

**Speech by former Deputy Foreign Minister and current SA Special Envoy to the Middle East and chair of the South African Council on International Relations, Mr Aziz Pahad.**

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This year is the 26<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the release of Mandela, the 22<sup>rd</sup> year of SA's democracy, the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of signing into law of the democratic constitution of SA.

I wish to thank SALO for organizing the meeting on "Global trends in 2016 and SA foreign policy in 2016.

Foreign policy in 2016 will, like all previous years, adjust to some new realities and tactics. It may differ in interpretation but fundamentally will be based on the reality that broadly speaking foreign policy post 1994 has been based on policies adopted since the formation of the ANC in 1912, which tried to take into consideration the domestic, international and African geo-strategic realities at that time.

At the founding conference of the ANC on the 8th January 1912 attended by delegates from SA and other parts of Africa. Pixley Seme, the ANC President declared, 'we are one people united in struggle for the 'Regeneration of Africa''. and he called for a united front, (in Africa) of various social, ethnic and class forces to achieve the strategic and historic objective of freedom and independence".

After the defeat of fascism and the signing of the Atlantic Charter. The ANC in December 1943 adopted, "The Atlantic Charter *from the Standpoint of Africans in SA*". In its preamble it stated that "if fascism and fascist tendencies are to be uprooted from the face of the earth, and to open the way for peace, prosperity and racial goodwill the Atlantic Charter must apply to the whole British Empire, the United States of America and to all nations of the world and their subject peoples". The war "can be converted into a war for human freedom if the settlement at the Peace Table is based on human justice fair play and equality for opportunity for all races, colour and classes".

On 26 June 1955 the Congress of the People adopted the Freedom Charter, which, not only re-iterated the Pan-Africanist character of our struggle, the necessity to resolve all conflicts peacefully and through negotiations and that political emancipation had to be followed by fundamental economic transformation.

It is therefore not a matter of accident or some imposed ideology that our foreign policy is progressive, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, internationalist and multilateralist.

Democracy, human rights (understood in the broad sense to include economic and social rights), good governance, anti-racism, anti-tribalism, peaceful resolution of conflicts, respect for sovereignty and equality of all states, big and small, are all important elements of our foreign policy.

The first democratic election in 1994 was a Teutonic moment which enabled the ANC-led Government guided by the vision of “A Better SA, A Better Africa and a Better World to ensure that SA’s foreign policy reflected our domestic priorities and national interests.

Our National Interest demanded that we rejected the notion that “SA was a European outpost” on the African continent and recognised that South Africa’s future is inextricably linked to that of Africa.

Based on the Constitution the democratic government based its policies on 7 fundamental principles:

- 1) Fundamentally transform and ensure sustainable growth of the SA economy to empower the people;
- 2) Deal with the legacies of apartheid colonialism;
- 3) maintain the stability and security of SA, including its constitutional order and its institutions;
- 4) Develop a peaceful and prosperous integrated Southern Africa region;
- 5) Develop a stable and prosperous African continent, which is not marginalized in world affairs;
- 6) Resolve all conflicts by negotiations;
- 7) Develop a multipolar just and equitable world order.

In 1994 - the year of our democratic transformation the foreign policies of all countries in the world were grappling with the consequences of the collapse of the Berlin Wall and socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The international relations environment and foreign policy development and implementation became more complex after the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the US.

The USA National Security Strategy Doc (Nov 2001) introduced the concept of pre-emption and the willingness of the USA to attack any state that supports or harbours "terrorists". It also signaled a decisive move towards unilateralism and the tendency to deal militaristically with very complex problems.

### **Some characteristics of the global world order in the 1990s and 20s**

- a) Unprecedented pace of globalisation and information technology.
- b) A unipolar order in which the US emerged as a political, economic and military hegemonic super-power with policies based on exceptionalism. There was an absence of a balance of power in the global system, no common vision of global security, and an increasing militarisation of diplomacy;
- c) The consistent disregard of the UN Charter and International Law and increasing resort to unilateral action or actions by 'Coalitions of the Willing' which seriously weakened the UN multilateral systems;
- d) Structural financial and economic crisis impacting on all developed and developing countries; rises of narrow national interests and the weakening of the quest for the common good.

In 2016 many governments, think tanks and analysts have identified some major global trends ,which largely represent previous identified trends. .The 2016 trends include:

-The world economic and financial crisis

Recently the bank of International Investments in a report “Calm before the storm” warned that the world is facing a new major financial crisis.

- Growing under development, unemployment and inequality
- leadership crisis at government and non-government levels.
- Rising geo-strategic competition
- urbanisation
- Youth bubble.
- Gender discrimination
- Climate change including severe weather changes
- intensifying manifestations of narrow nationalism and national interests resulting in the growth of “Islamophobia”; proliferation of right wing and neo-fascist organisations in Europe and the USA; Christian and Islamic religious fundamentalism, alienation, and marginalisation; the rise and internationalisation of extremism and terrorism
- The unprecedented migration crisis
- Peace and security

The challenge for SA’s Foreign Policy in 2016 is to determine whether we have the capacity for foreign policy development and implementation to meet these challenges. NGO’s must ask what contributions can we make?

### **Chairperson**

UNDERDEVELOPMENT, POVERTY AND INEQUALITY still remains one of the most strategic challenges facing humanity and SA

The UN General Assembly, on 14 December 1960, adopted the historic *“Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples”*, whose objectives became an integral part of international law and the international value system.

Among other things, in this Declaration, the Peoples of the World declared that,

“convinced that the continued existence of colonialism prevents the development of international economic co-operation, impedes the social, cultural and economic development of dependent peoples and militates against

the United Nations ideal of universal peace”; and that “all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

Since the formation of the OAU over 50 years ago our priority has been to ensure that the formerly colonised peoples should exercise the right ‘freely (to) determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural determination.”.

A vision that has yet to be realised compelling ,In 2000, the historic UN Millennium Summit Declaration to proclaim that “we believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalisation becomes a positive force for all the world’s people. For, while globalisation offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalisation be made fully inclusive and equitable.”

The Head of states identified core values that should drive foreign policy:

- Freedom. The right to live in dignity, free from hunger and from the fear of violence, oppression or injustice.
- Equality. All must have the opportunity to benefit from development.
- Solidarity. Distribution of costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice.
- Tolerance. Respect for diversity of belief, culture and language. Differences should be cherished as an asset of humanity. Promote a culture of peace and dialogue among all nations.
- Respect for nature. Prudent management of all living species and natural resources, in accordance with the precepts of sustainable development. Only in this way can the immeasurable riches provided to us by nature be preserved and passed on to our descendants. The current unsustainable patterns of production and consumption must be

changed in the interest of our future welfare and that of our descendants.

- Shared responsibility. for managing worldwide economic and social development, as well as threats to international peace and security, must be shared among the nations of the world and should be exercised multilaterally. The United Nations must play the central role.

6 years later in 2006 Kofi Annan the than UNSG was forced to say:

*“We face a world whose divisions threaten the very notion of an international community upon which the UN stands for.*

*The events of last 10 years have not resolved but sharpened the challenges of our unjust world economy, world disorder and contempt for human rights and the rule of law”.*

, In July 2015, the United Nations adopted the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on financing for development. In September, world leaders met in New York and adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) contained in this Agenda build on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and are the guiding global development framework for the next fifteen years. the SDGs focus on addressing the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment as identified by the South African Government

The global sustainable development goals reflect South Africa’s National Development Plan and the development priorities of the African Continent as contained in NEPAD and Agenda 2063.

Of importance is that the SDGs recognise the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities. This takes into consideration the different national realities, capacities and levels of development of countries and also respects the national policies and priorities of countries.

To ensure delivering the sustainable development goals, we need to recognise the importance of the means of implementation. These , *inter-alia*, includes ::

- financial resources (both domestic and from outside sources, including development assistance);
- capacity building;
- technology transfer and;
- promoting a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the World Trade Organization.

To achieve this, the 2030 Agenda recognises that the international community needs a revitalized and enhanced Global Partnership that brings together Governments, civil society, the private sector, the United Nations system and other actors. Without this commitment, the ambitious agenda that has been adopted will be hollow and lack any credibility.

As we move towards the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, an area of importance that should be focused on is how to effectively address illicit financial flows and the negative consequences that emanate from it. The report of the African Union's High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa, chaired by former President Mbeki, estimates that Africa loses more than \$50 billion dollars per year as a result of illicit financial flows. The revenue lost could have been invested in addressing the Continent's development needs such as poverty and hunger, education, health and infrastructure.

The successful adoption of these key development outcomes is a stark recognition that we cannot address global challenges alone and more than ever, in the face of increasing political, social and economic challenges, we need to work collectively to ensure global peace and prosperity.

The non-govt. structures of society must constantly monitor whether we are making any progress in implementing the lofty ideals of Agenda 2030, taking into consideration that despite many previous commitments today Africa still constitutes one of the poorest regions in the world

In 2016 the global political and economic situation has not changed fundamentally. There is no need to adopt new policies, the UN, OAU/AU and SA have taken many policy decisions to deal with these challenges. The question is what have we achieved?

In 2016 and beyond our foreign policy must ensure that all sectors of government give greater attention to implementation of the many priorities identified. These include managing of scarce resources such as water; food security, education; conflict prevention, management and resolution; health; science and technology, human development, industrialisation, infrastructure development, environment, economic integration; corruption and lack of leadership. Taken in totality, they address the important objectives of self-reliance and the internal and regional integration, conflict prevention, management and resolution, political, economic and corporate governance, protection and promotion of democracy and human rights and people-centred development

.Regional Integration is crucial for achieving our developmental agenda.

Since the formation of the OAU African leaders understood that the balkanization of Africa by the Berlin Conference in ..... demanded that Africa intensifies its efforts for regional integration. The regional process of economic integration must be viewed within the context of the continental efforts towards economic and political integration. The AU Heads of State and Government meeting in Sirte, Libya in July 2005 reaffirmed that the ultimate goal of the African Union is to realise a full political and economic integration leading to the United States of Africa. The Union Government was envisaged to have identifiable goals based on a set of clear, shared values and common interests.

The AU Summit held in Banjul, Gambia in July 2006 recognised that the pace of integration on the continent must be accelerated because Africa cannot become a full-fledged member of the international community without having achieved its own monetary and economic integration.

The challenge today is to honestly and critically understand what progress we have made?

**The SADC** Summit in 2006 optimistically adopted a time frame for its integration process.

- The formation of a Free Trade Area by 2008
- The completion of negotiations of the SADC Customs Union by 2010
- The completion of negotiations of the SADC Common Market by 2015
- The diversification of industrial structures and exports with more emphasis on value addition across all economic sectors by 2015
- Increase in intra-regional trade to at least 35% by 2008;
- Increase in manufacturing as a % of GDP to 25% by 2015.

Today SADC has not reached any of these time frames.

### **WHY?**

The *Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Report 'Assessing Regional Integration in Africa'*. ECA stated that *Regional Economic Communities (RECs)* in Africa lacked dynamism because of the actions (and inactions) of their member states. According to ECA, a deeper understanding of the situation in the RECs was



feasible only after exploring how regional integration processes are viewed and implemented at the national level. ECA found that agreed integration objectives were not adequately internalised, and that delays in ratifying protocols were inclined to hamper the timely implementation of decisions. Broad-based support for integration was lacking, relegating civil society and the private sector to the role of being spectators to the process. To this end, it was ECA's conclusion that African governments should review their organisational structures in order to implement their regional agreements.

ECA also found that, in the majority of African countries, regional cooperation did not proceed beyond signing treaties and protocols. Specifically, there was no inclination by member states to integrate the objectives of the treaties within the required timeframes, or with the requisite commitment in national development plans, or in the sectoral programmes of appropriate line-function ministries and departments. ECA found that the inability to translate REC goals into budgets and national plans could also be attributed to lack of commitment to integration. Where political commitment existed, it was easier for a country to draw up its national development plans, strategies, and programmes with regional considerations and with the regional market as the point of reference.

**Latest decision is to integrate three regional groups – SADC-COMESA and the ECA.**

**NB: to analyse whether the challenges the ECA raised in 2006 have been resolved to enable the successful creation of a “super integratio league”**

**To meet the challenges of underdevelopment, poverty and inequality Economic Diplomacy will also be a SA foreign policy priority in 2016.**

**b) Peace and Security**

It is generally understood that there can be no security without development no development without security and no democracy without development and security. Is the fact that the many countries are still under-developed, the world is confronting, many violent conflicts, and democracy is fragile is indicative of the reality that this constantly stated perspective is not reflected in the policies of many governments.

The UNSC agenda is dominated by African issues, including:

- South Sudan
- Darfur
- -Central African Republic
- Burundi
- Rwanda
- DRC
- Somalia,
- Nigeria,
- Kenya
- Zimbabwe
- Western Sahara

Ambassador Nhlapho will deal with some of these issues.

### **Extremism and terrorism**

As I indicated after 9/11 the “militarization of diplomacy” became the driving force of many governments and many major powers are increasingly resorting to military solutions to complex problems.. Little attention is given to the root causes of terrorism.

The” war on terror” has reached new heights in North Africa and the ME. Concepts such as “axis of evil”, “clash of civilizations”, “Islamic fascism”, “rogue states” and the “coalition of Sunnis” drives the foreign policy perspectives of many countries. This is having a profound impact on regional and global peace and security. Some are dangerously talking of the use of” limited nuclear weapons” and a “third world war”.

The policies of some major powers in the region are based on the concept of “constructive chaos to achieve what the US secretary of State Condelesa Rice in 2006 termed the “New Middle East”. The Sykes-Picot agreements which artificially carved up countries and new countries formed is being re-visited aggressively. There is much speculation that countries including Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Libya will be carved up.

Policies including regime change in Iraq and Libya, and the attempted regime change in Syria by military means; attempted regime change by non-military means; proxy wars; the failure to find a political solution for the Palestine legitimate struggle for self-determination; the creation, funding and arming of extremist and terrorist groups; the “Coalition of the Sunnis”, the Sunni-shite tensions and the war in Yemen; the constantly changing alliances: the

internationalization of extremism and terrorism including the growing links with groups in the Sahel, Boko Haram and Al Shabab, the recent attacks against civilians in Paris, Tunisia, Baghdad, Islamabad and Mali and the attacks two days ago in Cote d'Ivoire and Ankara are matters of grave concern and will be high on the agenda of all countries for many years.

The above factors are major causes of the unprecedented migration crisis especially in Europe where Europe is being torn apart and the future of the European Union is being debated.

The new migration and anti-terror regulations and the reluctance to implement international law on the right and protection of refugees, the new EU plan to send immigrants back to Turkey which has outraged the SG of Amnesty has brought into sharp focus the reality that the values of democracy, good governance, human rights, and the common good is being undermined.

Last week the Swedish minister of culture noted that "we are fighting for the soul of Europe."

It is important to concentrate the enormous resources in finding a peaceful solution based on the will of the Syrian people. Those who argue that "Assad must go" are spoilers and need to be isolated and rejected.

The cessation of hostilities agreement seems to be holding and must be supported.

All of these developments impacts on SA foreign policy.

**Palestine**-SA will continue its efforts to support the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and a peaceful negotiated solution and all international resolutions on this issue.

**C) The OAU/AU has adopted important policies on Democracy, human Rights and Good governance.** These include:

The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (1981) NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance (2002)-This created the APRM; African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007)-also deals with inter-alia unconstitutional changes of government; the AU Agenda 2063 –Aspiration 3-"Africa shall have a universal culture of good governance, democratic values, gender equality, respect for human rights, justice and human law" . AU has policies on the unconstitutional change of government today should it also consider the reality that constitutionally some Heads of State have been in

power for over 20 years and others have democratically changed the constitution to stay in power

We must analyse the obstacles Africa faces to achieve these stated objectives

Also is it not time to re-examine whether the policies of ‘force feeding’

democracy is democratic or achievable.?

ICC will remain a issue for Africa and SA.

It is important to have a rational debate and look at all submissions made by African signatories to the review meeting of signatories.

Sadly there has been too much distortions about African positions. There is a growing body of opinion arguing that African signatories must withdraw from the ICC

#### **D) Climate Change**

In December 2015 the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change unanimously adopted the Paris Agreement. The UN Secretary General noted that this outcome was historic. For the first time a common legal platform has been created for enhanced action on climate change that is applicable to all countries while retaining the principle that there remains differentiation of action and support between developed and developing focus.

SA representatives to conference played an important role in achieving conference outcomes. A representative of DIRCO must be invited to elaborate on how this will impact on foreign policy

#### **E) Crisis of global economic and political governance**

Given the complexity of the challenge humanity faces, some of which I have mentioned, it is self-evident that no country or selected grouping of countries can tackle these challenges outside of the UN system.

Today, once again, history has obliged SA foreign policy to answer the question: What do we do, collectively to fundamentally transform the global governance structures?

Important shifts in the global balance of power and global objectives have taken place since the United Nations was established over 50 years ago.

The unprecedented process of globalization resulted in the emergence of a unequal, interdependent global village, and the global governance architecture has failed to respond to the imbalance in the distribution of power inherent in contemporary global human society in all fields of human activity, including the political, economic, military, technological, social, and intellectual.

For many years developing and some developed countries have discussed the fundamental transformation of the UN. Former UN Secretary Generals Boutros Ghali and Annan have initiated reports on this challenge. The truth is that we have not made much progress in fundamentally changing the global governance structures.

Some progress made on reforms of workings of UNGA

However little progress on UNSC reforms

Africa positions. Based on "Common African position"-2 permanent seats with a veto for UNSC and additional non-permanent seats

It is important for Africa to Avoid dividing Africa on an issue that will not be resolved soon

While the UN, is not a perfect instrument, it remains the only viable multilateral instrument to achieve the broader goal of creating a just world which employs multilateral institutions for the promotion of economic and social advancement of all peoples, a world in which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; a world that respects equal rights for men and women and nations, large and small and a world which does not confer unilateral rights to the rich and powerful nations.

## **Conclusion**

Unfortunately, Africa's foreign policy responses to Continental and global developments seems to respond in a fragmented way and therefore is less effective in promoting our collective interest Internationally. To successfully confront these tendencies SA foreign policy must as a matter of priority must strengthen AU institutions and African leadership; it must rigorously promote and implement NEPAD.Agenda 2063 and all other policies relating to under-development.

This demands that SA's foreign policy in 2016 is committed to accelerating regional integration and creating strong and sustainable building blocks for a United States of AFRICA.

Today, , SA foreign policy is increasingly confronted by issues of war and conflict, abject poverty, gross violations of international law, terrorism, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Islamophobia, human rights violations, racism, ethnic intolerance, and in many European countries and USA, in the wake of the economic crisis and unprecedented immigration, a growing right wing and neo fascist tendencies. Mondays results in the German elections is a prophetic warning

SA, Africa and the world must have creative foreign policies based on shared values and the common good to meet the multifaceted complex challenges.

Thank you.