an equitable world order is the central objective of the global South. South Africa as the leader of the largest state-based multilateral body outside the United Nations, must emphasize the respect of human rights among NAM member states. The then Deputy President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki had this to say at NAM's summit, *The Cold War is over. The age that is at hand can, given the will and focus, be a new age – the age of emergent nations, the age of the South, the age of renewal and renaissance, the age of justified hope*[78].

A clear message that came out of the NAM Durban declaration is that, though the Cold War is no more, and the process of de-colonization is complete, a just,

[78] Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's address to the 12th NAM summit, http://www.nam.gov.za/declaration.html

peaceful, and equitable global order is far from being realized. As the old millennium bows out with its horrendous history, the new brings along yet great uncertainties. A democratic international order is underway. NAM as a political and philosophical group has a great role to play in the shaping of the new rules that will govern that 'World Order'

4.9 Universalism and Multilateralism: NAM and the UN

Supporting the United Nations has been one of the paramount principles of the Non-Aligned Movement since its inception[79]. A trend developed throughout NAM's existence wherein major issues raised in its summits require the United Nations' support for them to be realized. Due to the Cold War and its ideological impact of developing countries, NAM became more divided reducing most of its summits into talking-shops, where leaders of the South air their disappointment with the developed countries. It was within the United Nations that countries of the South demonstrated their unity through the conducting their politics, both bilateral and multilateral[80]. Hence NAM's activities are more often limited within the UN General Assembly.

The confrontational approach and nature of the debate NAM countries engaged in alienated most developed countries of the North. This resulted in a situation where NAM's efforts and activities within the UN often met with resistance from the United States and other Western powers due to what these countries perceived as its political alliance with the Soviet Union. Since the collapse of Soviet Union and its Empire in Eastern Europe, NAM began shifting from its confrontational form of relations with the developed countries to one that

[79] Singh, A. Non-Aligned In An Age of Alignment, Zed Books Ltd, London, 1986, p, 27.
[80] Ibid

demands mutual respect and a more friendly approach. The out-going Director General of Foreign Affairs, Jackie Selebi, said South Africa's leadership would not be confrontational in dealing with the developed countries. According to Jackie Selebi, South-South co-operation cannot be an issue we remember every four years when the [NAM] summit meets. There is a need, he maintains, *to develop an economic agenda for the South with policy options to help ourselves, which is 'more important than castigating others and calling them imperialists'.*[81]

The NAM's 12th summit communiqué raised political, social and economical issues mostly discussed within the UN General Assembly. The NAM's leader should prioritize some of the issues raised in the communiqué over others. It is unlikely that all issues of NAM's communiqué will be dealt within the short time South Africa is the chair. It is therefore imperative for South Africa to target the political issues raised at NAM's summit in Durban, particularly the transformation of international institutions, UN being the major starting point. The remaining two years of South Africa's chairmanship of NAM are offer an important opportunity to take advantage of events as the Millennium Assembly, bring about censuses among sovereign states. This is preciously because the Secretary General of the UN, Kofi Annan, shares more or less the some same visions with South Africa, especially on the question of establishing a people-centered UN. Ensuring the transformation of the United Nations to reflect the interest of people within nation-states should be the central foundation on which South Africa bases its argument.

When President Thabo Mbeki, addressed the 54th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 20th of September 1999, his speech was a

[81] Mills, G. "SA Foreign Policy After Mandela", South African Yearbook of International Affairs 1999/2000, SAIIA, 1999. P, 2.

landmark for South Africa. It demonstrated South Africa's ability to lead the discussions on UN's transformation. The speech should be seen against the backdrop of South Africa's African renaissance foreign policy that informs Thabo Mbeki's administration. Throughout the speech Thabo Mbeki referred to Africa as presenting a challenge for the speedy reforms of the UN.

CHAPTER FIVE: FOCUS ON NAM's AGENDA

5.1 NAM and the Question of Disarmament

One of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement was that of rejecting the Cold War paradigm and choosing the more difficult path of nonalignment. In many ways, nuclear technology introduced a new phenomenon in international relations. Nuclear weapons, according to theorists, ceased to be weapons of war but military deterrents and tools of possible diplomatic coercion[82]. Today mankind continues to live in fear of self-destruction. Despite the end of the Cold War, many countries still pile weapons of mass destruction, instead of focusing on development.

The Non-Aligned Movement itself a child of the Cold War, campaigned vigorously against nuclear weapons. Though NAM was formed to assert the foreign policy of developing countries, the other objective was and still is to create a world free from nuclear weapons. Henceforth, world peace was the long-term objective that was perceived to come about with every effort taken to disarm. It was India's Jawaharlal Nehru that made the first call to end the nuclear testing in the 1960s. The high moral authority waned in India when it carried out its first nuclear test Pokharan one in 1974 [83]. India's move to possess nuclear power has questioned the relevance of the Non-Aligned Movement.

One of the questions frequently asked is why does NAM allows its members to increase the nuclear weapons build-up in the world? India and Pakistan will be used as a case study to answer the question. On May 11, 1998, India's nuclear test was followed by a test by its rival, Pakistan. Observers argue that Pakistan

[82] Jaswant Singh, "Against Nuclear Apartheid", in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 77, No. 5, 1998
[83] Ibid, Singh, p, 43

lost a truly priceless opportunity to strengthen its own security and also improve its own political standing in the international community. India could have labeled a Pariah State, if Pakistan had not reacted in this way to the mere provocation. The return to the Cold War methods of protecting national security, is one of the challenges that NAM faces at a critical period of its existence. One of the core principles of NAM is its anti-nuclear weapons stance. It would have been much easier for South Africa and the Non-Aligned Movement to deal with India alone on the question of nuclear weapon disarmament.

These developments shocked both fellow NAM members and the developed world. The progress that was made in 1995, with the extension of the Non-Nuclear Proliferation (NNP) indefinitely and unconditionally has been reverted. Having played a crucial role that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), South Africa's challenge would be to find ways of convincing other countries to follow its route.

The peaceful political transition in South Africa brought endless prospects for peace on the African continent. South Africa successfully destroyed its nuclear weapons and also dismantled the capabilities to build more. There are many reasons that led South Africa to pave the way to a nuclear free world. Firstly, her neighboring countries posed no military threat. Secondly, there was an understanding between the negotiating parties particularly the ANC and NP regime that nuclear weapons no longer provided states with the prestige and power as was the case during the Cold War. Thirdly, the negotiating parties realized that giving away nuclear power would enable the democratic South Africa to gain moral authority in the international community. The ability to influence both fellow NAM member states and the developed countries to destroy

their nuclear weapons should be South Africa's immediate priority while chairing NAM.

The conflict between India and Pakistan is the main cause of the nuclear testing in South Asia. This conflict can be traced as far back as 1947 when Great Britain ended its colonial rule. India was partitioned between Hindu India and mostly Muslim Pakistan[84]. The two countries clashed over Jammu and Kashmir regions that border them. In the two wars fought, over a million lives have been lost. These countries can barely afford developing basic infrastructure, but yet they have spent more money on arms, ammunition and weapons of mass destruction.

On 10th April 1999, India triggered yet another controversy. India tested new intermediate range ballistic missiles[85]. This move has opened the floodgate of nuclear arms race in the region. China and Pakistan are countries that have had numerous wars with India in the past, as mentioned above, and are thus seriously threatened by India. According to Jasjit Singh, director at the Indian Institute of Defence Studies (IDSA), *The government obviously feels that a missile with a range of 2 500 kilometers will give it more confidence in dealing with the Chinese*[86]. The territorial dispute between China and India over the Himalayan border is another reason for the NAM chair to be worried about conflict resolution within the Asian region. The political situation in that region has become more explosive and needs decisive measures to be taken within multilateral forums.

The nuclear arms race was initiated at the expense of their citizen's wellbeing. The possession of nuclear capabilities by both India and Pakistan is viewed as a

[84] Ibid, Singh, p, 45
[85] The Star...Tuesday April 13 1999, p, 12
[86] Ibid

source of both regional and international security. There is a great need to move towards a reduction in military expenditure in South Asia. All military expenditure should rather be redirected towards social development. The arms race between India and Pakistan comes at a time when their economic fundamentals are at the lowest point. According to Arjjuna Mahendran, economic growth of the whole of South Asia is expected to slow to 5 per cent or 5.5 per cent in the current financial year, from 6.9 per cent in 1997 to 1998[87]. Pakistan's economy, which is about one fifth of the size of India's, will be highly affected by the sanctions applied by the western countries. The arms race in South Asia has triggered a great debate within international relations. Frequently asked questions such as can sanctions be the solution to the global security dilemma, and what would be the best ways of ensuring a world that is nuclear free? The answers are no and none, respectively. The international community should move beyond economic sanctions as the best means of eliminating the deadliest weapons. South Africa upholds even stronger moral grounds in the aftermath of the U.S. Congress fail to approve the CTBT in October 1999[88].

The dilemma faced by both the Non-Alignment Movement and South Africa as its chair, is twofold. Firstly, the question of how to deal with the Northern countries on this topic? Second how to build a common position on disarmament among the Global South within the United Nations? Though the Non-Aligned Movement has discussed disarmament, critics view this as one of the failures of this pressure group. The NAM chair would be greatly disadvantaged on handling this issue due to various reasons. Making concessions with the developed countries would be difficult because of the availability of these weapons of mass destruction within NAM member states. Many developing countries, which

[87] The Nations, Sanction Cut Both Ways, at http://www.path
[88] Sunday Times, November 7, 1999.

include India, are seeking nuclear weapons as the best way to safeguard their national security in the international arena. Nevertheless, South Africa's strength lies in its own experience of being the first country in the world to de-nuclearize.

Most countries might trust South Africa within multilateral negotiations on the question of disarmament more than most other developed or developing countries. This is precisely because of South Africa's move to destroy these dangerous weapons in 1992. Whether South Africa will utilize this advantage at her disposal, remains to be seen. It can thus be said that chairing the Non-Aligned Movement for the next three years will allow South Africa the opportunity to influence a move towards resolving the global security dilemma.

5.3 South Africa and the Nuclear Age: Lessons for NAM

There were heated debates among scholars over the nuclear question in Africa. Reacting to South Africa's possession of nuclear weapons, Aforka Nweke contended that, *By acquiring the technical capability to make nuclear weapons and necessary means to deliver them, South Africa has not only shattered the raison d'être of the 'Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa', but has also greatly tipped the balance of power in the continent*[89].

The successful building of nuclear bombs in South Africa posed the greatest security threat to the African continent in the 1970s and 1980s[90]. When African countries attained their political independence in the 1960s, it was fashionable for them to apply the non-aligned policy on the Cold War. The non-aligned policy

[89] Ibid, p, 96
[90] Adebayo Oyebade & Ablodun Alao (Editors) Africa After The Cold War: The Changing Perspectives On Security, Africa World Press, inc, 1998

theoretically discouraged these countries from becoming involved in arms accumulation processes. It was the Apartheid South Africa that eventually brought fear of a possible nuclear threat in Africa in the late 1970s. Ironically, it was also South Africa that led the way to a Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) in the 1990.

The African continent strives to be a Nuclear Free Zone. Through NAM and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Africans have made pleas to the world to disarm. In the early 1990s, as South Africa prepared for a negotiated settlement, it dismantled its nuclear system voluntarily. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was invited by the De Klerk government to inspect all nuclear facilities. This move made South Africa a highly respected country and a beacon of hope for Africa's long wish to become a Nuclear Free Zone.

When the ANC government came into power, it indicated that it was not interested in rescinding the decision to close South Africa's nuclear plants[91]. For the past five years, South Africa contributed heavily in the negotiations that led to the signing of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995. The greatest challenge, for South Africa as the leader of NAM, it is important to influence and shape the debates over the Denuclearization process in the international community. The thesis will use arguments from both the North and the South on disarmament, to demonstrate the complexities of this issue for South Africa. As NAM chair, therefore, South Africa's diplomats should understand the arguments presented by both the developed and the developing countries on disarmament.

The main argument put forward by the developing countries, especially India, is that the northern countries are not committed to a comprehensive, universal, and

[91] Ibid, p, 107

nondiscriminatory approach to disarmament. The American continent, Europe, former Eastern Europe and Asian Pacific are under the U.S. nuclear umbrella; Africa and South Asia are discriminated against to justify its own nuclear program. These countries are permanently outside these nuclear security arrangements. Therefore, India argues for fairness in the international arena when the disarmament question is raised. In short, the North should not expect the South to disarm while it is arming itself to the teeth.

The Non-Aligned Movement placed nuclear disarmament high on its agenda on its 12th summit in South Africa. At the NAM ministerial meeting held immediately after India's underground nuclear test, the Conference on Disarmament called for the formation of an ad hoc committee to start negotiations in 1998 on a phased programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons within a specified time, including a nuclear weapons convention[92]. Following the conference, NAM countries advocated that concerted efforts should be taken, to ensure the prohibition of nuclear weapons development, production, acquisition, testing, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use.

The challenge for South Africa is unique, based on its own experience, to influence both fellow NAM members and the rest of the world to rid themselves of weapons of mass destruction. It is important for South Africa to demonstrate that nuclear weapons are not really useful, but on the contrary enhance and accelerate nuclear arms races, and as a consequence pose a threat to international security. Hence, their continuing deterrence value has ceased in the post-Cold War world. It is extremely urgent to deploy a delegation composed of members of the NAM *Troika* to the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

[92] Ibid, Jaswant Singh, p, 50

The shadow of nuclear arms dominates world politics, and taming the desire for nuclear weapon programmes looms as one of the most fundamental problems in international affairs. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, such as biological weapons are a threat to the entire global security. What is needed right now, is the strengthening of the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), especially after the recent irregularities in handling the Iraq case. The tampering with these bodies by any state must be discouraged. For instance, the allegations that the United States used IAEA officials as a source of intelligence have seriously damaged the legitimacy of these bodies in Iraq[93]. NAM must be seen to be playing an important role in the international forums that seek to eliminate threats to global security.

[93] The Star, June 6 June 1998.

5.4 The Threat of International Terrorism

The NAM Durban summit tabled the issue of international terrorism. This summit was held immediately after the bomb blast that had rocked U.S embassies in Kenya and Tanzania on 7 August 1998. NAM countries welcomed the adoption by the General Assembly of the *Declaration on Measures to Eliminate* International Terrorism[94]. NAM, according Hein Marais, applies a conservative definition of terrorism, thus ignoring state terrorism. This is true when one looks at the final document on the question of terrorism. Nowhere does the Movement criticize emerging tendencies among its member states to sponsor or use terrorist ways of achieving political objectives. The end of the Cold War heralded a period of global change, a transitional period wherein the structure of international relations shifted from bipolar confrontation to an as yet uncoalescent new structure. The post-Cold War has been marked by an increase in the free operation of terrorist organizations. Due to the weakening of nation-states in the age of globalization, terrorism is one of the greatest concerns reflected in nation-states' discussions within multilateral forums.

The chances for terrorist organizations to have access to the weapons of mass destruction are extremely high. There are prospects for what scholars call nuclear terrorism[95]. There are accusations placed at the doorsteps of various countries as sponsors of terrorist organizations or individuals. One of the reasons why the threat of nuclear terrorism is high, is that the knowledge required to produce a nuclear device is readily available.

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[94] Ibid, NAM final document
[95] Post, JM. "Super-terrorism: Biological and Nuclear" **Terrorism**, Vol. 13, 1993, p, 163

The majority of nuclear scientists from the former Soviet Union are looking for greener pastures all over the world. An apparently flourishing black market in smuggled nuclear materials from Eastern Europe, which has been recently uncovered, seems to give credence to such fears[96]. Some of the NAM countries are allowing opposition parties or other countries to use their territories for the launching of military attacks in other countries. One does not have to go far, the current war in the Great Lakes region is precisely exacerbated by such allegations. All countries neighboring the DRC are members of NAM, and seriously involved one way or the other in the war, aiding either Kabila's government or the rebels fighting him. It is important to link the question of disarmament directly to terrorism issues. Due to the fact that these issues are interlined, in that if the former is not achieved, the latter's danger to global security accelerates. It is clear that closer cooperation among both the developing and developed nations is imperative if global disaster is to be avoided.

The United States on the other hand, bombed and subsequently imposed economic sanctions on Libya because of suspected sponsoring of international terrorism. On 21 December 1988, Pan American Flight 103 was blown up over Lockerbie in Scotland, causing two hundred and seventy deaths[97]. President Nelson Mandela's intervention in the Lockerbie issue was a move to resolve the conflict in international arena. The Non-Aligned Movement has been calling for a fair deal that led to the trial of the two Libyans in a neutral country. The economic sanctions imposed upon Libya by the United Nations were perceived as unfair and unjust to a developing country. Increasingly, South Africa's are contributing enormously to global order. The DFA has not yet organized proper channels of

[96] Camp, K. "An Overrated Nightmare", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, July/August 1996
[97] Cutterbuck, R.L. Terrorism and Guerilla Warfare: Forecast and Remedies. Routledge, New York, 1990, p, 172

taping into the expertise of these individuals to help achieve some of its foreign policy objectives. People like President Nelson Mandela, Judge Richard Goldstone, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, could be the best South Africa ambassadors of peace in the world.

Since 1992, while Nelson Mandela was still the president of the ANC, he kept open diplomatic channels of communication between the Libyan government and the Western countries. Various attempts were made to resolve one of the longest international disputes in international relations. Libyan leader Mummer Gaddafi's support in the struggle against apartheid enabled him to establish close ties with the ANC. In government, the ANC made it clear that it would not abandon its long friendship with the people of Libya.

Mandela received enormous criticism both at home and abroad over the Libyan connection. Washington was always concerned with South Africa's rather unique behavior to assert an independent foreign policy that contradicts the Western countries. In 1999, hardly a year after the inauguration of South Africa as the chair of NAM, President Nelson Mandela brokered a break-through deal with Mummer Gaddafi. The deal allowed the two Libyan suspects to be tried in the Netherlands, a neutral country, under the Scottish law. This dramatic and swift diplomacy, many scholars argue, strengthened South Africa's chances to lead international dispute resolution. Whatever the outcome of the trial of the two Libyans, the role played by Nelson Mandela will be healed as an attempt to seek peaceful resolution to global conflicts.

What is interesting as far as the South Africa's chairmanship is concerned is that more deals can be reached in international conflicts if the Department of Foreign Affairs move swiftly in mediating those conflicts. The political miracle that took

place in South Africa needs to be exported to other parts of the world. African states constitute the largest membership of the Non-Aligned Movement. Since the end of the Cold War, NAM has been gravely concerned with the political instabilities on the African continent. This can be seen by the large delegation that was sent to Somalia in 1992 by the Movement. It is South Africa's duty as both the chair of NAM and member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to seek ways of solving the bloodiest carnage on the African continent.

5.5 Debt Relief and Reduction for the South

Among other things, Mbeki must ensure that the question of monumental debt overhang to the macro-economies of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs) of NAM that continues to stifle meaningful growth receive top priority that it deserves. One of the greatest obstacles to a people-centered development is the massive debt incurred by the developing countries. It is imperative to identify appropriate channels for developing countries to present a common voice on the question of debt reduction in the negotiations with the G8 countries and financial institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the IMF. South Africa led a NAM *Troika* delegation to the G8 summit in Bonn, German in May 1999. The rich countries did not commit themselves to assisting the poor countries.

There are two categories of countries in the Movement. The first group is the one with huge debts but which would afford repaying the debt in the long run without seriously hindering their national development. South Africa and other emerging markets such as Indonesia, Argentina and India belong to this group. In the second group, countries strictly rely on foreign aid for national development projects. These countries fall within the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPS).

They spend almost half of their Gross National Product (GNP) on repaying the debt. On its 12th summit, NAM noted the serious nature of debt, especially among the HIPS concentrated in Sub-Sahara Africa. The difference between NAM countries is well captured by Adebayo Adedeji when he identified the greatest development problem that African countries confront. He notes: *Underlying Africa's current crisis is Africa's underdevelopment and economic backwardness, its failure to achieve a clear break from its colonial dependent inheritance with a production structure...fractured and only minimally linked with the region's resource base...the most open and exposed economy of the world*[98].

The common problems and challenges flowing from accelerated globalization and liberation of the world economy has enormously affected the LDC countries. These countries, some within the SADC, continually register sluggish and negative economic growth. South Africa should take it upon itself as the chair of the NAM to safeguard the interests of economies most affected by the external environment, and that are situated within Sub-Saharan Africa, including some of its own neighbors. South Africa, in the past two years, demonstrated its willingness to assist Southern African countries. In speeches made abroad by then President Nelson Mandela and his Deputy Thabo Mbeki, they encouraged Developed countries to directly assist the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). A classical example would the South Africa's appeal for assistance for Mozambique in Janan made by the than Deputy President Mbeki on his visit to Asia in 1998.

The United States, IMF, WB and the Paris Club demonstrated their willingness to assist the HIPC. Many international conferences were called to resolve the issue of debt. The common solution that these countries and financial institutions

[98] Ibid, Ramchandani, p, 20

provide, has been the speedy implementation of a sound and workable economic policy by the HIPC. An example of economic policies implemented in Africa is the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The problem with the SAPs, is its assumption that all countries within the African continent have economies that need the same or uniform medicine. The Northern countries in most cases fail to understand that the repayment of external debt hinders the ability of the HIPC to provide social services to their people. As a result, their governments end up being thrown out of political power by forces that harbor anti-economic reforms.

A classical example, would be the poorest country in SADC, Mozambique that became the first beneficiary of a large debt relief Programme from the USA and the IMF after showing success in its economy. Therefore, South Africa must rise within the North-South dialogue, the idea of an extension of such debt relief programmes as in Mozambique and Uganda to countries that attempted but failed. What needs to be encourage is a home grown type of ESAP, that involves all stake holders in developing countries as is the case with the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy, in South Africa. In short, South Africa should argue for the 'low members of NAM particularly in its region, to have an increased political leverage and a right to design their own economic policies that encourage favorable growth.

Another option for South Africa is to work tirelessly with the UNCTAD as well as the Group of 77 and China on presenting a strong and common voice on the debt issue with the Global North. There are many good views on how to deal with the debt question confronted by the HIPC especially in African countries, which are raised by other organizations of the South, such as UNCTAD and G77 that South Africa needs to consider in its chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement. One

such suggestion provided by UNCTAD is the call for the total cancellation of debt.

The important thing for South Africa to consider is that there has always been negligence among the Developed countries since the 1960s and 1970s. Most of the HIPC are those once governed by the world's worst dictators such as Mobutu in the former Zaire and Idi Amin in Uganda. Therefore, as far as the NAM is concerned, no place should be reserved for military and other dictators who plunge their countries into dept via corrupt, irregular and non-accountable forms of governance. Hence the term the renaissance of the Movement, which signifies a clear shift by NAM in which it has made it categorically clear it will not accept undemocratic forms of governance. If a policy with this line of thinking is implemented, it will go a long way in advancing South Africa's foreign policy, particularly on the promotion of human rights and democracy on the world stage. The only problem that South Africa will face within the NAM is confronting problematic fellow members and enforcing tough decisions that might render it unpopular to some.

The speech by the Deputy President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, on the 12th summit in Durban, also indicated a fundamental shift within the Movement. It has been a tradition that NAM leaders do not directly point out unacceptable forms of governance and corruption within their fellow member states. But as the 20th century come to its close, tough stances within the Non-Aligned Movement must be taken, if it should remain a relevant pressure group in the next millennium.

5.6 Forms of economic cooperation

The 1973 Algiers NAM summit was a landmark in shaping the concept of South-South Cooperation. During the 1970s, NAM countries underwent enormous economic problems that still haunt them up to this moment. There had been a drastic decline of prices for primary goods, the main source of income and foreign currency in many countries within the Movement. Hopes for development were dashed. What the world witnessed instead, was a growth in population and an emergence of civil wars. Various prominent leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement made rhetorical statements and called for an intra-South trade. But given the fact that these countries produce, in many instances, common primary goods, the North remained the source of advanced technology, finished goods, investment and capital.

The 1998 NAM summit was about the resurgence of interests, as well as the willingness and determination among NAM countries to engage each other on the debate about South-South cooperation. There was a revision of strategies and prescriptions from previous summits. In addition to these, new visionary plans were drawn to tackle recent global problems affecting NAM countries. South Africa contributed positively in many committees, tasked to deal with the intra-South and the South-North trade. The obvious starting point of an intra-South trade is within the regional economic bloc. During the G77 and China conference on regionalism held in Bali, South Africa made reference to the kind of effects it is making within the SADC region. South Africa is also a member of the Indian Ocean Rim organization, which includes India and other emerging markets. Sharing technology should be the central goal of the South-South cooperation.

The relatively advanced countries within NAM, which includes South Africa, must increase their Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in the Global South. Indonesia, Malaysia, India and South Africa have shown great interest in the concept of South-South cooperation. Malaysia, in particular, invested heavily in South Africa and other Southern African countries before the 1997 market meltdown. South Africa needs to encourage other regional groupings to which NAM countries belong, to maximize intra-South investment and the exploitation of the mineral resources for the betterment of the majority of the global population in the world, situated in the developing countries.

Through regional integration, poorer members of NAM countries would benefit enormously. A typical example can be the African Renaissance initiatives of the South African government, especially the telephone linkages, from Johannesburg to Tunisia initiated by the previous Minister of Telecommunication, Jay Naidoo. Though in some quarters the Africa Connection plan has come under criticism, calling South Africa as a semi-imperialist state, that safeguards the US's interests in Africa. However, high technology is being used in this project to replace the old colonial form of telecommunication, which made Africa talk to each via the capital cities of their former European masters. Through the project, there is a greater possibility that employment will be created, as well as the intra-South-South training of people. The move by South Africa to initiate such economic projects collectively with fellow African states confirms South Africa's commitment to an African Renaissance, that is driven by the South-South cooperation drawn within NAM.

Though there has been moderate successes within the Movement on the strategies, and prescriptions adopted in the past, the globalization process presents yet another opportunity. As it is commonly known, the globalization

and liberalization of the world economy brings both positive and negative effects. South Africa should lead the way in ensuring that a greater role is played by the developing countries in the democratization of international economic relations. What is important to remember, in so doing, is, that the manner, in which the NAM countries plan and respond to the unfolding global economic changes, determines the degree to which the contagious financial markets affect their economies.

Kofi Annan, the UN General Secretary, who attended the conference and noted *African countries recognized their primary and fundamental responsibility to create the necessary environment in which their people could lead peaceful, stable lives, free from fear or want. The international community, for its part, recognized its obligation and was paying increased attention to Africa's prospects*[99]. The statement by Kofi Annan was echoed by the Global Coalition for Africa co-chair Frene Ginwala, the South African Speaker of Parliament, at the same conference who said: *We in Africa are convinced that our countries have no choice but to take the lead role in each of the primary areas identified in the Agenda for Action. We are equally convinced that what we need from the international community is readiness to accept us as worthy partners*[100]. The transformation process-taking place within the DFA gives an indication as to what direction South Africa will follow in its multilateral relations. South Africa demonstrates its eagerness to play a meaningful role to enhance and promote SADC, Africa and the whole of Global south within the spectrum of international trade. The attempt by the outgoing Director General of the DFA, Jackie Selebi, to evaluate and implement most of the treaties and agendas of multilateral forums, whi South Africa signed, was a good move.

[99] Ibid
[100] Ibid

For all the dreams of a South-South cooperation to take off, NAM countries in particular, must demonstrate their willingness to move away from old protectionist attitudes towards each other. The dawn of a new millennium signals the dusk of rhetorical speeches in multilateral bodies. The new commitments made must result in positive achievements for better lives for the poorer countries of the Global South. Durban therefore, leaves a clear landmark in the history of the Movement. South Africa's commitments to an integrated Africa in the world economy, so as to ensure sustained growth and a reduced reliance on foreign aid, must be the yardstick by which the success of a South-South cooperation should be measured.

The recent changes in the international arena, particularly within international organizations, explain the shift within the NAM. As the 20th century closes, marked by the rivalry between the superpowers and the rigidities of the international economy, NAM confronts the same problems that most of the other state-based multilateral forums faced at this particular juncture in world history. The 21st century should bring an end to the tension in the relations between the Developed and the Developing nations. Hence, South Africa presents itself as a bridge through which the North and South can cross to reach each other in the pursuit for a healthy and beneficiary partnership.

South Africa should lead in calling for an increase in financial assistance for the developing countries. The lack of financial support, particularly to the UN and its agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) weakens its ability to discharge its duties. One aim of the Non-Aligned Movement especially on the question of South-South cooperation, therefore, should be to ensure that the United Nations takes its rightful place on the issues of

development in the world. The revival of the UNDP and other UN agencies will go a long way in boosting the developing countries caught up in debt, extreme poverty, and the general lack of hope.

It is absolutely necessary for South Africa, to embark upon these campaigns in its engagement with the G8 countries before the 20th century comes to its close. The strengthening of the United Nations will enable it to coordinate with regional and sub-regional organizations for economic and social development. Also, the restructuring of the UNDP will allow it to discharge its duties properly, especially towards the poor countries in the Global South. Henceforth, there is a clear linkage between the quest for democratization of international institutions and the economic development concerns of the Global South. To enable greater access to the world markets, specialized technical teams must be assembled within South-South cooperation.

The close economic cooperation within the Non-Aligned Movement strengthens political unity. It must be noted that due to its composition and nature, NAM as a pressure group of the developing countries does not have the capacity and energy to implement its economic policies. The greatest strength of NAM, which South Africa should take advantage of, is its influence in directing and shaping other vital multilateral organizations charged with developmental issues. South Africa's high moral standing and credibility in the international community gives it a comparative advantage in chairing NAM and most importantly, redirecting its energies into projects that enable it to be more relevant in the coming millennium. The ability of South Africa as the chair of the Movement will be determined by the active intervention its diplomats make within NAM, and the organizations it lobbies to advance the interest of the Global South.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 South Africa, NAM and the South-South Cooperation

Since its inception NAM made calls for economic development of the developing countries. South-South cooperation ideal became synonymous with NAM, but due lack of pragmatism among members, this vision remained only on paper and was not practically applied in the South. There were growing in most Afro-Asian countries that political independence will lead to share economic prosperity. The major task for the political leadership was finding strategies to close the widening economic gap between the North and the South. With all attempts made to ensure a South-South cooperation, huge economic inequalities between North-South and South-South remains a reality. The concluding section of the thesis argues that South Africa in its NAM leadership, should encourage a regional based South-South cooperation, and increased capital investment among NAM members.

It is estimated that the eight richest countries with 25 per cent of the world population control 75 per cent of the world trade[101]. According to the 1999, UNDP's report, 20% of the world's richest people control 86% of the world GNP, while the 20% of the poorest account less than 1% of the world GNP[102]. Located within the Global South, South Africa grapples with its internal dynamics that resemble those of other developing countries. This was the reason that led the ANC government to formulate its foreign policy toward the Non-Aligned Movement. NAM bases its political and economic strategies on the view that the older industrialized nations dominate the global state system[103]. As the 20th

[101] Richard Griggs, "African Renaissance: The Geopolitics of a New Discourse:, in Independent Project Trust Public Information Service, Vol. 7, June 1998
[102] UNDP's Human Development Report, 1999, p, 2.
[103] Ibid, p, 2

century comes to its close, Non-Aligned countries' economies are at the mercy of the ongoing process of globalization. Developing common position amongst the South within World Trade Organization, through the Joint

Unlike previous chairs of NAM, South Africa prioritized the economic issues at the summit that it chaired. The negative impact of globalization on South Africa and the global South was the main rationale behind this decision. The concept and usage of 'globalization' have similarly to be subject to rigorous scrutiny. According to Dot Keet, the term is utilized simultaneously to denote the necessary modalities or processes promoting the integration of all economic functions and entities, as well as the end product. Most of the world's poorest countries are members of the NAM, located mostly within the Sub-Saharan African region, where debt, poverty, hunger and the world's deadliest diseases such as AIDS are prevalent. South Africa's chairmanship of NAM is characterized by sober reasoning informed by the post-Cold War global realities, particularly the need to make the Non-Aligned Movement more robust and relevant and to meet its developmental objectives.

This chapter seeks to demonstrate that South Africa's involvement and chairmanship of NAM is greatly informed by the need to create wealth as defined in its foreign policy. South Africa has earmarked the Non-Aligned Movement, as the rightful platform on which South Africa's global economic aspiration can be realized. In this chapter, the thesis will argue that two factors drive South Africa in its bid for South-South cooperation. First, the challenge of dealing with the legacies of apartheid, particularly the need to close the economic gap between its 'two nations', the rich white and the poor black[104]. Second the need to resolve

[104] A speech by the Deputy president Thabo Mbeki of the Republic of South Africa, in Parliament, Cape Town, 1997.

its identity crisis. Due to the long duration of colonial and apartheid rule in South Africa, the country has lost the common bond it shares with the African continent and the Global South in general.

6.2 South-South Cooperation

The idea of a South-South cooperation goes as far back as the 1950s and 1960s, when the United Nations was burgeoning with the entry of newly independent African, Asian and Latin American nation-states into the international community. At the Bandung conference in 1955, the NAM, before its official launch in Belgrade in1961, declared that there was a greater need for the promotion of "goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa."[105] Due to the desire of developing countries to make a political impact on the international state system defined by ideological rivalries of the Cold War, economic issues took a back seat in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Ramchandani, the development direction of NAM, soon after its formal first meeting in 1961, was sought via South-South Economic Cooperation as its major *modus operandi* in line with the principle of collective self-reliance[106]. There were various programmes taken in the 1960s by various countries in the North, and international organizations to assist the newly independent countries in the field of development. For instance, the United Nations launched the UNCTAD, which was constituted mostly by NAM countries who championed the struggle for fairness within the global trade. Most of the ideas that informed UNCTAD as an organization emanate from Raul Prebisch and Singer, Marxist scholars from Latin America. Raul Prebisch helped in the formation of the UN's Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and criticized the economic inequalities in

[105] Gordon S. Freer, South-South Cooperation in Southern Africa: The Case of South Africa and the SADCC, MA thesis, Wits University, Johannesburg, 1993, p, 11
[106] Ramchandani R.R. "Afro-Asian Development Dilemma and the Changing Global Economic Environment", in Africa Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1998, p, 2

the world economy between the North and South[107]. These scholars argued that there is an 'unequal exchange', which invariably favored the developed countries, as demonstrated by the favorable 'terms of trade' in the world economy.

Due to the fact that NAM is not an international organization with a secretariat, it works closely with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The Joint Coordinating Committee (JCC), a NAM and UNCTAD joint working team in New York, is the vehicle in which strategies to tackle global economic problems and South-South cooperation is advanced. Through the JCC, where South Africa is represented as the current chair of NAM, a common position on global economic problems that affect the developing countries is reached.

The post Cold War world presents various factors that inform countries in their foreign policy formulation. For South Africa the following factors are key to it being pro-Global South and South-South cooperation position. Firstly, the realization by South Africa and the Movement that economic cooperation among themselves is the best solution to overcome the negative impact of globalization. Secondly, with the end of the Cold War, NAM was faced by the lack of rivalry between the former superpowers. Much of NAM's ideological position, the anti-West and anti-capitalism, lost ground as more and more of its members were developing from being underdeveloped to being relatively developed in 1970s and 1980s. The prevailing Marxist position within NAM, which argued that the poor countries in the South could not develop within capitalism, was misplaced with the emergence of the Asian Tigers.

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[107] Chris Alden, 'Southern Africa in South-South relations", in Philip Nel & Patrick McGowan (ed), Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International Relations Textbook for Africa, UCT Press, 1999, p, 217

South Africa and the Movement in early 1990s realized that for development to take place in the Global South, a non-confrontational and moderate approach was needed in dealing with the global economical inequalities. Hence, channels of communication or North-South dialogue should be re-opened on a more constructive and friendly manner. This approach, in a way, marked the end of an era in which the Global South perceived the Global North as an enemy. Instead of pushing for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), NAM calls for a fairer global economy[108].

In 1993, NAM's Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation brought up the idea of conveying a High-level South-South Conference on Regional and Sub-Regional Cooperation, which took place in Bali Indonesia, December 1998. The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Alfred Nzo, attended this conference. In his address, Mr. Nzo urged the Group of 77 and China to increase their economic cooperation especially within regional organizations. Perhaps this is the best way to implement the South-South cooperation among NAM countries. For South Africa, SADC is a starting point. To what extent can cooperation within these regional and sub-regional organizations co-operate among themselves?

Therefore, the South-South cooperation strategy within NAM is seeking better ways to handle the negative impact of globalization on developing countries in the world economy. The strategies that were adopted at the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Durban, in August-September 1998, were more tangible and achievable solutions than previous summits of the Movement. The summit identified debt, economic crisis in Sub-Sahara Africa, the 1997 Asian Crisis, in

[108] South Africa and the Future of the Non-Aligned Movement, Greg Mills (ed), South African Institute of International Affairs, 1998

many Asian and other emerging markets, including South Africa, fell victim to cause by the currency speculators among other reasons, as requiring the greatest attention.

As demonstrated by the recently achieved South African trade deal with the European Union (EU), trade negotiations are rigorous and long processes that require a great deal of skills and experience. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the world's most key instrument for the worldwide consolidation and regulation of the new global order[109]. One of the weaknesses of the Non-Aligned countries is that they lack a common voice in WTO negotiations. South Africa as the chair will have to go an extra length in seeking agreements among the member states of the Movement before key international trade agreements are reached.

6.3 The way forward for South Africa

Two and half years from now, NAM's summit will be held in Bangladesh. Within the Movement, the chair is judged by the ability to meet some of the mandates of NAM given to it. South Africa became the last chair of NAM in the 20th century. When scholars do a post-mortem of South Africa's leadership, the relevance of NAM as a whole, in the next millennium will be assessed. What kind of a report sheet will South Africa present to fellow NAM members, in its three years as the chair? Its imperative for South Africa to realize that economic development and growth within developing countries sustains democracy. The Non-Aligned Movement is like an omnibus of countries with different economic policies, political systems and levels of development, assemble and discuss common issues. These relate to unemployment, poverty, hunger, and the lack of proper

[109] Ibid, Dot Keet

infrastructure. The following items should be at the top of the agenda of South Africa's diplomats, as they work with other multilateral organizations from the South to bring about a South-South cooperation.

In conclusion this thesis has demonstrated the shift in focus, priority and objective within South Africa's foreign policy since 1994. It has argued that the traditional priorities that shaped the Apartheid State, thus, repositioning or identifying with Northern hemispheric region based on race has been counter-balanced by the move to strengthen relationship with the global South. South Africa's term of chairmanship (1998-2001), was the prism through which the multilateral aspect of South African foreign policy was assessed. The main objective for South Africa to play an active role (in particularly NAM's leadership), is a move to be a 'bridge-builder' within the North-South relation. Regardless of its weakness, NAM was identified as the best vehicle to ensure that South Africa 'walks on two legs', thus, while maintaining the traditional partnership with the Northern countries, South Africa establish and strengthens its Southern hemispheric relations. As demonstrated in the thesis these would maximize South Africa's chances to play a constructive role in the establishment of a people-centered 'world order', that prioritizes people's security within states rather than state sovereignty. Hence, the management of multilateral diplomacy within the South African Department of Foreign Affairs received great attention. The greatest challenge that South Africa confronts as it enters the 21st century, will be building a diplomatic capacity that can advance its foreign policy goals. In its NAM's leadership (1998-2001), South Africa should concentrate on NAM's original aims, especially the transformation of the UN, disarmament, and the South-South cooperation. This move will undoubtedly, make NAM a relevant multilateral forum in the next millennium.

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