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THE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF SOUTH- SOUTH COOPERATION : THE ROLE OF MALAYSIA, NIGERIA AND THE POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

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This work is dedicated to all Marginalized and Suppressed

People of the World.

POLITIK DAN DIPLOMASI KERJASAMA SELATAN-SELATAN: PERANAN MALAYSIA, NIGERIA, DAN PASCA-APARTHEID AFRIKA SELATAN

ABSTRAK

Kemunculan bilangan besar negara-negara berdaulat dalam zaman pasca Perang Dunia kedua melahirkan kategori baru isu, persepsi, dan perasaan mengenai teori dan pendekatan bagi menangani masalah perhubungan antarabangsa. Selepas mencapai kebebasan, negara-negara baru menginsaf bahawa orde ekonomi yang terwujud langsug tidak saksama, malah merugikan kepentingan mereka. Layanan yang kurang memuaskan dialami mereka daripada negara maju dalam intraksi antarabangsa mereka melalui perhubungan yang berciri tidak saksama. Tambahan pula, mereka didominasi dari segi politik, keselamatan, informasi, budaya dan pendidikan--kesemuanya yang memberi impak langsung dan tidak langsung ke atas negara membangun. Oleh kerana negara maju memiliki kuasa dominan dalam politik dunia, mereka berkemampuan memanipulasi lingkungan lain seperti hak kemanusiaaan, hak pekerja dan alamsekitar agar menghalang pertumbuhan ekonomi berberapa masyarakat bukan barat yang berpotensi mencabar kedominan mereka.

Ekoran daripada keadaan ini, negara-negara baru berpendapat bahawa suatu orde baru dunia yang lebih sakasama dan rasional harus diwujudkan. Untuk mendekati matlamat mulia ini, negara membangun mengurus diplomasi bersama yang diasalkan daripada inisiatif yang diambil oleh sesetengah pemimpin negara baru merdeka sejak 1950an, dan khasnya yang diambil oleh pemimpin Afro-Asia seperti Nehru(India), Sukarno(Indonesia), Tito(Yugoslavia), dan Nkrumah(Ghana). Inisiatif ini berhasil dalam

bentuk mesyuarat pertama di Bandung, Indonesia pada 1955, yang meletakkan batu asas bagi kelahiran Negara-Negara Berkecuali. pada 1961 di Yugoslavi di bawah pimpinan Josip Tito. Terbentuknya tiga tahun kemudian Kumpulan 77(G77), dan akhirnya G15 di bawah pimpinan Mahathir Mohamad pada 1990 melambangkan usaha Negara-negara Membangun untuk mengguna strategi baru demi mengkuasai Selatan. Sejak usaha tersebut, suatu siri langkah diplomatk berterusan di peringkat sub-rantau, peringkat rantau mahupun antarabangsa untuk mengatasi perhubungan socio-ekonomi dan politik antara negara-negara maju dan negara-negara membangun dengan tujuan mewujudkan suatau orde antarabangsa yang lebih adil dan saksama. Walaupun langakah-langkah diplomatik tersebut telah di dicuba oleh Selatan untuk mempastikan orde antarabangsa yang saksama, tetapi kemiskinan ketara dan polisi kurang berkesan menjejaskan potensi individu di kebanyakan masyarakat dunai mmebanguan. Dalam kebanyakan kes, segmen penduduk yang termiskin belum lagi memperolehi menfaat daripada pertumbuhan ekonomi. Kemiskinan dan ketidaksamaan menyumbang kepada ketidakstabilan politik di kebanyakan negara membangun, manakala konflik kekerasaan merosakkan kehidupan mereka, dan asas bagi perdamaian kekal dan keselamatan masih menjadi lembab. Sambil usaha dijalankan untuk membaiki kedudukan, negara-negara maju masih kurang memperlihatan komitmen teguh kepada Dialog Utara-Selatan. Sebaliknya, dasar-dasar dan keputusan utama dibuat untuk membela kepentingan mereka demi mempertahankan status quo.

Justeru itu, tesis ini berfokas kepada pendekatan-pendekatan alternatif yang diambil oleh Negara-Negara Membangun untuk membaiki masalah dalam kerangaka

Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan, berdikari, dan mengurangkan kebergantungan ke atas Negara-negara Maju. Khususnya, karya ini mengkaji secara kritis peranan tiga Negara Selatan, iaitu Malaysia, Nigeria, dan Afrika Selatan Pasca-Apartheid dari segi merekabentuk sebuah kerangka dan mencipta kaedah-kaedah baru bagi memungkinkan Kerjasama Selatan-Selatan. Dalam tahun-tahun terkini, kejasama Selatan-Selatan membuktikan potensi besar menerusi perkongsian pengalaman negara-negara di benua Asia dengan benua Afrika. Faedah potensi kepada Afrika hasil kerjasam Asia-Afrika dan intra-Afrika boelh ditinkatkan lagi melalui memperkukuhkan kemampuan Afrika mempelajari pengalaman pembangunan darpada rantau lain, dan melalui menubuhkan mekanisme berkesan bagi memajukan kerjasama Selatan-Selatan--seperti Dialog Antarabangsa Langkawi(oleh Malaysia), dan Rancangan Tindakan Lagos(oleh Nigeria). Langkah-langkah bagi menyelesaikan konflik di benua Afrika, seperti yang dimajukan oleh Afrika Selatan Baru pimpinan Mandela, melambangkan usaha-usaha terkini untuk memajukan kestabilan dan keamanan di Sealatan. Walau bagaimanapun, adalah diakui bahawa kebanyakan masalah yang dihadai oleh Selatan berhasil daripada unsusr-insur domestik, dan hanya boleh diselesaikan dengan wujudnya kepimpinan yang mempunyai komimen teguh, dan yang bersedia mengambil langkah-langkah perlu bagi menangani masalah. Dengan kaedah ini, Utara pun boleh memainkan peranan tambahan dari segi mengadakan kerjasama dan perkongsian yang bermakna melalui kerangka pergantungan bersama Utara-Selatan.

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THE POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY OF SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION: THE ROLE OF MALAYSIA, NIGERIA, AND THE POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

ABSTRACT

The emergence of a large number of sovereign states in the post-second world war period generated a new class of issues, perceptions, and feelings as well as theories and approaches of handling the problem of inter-relationships among countries. After the independence of the new states they realised that the existing economic order was highly unequal and detrimental to their interests. They receive unfavourable and unjust treatment from the developed nations in the course of international interactions through non-reciprocal economic relationships, as well as domination in political, security, information, culture and educational aspects--all of which have direct and indirect impact upon the developing nations. Due to the overwhelming power of the developed nations in global politics, they are able to manipulate other spheres connected with human rights, workers rights and environment to thwart the economic growth of certain non-western societies that may have the potential to challenge their dominance.

Consequently, the new nations felt that a new world order should be fostered which is more equitable and rational. To approach this noble objective, the developing nations adopted collective diplomacy, originated from the initiatives taken by some leaders of the newly independent countries from 1950s and in particular from Afro-Asian national leaders such as Nehru of India, Surkano of Indonesia, Tito of Yugoslavia and Nkrumah of Ghana. This initiative materialized in the first meeting at Bandung,

Indonesia in 1955 which laid the foundation for the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961 in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Tito. The formation three years later of the Group of 77(G77) and finally the G15 under the leadership of Mahathir Mohamad in 1990 marked the efforts of the Developing Countries in adopting new strategies for empowerment of the South. Since then, a series of diplomatic moves have been going on both at sub-regional, regional, and international level, to redress the inequitable socio-economic and political relationship between the developed and developing nations, with the aim of evolving a new international order that is more just and equitable. In spite of all the diplomatic moves already initiated by the South to ensure an equitable international order, widespread poverty and inadequate policies stunt individual potentials in a sizeable number of countries. In most cases, the poorest segment of the population are yet to benefit from overall economic growth. Poverty and inequality are contributing to political instability in most developing nations, while violent conflicts ravage the lives of many, and the foundation for durable peace and security remain fragile. While efforts are made to reverse the situation, the developed nations only pay lip service to North-South Dialogue. Instead, the main policies and decisions are made in their own interest to maintain the status quo.

This thesis, therefore, focuses on alternative approaches taken by the Developing Countries to redress existing grievances in the form of South-South Cooperation, self-reliance and a reduction of dependence on the developed nations. Specifically, this work critically examines the role of three South Nations namely, Malaysia, Nigeria, and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in designing a framework, and creating new modalities for

South-South Cooperation. In recent years, South –South cooperation has demonstrated a great potential through the sharing of Asian experiences with African countries. The potential benefits to Africa of Asian-African and intra-African cooperation could be captured further by strengthening African capacity to learn and apply lessons from other regions' development experiences, and by establishing effective mechanisms that promote South-South cooperation in various forms--such as the Langkawi International Dialogue (by Malaysia), and the Lagos Plan of Action (by Nigeria). Conflict resolution efforts in the African continent, such as those undertaken by Mandela's New South Africa, symbolize more recent measures to promote peace and stability in the South.

Nevertheless, it is admitted that many of the problems faced by the South are largely internally generated, and can only be resolved by committed national leaderships who are prepared to genuinely undertake the needed measures to redress the problem In this way, even the North can play a supplementary role in fostering more meaningful cooperation through the framework of North-South inter-dependence.

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EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED

Due to changes in the names of two of the three countries under study, the usage of certain terms representing the same nation under different regimes as well as the utilisation of some recently coined words, it became necessary to make a brief explanation to make the work more explicit.

(1) **The Post-Apartheid South Africa**: This refers to the same South Africa that has been liberated from the racist or apartheid regime and achieved black majority rule since April 1994. Is also referred to as the New South Africa.

(2) The terms "**Malaya**" and "**Malaysia**" are use alternatively, in this work, with "Malaya' referring to pre-independent peninsular Malaysia while "Malaysia" will be used for the post–1963 period with the incorporation of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore (1963 – 1965).

(3) **North-South**: This is a term used to categorize the world into developed or advanced and underdeveloped or developing nations. The North comprises the highly industrialized nations of the world such as the United States of America, Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan etc. characterised by highly technological advancement, affluence, strong and resilient economies, controllers of their destinies, and developed infrastructures that make\ life easy and comfortable.

(4) **The South**: This term encompasses the underdeveloped or developing nations of the world, characterised by low technological advancement, low standard of living, poverty, weak and defenceless economy, very vulnerable to external factors, and lacking in functional sovereignty.

(5) **South-South Cooperation**: This concept denotes a movement aimed at promoting solidarity among the Developing Countries. It is aimed at empowering the South by collectively working to reduce poverty and underdevelopment, and to secure a better life for the citizens of the developing nations as well as the achievement of self-reliance.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific Group of Countries
ADB	African Development Bank
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
ALADI	Latin American Integration Association
AMDA	Anglo-Malaysian Defence and Mutual Assistance Agreement
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASTRO	International Association of States Trading Organisation for Developing Countries
BLADEX	Latin American Export Bank
BPA	Bilateral Payments Arrangement
CACM	Central American Common Market
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCFF	Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility
CEAO	West African Economic Community
CEEAC	Economic Community of Central African States
CFF	Compensatory Financing Facility
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CPTM	Commonwealth Partnership for Technology Management
DCPA	Developing Countries Payment Arrangement
EAEG	East Asia Economic Grouping
EC	European Community

ECDC	Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECOMOG	Economic Community of West African Monitoring Group
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangment
GBC	General Border Committee
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GSTP	Global System of Trade Preferences
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development(World Bank)
IDA	International Development Association
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITC	International Trade Centre
ITO	International Trade Organisation
LAFTA	Latin American Free Trade Association
MAJDP	Malaysia-Australia Joint Defence Programme
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEFOS	New Emerging Forces
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance

OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLDEFOS	Old Established Forces
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
R&D	Research and Development
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SADCC	South African Development Co-ordination Conference
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
SITTDEC	South Investment Trade and Technology Data Exchange Centre
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
ZOPFAN	Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality

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