

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Ever since the birth of the nation-state, its history has been marked more by competition, than cooperation. Nations have vied with each other in trade. One state has tried to impose its own values on another. Empires have been created by strong countries to dominate the weak. Where cooperation has occurred, it has nearly always been on the basis of national self-interest and rarely in any altruistic, international sense.¹ Thus, the modern global system of states is still in a state of anarchy, that is, no legitimate superior authority exists to control or manage the foreign policies of individual states. Each state develops its external relations in the context of its own interest.² International alliances have often been forged between major powers, which have temporarily joined force in military terms, to attack or defend themselves against another opposing alliance. These alliances entered into apparently to promote intra-regional cooperation, inter-regional cooperation, global cooperation, and military cooperation, as well as other socio-cultural and economic groupings are all structural manifestations of global disorder and international tensions today.

The emergence of polarity in North-South relations is not surprising. Its evolution has influenced global security and peace, and created inequality in the human race. Owing to the vacuum created by the absence of a realistic global institution that ensures and guarantees the principles and practices of moral global interaction, equitable co-existence and fair-play, the physical world has become a lawless society governed by the law of the jungle, where the principle of might is right operates. This in turn has resulted in anarchy, tension

and brute force leading to man against man, society against society, region against region and the monopoly of both natural and artificial endowment and privileges by the stronger. Consequentially, nations, organisations and human nature naturally gear towards the projection, protection and the propagation of their selfish interest which tends to undermine as well as conflict with the interest of others, culminating in struggles carried out in different dimensions.

For the fact that no nation can achieve a state of autarchy, the maximisation of individual national and organisational interest becomes imminent, culminating into the survival of the fittest. Nations then utilise whatever they have to emerge as the victor while vanquishing others thus creating two artificial institutions and societies: the winners and the losers, the dominators and the dominated. In this analysis, the North vanquished the South in the struggle and therefore, has advantage over the South, and has been maintaining a status quo of dependency instead of inter-dependency--a relationship which conflicts and undermines the principles of equitable co-existence.

The leaders of the developing nations realised this state of affairs in the international community right from the period of independence and have tried to reduce the imbalance through dialogues and negotiations with the developed nations. Yet the situation, instead of improving, keeps on deteriorating. The next move the New Nations made was to adopt the principles of self-reliance through South-South cooperation; still it has not arrested the situation.

On the background of the above issues, the following points emerge as primary statements of the problem:

(1) Despite all the calls for South-South Cooperation, most Southerners do not know what goes on in different parts of the South, the ideas of other people, what their potentials are, and the manner in which South-South Cooperation can widen the development options for the member countries. Rather, each country makes its own mistakes without being able to learn and benefit from the experience of others who have been in similar situations earlier.

(2) The absolute number of poor people in the South is considerably greater now than in the past. Countries may be poor because they lack resources or the willingness and ability to bring them to use. However, the developing countries have enough resources but still remain undeveloped.

(3) Finally, the trend of events in the South in terms of growing poverty, hunger, the rapid spread of the mortal disease such as HIV/AIDS, internecine wars, corruption in government, rising unemployment with inflation, international monetary disorder, chronic balance of payments deficits and the mounting debt issues have been major sources of conflict motivating this writer to undertake this research.

1.2 Meaning and Origin of the Study

The “South” is a term, which has come into use particularly since the publication in 1980 of North-South: A Programme for Survival: Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, generally known as the Brandt Report. The

Commission distinguished between the “rich”, “Developed” North and the “Poor” Developing South.³ Together, the developing countries, accounting for more than 2/3 of the Earth’s land surface area-are often called the third world. We refer to them as the South. Largely bypassed by the benefits of prosperity and progress, they exist on the periphery of the developed countries of the North. While most of the people of the North are affluent, most of the people of the South are poor; while the economies of the North are generally strong and resilient, those of the South are mostly weak and defenceless; while the countries in the North are, by and large, in control of their destinies, those of the South are very vulnerable to external factors and lacking in functional sovereignty.

The countries of the South vary greatly in size, natural resources endowment, the structure of their economies, and in the level of economic, social and technological development. They also differ in their cultures, political system, and in the ideologies they profess. Their technological diversity has become more marked in recent years, making the South of today even less homogeneous than the South of yesterday. Yet, in this diversity, there is a basic unity.

What the countries of the South have in common transcends their differences; it gives them a shared identity and a reason to work together for common objectives.⁴ The primary goals that link the countries and the peoples of the South are their desire to escape from poverty and underdevelopment and secure a better life for their citizens. This shared aspiration is a foundation for their solidarity, expressed through such organisations as the group of 77- of which all countries of the South except China are members-and the Non-Aligned

Movement, (NAM) with a large and growing membership from all continents in the South.

Before the Second World War, when most of today's poor countries were still colonies, there was very little focus on the economic and social problems of the developing (dependent) economies that we are concerned with today.⁵ Perhaps, the facts were not so well known or perhaps, it was that the attention of most people were focused on the depression and underemployment in the developed countries. Whatever the reason for the neglect, the situation today is very different. The development of the Third World (the collective name for developing countries), which above all, is the eradication of primary poverty, is now regarded as one of the greatest social and economic challenges facing mankind.⁶

The globalisation of South-South issues, was initiated by the Non-Aligned movement (NAM), formed in 1961. Its initial aim was the preservation of the political independence of the New Nation-States, in the midst of the tension between the two superpowers.

A formal turning point after which economic issues became its main thrust occurred in 1970 at its third summit Conference in Lusaka, Zambia, with the approval of the Lusaka Declaration on Economic Progress. In this document, the concept of self-reliance was brought to the forefront of NAM's economic programme and laid the foundation for the commencement of the debate on International Economic Cooperation for a number of years, namely, the discussion concerning a New International Economic Order (NIEO).⁷ Initially, the concept of self-reliance covered economic cooperation among

developing countries (ECDC). At the Georgetown, Guyana Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1972, the concept was further elaborated and an Action Programme for economic cooperation among developing countries was produced.⁸ The programme was consolidated at the first summit conference at Algiers in 1973 and has ever since been the basic framework of all ECDC activities in the NAM context. Priority areas for cooperation were selected (initially limited to Trade, Industry, Transport, Monetary and Financial matters, Technology and Training), and an institutional set-up was conceived at the New Delhi conference in 1983. They later included the establishment of grouping of member countries-later to be called co-ordinating countries-responsible for implementation of the plan of action in specific cooperation spheres. The groups were supported by various technical and expert groups. Progress in each sphere was to be reviewed by the summit every third year as well as the ministerial meetings, every second year,

A number of other initiatives to establish new institutions dealing with South-South Cooperation were also launched in the mid-1970s. However, most notable of the initiatives by NAM at that time was the effort to introduce and implant the concept of South-South Cooperation in the United Nations system.⁷ South-South Cooperation therefore, is an integrative ideology hatched by some intellectual and political leaders of the developing countries of the world, geared towards the co-operative mobilisation of human, material and financial resources of the developing countries aimed at pursuing a common interest. Bridging the gap between the rich North and the Poor South, struggling for the achievement of self-reliance, New International Economic Order, technological advancement as well as the eradication of primary poverty are essential elements of this common platform. This movement for South-South integration and Cooperation mostly on

the economic aspect among developing countries was stimulated in the 1960s with the creation of the United Nation's regional commissions and the creation of the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) in 1960. Since then, more than 40 economic cooperation and integration schemes at the sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels have been formed, embracing most developing countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. However, inter-regional economic cooperation at the inter-governmental level was promoted by the developing countries themselves through the Group of 77 and later by the UN body such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the regional commissions such as the General System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) and the South bank.¹⁰

The plan to establish the South Commission was announced at the eighth meeting of the Heads of States and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries in Harare, Zimbabwe, in September 1986 by Dr. Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia, after he had headed a steering committee, which had been set up at an international meeting held in Malaysia, to make the preliminary arrangements for the formation of the commission. The commission was formally established in 1987, after a meeting organized in Kuala Lumpur by the Third World Foundation and the Malaysian Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS Malaysia).¹¹

However, the precise meaning of South-South Cooperation as an ideology, implies the collective self-reliance of the South and the mobilization of their people's potential and resources for accelerated, equitable and sustainable growth and their integration to multiply the impact of their domestic effort through solidarity, cooperation, and

self motivation so as to conquer underdevelopment, acute poverty and financial crises. Meanwhile, this does not mean isolation from cordial interactions from the North, because scientific and technological innovations originating mostly from the North, open up immeasurable possibilities for human progress. Therefore, the spread of global relations is a source of economic, social and political dynamism. Thus, the aim is not how to cut relationships with the North, but how to transform them from exploitation to shared benefit, from subordination to partnership, from dependence to interdependence and equitable co-existence which should be achieved by collective effort, dedication and determination from a solid position of strength.

1.3 Purpose and Aims of the Study

The politics and diplomacy of South-South Cooperation as a concept, has attracted a series of studies, reports, debates, resolutions, suggestions, speeches, summits etc. at different periods, and circumstances, and also from different perspectives.¹² Numerous works that cut across the dichotomous global economic poles--North and South--that highlight their unequal reciprocal relationship have been carried out.¹³ However, studies on the role of some individual frontline countries in mooted, sponsoring and propelling the idea of South-South cooperation have to some extent, been limited to some specific issues.¹⁴ This work therefore, attempts to examine the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa (hereafter referred to as South Africa) in initiating as well as developing a

framework and modalities for South-South Cooperation. The three countries differ from one another in terms of political creed and socio-cultural background but are economically, ranked among the middle income, newly industrialising countries or medium power nations of the South grouped as G15 and most importantly, lead their respective sub-regional groups. Activities and commitments manifest Malaysia as a big brother role player and the present forerunner of South-South Cooperation in the ASEAN region and beyond, while Nigeria since its independence in 1960, has conspicuously acted as the propulsive engine of South-South Cooperation in Africa, coordinated through the collective powers of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) formed in Lagos by 1975, with its military enforcement arm: the Economic Community of West African Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Presently, the Post Apartheid South Africa is spearheading the Southern African Development Community (SADC) by virtue of being the first among all equals within the sub-region.

The nearest works that touch on the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in spearheading the idea of South-South Cooperation are contained in separate articles and speeches that enumerate their respective efforts towards the realisation of the goals of South-South Cooperation.¹⁵ In as much as no comprehensive work

has been undertaken on this topic, it is hoped that this study will help in no small measure in filling the vacuum on the role, achievement and problems in South-South Cooperation as evidenced by Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa, while at the same time, instilling interest in others to conduct further research into an area of study of growing importance. In addressing the central question of the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa in championing the cause of South-South Cooperation, a reflection into the historical background of the concept becomes necessary as it impacts both at the formation stage and beyond.

The progress and material well being of men, institutions and nations have traditionally been at the centre of economic writing and enquiry. It constituted one of the major areas of interest of the classical economists. Development is to provide people with the basic necessities of life, for their own sake, and to provide a degree of self-esteem and freedom for people who are afflicted by poverty. Wealth and material possessions may not provide greater happiness but may widen the choice of individuals, which is an important aspect of freedom and welfare.¹⁶ The trend of events in the third world countries has been a nightmare to the researcher--in terms of growing poverty and hunger, rising unemployment with inflation, international monetary disorder, chronic balance of payments, deficits and mounting debts.¹⁷ To analyse, as well as propose viable solutions to these social and economic maladies has been one of the major concerns of the researcher. South-South Cooperation offers developing countries a strategic means for pursuing relatively autonomous paths to development suited to the needs and aspirations of their people.

On the basis of the above, the following constitutes the major aims of this thesis:

- (1) to evaluate the historical record of cooperation among Third World Countries, collectively referred to as the "South".
- (2) to examine the concept of the "South" in terms of its origin, evolution and current progress as well as problems, and
- (3) specifically, to critically evaluate the role of three South countries: Malaysia, Nigeria and Post-Apartheid South Africa in promoting South-South Cooperation, using the basic framework of their individual foreign policy principles and performance.
- (4) to explore the avenues through which Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa can muster more support from others so as to strengthen their leadership role to lead the developing nations to their desired destination, and finally,
- (5) to identify and evaluate future prospects and challenges, as well as make some recommendations for South-South Cooperation.

1.4 Scope and Limitations

The year 1960 to the present day is the target period of this study, covering a span of 40 years. Malaysia achieved independence in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960, while the New South Africa began its de-racialised existence from 1993. The period 1960 to 1993 is equally important in the research because it will reveal the commitments and efforts of the indigenous Africans of the New South Africa and the rest of the developing countries of the South that culminated in the removal of the apartheid regime in 1993.

The focus of this study is on the politics and diplomacy of South-South Cooperation, drawing reference from Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa. It will examine the institutional frame of the South-South concept--its genesis, aims, problems, and possible solutions. Of much interest and concern is the place of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in shaping the economic and political system of South-South cooperation in order to achieve a new international economic order. This study therefore attempts to identify the key issues in South-South Cooperation and the role played by these three countries as well as the problems encountered in enhancing the welfare of the South.

The subject is approached and organised according to the following chapter headings:

Chapter One: Introduction. The content of this chapter comprises the explanation of the meaning and brief historical account of the topic as well as a brief statement of the purpose, aims, scope and limitations, research methodology and sources, theoretical framework and review of related literature.

Chapter Two: This chapter focuses on the political economy of South-South Cooperation.

Chapter Three: The Genesis and Rationale of South-South Cooperation.

Chapter Four: Malaysia and the South.

Chapter Five: Nigeria and the South.

Chapter Six: Post-Apartheid South Africa and the South.

Chapter Seven: Summary, Recommendations, and Conclusion.

The task of carrying out this work invariably entails numerous limitations and shortcomings. It aims at examining as far as possible, the politics and diplomacy of South-South cooperation with particular attention to the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the post apartheid South Africa in the projection and promotion of the spirit and tenets of South-South cooperation from 1960 to the present day. However, several aspects, which are linked to the topic, will be discussed briefly and only to the extent of their relevance to the study.

A major challenge to this study is the very complexity of international politics and diplomacy. The heterogeneous nature of South-South cooperation especially in the field of international trade and investment, inter and intra-relationships--evolved as a result of diversities in national cultures, colonial orientations, political systems and ideologies--which pose a problem in the formulation of one central objective to guide all the participants. Inadequate existing literature was another obstacle because there are few books and journals available on the aspect of South-South cooperation attempted in this study, particularly those dealing with the roles of respective countries of the South towards the realisation of the goals of South-South Cooperation.

Furthermore, there exist some barriers in extracting some vital information from some specialised international agencies as a result of differences in culture, race, language and internal policies as well as the lack of an information bank on issues affecting South-South Cooperation. Besides, the painful cost of carrying out a thorough research by a foreign student without adequate financing is a well known problem. Unfortunately, through out the period of this work, no person, organisation, or government supported me financially,

directly, or indirectly, in spite of all the applications I made for assistance.

Logistically, in carrying out a study of this nature, the researcher needed a down to earth interaction within the environment of his scope of work as well as between and among the governments concerned. Since the researcher fell short of the logistic instruments needed for shuttling between the two continents, regions and sub-regions, he resorted to utilising the available sources within his reach.

1.5 Research Methodology and Sources

This study is based on a historical-narrative analysis, and examines the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in initiating as well as developing a framework and modalities for South-South Cooperation by relying on empirical data collected from both primary, secondary and tertiary sources. A content analysis has been attempted using: major speeches, interviews, conferences, round table discussions, foreign policy statements, Internet as well as textbooks, journals, articles, magazines, communiqués, published and unpublished master's theses and doctoral dissertations. Studies of this nature are undertaken on the notion that international interactions are carried out on a reciprocal basis. In the course of this study, the concept of dependence and inter-dependence are used in analysing the foreign policies of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post Apartheid South Africa towards their fellow developing countries in the context of international relations and diplomacy.

Dependence and interdependence as traditional instruments of foreign policy have historically been used by states to advance national interests. Therefore, the concepts are used as a tool of analysis for enhancing our understanding of historical processes and approaches undertaken by Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in mooted the idea of South-South cooperation. Finally, the writer employed inductive and deductive reasoning to analyse the individual and general activities of the developing nations that can help to ensure the realisation of the desires of the South.

It is an uphill task to carry out a study on the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa by laying hands on the existing literature. Few studies that were carried out on it were done on different aspects that were merely unrelated to this particular topic. Therefore, this work relies mostly on published and unpublished records, especially, those revealed in newspapers, and official publications of the countries under study. Based on the fact that the bulk of primary materials used in this study consists of newspaper reports of the three countries covered by the research, it is necessary to indicate the sources. For instance, in Malaysia, the main newspapers are the New Straits Times, Sun, The Star, the Malay Mail, Sunday Magazine, Business Times and the New Sunday Times. On the part of Nigeria, the main newspapers are The Guardian, The Daily Times of Nigeria, The Chronicle, Observer, The Nigerian Statesman, Times International, TNT, The Tribune and Vanguard. The Post-Apartheid South African dailies are: The Business Day, Metro, Sowetan, Mail Guardian, Sunday Times, Business Times, Finance Week, Leadership Magazine, News and Imperial. Some selected regional and international news reports and news monitors were utilised in certain areas of the study to harmonise with the local reports. For instance, the American Free Press, (AFP), Reuters,

London Times, The Foreign-Broadcast Information Service, Voice Of America (VOA), The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Joint Press Release Services, were all used to verify some of the information sourced locally from Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa.

The use of newspapers as an authentic source of information has often been debated owing to its inherent politicised tendencies. However, reports from diplomatic missions and other neutral foreign media are used to reduce the degree of errors. Furthermore, official government reports and publications were used to determine the official policies of the three countries under study. Various volumes of Foreign Affairs Malaysia, and similar publications in Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa were also consulted for this work.

The contemporary nature of this study made it very difficult to lay hands on archival materials except for some documented speeches, addresses and official agreements or treaties entered into particularly by Nigeria, Malaysia and the new South Africa since their independence. In this regard, some international magazines that criss-crossed intra and inter-regional boundaries such as Survey of Current Affairs, The Round Table, The Economist, Economy and Society, The Spectator, UNESCO, Newsweek, The World Today and Foreign Affairs Studies were all utilised to good effect. Most of the write-ups in the afro-mentioned works were written by experts and are mostly less politicised and were therefore, used mainly to balance the local sources. Furthermore, secondary and tertiary sources were also used to provide the necessary background information needed for understanding the role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post Apartheid South Africa in promoting South-South cooperation.

One of the problems encountered in carrying out this study is language. Some of the available works relating to the topic of research were written in Malay so that I was unable to lay hands on them. Therefore, this work was carried out by consulting the available primary, secondary and tertiary sources that were within the reach of the writer.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research is based on the concept of mutual inter-dependence of the world economy. The fortunes of countries, rich and poor, are locked together through trade and balance of payments. There exists inter-dependence in the world economy such that the malfunctioning of a set of economies impairs the functioning of others.¹⁶

The ability of poor countries to sustain their growth and development means greater demand for goods and services of developed countries which generate output and employment directly and which also help to maintain the stability of their balance of payments. This factor is very crucial if there is to be reciprocal demands for the goods of developing countries. Any constraint on demand in the system arising from, say, poor agricultural performance in poor countries, or a slackening demand in developed countries, will impair the functioning of the whole system and reduce the rate of progress for the developing world. North-South partnership can be of great benefit to South-South cooperation strategies when such

partnerships help build and maintain local capacities and excellence in science and technology.¹⁷

Taylor, in the book, *Approaches and Theory in International relations*, stated that, theories of inter-dependence do, in fact, continue to proliferate with often markedly differing realist and reformist diagnoses. For most realists, inter-dependence denotes little more than that states co-exist in an interstate system in which no one member can for long remain unaffected by the policies pursued by its neighbours or near-neighbours. For the realists, however, states are mainly concerned to maintain their independence and they only intermittently portray a sense of mutual dependence in any wider sense, the extent and intensity of which is likely in any case to vary considerably from one State or group of States to another.

Taylor further stressed that, reformists, in contrast see inter-dependence as a function of emergent world society, and an incipient world community, the members of which aim at a mutuality of interests in the general well-being of that society by excluding the use of force. Additionally, they also aim to preserve the ecological health of the society or to secure a more just International Economic Order. This reformist view is, in effect, the contemporary version of the solidarist conviction that the world is increasingly tied together in an

intimacy of conduct, and inter-dependence of welfare and mutuality of vulnerability.¹⁸

In Taylor's assumption, historically, the world may have become more closely knit, as reformists assert, in terms of the ease and speed of communication-psychologically, the world may have become a 'global village'-of the spread of industrial and electronic technologies and possibly, of thickening patterns of international economic transactions. It is believed that a greater measure of inter-dependence would make for closer co-operation rather than for greater friction. On the contrary, for the contemporary realists, as for Rousseau, the most reliable way of mitigating conflicts is to keep states apart. The more contact among states, the more potentialities for friction among them. The realist-reformist distinction indicates the theoretical premises as well as the significance of the new forms of inter-dependence for both national policy makers and for the emergence of new norms of international behaviour. The South should embrace the whole world, for it is part of that world. It cannot isolate itself nor should it wish to isolate itself from the rest of the world.

Thus it is the basic assumption of this study that North and South are dependent on each other. The interests of the rich North are served by increasing prosperity in the poor South. The interests of the

poor countries are served by increasing prosperity in the rich countries for the flows of trade and aid will continue to rise if there is rising demand and purchasing power in the North and in the South. Therefore more realistic, pragmatic and mutual interaction between North and South will lead to global prosperity and help the South to bridge the wide gap existing between them and the North in socio-political and economic sphere.

1.7 Review of Related Literature

In the submission of the Willy Brandt Report, 1980, "The North- South: A Program for Survival", regional and sub-regional integration, or other forms of close cooperation, offer a viable strategy for accelerated economic development and structural transformation among developing countries, especially the smaller ones. He opined that it supports industrialisation and trade expansion, and provides opportunities for multi-country ventures. The report further advised that to move forward, developing countries should take steps to expand preferential trade schemes among themselves. This could be encouraged by such measures as the untying of aid.¹⁹

Developing countries should give special attention to the establishment and extension of payments and credit arrangements

among themselves to facilitate trade and to ease balance of payments problems. The report elaborated that the emergence of capital-surplus developing countries provides special scope for the establishment of projects on the basis of tripartite arrangements involving developing countries alone or in partnership with industrialised countries. It also advised that both developed and developing countries should support such arrangements. Tripartite projects - including, when appropriate, industrialised countries should be encouraged by nations with complementary resources such as capital and technology.

The report finally suggested that developing countries should consider what forms of mutual assistance might help them to participate more effectively in negotiations and in the work of international organisations and to promote economic cooperation among themselves.²⁰ The Brandt report concentrated on the economic interaction between the Developed and Developing nations and economic cooperation among Developing countries. It did not specifically focus on the role of the three "frontline" states-Malaysia, Nigeria and the Post Apartheid South Africa in shaping South- South cooperation. It also failed to formulate a framework for the ways, means and benefit sharing formula for the tripartite operators: North - South and South -South. It further omitted some strategic issues that

affect most nations of the South. For instance, how the South can collectively ensure internal peace and stability as a way forward.

Julius Nyerere et.al. in the report of the South Commission in 1990, proposes policies promoting collective self-reliance in the South. The report recommended efforts that encourage joint ventures and the conclusion of agreements for the transfer of technology among Southern enterprise. It stressed that developing countries should give preferential investment and technology flows from other developing countries. It advised that business and industry in the South should be brought into the mainstream of South- South cooperation. Furthermore, it pointed out that the south's solidarity is equally essential for improving its position within the world system of economic relations. It proposed the establishment of an independent international mechanism for evaluating the requirements of developing countries, the norms, indicators for performance, the criteria as well as the conditionalities appropriate to each country and a time table for lifting protectionist barriers that adversely affect the growth of developing countries' exports to developed countries.²¹

The report took account of the situation of issues in the international community, exposed the imbalance and disparities in the international economic relations, and proposed some measures the

South should undertake to resolve certain structural problems. In the entire work, there exists a vacuum on how the South can collectively combat the ongoing tragedies in the South such as: the scourge spread of HIV/AIDS disease, internecine wars, cronyism in government services and internal instability. These pose the greatest challenge to the South.

Frances Stewart in his work North-South and South-South(1992), opined that the need for South-South links and collective self reliance has long been supported rhetorically by leaders of the South. But few links have been established, especially at the level of the South as a whole. He noted that collective self-reliance seems as unreal as North-South cooperation. The reasons for the failure to realise South-South self-reliance are similar to those of North-South relations. In his view, in practice, regional groupings develop where common interests are evident. The financial crisis that hit Southeast Asia has acted to create areas of action where common and particular interests meet. This has necessitated moves towards common markets in both Africa, Latin America and Asia as well as a series of "debtor" meetings in many developing nations. His analysis of interests suggest that small groupings of countries are most likely to work than large ones; that countries may be able to cooperate effectively on some

issues (for example, debt) but not others (for example, trade), and that the relevant groupings may vary according to the issue involved.

In his conclusion, increased South-South links seem likely to be an area where there are positive gains, as well as bargaining options, but this is not invariably the case with every type of additional South-South link. He concludes that both North-South and South-South relations, as well as small flexible groupings of countries, negotiating on particular issues, are more likely to bring about reform than large global negotiations, of the type that have failed so often in the past.²² Like many people, Stewart pin-pointed the failures of the South, ranging from the description of the South's programmes as mere rhetoric and expression of wishes rather than action but failed to stress how its rhetoric can be translated into practical reality. He also ignores the part Malaysia and Nigeria have been playing in formulating a framework and modalities for South-South cooperation. Furthermore, the book haven been published before the emergence of the New South Africa could not account for its impact in the South.

Mahbub UL HAQ in his 1976 study on The Poverty Curtain: Choices for the Third World,²³ argued that one of the essential tactics of the Third World should be to proceed through the process of

collective bargaining so that whatever bargaining strength its individual members possess is pooled together. To him, if the guiding principles for commodity stabilisation or debt rescheduling or monetary reform are to be agreed upon, it must follow from a process of collective bargaining. Once a satisfactory umbrella is established, specific agreements can always be reached, commodity by commodity, case-by-case and country by country. Collective bargaining is necessary for establishing policy guidelines while a case-by-case approach is required to reach specific, operational agreements. He finally advised that if the process is reversed, the bargaining power of the Third World will be further weakened and it is easier for the rich nations to take advantage of their diverse circumstances and interests.

Mahbub concentrated on striking a big gain from the dialogue between the North and South, thereby reducing the problem of the South only to the unequal reciprocal relationship between the North and South. He did not examine the effort of Malaysia and Nigeria in promoting South-South cooperation as well as the New South Africa due to the earlier publication of the book before it. He also did not reflect on what the South should do to address endemic political instability, heavy debt burden, technological backwardness, the spread of HIV/AIDS diseases, mismanagement and corruption which includes looting of government treasuries, and embezzlement of public funds.

In Avebury's work entitled Region to Region Cooperation Between Developed and Developing Countries(1988),²⁴ he concludes that formal South-South cooperation exercises have been far from total failures but certainly have not added up to any clear “wave of the future”. The most notable problems appeared to have been:

- 1) inadequate attention to the need to make global or even continental South initiatives manageable and actually attractive to all key participants, and
- 2) failure to perceive that mutual interest based approaches requires at least, some subordination of naked national interest promotion- especially by stronger members.

He stressed that the South tend to have either long lists of proposals with no evident coherence and prioritisation, bargaining propositions set out as maximum plausible claims with no agreed fallback or compromise positions, or something approximating what the South saw as a final compromise position put forward as if it were an initial maximum goal position. Whatever the causes, the results were counter-productive except on the rare occasions when the South put forward limited proposals which the North viewed as low-cost (e.g. the debt write-off for the least developed).

Avebury commented generally on the failures of the South ranging from lack of internal commitments to pitfalls in the bargaining strategy with the North. This thesis attempts to highlight the activities of Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa in propagating the tenets and targets of South- South cooperation.

In Steen Folke's study on South-South Trade and Development, he observes that in the early period, questions concerning the North-South issue dominated activities, but gradually more attention was devoted to the potential gains from trade among developing countries themselves. The NAM and G77 became the prime movers in the effort to promote South-South issues at a global level in the UN system. It is notable, though, that no permanent machinery for implementation of the programme existed, while promotion of concrete proposals was implicitly dependent on the UNCTAD secretariat for their technical preparation and initial implementation.

Folke examined the political economy of the South and identified as well as observed the limitations of its activities without proposing new measures for trade diversification and other promotional steps needed to be taken by the South. He further noticed that the South lacked a permanent machinery for promoting concrete proposals

except that of the UNCTAD secretariat without recommending for it a concrete machinery that can carry out its proposals.²⁵

In Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir's move to ensure that the South benefit from their resources, he suggested the setting up of a South secretariat to carry forward the momentum of tangible economic cooperation. To further contribute towards the development of South-South economic interaction, Malaysia proposed the setting up of an international mechanism to enhance South-South trade cooperation and the establishment of a data bank for information exchange on investment. In his proposal contained in the document, Towards Closer Cooperation,²⁶ the efforts of Nigeria and the Post-Apartheid South Africa in keeping the spirit of South-South cooperation alive were not included, as well as other practical measures Malaysia initiated to further the success of South-South cooperation.

Ike Nwachukwu's work entitled Nigeria's Economic Diplomacy, discusses the establishment of the Nigerian G15 Economic Cooperation Council in 1990 after the economic mission to Malaysia and Indonesia as a model of public/private sector collaboration in order to promote economic cooperation with member states in the context of South-South cooperation.²⁷ However, the study does not

reveal what Malaysia and the New South Africa are doing to achieve the goals of South- South cooperation.

Luiza Lopes da Silva in her article "Brazil's Contribution Towards South-South Peace and Cooperation, suggests that from the viewpoint of economic cooperation among South-South countries, the Brazilian government created an interactive website in the internet for the purpose of trade, partnership and investment among businessmen from developing countries.²⁸ Her observation did not obviously take account of the leading role of Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa in promoting the policy of South-South cooperation.

In Anthony Morland's work, "Mandela Begins New Mission as Mediator"(The Sun, January 18, 2000),²⁹ the effort to achieve peace for developing nations after Mandela's tenure as the New South African president, could now be better promoted in his role as a peace envoy. His latest venture was in Burundi where he has been attempting to negotiate a settlement between the Tutsis and Hutus whose conflict has claimed over 200,000 lives since it began in 1993.³⁰ Admittedly, Morland's work does not focus on the approaches Malaysia, the New South Africa and Nigeria are adopting to project the spirit of South-South cooperation.

This study, therefore, attempts to bridge the gap in knowledge regarding the current problems of the South, and provides a more in-depth analysis of the South's political economy. It also discusses the extent of success achieved to date, as well as problems faced by the South in forging closer intra-regional and international cooperation with countries of the North.

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