

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

There are times when nations, regions or international communities occasioned by the prevailing or impending situation need to revise and restructure the fundamental rules and ethics by which they conduct their affairs. Such periods may be marked by unsatisfactory situations on the issues of the time or flaws in the impending system, revolution, war or certain changes in the law, constitution or particular institution. Whatever may be the case, the alteration of ground rules either worsens or transforms the society. Example, we live in a world in which a large proportion of people are without enough food, while a small proportion indulges in superfluous consumption; in which massive waste coexists with pervasive deprivation; in which majority of the people have little control over their fate and futures, but are essentially at the mercy of trends, processes and decisions in the centres of power of the developed world. The ill feeling or reactions of the Third World nations to this state of affairs after gaining their political independence made them to come together under the umbrellas of the Non-Aligned Nations, the Group of 77 as well as the Group of Fifteen Developing Countries (G15) created from the Non-Aligned Movement Summit to foster dialogue with the North.

From the inception of NAM, the Group of 77 and recently the G15, a series of diplomatic moves within international institutions have been going on to balance the imbalance between the developed and developing nations. yet the vast debate, dialogue and negotiations over shares, justice and cooperation between them still remained

unresolved. After so many years of diplomatic negotiation for the restructuring of the global economy, the mass of the people in the developing world till date have gained little from their economic and social involvement in what is still industrialized nations dominated world economy while the poor are actually poorer still. The reason for this imbalance in the world of the 1960s is precisely the same as the reason at the beginning of the 21st century. A market system uncorrected by institutions of justice, sincerity, equitable sharing and caring makes the strong, stronger and the weak, weaker.

The question then is: which route will the developing nations follow?. In the first place it should become clear that Third World progress obviously depends on its own efforts and upon what the developed world does to help. However, since the developed nations are not genuinely committed to alleviating the problem, it has become very clear that the responsibility for development primarily lies with the developing countries themselves. Thus, what the developing countries need is a global strategy of development and an integrated Programme of international cooperation that would curb any form of discrimination. It requires primarily a strengthening of linkages among developing countries, accompanied by a greater mobilization of domestic and Third World resources and a greater reliance on domestic and Third World markets. It is these interaction, rather than relying on developed world, that is now expected to provide the principal stimulus for economic development in the Third world nations. The need for international socio-economic and political cooperation is not only increasing but is becoming inevitable. Science and technology have simplified activities and reduced the world into a global village; factors of production and distribution are becoming more

mobile, information system is now more simplified, and economies are becoming more interdependent in both trade and finance. Whether we live in Africa, Asia, Europe or America decisions made by global negotiators on trade, finance, global governance, military security, environment and information, as well as the issues about poverty, health, hunger, human rights civil war, population and women's equality, all have a far reaching influence on the food we eat, the price of goods, job prospects, peace, and long-term security of our environment. Technological advances and higher incomes are creating pressure against common property resources and generate new public goods and public flaws as they have in the past with respect to whaling, the electromagnetic spectrum, deforestation and possibly, ozone depletion. It is no longer possible for any one group or nation to escape the effects of international trade or environmental degradation. The power of global communication has made it possible for actions anywhere in the world to influence events anywhere else almost instantaneously. In all, the crux of the problem in North-South negotiation over the frame of a new international economic order is that on most occasions, the resolutions express aspirations instead of actions. Furthermore, the real negotiations where binding decisions are made by the powers that be, take place elsewhere.

7.2 Recommendations

Neither the countries of the North, nor those of the South would lose if North-South cooperation and integration could proceed on the basis of efficiency, rationality, and sincerity. Technological advances, increasing mobility of factors of production and distribution due to higher incomes are now creating pressures and weakening the

traditional instruments of policy applied at the national level. North-South interdependence on the regional level is a win-win "positive sum" game where all partners benefit especially, the slow growing ones if the process is managed on the basis of mutual interests and commitment. Faster growth in the South will spur international flows of trade and investment, foster growth and employment in the North and help to reduce payments imbalance among industrial countries. Sustained development in the South will therefore enlarge the demand for the North's exports to the North's advantage. To this end, the North needs the South for good economic reasons. The North cannot hope to remain isolated from the social and political upheavals in the South because it will spill over in various ways. For instance, the steady flow of refugees from the countries of the South to the United States and Europe, and those from the South fleeing from the zones of conflict, persecution, hunger and natural disaster in the bid to seek for a better life enter countries of the North legally or illegally. The North may neither enjoy a genuine peace nor stable and secure prosperity without the South overcoming underdevelopment, hunger, poverty, accelerated growth and a better life for its people. Thus, a rational endorsement of North-South interdependence is the obvious answer. This covers the provision of the factors of production and distribution, labour and technology transfer. For in this era of globalization, regions, sub-regions and nations need more interaction than before. Furthermore, while subscribing to Dr. Mahathir's postulation of Smart Partnership based on genuine trust, which he said is the way of the future in the internet-worked world, sincerity is a key element. Therefore, in the words of Mahathir, unlike the "you scratch my back, I scratch your back" win-win model of yesteryears, the newer model of partnership involves a triple win framework or a philosophy of trust,

sincerity and equity. Mahathir opined that mutual trust must be the building block for all kinds of partnership at the global, regional, national or local levels. Such a relationship of trust provides the glue to healthy and sustainable smart partnership and governance arrangements for sustained development of the organism. Thus, sincerity, trust, and equity will be the three cardinal building blocks for all North-South interaction. Furthermore, the democratization of the international institutions giving way to collective decision-making and implementation should constitute a key basis of North-South relations, while transparency, the cultivation of the spirit of co-existence and embracing the principle of reciprocity will be a way forward for the future North-South interaction.

7.2.1 On South-South Cooperation

The South Commission Report published in 1990 proposed policies promoting “collective self reliance” in the South. The report recommended measures that encourage joint ventures and the conclusion of agreements for the transfer of technology among the Southern enterprises. “Developing countries” should give preferential treatment to investments and technology flows from other developing countries. Business and industry in the South should be brought into the main stream of South-South cooperation. Moreover, it would be beneficial for investors from the South to be granted more favorable treatment than is given to foreign investors generally, this would enable Southern investors to compete on fairer terms with companies from the North.

Prominent among the postulations of this thesis is the reduction of the South's dependence on the North and the expansion of the scope of South-South cooperation

through Smart partnerships. Based on these premises, South-South interaction should not be limited only to economic cooperation, rather, there should be the exploration of the following areas:

- (1) The elimination of hunger is the most basic of human needs. The South as an organization, should collectively put an end to mass hunger and malnutrition. This will be done by initiating and financing food production and liberalization of trade in food and other agricultural products between and among South countries which will contribute to the stabilization of food supplies and prices.
- (2) The South should set up and sponsor international agricultural research institutions. More importantly, the more positive leaders of the South countries such as Malaysia, Nigeria and the New South Africa, should collectively enlighten their fellow national leaders of the terrible danger to world stability caused by the arms race, the burden it imposes on national economies, and of the resources it diverts from peaceful development.
- (3) Every effort should be made by the South as a unit to secure international agreements preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The South should try to make its impact felt in the making of the global commonwealth of the 21st century. For instance, for decades, the relationship between many neighbouring countries in the South has been marked by intense suspicion and rivalry: India-Pakistan, North-South Korea, China-Taiwan, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Nigeria-Cameroon, Saharawi-Arab Democratic Republic and Morocco etc. Some others not beset by the war with their neighbours are internally destabilized by ethnic conflicts or power struggle. For example: Sri Lanka, Indonesia-East Timor, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Rwanda(between Hutus and the Tutsis), Somalia,

Liberia, Nigeria, Colombia, Angola, Afghanistan, Haiti, Burundi, Yugoslavia and the Democratic Republic of Congo .

In this regard, the South should not wait for the UN only to intervene in such cases but to form a formidable inter-regional security body under the umbrella of the South, with the following as its duty: to quickly deter the occurrence of any dispute within or between neighbouring nations of the South, and mediate, reconcile, arbitrate, dialogue and intervene with military might when peaceful negotiations fail--while the United Nations can only be playing a supplementary role. This is based on the inability or reluctance of the United Nations Security Council to act decisively in matters of security especially as they pertain to the South. Instances abound in Kosovo, Somalia, Burundi, the Democratic republic of Congo, Rwanda etc. This system of timely mediation is presently in force in the West African sub-region where the Economic Community of West African States led by Nigeria constituted the monitoring group (ECOMOG) as its military enforcement arm.

(4) If self-reliance is a meaningful term in the South, it is imperative that the South takes this step. It is going to be a way the South can assert its relevance in international affairs. Regional and sub-regional integration, or other forms of close cooperation, still offer a viable strategy for accelerated economic development and structural transformation among developing countries especially the smaller ones. It supports industrialization, trade expansion and provides opportunities for multi-country ventures. The South nations should also encourage labour mobility amongst themselves. The emergence of capital surplus developing countries provides special scope for the establishment of

projects involving developing countries alone or in partnership with industrialized countries.

In most cases, the leaders, representatives and officials of the South wrap up their talks in diplomatic jargons and high sounding words like confidence building measures, bilateral cooperation, smart partnership, preventive diplomacy, joint ventures etc- with very little of it demonstrating any sensitivity to the plight of the masses. If one follows the proceedings of the summits or meetings of the South representatives, the question that will linger in one's mind will always be the relevance of their resolutions to the man in the street. Sometimes, the officials lose track of the realities of the bread and butter issues on the ground as they engage in intense government-to-government negotiations. This is normally evidenced by the joint communiqués and official statements issued after their meetings which normally contain much diplomatic verbiage but very little heart and soul. This is not to suggest that their discussions are useless or unprofitable. On the contrary, they have helped to cement goodwill and understanding between nations with continued prospects for peace and stability in their regions. However, one still needs to ask: what is the impact of South-South cooperation on the man in the street of the South?

Malaysia, however, ought to be commended for initiating some programmes like Malaysian Technical Cooperation Programme (MTCP) which: (a) trains some selected citizens from the South countries, (b) organizes leadership training programmes and currency control measures for South leaders, and (c) gives assistance to the developing nations struck with natural disasters and other circumstances, particularly the Muslim

brother nations of Kosovo and Turkey. Under the umbrella of the United Nations, Malaysia has been sending soldiers for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under Mahathir, Malaysia has initiated moves for the total emancipation of the South nations from the shackles of neo-colonialism and has relentlessly called for the restructuring of the global financial system and the United Nations itself. Malaysia has invested economically in the South nations more than any South country.

From the African geo-political viewpoint, Nigeria has acted as a “big brother” nation in the entire African continent, provided employment, made a series of donations sponsored projects, financed liberation struggles and directly intervened in military conflicts between and within African countries and achieved peace for Liberia and Sierra Leone. Nigeria has provided employment to job seekers of neighbouring countries when its economy was booming, particularly, Ghanaians, Togolese, and citizens of the Niger republic. The post-Apartheid South Africa has provided specialist hospitals that administer treatment for SADC member countries also provides employment to SADC countries' citizens as well as sponsoring some projects for its African member states. Under Nelson Mandela, South Africa mediated in a series of conflicts in the South nations such as: Nigeria, Libya, Iraq, East Timor, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo etc.

However, a critical appraisal of the precarious situation of life in South countries particularly in Africa reveals that a lot still needs to be done to address some critical situations such as :the spread of HIV/AIDS, shortage of food, and internecine wars.

According to the UNICEF review, AIDS is taking a "terrible toll" on women and children in Africa. Out of 590,000 infected children in the world in 1998, 530,000 were Africans and out of 14 million people who have already died of AIDS in the world 11 million lived in Africa, one quarter of them children. UNICEF further stated that over seven million Asians are already infected with HIV as the virus is clearly beginning to spread through the vast populations of India and China. A Boston Consulting Group report on the epidemic in Malaysia estimates that 170,000 Malaysian adults could be HIV-positive by 2000. This figure translates to three HIV infections among every 200 Malaysian adults. In Africa, the epidemic has been a torrent that has swept southwards into Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa. Uganda holds the world's record for orphans with 1.1 million followed by Ethiopia with 700,000. UNICEF stated that the modern anti-aids treatment is inaccessible to the poor countries and alternative resources are a priority that requires urgent action to treat and prevent the disease.

The UN Food and Agricultural Organization annual report on the food supply and crop prospects in Sub-Saharan Africa observed that fighting, population displacement, drought and diseases have wrought "exceptional food emergencies" in 16 African countries: Angola, Burundi, Congo Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Mauritania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda. Conflict was also taking its toll in the Great Lakes region. The food supply situation in the DRC remain precarious due to persistent insecurity and population displacement, while renewed fighting in the Congo Republic had had grave food effects. Food production activities were disrupted in

Burundi and Rwanda by the security situation there, while inadequate rainfall and army-worm infestations affected newly-harvested crops. The South should take these issues up at the inter-regional level and collectively find a lasting solution to the worrisome situations.

7.3 Conclusion

At times when the news of aids, war, hunger, natural disasters or fatal accidents are heard, people treat them as a common issue; but the full human tragedy of the situation can only be understood by visiting the scene or communities whose family, life, social fabric and means of livelihood have been devastated by it. In response to the failure of many governments in Africa to live up to expectations of eradicating or coping with poverty, fashion out an effective preventive measure for the fatal aids epidemic, prevent internal conflicts, guarantee human rights, curb gangsterism, secret cults and prostitution, the leaders of the South as a union, should play a vital role, as is shown by the examples of the FAO, UNICEF, TICAD, and the UN Volunteers working in some of the rural communities in Uganda that are struggling to curb the spread and effects of HIV/AIDS.

The development of the Third World clearly includes addressing the following key issues: eradication of primary poverty, treatment and prevention of aids, ending internal conflicts, human rights abuse, wars, formation of secret cults among students, gangsterism and prostitution-which are of great social, economic and political challenges facing mankind particularly the South. It is on record that the initial concept of the

South's self-reliance merely covered economic cooperation among developing countries. Priority areas for cooperation were initially limited to trade, industry, transport, monetary and financial matters, technology and training. It is the development and unfolding issues of the moment that determines action and approaches for solution. Thus, the South will have to change their gear and expand their scope of responsibility by helping the United Nations agencies to address this situation. This is because as the doctor helps the sick, the sick are expected to help themselves. Since most of the fatal tragedies are taking place in the South, what is the South as a union and its front-liners doing? It is the contention and considered opinion of this writer that the grave root cause of this precarious and fatal situation in which some African countries and some parts of Asia find themselves--like the scourge of HIV/AIDS--streams from prostitution, rape, poverty and ignorance. Other social vices, as gangsterism, secret cult formation, burglary and civil disobedience represents moral and socio-economic issues and should be addressed as such. Future human survival in the South will depend on its ability and willingness to teach and learn new behaviour. Gross immoralities and practices need to be reduced if not eradicated and a moral behavior, spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding inculcated into the society through enlightened programmes using formal and informal social institutions. This is born out of the fact that there can be no new societal order without a new societal ethics which can be imparted through socialization. Africa in particular, have a responsibility towards making African societies better societies and ensuring that every one will enjoy a healthy life, equity, peace and a conducive new order .

One has to be critical of people who assert that what has delayed our progress is colonialism and neo-colonialism from the standpoint that the period of oppression of any person or group of persons will be determined by the oppressed. In recent times, the Malaysian government resisted the devastating practices and effects of currency speculators and succeeded. The early nationalists said "no" to foreign rule and achieved independence. South Africa stamped out the apartheid regime and many other abuses. The South's major problem is internal, and it stems mainly from the moral standard. Therefore, the foundation of our moral ethics will have to be dismantled and restructured. It is a project whose actualization requires concerted effort, volunteer programmes, institutions and international government support.

The United Nations using its agencies like the FAO, UNICEF, and UNDP has sent innumerable relief packages to many South countries, particularly in Africa, struck with HIV/AIDS epidemics, poverty, population displacement as a result of wars and drought that called for humanitarian emergency supplies like food, medicine and medical facilities. Through the UNDP, the UN set up the Urban Government Initiative (UGI), a programme meant to assist the local governments to perform their task effectively in advancing the five principles of livable and sustainable cities: (a) social justice, (b) ecological sustainability, (c) political participation, (d) economic productivity and (e) cultural vibrancy. This UGI aims to use visual and new information technologies to develop neighbourhood level report cards to help young people improve ties and city links to share experiences. This programme is ongoing in Asia. Other programmes are social change indicators, and peace keeping operations. All these programmes represent

right steps in the right direction in addressing South problems especially at the grass roots level. Yet, obviously this is not enough, and there are other levels at which the issue can be addressed.

7.3.1 An Alternative but Complementary Paradigm of South-South Cooperation

The South should recruit, train and send some volunteers to the areas of the South seriously affected by any problem the home country will not be able to solve alone. The South should devise a means of curbing further spread of HIV/Aids through the Smart Partnership formula, inculcation new moral ethics into the people, focusing on social change indicators, poverty, extended families, health, education and social standards, population control, prostitution, teenage pregnancy, sustainable human development and self-reliance. In terms of operational method, the recruited volunteer workers will be trained to use the enlightened people in the communities to form groups that would jointly be addressing the problems of HIV/AIDS and the care of the orphans. To meet the costs involved the better placed nations in the South will make some donations and sponsor the volunteers. The work of the groups will centre on guidance, counselling and education .

Under poverty eradication, the volunteer groups will focus on mid-term and long-term programmes for instance, sustainable human development--which means having more choices in life rather than having choices made for one. Sustainable means ensuring that those choices as well as future ones are not constrained by dirty air and unhygienic conditions. The group can as well initiate the Urban Government Initiative

(UGI), which will work hand-in-hand with Non-Governmental Organizations in African countries like Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia. The NGOs and UGI will serve as a window on what South-South cooperation is all about and can offer. The group can form community links--a special link with other communities to share experiences. This proposal if followed and implemented will make South-South cooperation more relevant in international relations and diplomacy. This is a fact because it is difficult to find people in the streets of most South nations that know what the concept South-South cooperation means, but are quick to acknowledge the role of UNDP, UNIDO, UNICEF and WHO etc.

A French adage notes that it is better to teach a man how to catch fish and eat rather than giving him fish on demand so that when he is in need he can catch the fish and eat himself. Through enlightenment and socialization programmes the people will be able to take care of their situations themselves, because the volunteer workers will not be there for ever. The volunteer group can help students form anti-crime clubs. This is in view of the rise in secret societies, gangsterism and vandalism involving students. It may comprise student functionaries, parents, police and teachers who will be meeting from time to time to review the situation. In this way, the club will be proactive in helping the government to curb crime in the society. The groups as well, will help the local government to promote the values of good governance such as rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus orientation, probity, accountability, equity and effectiveness. This will be done in the manner of constructive political socialization and should be inculcated into the schools and the growing population for the building of a

new society as the children of today are the leaders of tomorrow. An effective inculcation of these ethics into the growing society will help to restructure it, hence a new society will be born.

In the course of interaction of nations, anxiety is not about the depletion of resources but about the best distribution and exploitation of those resources for the benefit of all mankind rather than for the benefit of a particular nation. This invisible barrier exists within nations as well as between them, and should provide a unity of thought and purpose to the Third World countries which otherwise have their own economic, political and cultural interests. This lack of understanding over the appropriate modalities of cooperation within the developing countries will, if not redressed, will likely generate more issues than we can imagine.

It has always been a great historical mistake when people reduce all the problems of the South to the conflict between them and the North or the incessant pointing of accusing fingers at colonialism and neo-colonialism as the main factor for the backwardness of the South. On the contrary for instance, as we look at the achievements of the century just past, we must all pay tribute to the end of colonialism. Too often however, the end of colonial rule has also meant the end of effective government particularly in Africa. The liquidation of colonial rule subsequently gave way to corrupt government or no government at all. Nothing ensures hardship, poverty and suffering as the absence of a responsible, effective and honest polity--a condition that post-colonial Latin America, Africa and Asia must prevent with steadfast vigilance.

However, the glory of societies or nations is not from never having fallen--rather the glory lies in the ability to rise each time we fall. The blood, sweat and tears of our predecessors who struggled to achieve our nations' political independence are priceless--hence their struggle should not be in vain.

The failure of the North-South dialogue and the present threat to the economies of the South posed by globalization epitomizes the fact that we need no prophet to predict to us that it would be unrealistic indeed to expect justice and welfare to be achieved merely by global resolutions rather than by committed inter-regional decisions. Economic achievements and progress depend primarily on favourable domestic factors, including positive government policies and effective implementation.

The problems militating against the South's breakthrough should be grouped into two categories namely, the major and minor problems. The **minor problem** includes: weeping economies or lack of capital, weak economic structures, low agricultural productivity, limited acquisition and application of technology, limited purchasing power, unequal exchange of wealth with the developed nations of the world, many failures in implementation of programmes, poor educational systems, wrong choice of policies, implementation and supervision. The **major problem** includes: leadership problems in the South, occasioned by mere pursuit of political power based on political adventurism, religious fanaticism, tribal parochialism/ethnicity, and economic opportunism which leads to power struggle, dictatorship, instability, mal-administration, corrupt enrichment of officials, appointment of officials of the government based on sentiments as against

merit, practice of closed rather than transparent government, financial mismanagement, and wars with neighbours.

For South-South cooperation to be effective, a security institution should be established which is capable of handling those intractable issues within the Southern nations. The efforts of the front-line countries of the South should be coordinated. This will be done through a central multi-regional headquarters to be located in one of the countries of the South that is central to the three major regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is proposed that branches be established in the three regions: Africa- (Nigeria), Asia (Malaysia), and Latin America (Brazil). Duties of the regional headquarters will include:

- (1) Identification of the problems of member countries of the region and transmission to the general headquarters for necessary action;
- (2) Identification of the potentials of the member nations within the region and reporting to the general headquarters which will in turn advise them on how to utilize their endowments to get what they do not have;
- (3) The negotiation and supervision of the bilateral relationship between member nations based on where they have comparative advantage, and
- (4) Standing as a witness or surety between member nations in business interactions.

The developing nations under the umbrella of the South should collectively emphasize and imbibe the spirit of transparency, accountability, probity and service. They should denounce sectionalism, tribalism, ethnicity and the marginalization of the

minority or weaker groups by the majority or more powerful groups. The South leaders should also try to appoint government officials based on merit as the abuse of this principle has been one of the major sources of internal ineffectiveness and instability in most developing nations. In another dimension, the South leaders should jointly promote job-creation in developing countries with particular emphasis on agriculture. Larger investment on education and health care is also important. The medium powers or the members of G15 should assist the poorer countries in employment and access to their markets.

This work has drawn attention to the reality that the South by virtue of its natural endowments, capabilities and viability is stratified along the following categories (1) The very poor, (2) The coping poor, (3) Communist Asia, and (4) The middle income or medium powers. In the natural process of life, while the very poor are aspiring to, at least, cope with poverty, the coping poor are longing to join the middle income nations. As Communist Asia is struggling to industrialize, the middle income nations are pushing for higher incomes. Considering the fact that each of these groupings has inherent targets of catching up at least, to the next level, they consider their interest first or paramount in their relationship or interaction with any other nation irrespective of the statuesque of such a nation. And taking into cognizance the biblical assertion that, "for unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath (St. Mathew 25 : 29), there lies the genuine fear that the better-placed nations within the South will use their strategic virtues to manipulate

and exploit other weak and more vulnerable ones in the name of South-South cooperation

Based on the above observation, the following areas call for more inquiry-

- (1) How can the South structure the framework of South-South cooperation to prevent South - South conflict and antagonisms occasioned by South - South manipulation and exploitation?
- (2) What will be the best mode of reciprocal relationships between and among the developing nations?
- (3) To what extent has South - South cooperation been able to alleviate the problems of the Developing Nations?
- (4) What is the impact of globalization on the economies of the Developing Nations?
- (5) Will South - South cooperation make or break the South?
- (6) Who will be standing as an arbiter between member states in cases of economic exploitation by one member of the South against another?
- (7) How can technical training be provided for the citizens of the South using South institutions?
- (8) How can transfer of technology be best effected between and among member nations?
- (9) Which institution carries out the security action of reconciliation, dialoguing, arbitration, mediation and intervention where necessary between, within and among member states when and where necessary?
- (10) Can the South take over programme of administration of aid from the North to the South nations to ensure that the target groups receive the assistance?

For the South in general and for the South's strategic diplomatic endeavours in particular, some critical issues remain to be addressed, namely:

- (a) Globalization means greater and greater pressure to conform to de-regulation and a borderless world. Can the South in these circumstances, resist conformity and maintain an independent foreign policy as many South countries are doing now?
- (b) Globalization further means the progressive erosion of international borders in the legal sense. In such a situation, how can the South continue to defend the sovereignty of nation-states and the sanctity of national boundaries?
- (c) Can the South depend upon the UN as the defender of last resort to preserve and enforce certain fundamental codes of behaviour in interstate relations, particularly the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of its member countries?
- (d) Can the South still depend on the UN for finding solutions to the domestic political conflicts arising within its respective countries?
- (e) Will the South continue to depend on the UN for mediating in conflict between one nation-state of the South and its neighbours?
- (f) Can the front-line states of the South still depend on the UN for some severe emergencies in the Southern nations- like hunger, epidemics, natural disaster and other issues that need prompt assistance, aid or intervention?

All these issues affecting the South as well as the rest of the world, are bound to impact greatly on the aims, programmes, and project of South-South cooperation in this millennium. It is hoped that this study has made a modest contribution towards a greater

awareness of the multitudinous problem facing the South, and the potential for cooperation--at least, as evidenced by the role of Malaysia, Nigeria, and the Post-Apartheid South Africa--to uplift human welfare and dignity of the South in the 21st century.