CHAPTER SIX

POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA AND THE SOUTH

6.1 Foreign Policy

In breaking with an isolated and divisive past, the New South Africa finds itself once more a full and equal member of the community of Nations. The global situation itself has undergone remarkable changes, providing fresh challenges for all, including South Africa, to grapple with. At a gathering of South African Heads of Missions at Johannesburg in September 1995, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, late Alfred Nzo put forward six guiding principles which underline the post-Apartheid South Africa's foreign policy approach to the new situation, namely, (i) a commitment to the promotion of human rights, (ii) the promotion of democracy, and justice, (iii) respect for international law in the conduct of relations between nations, (iv) commitment to internationally agreed mechanisms for the resolution of conflicts, (v) the interest of Africa in world affairs, and (vi) economic development through regional and international cooperation in an interdependent world. These principles guide and shape the manner in which the post Apartheid South Africa conducts official relations, both at bilateral and at multilateral context. By engaging with the world through its accredited representatives abroad, as well as through foreign representatives in South Africa, the New South Africa's foreign policy seeks to actively serve and promote the interest of South Africa and that of other developing nations through effective cooperation.

The New South Africa has Missions in 79 foreign countries, and has non-resident representation in 26. At present, it is a member of more than 20 international

organizations and has relations of some sort with 165 countries. (See Appendix Six). A hundred and one of these countries have resident missions in South Africa while four are represented non-residentially. During 1995, South Africa forged new diplomatic ties with 15 countries and upgraded relations with three.²

6.2 The Post-Apartheid South Africa and Africa

South Africa is inextricably part of Africa, Official liaison with other African countries is therefore a priority. From 1990-2000 South African representation in Africa doubled, and presently, it had official relations with 50 African countries. Offices have been opened in 25 of these countries. In the past few years, South Africa has established missions in the Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Morocco, Madagascar, Mauritius, Botswana, Ghana, Angola, Gabon, Zambia, Senegal, Egypt, Tunisia, Nigeria, and on a non-residential basis in Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Seychelles, Sudan Ethiopia and Tanzania.³

During 1995, South Africa was involved in 94 aid projects in 26 African states in the field of agriculture, education, training, small business, health care, social welfare, assistance in elections and emergency aid. Twenty-one South African officials were seconded to work in six African countries during. For instance in May 1995, the South African government donated two armored vehicles and a consignment of medical supplies to United Nations (UN) agencies providing relief assistance to Rwandan refugees. Africa has become the New South Africa's third largest continental export

market after Europe and Asia. Between 1985 and 1994, trade with Africa, excluding members of the South African Customs Union (SACU), increased by more than 500 per cent to USD8.6 billion and has continued to increase. If gold sales and unallocated exports to the developed world are excluded, Africa accounts for 15 per cent of South Africa's merchandise exports - mostly intermediate and final goods such as chemicals, textiles, rubber-ware, foodstuff, clothing vehicles and other machinery. South Africa imports far less from the rest of the continent than it exports to African countries. However, South Africa is an important market for products from Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, for cattle and sheep from Namibia and for beef from both Namibia and Botswana.

6.3 The New South Africa and OAU

South Africa officially became the 53rd member of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) on May 23, 1994. The South African flag was hoisted for the first time, along with the flags of the other member states on May 25, 1994 thus symbolizing South Africa's entry into the fold of African unity. South Africa attended its first OAU summit of Heads of State and Government in Tunis from May13-15, 1994. President Nelson Mandela was subsequently appointed Second Vice-Chairperson of the OAU During this meeting, South Africa was also appointed to the Central Organ of the OAU mechanism for the Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflict for 1994\1995. In March 1995, South Africa established a fully-fledged South African Embassy in Addis Ababa. This Embassy is responsible for representing South Africa at the OAU as well as bilaterally in Ethiopia.⁶ South Africa's first full participation in the activities of

the OAU after becoming a member, was at the Council of Ministers' Meeting in Addis Ababa in February 1995. In June 1995, a South African delegation led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki attended the OAU Council of Ministers and Summit of Heads of States and Government in Addis Ababa. Other OAU meetings attended by South Africa during 1995 included, the OAU Advisory Committee on Administrative, Budgetary and Financial Matters, Labour Commission and the annual special meeting of the Central Organ at the level of Heads of State. At the latter, the South African delegation was led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.(currently, the President of South Africa). During 1995, South Africa also participated in OAU observer missions in the Cote d' Ivoire, Tanzania, and Algeria.⁷

6.4 Prevention, Management and Resolution of Conflict.

The establishment of the mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution followed the realization by the OAU that greater responsibility should be taken for peace efforts on the African Continent in order to promote peace and enhance development after the Cold War. The Central Organ of the Mechanism has the task of taking initiatives with regard to all situations of potential and existing conflict. The post-Apartheid South Africa contributed USD16,805 to the OAU Peace Fund which is financed on a voluntary basis by member states. The Fund was established to financially maintain the implementation of the Mechanism and its activities.

In 1995, South Africa actively participated in the activities of the OAU's Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (the Central Organ).

South Africa attended several meetings pertaining to the Organization's endeavours to assist Burundi to solve its internal political problems. This included two visits to Burundi where the South African component of the Central Organ team was led by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs. At the time of the abortive coup d'etat in the Comoros (September / October 1995), South Africa, at the request of the Secretary General of the OAU, was a member of a Special OAU Mission to the troubled Island State. The other members were Tunisia, Madagascar and Ethiopia. In regional security matters, South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe constitute the Southern Africa troika which is involved in preventive diplomacy pertaining to the Lesotho constitutional crisis. Visits to Lesotho were undertaken at ministerial level as well as by Foreign Affairs officials, during which consultations and discussions were held with the Government, the Lesotho Defence Force, Police and political leadership.

6.5 Funding of the OAU

The revenue for the OAU budget consists mainly of annual contributions from member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the UN. During the 59th ordinary session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa in February 1994, it adopted a new scale of assessment. The major change that this proposal represents is a decrease of the maximum rate from 8 per cent to 7. 5 per cent and an increase in the minimum rate from 0.65 per cent to 0.75 per cent, Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa are paying the highest contribution per country per annum i.e. 7.25 per cent. In the 1995/1996 financial year, this amounted to USD1,993,025. 10

6.6 The New South Africa Spearheading Cooperation With Immediate Neighbours in Southern African: Sub-Regional Approach

South Africa's foreign policy with regard to the Southern African sub-region reflects a commitment towards close diplomatic, economic and security cooperation and integration, the adherence to human rights, the promotion of democracy and the preservation of regional solidarity, peace and democratic stability. The states of Southern Africa share a common destiny and the primary objective of the Government of National Unity (GNU) is to promote regional cooperation by maximizing growth and national welfare leading eventually to sustained regional development and economic integration. South African destiny is intimately linked to its neighbours in the region as articulated by President Nelson Mandela during the 1995 Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Heads of States summit held in Johannesburg:

Our vision for the region is one of the highest possible degree of economic cooperation, mutual assistance where necessary and joint planing of regional development initiatives, leading to integration consistent with socio-economic, environmental and political realities. Our concern for national sovereignty and national interest need not prevent us from planning seriously for regional growth and development - indeed they dictate that we move in that direction, because our fortunes are so inter-dependent. None of us can achieve sustainable growth and development, or peace and stability, in isolation of others.

6.7 Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland

The New South African policy with regard to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (the BLS countries) is based on: good political neighbourliness and the promotion of mutual cooperation; trade and sustained economic growth in the context of SADC(Southern African Development Community) and the SACU(Southern African

Customs Union); the introduction of cross-border control mechanisms to solve problems relating to stock-theft, drug and arm smuggling; and the promotion of mutual cooperation and interaction in the social, educational and cultural fields. Bilateral relations with the BLS countries are good and growing steadily in the above mentioned fields. Furthermore, relations are conducted on a diplomatic level and are based on mutual interest, respect, friendliness and constructiveness. The successful political mediation role played by South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe in Lesotho can be sited in this regard. All the countries mentioned above are South nations and their cooperation goes a long way to enhance the spirit of South-South cooperation.¹²

6.8 Development Strategy

The prime objective in creating a development framework in Southern Africa should be to promote political stability, economic viability in the region.

(a) Cooperation and Aid: The New South Africa establishes cooperation with and provides technical assistance to Southern African countries. Its priorities are policy planing in relation to development cooperation, and labour planing. This includes the provision and utilization of labour, development and the improvement of organization and work procedures. Aids provided in the field of labour are divided into five categories: (a) the secondment of public servants, (b) the appointment of skilled labour on contract with a view to placement in a regional state, (c) supplementing the salaries of certain officials appointed by recipient states, (d) assistance with in-service training, (e) organization and method study investigations, and (f) initial secondments to manage certain development projects.

The aim of the Programme of seconding South African officials to developing. states is to: (a) supply technical, professional and administrative personnel in those areas where the government of the countries concerned cannot meet specialized demands or find it impossible to recruit candidates elsewhere. The secondment of expert officials to developing states is an important instrument for development cooperation.¹³

- (b) Project Aid: The Department of Foreign Affairs offers development cooperation and assistance to a number of countries in Southern Africa. Such assistance is normally based on African-related expertise that has been built up by South Africa over the years and is wide ranging. It includes inter alia, educational visits by agriculturists, the establishment of viable training centers, the conservation of environment, the rendering of medical assistance, and capacity building measures in combating cross border crime. In an endeavour to overcome the shortage of funds the Government has embarked on a Programme to promote trilateral cooperation in Africa. This concept involves three parties: the recipient country, the donor and South Africa. South Africa is well placed to provide the necessary implementation capacity as a result of technology and expertise developed for and adapted to African circumstances.¹⁴
- (c)Technical Assistance Programme: By providing financial and other forms of technical assistance to neighboring and other states, in respect of economically viable and sound projects, the Government of National Unity (GNU) aims to: (i) promote the reconstruction and development Programme (RDP) in a regional context; (ii) promote economic development cooperation on a regional basis in Southern Africa; (iii) promote

trade, stability and peace in the region through, specifically, the economic and social upliftment of the general population and the improvement of living standards; and (v) create employment opportunities to relieve acute unemployment conditions and to provide entrants to the labour market with permanent employment.¹⁵

- (d) Technological and Financial Assistance: For the fact that the post-Apartheid South Africa is more technologically advanced than all other nations in the Southern African sub-region, it included technical and financial assistance in it's foreign policy to assist its regional neighbours. The technical assistance is rendered on a government to government basis. Through its technical assistance programme, the GNU actively promotes the four key pillars of sustainable growth and development in the region:
- (1) Investing on people as the productive and creative core of the economy: Three basic skills training centers have been established in Mozambique where more than 1000 trainees have successfully completed courses. Assistance was given to Swaziland to establish two training centers one concentrating on agricultural courses. Two skills training centres were established, one in Angola and one in Lesotho. More than 250 instructors from countries in the region have been trained in South Africa. Public servants in neighbouring countries receive regular in-service training.
- (2) Creating employment in the region: Citizens from neighbouring countries(Mozambique, Angola, Swaziland and Lesotho) are trained in basic civil construction related courses to start their own business. An industrial park was established in Maputo for that.

- (3) Crime prevention and security: Mozambique has been supplied with vehicles and equipment to combat cross-border crime. Customs and excise officials from Swaziland, Mozambique and Zambia have been trained to improve on their job skills. Snifter dogs from certain countries in the region have been trained under the technical assistance Programme.
- (4) Transforming government into an efficient and responsive instrument. Neighbouring governments are assisted by seconded South African experts to strengthen their ability (currently 21 seconded officials work in the region). Logistic, monitoring and administrative support are given to assist the process of democratization in Angola, Mozambique and Lesotho. 16

6.9 The New South Africa and SADC

The Government of National Unity's vision for the Southern African sub-region is one of the highest possible degree of economic cooperation, mutual assistance where necessary and joint planning consistent with socio-economic, environmental and political realities. The post-Apartheid South Africa strives to achieve regional economic cooperation and development by using the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SADC's organization and structure provide valuable opportunities for developing and executing South Africa's foreign policy objectives within Southern Africa. On August 3, 1994 the South African cabinet decided on SADC membership and on August 24, 1994 at the Heads of State Summit in Gabouron, Malawi, South Africa acceded to the SADC Treaty. The promotion of economic growth and development is of paramount importance as the economics of African countries are

interdependent. For this reason, South Africa's approach regarding Africa is firmly linked to the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). Within the context of its commitment to the region, South Africa has been assigned the Financial and Investment Sector of the SADC as its special area of responsibility.¹⁷

6.10 Present State of Relations

Since becoming a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1994, the new South Africa has been heavily involved in its activities. It participates actively in SADC sectors and regularly attended sectoral meetings and workshops in the region. The 15th summit conference of SADC Heads of State and Government was held in South Africa on August 28, 1995 at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg. From October 30 to November 2, 1995, South Africa hosted an SADC/EU sponsored conference in Mmabatho, on drug trafficking. On December 11, 1995 a special SADC summit on Nigeria, initiated by South Africa was held in Pretoria to share and exchange views on what the region's response to the Nigerian situation should be. South Africa was also instrumental in highlighting the importance of water in the socio-economic development of the region, and at a meeting of Water Ministers of SADC countries in Pretoria, on 23-24 November 1995, they requested the SADC secretariat to assess the viability of having water as an independent sector in the SADC structure. The Annual SADC Consultative Conference was hosted by South Africa from January 22 to February 3, 1996 at Gallagher Estate in Midrand. It was followed by an SADC/EU meeting as well as a trade exhibition. 18

With regard to the strategic planning and evaluation process within the SADC, South Africa is a member of the SADC subcommittee which oversees the SADC Rationalization Plan of Action and its Terms of Reference. Within this sub-committee, the South African planning and evaluation department plays a leading role, and its primary intention is to create a Southern African regional planning programme, management, assessment and coordination capacity within the SADC secretariat. The long-term objective will be to commission a regional resources assessment programme to create an all-encompassing resource data base for the SADC region, on inter alia, infrastructure and services as a fundamental requirement for the long-term planning of reconstruction and development in the region. On the basis of the above data base, comprehensive infrastructure reconstruction and development plans for the region can be drawn up covering all relevant sectors. ¹⁹

6.11 Funding of the SADC

South Africa contributes to SADC activities and the up-keep of the organization by means of annual contributions. SADC membership contributions are equal (irrespective of the size of the economy) for all members.

Total South African contributions to the SADC for 1995 are:

Membership fees:

USD150,000

SADC commission

for Transport:

USD55,000

SADC commission

for agriculture:

USD43,750

From 1995 henceforth it became an annual contribution by the relevant Southern African nation 20

6.12 Expected Development

While the SADC provides the most viable vehicle through which regional planning and development for the benefit of the whole region can be realized, it remains an ambitious and daunting task to bring together these strategies of planning and development in an integrated approach. South African interventions should, whether through sector coordinators of the SADC secretariat, be guided and influence by regional interest. Although some institutional constraints within the SADC are recognized, South African national and provincial departments, and experts continue to assist in the process of consultation, coordination, and cooperation aimed at the successful implementation of regional community building. The Reconstruction and Development Program and Southern Africa: The (RDP) aims, in the long run, at sustainable construction and development in Southern Africa as a whole. In this context, the RDP supports the goals and ideals of African economic integration as laid down in the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuia Declaration.²¹

6.13 Trade with Southern Africa

Whilst South African trade with its neighbours in Southern Africa constitutes a relatively small percentage of its total trade with the World, this trade has been growing rapidly over the past few years. Southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique accounted for 64 per cent of South African export market (excluding Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland) in 1994. In addition, a

significant percentage of South African export to Southern African countries that are non-members of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) consist of manufactured goods. There is complementarily between the type of goods imported by the SADC and Common Market for Eastern and Southern African (COMESA) countries, and the goods exported by South Africa. However, the current trade pattern between South Africa and the sub-continent is unbalanced, as regional exports from South Africa exceed exports to South Africa by four to one. The RDP therefore, states that the Government must develop policies in consultation with its neighbours to ensure more balanced trade.²²

The Government, in consultation with neighbouring states, endeavours to encourage coordinated industrial development throughout the region, in an effort to develop the capacity of South African neighbours to export manufactured goods to South African markets. The government also envisaged contributing towards the development of regional and industrial strategies for specific sub-sectors, such as mineral extraction, auto components and textiles. The development of joint, mutually beneficial projects to develop Southern African regional water resources, electricity and energy supply, transport and telecommunications, as well as agricultural and food production is also encouraged. The government furthermore, encourages technical and scientific cooperation with South African neighbours to enhance the development of expertise in the region in areas such as agricultural research and development, environmental monitoring and protection, health and other research.

These objectives are being pursued through active participation at all relevant levels in the activities of the SADC. Concurrently, the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) is being reconstructed to enhance democracy and equity. Within these structures, the Government hopes to enhance the capacity of the region to interact effectively with international financial and trade institutions.²³

The Ministers of Trade and Industry agreed in their meeting at Harare, Zimbabwe, in June 1995, that when developing a Trade Protocol, the development of a coherent regional industrial policy had to be taken into account. They consequently agreed that a need existed for rigorous research to underpin the trade protocol—hence an initiative by South Africa to embark on a major study of the comparative and competitive advantage of each SADC member state. Although the initiative came from South Africa, attempts were under way to make the study an SADC project. The project was crucial since it was intended to address the acute discrepancies between SADC countries' industrial development which caused the significant bilateral trade imbalances that exist between SADC member states.²⁴

6.14 Employment

Africa has the highest population growth rate in the world (3.1 per cent a year) and the lowest average rate of economic development. To cooperate and accommodate the more handicapped, the government allowed hundreds of thousands of migrant workers to make their way to South Africa every year—mainly from Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland. In recent years, more than 1.2 million

migrant workers and commuters from neighbouring countries have been legally employed in South Africa at any one time. Thousands more are unconventionally employed or self-employed in South Africa.²⁵

6.15 Power and Water

In order to alleviate the problem of energy and water supply for the Southern African sub-region, the new South African national power utility, Eskom provides more than 50 per cent of the electricity generated on the entire continent of Africa and exports electricity to all neighbouring countries. The largest water supply scheme ever undertaken in Africa is the Lesotho Highlands Water Project- a joint venture of the South African and Lesotho governments. The project will also be a source of electricity for Lesotho, which stands to benefit from income generated through the transfer of its surplus water to South Africa. A Southern African Power Pool was established on December 8, 1995. Eventually all the SADC countries as well as Zaire will join. The objectives are to trade energy between utilities, to coordinate planning and to share technical information. A joint team has been established to look at common interest in the energy sector.²⁶

Cooperation with regard to water matters between South Africa and Botswana was boosted in November 1995, with the setting up of a joint water commission. The two countries share the Limpopo, Molopo and Nossob river systems. In the same month, the SADC's first conference to focus on water resource management was held in Pretoria. Delegates from the twelve SADC states at the conference included Water

Ministers and senior officials of their departments. They were given the task of developing a vision for the future and of drawing up a Programme for future resource management.²⁷

6.16 Agriculture

South Africa is a founder of the Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilization of the Soil (SARCCUS) founded in 1948. SARCCUS is an intergovernmental organization with eight member countries. Its mission is the promotion of closer technical cooperation in all matters pertaining to agriculture and the rational development, control and utilization of all related resources. The Permanent Secretariat hosted by South Africa is seated in Pretoria. South Africa is a willing partner in the Southern African region, sharing its agricultural expertise and advanced technology.²⁸

6.17 Financial Affairs

Investment, development aid and loans by the South African private sector make a substantial contribution to the economies of many countries in the region. Many of the railways, roads, hospitals, factories and agro-industrial plants were built with the aid of South African expertise. The South African Reserve Bank provides banking services to Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia, which form the Common Monetary Area (CMA) with South Africa. Parity between the currencies of CMA members facilitates trade between them. The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) was established to finance economic development projects in Southern Africa. The DBSA's borrowers are

governments, development agencies and NGOs. By September 30, 1995 the DBSA had approved loans to the value of USD2.333 million for 2002 bank projects and programs. The DBSA is also structured to administer grants from local or overseas public, or private sources.²⁹

6.18 Science and Technology

By employing and training migrant workers, and workers in countries in which projects are undertaken, South African mining houses, construction and other companies operating in Southern Africa help to generate a pool of skilled workers vital to the economic development of the countries concerned. In addition, these activities create jobs. Many Southern African countries draw freely on various technologies appropriate to African conditions which were developed by South African organizations such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the South African Bureau of Standards, and various universities.³⁰

6.19 Health Services

Most of the vaccines and other medicines used to prevent or to control common diseases in Southern Africa, such as tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, tetanus, malaria and measles are manufactured by South African laboratories. In any one year, more than 3000 patients from other African countries receive specialist treatment in South African hospitals. The private sector helps to cast the life-line of South African medical expertise to other countries in the region. There are regular privately sponsored visits to Lesotho and Swaziland by teams of South African physicians and nurses.³¹

6.20 The Post Apartheid South Africa and International Organizations

(a) Post-Apartheid South Africa and the United Nations

Now as one of the frontline nations in the cause of the South, the New South Africa uses the international organizations forum to press for the South's interests. For instance addressing the UN on October 23, 1995 during the 50 th anniversary of the organization, President Mandela appealed for the restructuring of the UN Security Council into a more widely representative body. Mr. Mandela said that changed world circumstances did not permit the continued mal-distribution of decision-making power within this organization. He went on to call for a reshaping of UN structures to truly reflect the diversity of the universe and to ensure equity among nations. To celebrate the anniversary of the UN a nationwide campaign was launched to create an awareness among South Africans of the role of the organization.³²

(b) Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Commonwealth

In June 1994, South Africa became the 51st member of the Commonwealth after an absence of 33 years. Immediate advantages for South Africans included the facilitating of trade with, and travel to other member countries, participation in the powerful Commonwealth heads of government meetings held every two years, and participation in the Commonwealth games. South Africa attended the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting which was held in Auckland in November 1995 and played a major role in discussing the Nigerian problem.³³

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(c) The Non-Aligned Movement

South Africa joined the Non-Aligned Movement at the May 1994 Ministerial Conference which was held in Cairo, Egypt. South Africa participated in the Ministerial Meeting held in April 1994, in Bandung, Indonesia as well as the Eleventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement which was held in Cartagena, Colombia, by October 1995. Deputy President Mbeki headed the South African Delegation to the latter meeting. The Post Apartheid South Africa hosted the 12th Conference of Heads of States or Governments of the Movement of Non -Aligned Countries, Durban, 2-3 September 1998.³⁴.

6.21 Mandela's Role in Promoting South-South Cooperation

During Mandela's visit to Malaysia and Singapore in 1998, he narrated the historical ties that link South Africa and some Asian nations, particularly Malaysia which attests to the presence of Malay natives in South Africa today. To him, the relationship and cooperation between the two countries dates back many centuries ago. He then expressed his desire for the consolidation and strengthening of the relationship and cooperation. Since then, lots of economic and security cooperation efforts have been going on between the new South Africa and Malaysia and other Asian nations. For instance, Malaysia is the second largest investor in South Africa after the USA. South Africa in turn loaned airplane jets to Malaysia as well as other cooperation efforts.³⁵

Nelson Mandela perceived peace as the pivot on which, social, political and economic progress rotates. In his bid to ensure the progress and well-being of the

developing nations, i.e. the "South", he blamed the leaders of Burundi and Congo in the Central African region for their many years of engagement in terrible civil wars and focussed the United Nations attention on the warring nations through the address he delivered to the Security Council on Wednesday January 19, 2000. Mandela, the former president of the new South Africa and new mediator in the Burundi civil war, said violence had intensified and threatened to further destabilize the volatile region. He appealed to the Security Council to quickly intervened in Congo and Burundi, where killings, burning of houses, and forcible removal of people from their homes have become common occurrences. He explained that the misery of the Burundi and Congo people affects all Africa and diminishes the humanity of all races. He reiterated that Burundi's six years old civil war, never high on the world agenda, has resulted in 200,000 deaths, 500,000 refugees fleeing the country and 800,000 people displaced from their homes in a nation with 6.5 million people. African presidents asked Mandela in December to review stalled peace talks on Burundi, replacing Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere who died in 1999. He called on all the armed rebel groups to attend a meeting in January 2000 in Arusha-Tanzania and expressed that he was confident that all groups would be brought into a successful peace process. 36

In the spirit of South-South Cooperation, Mandela used one of his final addresses as South African president to call for a "New World Order" and justice for the poor. In the address he delivered in Beijing University on Thursday May 7 1999, Mandela expressed his hope that "Asia and Africa will shape a "New World Order" to promote equality, safeguard world peace, and reflect democratic norms of our age in the

decision making structure of world bodies." Under his Agenda for Peace, he used the occasion to make an impassionate plea to end the NATO bombing of Kosovo and refugee problems calling for both ethnic cleansing and the "unilateral and destructive" actions of NATO to be "condemned in the strongest terms." On the plight of the poor nations of the world, Mandela voiced that "the international independence of world economies and a global economic system sees a widening gap between the richer and poorer parts of humanity." He said we must ensure that globalization benefits not only the powerful but also those whose lives are ravaged by poverty. In his effort to achieve peace for the developing nations, Nelson Mandela having stepped down as South African president is now more in demand as a peace envoy³⁷. His latest venture is in Burundi where he is attempting to negotiate a settlement between the Tutsis and the Hutus whose conflict has claimed over 200,000 lives since it began in 1993. In Mandela's speech, the purpose of the negotiation is to bring about peace and political stability in Burundi and also to stop the senseless slaughter of innocent civilians, men, women, children and the aged.

In Mandela's continued search for peace and stability in the developing nations, he used the forum of the non-aligned movement summit hosted by South Africa to appeal to all peace loving people and organizations to help in bringing peace in Sri Lanka, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Jammu and Kashmir. He urged the people of the South to cooperate in finding lasting solutions, which will be the prelude to development and security in the third world. President Nelson Mandela pressed Suharto for the release of East Timorese rebel leader Jose Xanana Gusmao, who

prior to the 1999 East Timor crisis, was serving a 20-year jail sentence in a Jakarta prison.³⁸

6.22 South Africa's Frontline Role in South-South Cooperation

The post-Apartheid South Africa is by far the most advanced in the region. Although the total South African population of 42 million people accounts for but 31 percent of the total population of all SADC countries taken together, the South African economy contributes about 80 per cent of the total gross domestic product of about USD 170 billion produced in the twelve member states. South Africa also accounts for almost 70 per cent of the combined total exports of USD43 billion of the SADC region. South Africa's dominance is even more pronounced in the financial markets. In Folke's submission,

the new South Africa is about the only country in the region with well-functioning and independent specialized financial institutions such as banks, long-and short-term insurers, private sector pension funds, mutual funds, participation mortgage bond schemes and mining and industrial finance houses. With a total market capitalization of about USD280 billion, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange dominates the capital markets of the region. With a daily turnover of about USD7 billion, the foreign exchange market in Johannesburg is providing an increasing service or international settlements for a number of other countries of the region. With a turnover of more than USD700 billion in 1995, the South African bond market and a growing market for derivatives, South Africa is in a favourable position to provide sophisticated financial services for the whole SADC region. 39

This dominating position of the South African economy has certain advantages, but at the same time, makes harmonious regional cooperation more complex. Some of the other partners in SADC hold an understandable fear that their economic independence will be jeopardized by a too aggressive policy of economic integration of the region. The

role the new South Africa plays within the SADC must therefore, be approached with tact and ingenuity. South Africa was given the responsibility for managing and developing the Finance and Investment Protocol, For this purpose, there is a Council of Ministers of Finance that meet from time to time under the chairmanship of the South African Minister of Finance to give guidance to a programme for closer financial cooperation amongst the participating countries in SADC. Two sub-committees were also established, one a Committee of Treasury Officials, and the other a Committee of Governors of Central Banks and their officials with clearly defined terms of reference for each one of these Committees.⁴⁰

6.23 Challenges Facing the Post-Apartheid South Africa

The new South Africa as a South nation, has many challenges to face which include: (a) the need to foster development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of South and Southern Africa, and support the socially disadvantage through regional integration, (b) to promote and maximize productive employment and utilization of resources of the nation, and (c) to achieve the sustainable utilization of natural resources and effective protection of the environment. Based on the strategic position of the new South Africa in the Southern African sub-region, it has the challenge of endeavouring to, (i) foster the harmonization of the political and socio-economic policies and plans of member states (ii) mobilize the people of the region and their institutions to take initiatives to develop economic, social and cultural ties across the region and to participate fully in the implementation of programmes and operations of SADC and its institutions, (iii) develop policies aimed at

the progressive elimination of obstacles to free movement of capital, labour, goods and services of the people of the region generally among member states, (iv) to promote the development of human resources, (v) to promote the development, transfer and mastery of technology within and among member states, (vi) to improve economic management and performance through regional cooperation, and (vii) to map out a realistic and result-oriented strategy aimed at the reconciliation, mediation, dialoguing among member states in the time of disputes to ensure stability internally and externally. Prominent among all the challenges facing the New South Africa is how to ensure that the twin process of Globalization and Liberalization are harnessed and redirected to address its development needs.

More challenges facing the New South Africa include sustainable development, good governance, poverty eradication, the peaceful resolution of disputes and the deepened interdependence of states. As a developing nation, one of its challenges is the emancipation of women, respects for the rights of children, the development of youth, the social integration of the disabled, the provision of jobs and the expansion of access to education and health services. The New South Africa has the challenge of finding the new practical ways in which to increase mutually beneficial cooperation among the countries of the South, in all spheres of human activity and to strengthen the spirit of solidarity, shared interests and a common destiny.

6.24 The Road Ahead

There is a growing enthusiasm in Southern Africa for a regional approach to economic development issues. There are unfortunately, more than one initiative for multi-national regional economic cooperation arrangements in Sub-Saharan Africa, initiatives that often compete with each other. In Southern Africa itself, the SADC and COMESA (the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) groupings provide many overlapping services and some countries belong to both organizations and others to only one of the two. The time has come for governments in the region to consider a merger of the two competing regional groupings into a more viable single regional association. There is among some governments still a strong suspicion of the motives behind closer economic cooperation in the region. The question arises whether it is perhaps not a real danger that the powerful South African economy will exploit the smaller economies for its own advantage. South Africa has to act with great discretion in performing its role in the programme.

Internally, South Africa has still many serious economic problems that must be resolved to improve the living conditions of its own people. Unemployment is high, many communities live in great poverty, and there is a relatively wide gap between high and low incomes earned in the country. Many people therefore, believe that South Africa should concentrate all its resources on the development of its own economy. There is, however, a basic fallacy in this approach. Whenever South Africa makes some progress in solving its own economic problems without a parallel development in other countries in the region, the unemployed from the other countries get sucked into the South African

system. If South Africa is not prepared to accept more exports from other African countries and does not want to allow part of the South African savings to be invested in these countries, Johannesburg will have to absorb great numbers of unemployed people from the rest of the region. The region of SADC is generally becoming an attractive place for foreign investors. Its potential for economic development is vast, while undeveloped human resources and the exploding demand for goods and services emanating from people who are now being absorbed for the first time in a real market economy, must lure many multi-national institutions to the Southern African region.

END NOTES

- 1. South Africa Yearbook 1995, Ministry of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 1995, p. 179. After South Africa's first ever democratic election in April 1994, it became committed to reintegrating with the international community. Due to regional and global challenges, the reintegration programme is not just seen by the new nation as a mere wishful expression because the world is watching the Post-Apartheid regime, the birth and growth of a new nation--a rainbow country which in spite of its diversity has become a symbol of unity and goodwill.
- 2. Ibid.
- 3. Ibid.
- 4. Barber J. and Barrette J., South African Foreign Policy: The Search for Status and Security, 1945-1988, Halfway House-Southern Book Publishers, Pretoria, 1990, p. 12.
- 5. Ibid., p. 14.
- 6. Chakoodza, A..M., <u>International Diplomacy in Southern Africa: From Reagan to Mandela</u>, Longman Publishers, London, 1990, p.18.
- 7. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 20.
- 8. G. S. Mills, <u>From Pariah to Participant: South Africa's Evolving Foreign Relations 1990 1994</u>, Penguin Press, London, 1992, p. 36.
- 9. See New Nation, September, 17, 1997, p.9.
- 10. Ibid, p. 21.
- 11. Speech by Nelson Mandella during the 1995 Meeting of the Heads of state and Government of Southern African Development Community SADC !7-18 July 1995 in Johannesburg.
- 12. See A Yearbook of South African Institute of International Affairs 1994. P12.
- 13. Ibid.
- 14. See Sunday Times, August 26, 1995, p.11.
- 15. Ibid.

- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Harris, C. J. and Ingpen, B. Mailship of the Union Castle-line, Fernwood, Cape Town 1994 p. 94.
- 18. South Africa Yearbook 1995, , 1995, ibid. p. 188.
- 19. Ibid.
- 20. Ibid.
- 21. W. B. Wosloo, Enterpreneurship and Economic Growth, Human Science Research Council, Pretoria, 1994, p. 27.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. P. Kok et. al., <u>Development Research in South Africa</u>, Human Science Research Council Pretoria, 1994. pp. 37–39.
- 24. H.C.J. Van Rensburg, <u>Trade and Development in South Africa: Structure and Dynamics</u>, Academica, Pretoria, 1992, p. 19.
- 25. Ibid.
- 26. South African Yearbook 1996, p. 188.
- 27. Ibid.
- 28. R. J. Payne, <u>The Non-Super-Powers and South Africa</u>, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1990, pp. 34-36.
- 29. R.J. Payne, <u>Third World and South Africa</u>: Post Apartheid Challenges, Greenwood Press, Westport(South Africa), 1992, p. 42.

 Note: The exchange rate in 1995 was 1 USD = 5 Rand.
- 30. South Africa Yearbook 1996, p. 191.
- 31. Ibid p. 190.
- 32. Anthony G. McGrew et. al., Global Politics, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992. p. 54.
- 33. South Africa Yearbook 1996, p. 192.
- 34. Steen Folke, et. al., South-South Trade and Development, St. Martins Press, New York 1993. pp. 3-4.

- 35. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 36. South Africa Yearbook, op. cit., 1995, pp. 139-40.
- 37. See Business Day, November 2, 1998, p. 7.
- 38. <u>Ibid</u>.
- 39. Folke, op. cit, p. 6.
- 40. South Africa Yearbook, 1995, p. 139.