

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND



**A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POST-1994 MULTILATERAL
DRIVE IN SELECTED INTERNATIONAL MULTILATERAL ORGANISATIONS**

PATRICK SPHEPHELO ZUBANE

STUDENT NUMBER: 201132682

**Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts
(Development Studies) in the Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa,
South Africa**

Supervisor

Dr Lucky E. Asuelime

Co-Supervisor

Dr. Gillo Momo Lekane

December 2016

DECLARATION

I, Patrick Sphephelo Zubane with (student Number: 201132682) do hereby declare that:

(i) The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.

(ii) This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

(iii) The thesis does not contain other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

(iv) This thesis does not contain other person's writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

a) Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;

b) Where their exact words have been used, their writing has been inside quotation marks and referenced accordingly.

Patrick Sphephelo Zubane

.....
Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving and caring mother, who has supported me throughout the years. May the Lord bless her and shower her with happiness in this life and the next.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank both my Supervisor and Co-Supervisor for the guidance and support they have given me. I would also like to thank both the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies and the Department of Politics and International Studies for their guidance towards the success of this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my family for being supportive always through this phase of my, and in my academic life as well. My family's support and prayers have always been my source of inspiration.

I would also like to acknowledge the moral and friendly support by my friends: Nothando, Thando, Nomahawu, Muzi, Mduduzi, and Mlambo among others.

To all the above mentioned parties, I would like to thank them all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACJHR	-	African Court of Justice and Human Rights
AEC	-	African Economic Community
AHSI	-	African Human Security Index
ANC	-	African National Congress
ARF	-	African Renaissance Fund
ASEAN	-	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	-	African Union
AUC	-	African Union Commission
BRIC	-	Brazil, Russia, India, and China
BRICS	-	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CEB	-	Chief Executives Board
COGTA	-	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COMESA	-	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
DIRCO	-	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
ECOSOC	-	Economic and Social Council
ECOSOCC	-	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West African States
EU	-	European Union
FAO	-	Food and Agricultural Organisation
IBRD	-	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	-	International Development Association
ILO	-	International Labour Organisation
IOM	-	International Organisation for Migration
ISR	-	Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
NDP	-	National Development Plan
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	-	Non- Governmental Organizations
OAU	-	Organization of African Unity
OHCHR	-	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

PAC	-	Pan African Communist
PIC	-	Public Information Centers
RC	-	Residence Coordinator
REC	-	Regional Economic Community
RISDP	-	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
SA	-	South Africa
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SADCC	-	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference
SAIC	-	South African Indian Congress
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
SWAPO	-	South West Africa People's Organisation
TVET	-	Technical Vocational Education and Training
UN	-	United Nation
UNAIDS	-	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCT	-	United Nations Country Team
UNDG	-	United Nations Development Group
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	-	Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIC	-	United Nations Information Centre
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIDO	-	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNO	-	United Nations Organisation
UNODC	-	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
WTO	-	World Trade Organizations

ABSTRACT

In 1994, South Africa became a more inclusive democratic state when Nelson Mandela became the first black president. This era marked a new course for a new democratic South Africa. The post-apartheid political dispensation has ushered in a prestigious opportunity for a newly democratic South Africa to reconnect with the other states in different multilateral institutions. The proliferation of Multilateralism as a strategy for states including South Africa has its merit and demerits. In this regard, South Africa has connected and reconnected with different multilateral institutions both regionally and globally. The following are some of the multilateral institutions that the country has connected and reconnected with in the aftermath of 1994. These institutions include the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Brazil, Russia, India and South Africa bloc (BRICS).

In connection with these relations that the country has made thus far, there have been little studies that account and juxtapose the implications and significance of these relations for South Africa. In this regard, this study attempts to do an appraisal/assessment of the reliance, significance and implications for South Africa association to these multilateral organisations. The following questions were asked in the study: How has the international objectives of South Africa fared in her interactions with the UN (Agencies); How has South Africa's regional economic interactions via the SADC and BRICS developed since 1994; To what extent has South Africa contributed to African Union since 1994 and has its membership impacted on the country's other multilateral drives? In order to answer the aforementioned questions, a qualitative desktop based research methodology was employed using thematic and historical analysis of secondary data.

Based on the extensive literature review and thematic analysis, the study found that as much as South Africa's multilateralism promises great advantages than disadvantages, these relations requires caution as they are critical to the future of the economy of South Africa.

CONTENT

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	2
1.1 BACKGROUND.....	2
1.2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	3
1.2.1 Multilateralism.....	3
1.2.2 South African foreign policy	5
1.2.3 South Africa’s Multilateralism during apartheid	7
1.2.4 Apartheid South Africa.....	10
1.2.5 South African Foreign Policy in a Post-Apartheid Era.....	12
1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT	14
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	14
1.5 AIMS AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	15
1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	15
1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY.....	16
1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE	16
1.9 RESEARCH LIMITATION	17
1.10 CONCLUSION	18
CHAPTER 2: SOUTH AFRICA’S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE UN	19
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	19
2.2 THE UNITED NATIONS.....	20
2.3 THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTH AFRICA PRE 1994	21
2.4 THE UN IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994	23
2.4.1 The resident coordinator system	26
2.4.2 Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in South Africa.....	28
2.4.3 International Labour Organisation (ILO).....	29
2.4.4 International Organisation for Migration (IOM)	29
2.4.5 The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR).....	30

2.4.6	The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)	32
2.4.7	United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	33
2.4.8	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).....	33
2.4.9	United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA).....	35
2.4.10	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).....	36
2.4.11	United Nations Information Centre (UNIC)	37
2.4.12	United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)	37
2.4.13	United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)	38
2.4.14	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).....	39
2.4.15	United Nations Women.....	40
2.4.16	The World Bank.....	41
2.4.17	World Bank Public Information Centre	41
2.4.18	Services for Persons with Disabilities.....	42
2.5	CONCLUSION	42

CHAPTER 3: SOUTH AFRICA’S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE AFRICAN UNION.....	45
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	45
3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON SA AND THE AU.....	45
3.3 THE AUC AND AGENDA 2063	51
3.4 AGENDA 2063 PLAN OF ACTION	55
3.5 THE BENEFIT OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AU.....	61
3.6 SOUTH AFRICA’S CONTRIBUTION TO THE AFRICAN UNION.....	62
3.7 CONCLUSION.....	64

CHAPTER 4: SOUTH AFRICA’S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE SADC AND BRICS	66
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	66
4.2 REGIONAL INTEGRATION OVERVIEW	66
4.2.1 Regional integration shortfalls.....	70
4.2.2 Preconditions for a successful regional integration	70
4.2.3 Conditions for regional integration.....	71
4.3 SADC DEFINED	71
4.4 THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE SADC FORMATION.....	72
4.5 SOUTH AFRICA IN SADC	73
4.6 SOUTH AFRICA’S OPPORTUNITIES IN SADC	76

4.7	SADC'S INITIATIVES.....	77
4.8	SADC CHALLENGES.....	80
4.9	BRICS DEFINED.....	81
4.10	THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE BRICS FORMATION.....	82
4.11	THE RATIONALE BEHIND SA JOINING BRIC.....	83
4.12	OPPORTUNITIES FOR SA IN BRICS.....	85
4.13	THE WORTH AND STRENGTH OF SOUTH AFRICA IN BRICS.....	87
4.13.1	SA and China relationship.....	87
4.13.2	Other contributing factors.....	90
4.14	CHALLENGES AND RISKS FOR THE BRICS BLOC.....	91
14.15	CHALLENGES AND RISKS FOR SA IN BRICS.....	92
4.16	CONCLUSION.....	92
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....		94
5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	
5.2	HOW HAS THE INTERNATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA FARED IN HER INTERACTIONS WITH THE UN (AGENCIES).....	93
5.3	HOW HAS SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS VIA THE SADC AND BRICS DEVELOPED.....	95
5.3.1	SADC.....	95
5.3.2	BRICS.....	96
5.4	TO WHAT EXTENT HAS SOUTH AFRICA CONTRIBUTED TO AFRICAN UNION SINCE 1994 AND HAS ITS MEMBERSHIP IMPACTED ON THE COUNTRY'S OTHER MULTILATERAL DRIVES.....	97
5.5	GENERAL CONCLUSION.....	98

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The post 1994 South Africa saw the country reconnecting with the international community after the apartheid regime. South Africa had become a pariah state in the international community as a result of its anachronistic, unjust, immoral, criminal and oppressive apartheid systems upon the people of the country African National Congress (ANC) policy document of 1994. This impacted negatively on its multilateral relations and, after the elections of 1994 and the formation of a more democratic state, South Africa strived to be re-integrated to the workings of the comity of nations legal principles. A vigorous process of re-integration to the international comity of nations became a principal trajectory in South Africa's foreign policy (The Presidency, 2011).

According to Presidency (2011), *inter alia*, the human rights and economic development is what drives the foreign policy of South Africa. The human right aspect is reflected through its involvement/relations with international organizations such as the United Nations Organisation (UNO,) the African Union (AU) and others. On the other hand, its drive for economic development has been reflected through its involvement with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) association among others.

According to the Presidency's (2011) White Paper on South African Foreign Policy, it is reported that the foreign policy of South Africa is structured in a manner that does not only serve the interest of the nation alone but caters for regional, continental and global cooperation in terms of socio-economic education and political stability. However, the decision making personnel for South Africa's foreign policy has always opted to interpret the white paper in a way that entrenches differing policy outcomes and directions. To Nel, Taylor & Westhuizen (2000) there is a serious lack of literature on the review and evaluation of South Africa's post 1994 diplomatic relations and thus on the country's foreign policy. Thus, it remains important to take a closer look at these multilateral relations with South Africa as member. This will make sound contributions in terms of bridging literary gaps. There is sufficient literature to provide the context for analysis on the subject.

From 1994 South Africa has joined and re-joined numerous multilateral organizations, inter alia,

1. South Africa, re-joined the UNO in 1994 after been suspended from the organisation in 1974 as a result of the country's racist apartheid policies. (Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, New York City, 2011)
2. Similarly, South Africa as a democratic country was officially admitted to the AU as its 53rd member in May 1994, which was later superseded by the AU on 10 of July 2002
3. In the same year South Africa also joined SADC. (International Relations and Cooperation, 2004),
4. Sixteen (16) years later 2010 South Africa was invited by the Brazil, Russian, Indian and Chinese (BRIC) association to join them and this led to the formation of the BRICS association of countries. The BRICS association is seen as an important bloc of non-western emerging economies. (South African Government (2015) on BRICS Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa).

This study focused on South Africa's multilateral relations to the four organisations mentioned above – i.e. the UNO, AU, SADC and BRICS. These multilateral organisations have been the central and fundamental pillars for global and regional governance, as they have strong impact, among other things on the global stability, peace, human security, sustainable development, environmental sustainability and political and economic crisis in the international community (Cawthra 2010; Hirsch 2014; Jebb 1952; Kraemer 2012). An analysis of South Africa's relations to these organizations is thus important in order to establish the socio-political, economic and international relationship of post 1994 South Africa in the wider world. Against the benchmark of these multilateral groupings, the study hopes to make clear South Africa's position in terms of consistencies and goal achievements.

1.2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1.2.1 Multilateralism

The term “multilateral” describing an international arrangement between multiple states was introduced in 1858 and subsequently that term later formed a concept of “multilateralism” that only came into use in 1928 in the aftermath of the First World War (Powell 2003). Over the years, multilateralism like many other IR concepts have remain a contestable concept, Thus,

some scholars have attempted to simplify this concept to mean the interaction of two or more sovereign countries collaborating to reach common grounds on a given issue (Adams & Luchsinger 2012). Adams and Luchsinger (2012) in their publication titled: Reclaiming Multilateralism, the global challenges faced by the world need collective and decisive strategies through multilateralism, they argue that for global challenges to be addressed, a multilateral system that is equipped to address them should be in place and utilized, hence according to them, multilateralism need to be reclaimed. For the purpose of this study, the most simplistic definition is adopted, that is - the interaction of two or more sovereign countries collaborating to reach common grounds on a given issue

These researchers used the term “reclaimed” since in their publication they stress about the ineffectiveness of the multilateral organisations that are in place to address global challenges such as among others human and women’s rights challenges, poverty challenges and education challenges. While these researchers agree to the failures of multilateral system over the years, they still find multilateralism as the key tool to global governance and still subscribe to the system of multilateralism as a key to championing global challenges (Adams & Luchsinger 2012: 22).

According to Kegan (cited in Bouchard & Peterson 2011), multilateralism is redundant and a “weapon of the weak”. This is because Kegan find multilateral integrations as a hide out for the weaker states who cannot not impose international solutions to international problems that serve their own interest. Perhaps this is the reason why it has been said that hegemons, and not the anti-hegemonic states control multilateral institutions (Nel, Taylor & Westhuizen 2000).

According to Nel, Taylor & Westhuizen (2000:44) the anti-hegemons are too weak, to an extent that during the precedents of the bargaining process in these multilateral forums, only the elites talk and prioritize their own agenda while the weaker state sit back and watch. Hence Coxian’s view (cited in Nel, Taylor& Westhuizen 2000:44) suggests that international institutions are means and mechanism through which hegemons advances their politico-economic projects. This is simple because the world is made up of relatively small and weak states, hence, they opt for multilateralism. However, Bouchard & Peterson (2011) posit that the need and demand depend on the nature of issues, the locations and the scale of those issues, hence, regional multilateralism and minilateralism which according to Naím (cited in Bouchard & Peterson 2011) refers to the cooperation only between the states that really matter in an issue-area, rather than the inclusive multilateralism involving all or most state. Problematically,

the issues-area crisis give rise to the question of when and for what reason does states decide to engage into collective multilateral forums?

Other literature clearly shows that there are different types of multilateralism and Keohane (1990) provides a comprehensive piece on the matter stating that, by definition,

“multilateralism involves (exclusively) states and mainly (not exclusively) institutions, defined as persistent and connected sets of rules, formal and informal, that behavioural roles, constraint activity, and shape expectation”.

This definition draws our attention to multilateral institutions, however, it has been mentioned that other multilateral systems such as ad hoc meeting and short term arrangements are designed strictly to solve a particular issue in a particular area.

Keohane (1990) views multilateralism as being well known and accepted, and this system manifested from proliferation of multinational conferences. However, there have been lines that have been drawn to separate multilateralism (cooperation of states/units) and multilateral organisations/institutions. Furthermore, according to Keohane (1990) it has been the system of multilateralism under cooperation that has been accepted while that of international institutions rendered as non-important and irrelevant. Further to that, scholars such as Kenneth Waltz as (cited in Keohane, 1990) find's the international organisations as a platform that promotes a self-help environment thus considering this system futile, while neorealism rendered the system to be weak.

However, it is argued that there is a great need for multilateral institutions/organisations. E.H Carr and Hans J Morgenthau (cited in Keohane 1990) go further to postulate that there has to be a formal place of bargaining and there has to be certain rules and norms that have to guide the proceedings of such congregations. Hence, it is through this argument that the significance of multilateral institution/ international institutions finds their eminence as an instrument for attaining set goals

1.2.2 South African foreign policy

The South African foreign policy is inspired by inter alia, its historical experiences, and its national interests “rooted in the long years of struggle for liberation”, and as a result, South Africa developed a people-centred approach to its foreign policy. The South Africa's multilateral forum, complimented by its diplomatic relations ensures its commitment to

national development, regional development, continental development and lastly the global development (The presidency 2011).

The development and trajectory of South Africa's multilateralism is hinged on its foreign and domestic policy goals. Excerpt from Le Pere (2014:4) has it that the following are the principles which guide South African foreign policies:

These principles are:

A belief in, and preoccupation with, Human Rights which extends beyond the political, embracing the economic, social and environmental; A belief that just and lasting solutions to the problems of human kind can only come through the promotion of Democracy, worldwide; A belief that Justice and International Law should guide the relations between nations; A belief that international peace is the goal to which all nations should strive. Where this breaks down, internationally- agreed peaceful mechanisms to solve conflicts should be resorted to; A belief that our foreign policy should reflect the interests of the continent of Africa; A belief that South Africa's economic development depends on growing regional and international economic cooperation in an independent world; A belief that our foreign relations must mirror our deep commitment to the consolidation of a democratic South Africa.”

The exempt above answers to the question around multilateralism as an approach that is adopted by the South African government. The exempt above should address to the misperception around South Africa's commitment to the economic development, social security and political stability of the African community.

According to the White Paper on South African Foreign Policy (The Presidency 2011), after 1994, the expectations for South Africa to play an active role in addressing human, right, democracy, reconciliation and eradication of poverty were high, as a result South Africa employed an approach referred to as the diplomacy of Ubuntu in its attempts of addressing these global challenges. This approach or philosophy called for South Africa to establish international relations through collaboration, cooperation and partnership.

In analysing South Africa's diplomatic relations, Nel, Taylor& Westhuizen (2000) discovers that the economic power of South Africa also shape its diplomatic relations, according to them, South Africa is a middle power, and according to Keohane (1969) on his work titled “The Foreign Policies of Small States: Challenging Neorealism in Its Own Backyard”, he defines it as “a state whose leaders consider that it cannot act alone effectively but may be able to have a systematic impact in a small group or through an international institution”. Accordingly, South

Africa places multilateral solutions as opposed to the unilateral ones. However, according to Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell and Xiao (2014) the Post-Apartheid government had to resort to multilateral relations by partnering up with other nation in order to tackle the vast array of challenges, hence, according to them the need to partner up is informed is influenced by the economic need to bridge the gap that had been laid by the apartheid government.

Studies of this nature has been conducted, however, they cover the economic aspect and they analyse bilateral relations and no institutions, such as that of Belfiglio (1978) whom in his study titled: United States Economic Relations with the Republic of South Africa, found that in order to explore the reasons for the close economic ties between America and South Africa, the useful approach would be to examine the current economic situation and trends in South Africa. Hence this study seek also to analyse the trend of South Africa's diplomatic relations in relation to its current political position with these institutions.

1.2.3 South Africa's Multilateralism during apartheid

During apartheid, South Africa had global attention, however limited relations, as a result of the diplomatic, cultural and economic isolation that had been taken against it. Barnes (2008:36) states that:

“In the 30 years between 1960 and 1990. South Africa was a subject to a complex and evolving set of sanctions aimed at influencing the South African government to dismantle the apartheid system. In the process, numerous innovative strategies were forged that have been a subsequent inspiration for other solidarity movements in support of oppressed peoples around the world ...efforts to isolate apartheid South Africa were initiated on three fronts: individuals and groups leading anti-apartheid campaigns in their own countries; governments acting individually or in concert through organisations such as the Commonwealth; and the UN”.

The United Nations made it clear that it is against the policies of apartheid in one form or another (Reddy 1986). Specifically, the organization, the UN (1994) stated that it disapproves the continuum of the apartheid policy from its inception. As a result, the United Nations acted against the South African government from 1950 until the end of it in 27 June 1994 when the UN Security Council removed the item of apartheid South Africa from their agenda.

In this study it has been unremittingly mentioned that the United Nations was against the apartheid system in occurring in South Africa from it very inception. The General Assembly in 2010 declares that:

“policy of 'racial segregation' (apartheid) as necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination. In 1960 the UN Security Council, in its first action on South Africa, adopted Resolution 134, deploring the policies and actions of the South African government in the wake of the killing of 69 peaceful South African protesters in Sharpeville by the police on 21 March, and the security council called upon the government to abandon its policies of apartheid and racial discrimination”.

A brief yet detailed outline of the United Nations-South Africa relations that specifically portray the role and impact of this multilateral organisation in the upbringing of the democratic South Africa. Below the UN chronologically take us down the memory lane, while giving a vivid understanding of these relations (UN, 1994).

In 1963 a special committee solely for the apartheid crisis was established and that year the Security Council adopted Resolution 181, calling upon all states to cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. Further to that, all states were urged to refrain from supplying petroleum to South Africa and this was the first of many efforts by the UN to enact effective oil sanctions against (UN: partner in the struggle against apartheid, 1994).

In 1966, there was an international seminar on apartheid, Brasilia, organised by the UN Division of Human Rights, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the government of Brazil - the first of scores of conferences and seminars on apartheid organised or co-sponsored by the United Nations. From there, in 1968 The General Assembly requested all states and organisations "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid. In 1973 there sat an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid approved by the General Assembly (Resolution 3068(XXVIII)) which came into effect on 18 July 1976.

On the first of January 1976, the UN Centre against Apartheid was established. From there, a new resolution was taken by the Security Council, Resolution 554. This resolution aimed at nullifying the new racist constitution of South Africa. In 16-20 June 1986 World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, organised by the UN in cooperation with the OAU and the Movement of Non-aligned Countries. Subsequently to that, in 1989 the General Assembly adopted by consensus the "Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in

Southern Africa," calling for negotiations to end apartheid and establish a non-racial democracy (Resolution A/RES/S-16/1) highlights that:

“On the 22 June 1990 Nelson Mandela addressed the Special Committee against Apartheid in New York -- his first appearance before the Organisation. In 1992 with the political violence escalating and negotiations at risk, Nelson Mandela requested the United Nations to send observers to South Africa. On the following day the Secretary-General announced that he would send a small group of UN monitors. The United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa was established by the Security Council on 17 August 1992...South Africa immediately terminated the oil embargo when the transitional executive council in South Africa became operational (Resolution 48/1). On 10 May 1994 South Africa's first democratically elected non-racial government took office following the general elections of 26-29 April 1994. Subsequently on 23 June 1994, The General Assembly approved the credentials of the South African delegation and removed the item of apartheid from its agenda. The Security Council removed the question of South Africa from its agenda on 27 June.”

It is in this background and a lot of objectivity that this study suggests that the United Nations played a huge role in the upbringing of the democratic South African that everyone who lives in it enjoys today. However, there are other stakeholders involved that contributed towards the transition from apartheid era to the democratic era in South Africa.

Lissoni (2000) claims that Britain as the former colonial power and the then major investing country in South Africa also opposed the policies of apartheid. However, the British support of the predicament of black South Africans had shifted to the United Nations and the newly independent African states. Subsequently, the British support did eventually start to come, not from the government though, but from anti-apartheid and church groups, and sections of the labour and liberal parties. However, Klotz (1995) contends that the conservative thatcher government in Britain who were also long seen as most stalwart western ally agreed to common wealth and the European community voluntary measures, restricting the trade with South Africa.

Accordingly, a number of multilateral and bilateral relations were cut off as means of sanctioning South Africa for its apartheid policies. The multilateral organizations that took part in the sanctioning of South Africa were the UN (the general assembly& the Security Council), common wealth, European community, Nordic community, Organization of African Unity along with other bilateral relations such those with as Britain, West German, France and Japan (Klotz, 1995). Evidently, South Africa was isolated from the international affairs, culturally,

economically, military, and diplomatically, as a result, the multilateralism of South Africa was very low since the United Nations urged all states to cut relations with the country due its oppressing policies (Barnes, 1990).

In essence, the South Africa's multilateralism during apartheid was rendered to a point where every country was urged not to relate in any manner with South Africa, hence the United Nations had requested all states to desist from economic, cultural and political ties with the country, as a result, South Africa became a victim of global isolation until the end of apartheid in 1994.

1.2.4 Apartheid South Africa

According to Free Dictionary by Farlex (online), apartheid was an official policy of racial segregation formerly practiced in the Republic of South Africa, involving political, legal, and economic discrimination against non-whites, the introduction of such policy came with many laws that made it difficult for the non- whites to live under. According to Venter (1999) and Korf (2010), the National Party leaders D. F. Malan and Hendrik F. Verwoerd (educated in the Netherlands, the United States, and Germany) were the architects of apartheid, it was Malan who used the term "apartheid" from the 1930s as he distanced his party from British traditions of liberalism and the earlier policy of segregation which he saw as too lenient towards Blacks.

Subsequently in 1948, the National Party leaders began a white- dominated government, enforcing existing policies of racial segregation under a system of government known as apartheid which enhanced the level of oppression to a more radical state, and its lasted from 1948- 1994 (Answers Africa, 2015). Apartheid entailed a number of overwhelming policies that made it very difficult for the non-whites, and according to Unesco Press (1974:45) these policies are:

- Population Registration Act, 1950 - This Act demanded that people be registered according to their racial group. This meant that the Department of Home Affairs would have a record of people according to whether they were White, Coloured, Black, Indian or Asian. People would then be treated differently according to their population group, and so this law formed the basis of apartheid. It was however not always that easy to decide what racial group a person was part of, and this caused some problem.
- Group Areas Act, 1950 - This was the Act that started physical separation between races, especially in urban areas. The Act also called for the removal of some groups of people into areas set aside for their racial group. Well known removals were those in

District Six, Sophiatown and Lady Selborne (also see Cato Manor, Fietas and Curries Fountain (Grey Street area)). People from these areas were then placed in townships outside of the town. They could not own property here, only rent it, as land could only be white owned.

- Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959 - This Act forced different racial groups to live in different areas. Only a small percentage of South Africa was left for black people (who comprised the vast majority) to form their 'homelands'. Like the Group Areas Act, this act also got rid of 'black spots' inside white areas, by moving all black people out of the city. This Act caused much hardship and resentment. People lost their homes, were moved off land they had owned for many years and were moved to undeveloped areas far away from their place of work.
- Bantu Education Act, 1953 - established an inferior education system for Africans based upon a curriculum intended to produce manual laborers and obedient subjects. Similar discriminatory education laws were also imposed on Coloureds, who had lost the right to vote in 1956, and Indians. The government denied funding to mission schools that rejected Bantu Education, leading to the closure of many of the best schools for Africans. In the higher education sector, the Extension of University Education Act of 1959 prevented black students from attending "white" universities (except with government permission) and created separate and unequal institutions for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians respectively. The apartheid government also undermined intellectual and cultural life through intense censorship of books, movies, and radio and television programs.
- The Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (originally introduced as the Unlawful Organisations Bill) - The Act was introduced in an attempt to curb the influence of the CPSA and other formations that opposed the government's apartheid policy. It sanctioned the banning/punishment of the CPSA or any group or individual intending to bring about political, economic, industrial and social change through the promotion of disorder or disturbance, using unlawful acts or encouraging feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union of South Africa. The Act was progressively tightened up in 1951, 1954, and yearly from 1962-1968.”

And some other important laws were the:

- Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949
- Immorality Amendment Act, 1950
- Separate Representation of Voters Act, 1951
- Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953

As a result of these acts, the socio-economic and political life of the non-whites South Africans was inhumane; the classification of groups based on appearance resulted on the idea of homeland, which was instituted in the Bantu authorities Act, thus establishing a basis for ethnic government in African reserves (Answers Africa, 2015).

Apartheid was not only South Africa's misfortune, but Namibia was also victimized by this misfortune, South African apartheid laws were also, even though only partially applied to Namibia as well, nonetheless, the ideas was to prevent black Namibians from having any political rights and restricted social and economic freedoms. The South African government was the enforcer of apartheid in Namibia, and the focus of South African rule was exploitation of the mineral wealth by whites (Dugdale-Pointon, 2002).

Nonetheless, Dugdale-Pointon (2002) further utters that the struggle for liberation was also identified in Namibia. During the 1960's most of black Africans got their independence, shortly after that a liberation movement appeared in Namibia, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO). The movement was founded in 1964, with a mainly Marxist agenda, and it was able to claim support from all the local tribes but the South Africans. In 1967 South Africa arrested and tried 37 Namibians for supporting terrorism including Herman Toivo ja Toivo one of the founders of SWAPO who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

Eventually, Namibia finally became independent on 21 March 1990 with guests including the South African president de Klerk, the US and Russian foreign ministers visiting the country. The spread of independence continued to throughout the African continent.

Other studies conducted and akin to historical analysis which also stress on the economic aspect of bilateral relations are those conducted by Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell and Xiao (2014) whose study is about "South African relations with China and Taiwan - Economic realism and the 'One-China' doctrine; the South Africa and Kenya relations" by Phathutshedzo Mabuda and Canada and South Africa and Kenya among others. But we find fewer in the post-apartheid era but identified in the following section.

1.2.5 South African Foreign Policy in a Post-Apartheid Era

The South African foreign policy is inspired by inter alia, its historical experiences, and its interests are rooted in the long years of struggle for liberation, and as a result, South Africa developed a people-centred approach to its foreign policy. The South Africa's multilateral forum, complimented by its diplomatic relations ensures its commitment to national

development, regional development, continental development and lastly the global development (The Presidency 2011). The development and trajectory of South Africa's multilateralism is hinged on its foreign and domestic policy goals as outlined earlier.

According to the Presidency (2011), after 1994, the expectations for South Africa to play an active role in addressing human, right, democracy, reconciliation and eradication of poverty were high, as a result South Africa employed an approach referred to as the diplomacy of Ubuntu in its attempts of addressing these global challenges. This approach or philosophy called for South Africa to establish international relations through collaboration, cooperation and partnership.

In analysing South Africa's diplomatic relations, Nel, Taylor & Westhuizen (2000) discovers that the economic power of South Africa also shape its diplomatic relations, according to them, South Africa is a middle power. Indeed, South Africa places multilateral solutions as opposed to the unilateral ones. However according to Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell and Xiao (2014) the Post-Apartheid government had to resort to multilateral relations by partnering up with other nation in order to tackle the vast array of challenges, hence according to them the need to partner up is informed is influenced by the economic need to bridge the gap that had been laid by the apartheid government.

A similar study was conducted however, they cover the economic aspect and they analyse bilateral relations and no institutions, such as that of Belfiglio (1978), whom in his study titled: United States Economic Relations with the Republic of South Africa, found that in order to explore the reasons for the close economic ties between America and South Africa, the useful approach would be to examine the current economic situation and trends in South Africa. Hence, this study also to analyses the trend of South Africa's diplomatic relations in relation to its current political position with these institutions.

Other studies that have been conducted that are analytical and historical in nature also stress on the economic aspect of bilateral relations are those conducted by Grimm, Kim, Anthony, Attwell and Xiao (2014) whose study is about South African relations with China and Taiwan - Economic realism and the 'One-China' doctrine; the South Africa and Kenya relations by Phathutshedzo Mabuda and Canada and South Africa and Kenya among others.

In essence, every multilateral or bilateral relations for every country is a product of a careful and timeous planning and consideration of many factors with certain expectations, and South

Africa has numerous multilateral or bilateral relations in light of limited literature that scrutinizes for each of these relations

In the absence of sufficient literature that reflect on South Africa's multilateral relations over the years, this study takes an initiative to analyse South Africa's multilateral relations with the organisations that this study considers most crucial multilateral organisation in the international community, namely the UNO, AU, SADC, and BRICS from 1994.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

From 1994 till this date, there has been too little literature that provide for South Africa's multilateral relations (Nel, Taylor & Westhuizen 2000). However, from 1994 till today the country has involved itself in various multilateral forums, and has also been receiving commendation and sometimes critics for such relations based on what different scholars have predicted. However, very limited scholars have attempted to analyse the practicality of such predictions. Nonetheless, predictions are based on factors that are amenable to change where by a historical analysis substantiate its findings based on stagnant factors and occurrences that has practically materialised. Hence, the importance of looking back and reviewing and analysing always serve to answer the question of the unknown after predictions has been placed.

In the absence of sufficient literature that reflect on South Africa's multilateral relations over the years, this study takes an initiative to analyse South Africa's multilateral relations with the organizations that this study considers most crucial multilateral organization in the international community, namely the UNO, AU, SADC, and BRICS from 1994. To achieve this, this study asks the following questions.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The principal research question of this study is – what purpose has the involvement or relation of South Africa with multilateral/International governmental organizations (UNO, AU, SADC, and BRICS) served throughout the years?

Other Research Questions are:

- How have the international objectives of South Africa fared in her interactions with the UN (Agencies)?
- How has South Africa's regional economic interaction via the SADC and BRICS developed since 1994?

- To what extent has South Africa contributed to African Union since 1994 and has its membership impacted on the country's other multilateral drives?

1.5 AIMS AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The principal aim of this study was to investigate and analyse South Africa's multilateral relations over the years from 1994, through the mechanisms of UNO, AU, SADC, and BRICS.

The sub objectives include:

- To determine the relevance and interaction between South Africa and the UN (Agencies)
- To analyse South Africa's regional economic interactions via the SADC and BRICS.
- To evaluate progress and involvement of South Africa within the workings of the African Union since 1994 and its impact on South Africa's multilateral drives.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study will make use of both primary and secondary sets of data. It analyses data collected from the literature, books and Journal articles available at the university library. It also relies on key primary documents of government gazettes, organizational bulletins from UN, AU, BRICS and SADC and their affiliates. Online related literatures that have been made available by scholars also will also form part of the secondary data, and relevant literatures will be gathered from relevant institutions (such as DIRCO) and government structures. The study combined three methods of descriptive, exploratory and explanatory in trying to critically understand and derive information that were significant to the topic being studied. The study is principally desktop research and therefore, qualitative in method. Creswell (2007) asserts that qualitative research uses methods such as participant observation or case studies which result in a narrative, descriptive account of a setting or practice. Under qualitative methods, secondary data in form of books, journals and internet sources that are available and are relevant to the study being conducted will be used to in gathering relevant data that will help give life to this study.

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

After a careful review and synthesis of the relevant literatures, one would observe that a study that specifically investigates A historical analysis on Post-1994 South Africa's Multilateral Drive has not been attempted, and those studies which have attempted to study Multilateralism do not clearly articulate the underpinnings for each state's multilateral drives, and in this case South Africa's multilateral drives in Particular. This study helps explore and formally articulates South Africa's motives, it relations to the progress so far and finally help determine where it is heading with its multilateralism in the region, the continent and the world.

The study identified South Africa's position thus also equipping it to understand clearly and with focus it position with it effort towards multilateralism, subsequently the study will inform them of the mechanisms or solutions which they can implement that will aid a lot in solving the outlined issues so that their objectives will be achieved efficiently and timelessly.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One - Introduction: This chapter provides the basic introduction and background to the study and outlines the research problems, objectives, and questions. Furthermore, the methodology is explicated. Finally, the limitations and relevance of the study are also highlighted. The chapter also explains the concept of multilateralism and South African foreign policy, basically through a review of the literature. This chapter also provides an introductory account of the nexus between multilateralism in general and the Republic of South Africa with reference to the targeted institutions and their impact on the country's well-being over the years.

Chapter Two – South Africa's Multilateral Drive through the UN

This chapter provides a detailed background, motives and impact on South Africa's multilateralism through the prism and relations of the UN. This chapter further provides clear motives that shall accounts for South Africa's approach in its foreign policy issues. Simultaneously, this chapter further explores in full the progress and the relevance of the UN to South Africa's domestic and foreign policy.

Chapter Three — South Africa’s Multilateral Drive through the African Union

This chapter provides a description and detailed background of South Africa’s general political drives on the African Union post 1994, subsequently the chapter shall reflect on the progress and relevance of AU on South Africa’s domestic and foreign policy.

Chapter Four — South Africa’s Multilateral Drive through the SADC and BRICS

This chapter provides a detailed background of South Africa’s general political drives on the SADC. Hence it is believed to be of paramount importance from a regional development perspective. It is thus important to understanding South Africa’s motives, objectives and progress can never be overlooked, hence this chapter unpacks the political intrigues and the development of a robust multilateral drive for South Africa through the prism of the SADC. The chapter also provide a description and detailed background of South Africa’s general political drives on Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS), the chapter shall further reflect on the progress and relevance of BRICS on South Africa’s well-being both domestic and foreign since joining in 2010.

Chapter Five — Conclusion: This chapter sums up the work that will be done in analysing the progress and the relevance of each multilateral organisation that has been selected and unpacked above, subsequently this chapter shall proffer a possible way forward where collective ramifications are discovered and necessary recommendations would be suggested. Accordingly, the general conclusion would be drawn based on the findings of this study.

1.9 RESEARCH LIMITATION

The continuously arising limitation that is hindering this study is the low availability of literature and the duplication of that limited literature in various government website sources. Indeed, this study was primarily conducted because inter alia it recognised this low literature problem, however this problem becomes a limitation for the study when the study is faced with no articles which relate to it. In essence, this study relies greatly on government website sources because of the low availability of articles that have shared similar interest as this.

In light of limited literature, financial constraints also hinder this study in that sense that the study couldn't employ any interviews that would add value to it. This limits the study's flexibility thus restraining it to the low literature that exists. This study helps lay a starting point for other studies to work upon.

1.10 CONCLUSION

After a careful and ample review of literature, the concept of and content of multilateralism has been fully understood, also the South African foreign policy has been unpacked and also traced back to how it came to exist, the struggle for liberation against the oppressive policies of apartheid has also been identified as paradoxically the great contributor to the non-oppressive and diplomatic foreign policy of South Africa that is currently in place. The apartheid and what it entails has been fully looked at, and different organizations' relations with South Africa are introduced.

This research is important if indeed research can be defined as a purposive scientific search for new knowledge and the verifications of others, and according to Merriam Webster (2015), research refers to an investigation or experimentation that is aimed at the discovery and interpretation of facts, revision of accepted theories or laws in the light of new facts, or practical application of such new or revised theories or laws. Babbie (2001) notes that research is to purposely and methodically search for new knowledge and practical solutions in the form of answers to questions formulated beforehand. It is in the context of this definition that this chapter has opted for and successfully outlined sufficient background with clear objectives that talks directly to the research questions that are aimed at addressing the problem as presented through the problem statement, furthermore the significance and relevance of this study to the academic domain has been clearly outlined.

CHAPTER 2

SOUTH AFRICA'S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE UN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between South Africa (SA) and the United Nation (UN) is very old. The Union of SA was one of the original 51 founding members of the UN which came into existence on 24 October 1945 (Media Club South Africa, 2014). Subsequently, the Union of SA started getting prodigious attention from the UN from 1946 until 1994. However, this attention was based on oppression against the Non-White in the Union of South Africa, thus, it came up in the wake of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act and the Passive Resistance Campaign of the Indians as the complaint by the Government of India on the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa (Reddy, 1986).

On 22 June 1946 the Indian government requested that the discriminatory treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa be included on the agenda of the very first session of the General Assembly (Reddy, 2012). According to Reddy (2012: 2), South Africa and United Nations (SA-UN) relations extend beyond the Union of South Africa government. Later on in 1946, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa became the first liberation movement to appeal to the UN for solidarity, and this was the first appeal by the ANC to the UN. Six years later, the ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) launched the campaign of defiance (The 1952 Defiance Campaign was the first biggest protest that was led by the ANC and the SAIC against the unjust apartheid laws by the government), and it was then when the UN began the consideration of the problem of apartheid and its repercussions in for peace (Reddy, 2012). From that point, there has started an ANC-UN relation and year after year, the UN organs held discussions, passed resolutions and made appeals to the SA government to adjust its policies in accordance with the principles of the Chapter one of the 1945 UN charter (Reddy, 1986).

By then, the UN had formed a special committee that would be responsible for aiding the liberation movement. The UN Special Committee liaised with the likes of Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders in exile and provided an international forum for the ANC whenever it sought to inform the world of the situation in SA and the struggle of the people for freedom and the support they seek from the international community.

Reddy (1912) notes that the UN Special Committee greatly extended its relations with the anti-apartheid groups such as the churches, trade unions, NGOs and of course the relevant political formations. They then encouraged and lent support to campaigns for the economic and political boycott of SA. This became evident through the exclusion of SA from international organisations, and international conferences. This later led to sports teams selected under the apartheid regime being excluded from international participation.

Reddy go even further to postulate that the UN Special Committee developed very close relation with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and other intergovernmental organisations, and helped build a coalition of governments and NGOs against the apartheid regime.

In the ANC-UN relation that had started, Oliver Tambo, the then deputy president of the ANC, had great appreciation for the effort made by the UN towards inducing the SA regime to abandon its racist policies. On 18 June 1968, he was quoted referring to the UN Special committee as “an inspiring example of devotion to the cause of freedom for the people of South Africa and was in a way an important wing of the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa” (Reddy, 1992). Reddy (1992) points out that the ANC as a political body always appreciated the role of the UN as a forum where pressure was exerted against governments collaborating with the apartheid regime. As consequence, he further elucidates that the former ANC president Nelson Mandela and the current president Jacob Zuma among others have acknowledged the contribution of the UN for its support and the international community as a whole.

2.2 THE UNITED NATIONS

The term ‘United Nations’ (UN) was coined by United States (US) President Franklin D. Roosevelt during the Second World War (Basic Facts about the United Nations, 2011). The United Nations came to be formally established in 1945. It is/was defined as a three in one institution, a place for debate, a place for negotiations and a place for action (Gardner, 1962). According to the highlight in the Basic Facts about the United Nations (2011) The United Nations was founded on the conviction that the nations of the world can and should cooperate to resolve conflicts peacefully and change people’s lives for the better, and as formally set forth in the UN Charter, with the following objectives:

- maintaining international peace and security;
- developing friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples;
- Cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- Being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

According to Kaloudis (1993), the UN Charter utters that the most important principle for the UN is the equality among the member states. Hence, its mission is to maintain peace and stability in the international system. As a result, such can be obtained through all member states refraining from any use of violence as it would deviate from the UN purposes. Furthermore, the diplomatic means for common ground should be exercised by all member states as they are expected to support peacekeeping efforts of the UN.

Over the years, the effectiveness of the United Nations has been robustly criticized and put under questioning and doubt. John Spangler cited in Kaloudis (1993) argues that the UN cannot impose its will upon its members and cannot be a worldwide collective security organisation. Kaloudis's argument is that the UN lost its coercive power post-World War II therefore, has no power to impose upon nations, however in this era; the diplomatic means have been promoted by the UN member states thus eliminating that great need for UN's coercive power.

Petersen (1965) in his own way was in the same side of understanding as Kaloudis. He measures the coercive aspect of the UN through the Security Council's activeness from the post-World War II era as it proved to be unstable. He established that the Security Council was extremely erratic in nature. It was most active in the forties, however least active in the fifties and became more active again in the sixties. From one year to the next the quantity tendency of Council activity was completely changeable and unreliable.

2.3 THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS IMPACT IN SOUTH AFRICA PRE 1994

South Africa and the UN relations date back to the creation of the latter in 1945. This makes a total of 69 years. But the newly democratic government has enjoyed this relation for the past 21 years and the ANC government acknowledges the importance of this relationship as the UN contributed greatly in to the fight against apartheid and the first democratic election in 1994. As

a result of the SA-UN relation that dates back from the struggle against apartheid from 1946 till the election of the first democratic president, the democratic government of South Africa have shown great appreciation for such support (Barnes 2008). Moreover, both the democratic SA and the UN have shown to be on similar grounds and share similar interests when it comes to the consolidation of democracy and the protection of human rights (The Presidency, 2011).

As far as the non-white emancipation from apartheid is concerned, the UN showed colossal external efforts towards the making of what South Africa is today. Reddy (2012) notes that from the inception of the organisation, there has hardly been an issue on which the UN has devoted as much effort, or took so wide a range of actions, as on the problem of apartheid, which is perhaps one of the many reasons why the ANC government and the country in general shall forever be thankful. Reddy points out that the ANC was well recognised as a legitimate representative of the oppressed non-whites at ground level, hence at first, they had to begin as a petitioners and nothing more.

Since 1994, SA has been led by the ANC government and has won all the consecutive elections, the next one set for 2019 (Filer, 2014). This makes it impossible to understand and evaluate the SA-UN relationship without taking into consideration the role of the ANC as a ruling and most important political party in SA.

It has been observed that SA's foreign policy is a product of the domestic historical experiences that took place during the struggle for liberation, and its interests are rooted in the long years of struggle for liberation, and as a result, SA developed a people-centred approach to its foreign policy (see The Presidency, 2011). The UN during the struggle for the emancipation of the non-whites in SA was one of the most committed external forces that stood against the policies of apartheid in the country while the ANC was simultaneously fighting for liberation within the country. This resulted to the UN-ANC relation that proved to be strong enough to successfully abolish the apartheid regime.

The UN efforts towards the demise of apartheid in SA were visible through moral support, political supports and economic support which was evident through sanctions and isolation imposed against the apartheid government. However, the UN further offered financial support to the national liberation movements (Both the PAC and ANC) (DIRCO, 2006). The history of the UN and SA shows how they have worked together and how deep their relations are rooted.

It has been 22 years since the struggle against apartheid ended and the country is now democratic. The country follows democratic processes when it comes to decision making. This

means that RSA now take a different approach compared to the apartheid government, hence the decisions taken by the apartheid government and the RSA are/were not constructed on similar motives, objectives and approaches. This therefore makes it crucial to look into the new SA-UN relation.

2.4 THE UN IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994

According to the UN Charter (1945: 1):

“The United Nations is a universal organisation whose purposes are to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations; to cooperate in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these ends.”

It was therefore important for the UN to develop mechanisms that would promote the organisational interest at various country levels, including SA. The UN under the “Delivery as one” slogan worked towards enhancing their performance, impact and efforts in contributing to the development of the UN member states and SA in particular. The UN system sought to further strengthen the management and coordination of the UN activities so that they can make an even more effective contribution to the achievement of internationally agreed development goals, the Millennium Development Goals (Hendra, 2014).

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were a national outreach program strategically designed to address the member state’s socio- economic imbalances or illnesses. These MDG’s spoke to various societal illnesses such as income poverty, hunger, diseases, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion, while promoting gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. These goals were developed on the conviction that human development is crucial, the protection of human rights is fundamental and the sustainability of the environment is key to a long and peaceful life (Millennium Project, 2006).

According to the Millennium project (2006), these MDG’s were the outcome of the Millennium Summit in September 2000, the largest gathering of world leaders in history. These leaders adopted the UN Millennium declaration that called for all member states to commit their nations to a new global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and setting out a series of time-bound targets, with a deadline of 2015.

Millennium project (2006) outlines these eight (8) goals as follows:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and poverty - Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day
- Achieve universal primary school- Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling
- Promote Gender and equality and empower women - Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015
- Reduce Child mortality - Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate
- Improve maternal health - Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio
- Combat HIV/ AIDS, malaria and other disease - Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS
- Ensure environmental sustainability - Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources
- Develop a global partnership for development - Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system (includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction both nationally and internationally).

This was the next step for the UN towards fostering its objectives at a global scale. The Millennium Development Goals represented the widest political agreement in the fight against poverty and it was meant to be a tool through which the rich and poor countries would share responsibility for bringing poverty and its underlying causes to an end in all parts of the globe.

From 1994 the democratic governments introduced and implemented development and planning frameworks that would sustain democracy and progressively root out all forms of discrimination, in particular the race based discrimination which constituted the corner stone of apartheid and segregation.

The South African government identified ten key priorities as well as 12 government outcomes it hopes to achieve. These priorities and outcomes did not only touch on the eight MDGs, but

they rather included a broader development objective of the government (Republic of South Africa country report, 2013).

Driven by the MDGs, SA was able to make significant socio-economic gains. This was made possible by the synergies between the South African government's development initiatives post-1994 and the UN MDGs agenda which resonated with, and were embraced by the development agenda of SA. The country attained mixed success towards achieving the MDGs. Supplementary to that, the introduction of the National Development Plan (NDP) in 2011 and its adoption by Parliament in August 2012 placed the country on a development path that ensured that both unmet MDG targets as well as emerging development issues remained part of the country's future development agenda (Republic of South Africa country report, 2013).

According to the Republic of South Africa country report (2013), due to the nature of these MDG's, they interconnected with most challenges that SA faced, as a result, they were easily merged with SA's national developmental programme. Because they complemented each other, it therefore made it possible and easy to get positive results. After having set the targets to be pursued by the UN member states, the UN established institutions that would help realise these goals. However, each institution operates separately and they have separate mandates and objectives, but while focusing on each institutions goals and mandates, these institutions collective efforts speaks directly to the MDG's sets by the UN. This is because like the MDG's these institutions were strategically established to cover all social aspects of development, the human aspect, the economic and the political aspect of development in each country.

According to the UN in South Africa (undated), South Africa has seventeen (17) UN agencies that works in close cooperation with the South African government, with a higher structure that oversees all the UN agencies along with the likeminded non-UN agencies that are there to boost the efforts and effectiveness towards the realization of these goals.

Republic of South Africa country report (2013) has it that because these institutions need/needed countries with capacity to sustain their existence and nature their operations, it has become difficult for developing countries to deal with and facilitate multiple agencies. This has resulted to a great deal of illogicality's and operational incoherence between UN funds, programmes and these agencies.

This came as a hindrance that affected the achievement of the UN programmes and the achievement of the MDG in post-apartheid era however not only in SA but also for the African states who beneficiaries of such agencies and programmes are supposedly. After the MDG's

expired in 2015, the world leaders adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which includes a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to end poverty, fight inequality and injustice, and tackle climate change by 2030. These SDG's are built on and were meant to take over from the MDG's which were designed to be anti-poverty goals set to realise these targets by 2015 (Republic of South Africa country report, 2013).

Nonetheless, the UN agencies that were placed in order to help curb the MDG targets are still in place to also pursue their mandates and objectives while simultaneously adding towards the achievement of the newly adopted SDG's. These agencies will be cordially explained as to how they were brought up in to the country, their mandates and how they conduct their business in the country.

It has also been established that the UN have developed a system that would represent the UN body at all country levels through what have been referred to as the UN Resident Coordinator system. The resident coordinator system has been put in place by the UN in the post-1994 period in its quest for implementing its objectives as sets out in the UN charter. It therefore makes it important to understand the role and processes of the UN resident coordinator system as it stand to be the fascia of the UN in each state and SA in particular (Republic of South Africa country report, 2013).

2.4.1 The Resident Coordinator System

In 1997, the Secretary General's reform process initiated a resident coordinator system which would be the face of the UN in each member state. This was a way of achieving greater unity and coherence at country-level's operations of the UN system. The Resident Coordinator system encompasses all the organisations of the United Nations system dealing with operational activities as sets out by the UN charter, regardless of their formal presence in the country (United Nations Development Group, 2015). In addition, the Residence Coordinator (RC) system aims to bring together the different UN agencies to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of operational activities at the country level. As such, the RC system plays a critical role in promoting the Secretary General's UN reform process in the field.

The UN resident coordinator generic job description (2014:1) has this to say:

“Resident Coordinator is the leader of the United Nations Country Team (UNCT). As such, the RC plays a central role at the country level in making it possible for the coordination of the UN operational activities for development in order to ensure

alignment of UN assistance with national development priorities, plans and capacity building in the context of internationally agreed treaty obligations and development goals, and placing the UN centrally in development and international cooperation in the country ... The RC (generic job description further outline that the) RC is a designated representative of, and reports to the Secretary-General (as chairman of the Chief Executives Board/CEB) through the UNDP Administrator in her/his capacity as the Chair of the United Nations Development Group (UNDG). The RC is accredited by letter of the Secretary-General to the Head of State or Government and acts as the primary interlocutor with them, further, the RC acts on behalf of the UN system in an impartial way, strategically positioning the UN in each country. it is also the RC duty to uphold and promotes the UN's responsibilities with regard to preventing and responding to serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law, including the responsibilities of UN entities and staff in this regard."

Due to the fact that the RC is the highest UN official on South African soil and is at the forefront of UN actions and UN's engagement with national stakeholders. Concentrating on the role that this body play will not only demonstrate the aspirations of the UN for SA, however, it shall also portray the efforts that has been put forward and actioned by the UN thus far towards realising its targets in South Africa and abroad.

For the reason that the RC oversees all institutions of the UN and their actions, measuring its efforts should also show the achievement thus far that has been realised by the UN in SA.

"A study conducted by the government's policy coordination and advisory services in 2008, titled "Towards the 15 year Review of the Public Service" affirms that South Africa has made significant progress over the past years in the building of a democratic government, both in terms of meeting the basic needs of its citizens as well as institutional transformation. However, the review also pointed out that the quality of public service delivery was in need of a sizable improvement in many areas, including a strong ethos of public service. It was in this regard that the UNDP in SA has partnered with the department of public administration and services; Department of Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs (United Nations Development Programme, 2012)."

This is done together with the department of cooperative governance and traditional affairs (COGTA) (United Nations Development Programme, 2012).

“The United Nations Development Group (UNDG) is one of four Executive Committees established by the Secretary-General in the main areas of UN work, with the others focusing on peace and security, humanitarian affairs and economic and social affairs, and has now expanded to include not only UN programmes and funds, but also a large number of specialized agencies. In this regard, the UNDG aims to improve the effectiveness and coherence of UN system activities at each country level. This is done by developing policies and procedures to facilitate cooperation among member organisations in analysing country issues, planning support strategies, implementing support programmes, monitoring results and advocating for change (United Nation System, 2015).”

The UN and the programs under it work under the conviction that the primary responsibility for action lies with each member state. This means that each has to take, and is given ownership of its development plans. This is an approach that the UN apply when working with member states since it serves both the member states concern while realizing the UN objectives, thus, yielding a win-win outcome. This conviction is fortified by the understanding that assistance policies cannot be imposed, rather they must be owned not only by governments but by their people and communities. While this concept is broadly accepted, the UN works upon it as a working principle.

The following Agencies fall under the microscope of the United Nation’s Resident Coordinator system, hence they reflect the mechanisms put in place by the UN and they fall under the radar of the Resident coordinator and they are as follows:

2.4.2 Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in South Africa

The Food and Agricultural Organisation Office in South Africa was opened in 1997, with a representation office in Pretoria and a regional emergency office (RIACSO) in Sunning Hill, Johannesburg (United Nations Economic and Social Council. undated).

The UN Economic and Social Council (undated) further states that the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN has a formal agreement with the National Department of Agriculture. The rationale behind this partnership is to implement the UN goals while supporting the national department of agriculture in SA. This agreement is realized through the provision of technical support by the FAO to ensure food security and rural development for the national department of agriculture and people of SA. Therefore, the main aim of the FAO country office

is to assist the government to develop policies, programmes and projects to reduce hunger, and malnutrition and also to help develop a sustainable approach in agricultural, fishery and forestry sectors.

2.4.3 International Labour Organisation (ILO)

“The International Labour Organisation was created in 1919 as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, to reflect the belief that universal and lasting peace can be accomplished only if it is based on social justice” (International Relations and cooperation, 2004). South Africa was re-admitted as a member of the ILO on 26 May 1994. This followed a period of 30 years of isolation from international labour forums after the country withdrew from the International Labour Organisation in 1964 as a result of external political pressure (DIRCO, 2004).

An agreement between the South African Government and the ILO was signed in Geneva on 5 June 1995 and it was ratified by Parliament on 11 October 1995. This Agreement enables the ILO to establish an area office in SA which shall serve the Southern Africa member states. The Director of the ILO office in Pretoria works closely with the Department of Labour and the social partners in technical cooperation and financing of projects, development of national capacity and the supply of experts, The Director also liaise closely with the multi-disciplinary groups of the ILO based in Zimbabwe and Zambia (DIRCO, 2004).

According to the department of international relations and cooperation (2004), SA is a member of the Governing Body and also chairs the Africa Regional Committee of the Africa Group (ARLAC) and also participates in ILO Sub-committees. South Africa as a young democratic state is committed to tackling socioeconomic illnesses and stand up for the social reconstruction for all. The SA intended to do such by upholding the international labour standards by subscribing and conforming to the ILO recommendations for international labour standard.

2.4.4 International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

The International Organisation for Migration was established in 1951. It is the leading inter-governmental organisation in the field of migration. This organisation works very closely with governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental stakeholders in SA (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The IOM consists of 125 members, a further 20 states holding observer status. The IOM has offices in over 100 countries. Its primary objective is to promote a humane and orderly migration process for the benefit of all. Hence it does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants involved. This process is made possible through the assistance of governments in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and by providing humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced people (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The IOM has a regional office for Southern Africa that is based in SA Pretoria. These offices overlook the IOM activities in the entire SADC region. This organisation also has offices in Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and runs activities in Mauritius, Madagascar, Namibia and Swaziland.

According to the United Nations Development Group (2007) in Southern Africa, IOM works in the following main areas:

- Movements and Assisted Returns
- Counter-Trafficking
- Migration Health
- Emergency and Post-Crisis Migration Management
- Migration and Development
- Migration Management and Policy

2.4.5 The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights represents the world's commitment to universal ideals of human dignity, and it is mandated to promote and protect the enjoyment and full realization, by all people, of all rights established in the Charter of the United Nations and in international human rights laws and treaties (United Nations Human Rights, 2015).

The OHCHR mandate includes the preventing of human rights violations, securing respect for all human rights, promoting international cooperation to protect human rights, coordinating related activities throughout the United Nations, and strengthening & streamlining the United

Nations system in the field of human rights. In addition to its mandated responsibilities, the Office leads efforts to integrate a human rights approach within all work carried out by United Nations agencies (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

In 1998 the OHCHR established a regional office that would serve the entire Southern Africa. The office was initially established as a joint project of the OHCHR and UNDP. Subsequently, the Office provided trainings, advisory services, and substantive support to Governments, Parliaments, and members of the judiciary, national human rights institutions, civil society organisations as well as UN country teams in the region (United Nations Development Group, 2007). According to the United Nations Development Group (2007), The OHCHR covers fourteen countries of the Southern African Region: Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

According to the United Nations Human Rights (2015), the OHCHR has four major divisions and they are as follows:

- The Research and Right to Development Division (RRDD), this division is responsible for thematic research and policy development, human rights mainstreaming across all work areas of the United Nations system, development of tools and learning packages and provision of expertise to a variety of stakeholders on a wide range of human rights themes.
- The Human Rights Treaties Division (HRTD), this division is responsible for supporting the work of the 10 human rights treaty bodies that are mandated to monitor national-level implementation of international human rights treaties.
- The Field Operations and Technical Cooperation Division (FOTCD), this division supports the work of human rights field presences and leads OHCHR engagement with countries on human rights issues.
- The Human Rights Council and Special Procedures Division (HRCSPD), this division provides substantive and organisational support to the Human Rights Council, its Universal Periodic Review (UPR) mechanism, special procedures and other subsidiary bodies.

2.4.6 The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)

The UNAIDS is an organisation that brings together the efforts and resources of the ten United Nations system organisations to tackle societal illnesses that hampers human health and development. A brief overview of how the UNAIDS is structured in SA. The UNAIDS has a secretariat that supports the national AIDS response through working closely with the government, civil society and the business sector. However, the secretariat is led by a Country Coordinator, supported by a monitoring and evaluation adviser, a partnership adviser and a team of support staff (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The secretariat coordinates and facilitates the work of the United Nations theme group on AIDS which through the joint UN Team on AIDS supports local partners across the country by providing technical assistance in programme planning, implementation, scale-up and evaluation. The Team comprises technical experts from eleven (11) UN agencies in South Africa: the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UN International Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the World Bank (United Nations Development Group, 2007)

According to United Nation Development Group (2007), the following is the Support to the national AIDS response:

- a) Leadership and advocacy for effective action on the epidemic
- b) Strategic information to guide efforts against AIDS
- c) Tracking, monitoring and evaluation of the epidemic and responses to it
- d) Civil Society engagement and partnership development
- e) Mobilisation of resources to support an effective response.

2.4.7 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The United Nations Development Programme is the United Nation's global development network, and accordingly, it is an organisation advocating for change and the connection of

countries towards knowledge, experience and resources to help people build a better life. Furthermore, the UNDP operate on ground in 166 countries, and it works to assist national counterparts on their own solutions to global and national development challenges, considering the rule of law an indispensable factor for the enhancement of human development and the reduction of conflict, poverty and insecurity (United Nations Rule of Law, undated).

However, according to the United Nations Development Group (2007), the United Nations refers to this structure as a global development organisation with a normative global mission as a pro-poor development agency and it is leading the UN in system-wide coordination and connects partner countries to knowledge, experience and resource networks that build capacity for pro-poor growth and human development.

The UNDP Country Office in South Africa is a centre of development, excellence and partner of choice, in promoting the achievement of South Africa's Vision 2014, the Millennium Development Goals and beyond (the United Nations Development Group, 2007)

2.4.8 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)

The UNESCO was founded on 16 November 1945. These organisations currently consist of 195 members and eight associate members. It is governed by the General Conference (it consists of all the representatives of each member state, whom meets every two years) and the Executive Board (the administrators who see to it that the taken by the general conference members are properly carried out). The Secretariat is headed by the Director-General and the secretariat implements the decisions of these two bodies (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015).

The UNESCO has been known to be the intellectual agency of the United Nations as a result of its policies and functions. According to UNESCO (2015), this organisation was created in order to respond to the firm belief of nations, forged by two world wars in less than a generation, under the notion that political and economic agreements are not enough to build a lasting peace, hence peace must be established on the basis of humanity's moral and intellectual solidarity. In this context, UNESCO came out to bring about cohesion amongst states through human based assurances on top of signed political and economic agreements. As a result, UNESCO (2015) suggest that this institution strived to build networks among nations that enable this kind of solidarity, by:

- Mobilizing for education: so that every child, boy or girl, has access to quality education as a fundamental human right and as a prerequisite for human development.
- Building intercultural understanding: through protection of heritage and support for cultural diversity (UNESCO created the idea of World Heritage to protect sites of outstanding universal value).
- Pursuing scientific cooperation: such as early warning systems for tsunamis or trans-boundary water management agreements, to strengthen ties between nations and societies.
- Protecting freedom of expression: an essential condition for democracy, development and human dignity (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015). However, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation that was established in 1945 have evolved. Today this Organisation has broadened its scope and shifted its thinking towards sustainable development, this new thinking has been said be fabricated from the founding principles of the organisation and enhances its role, hence the following reinforcements:
 - In a globalized world with interconnected societies, intercultural dialogue is vital if we are to live together while acknowledging our diversity.
 - In an uncertain world, the future of nations depends not only on their economic capital or natural resources, but on their collective ability to understand and anticipate changes in the environment - through education, scientific research and the sharing of knowledge.
 - In an unstable world - marked by fledgling democratic movements, the emergence of new economic powers and societies weakened by multiple stress factors – the educational, scientific and cultural fabric of societies – along with respect for fundamental rights - guarantees their resilience and stability.
 - In a connected world - with the emergence of the creative economy and knowledge societies, along with the dominance of the Internet, the full participation of everyone in the new global public space is a prerequisite for peace and development (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015).
 - South Africa joined this organisation on 12 December 1994 and has been a member ever since. In SA, UNESCO's focus is on education for all; sexual and reproductive health; media freedom and development, especially community media, science, technology and

innovation policies; as well culture and sustainable development (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015)

As a result of the organisation serving as a clearinghouse for the dissemination and sharing of information and knowledge, while helping member states to build their human and institutional capacities in diverse fields, the UNESCO established Multi-Sectoral Regional Offices and for Southern African states, the office is based in Zimbabwe and covers nine countries, including South Africa (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 2015).

2.4.9 United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

The UNFPA is an international development agency that promotes the right of every woman, man and child to enjoy a life of health and equal opportunity. Accordingly, this organisation supports countries in using population data for policies and programmes to reduce poverty and to ensure that every pregnancy is wanted, every birth is safe, every young person is free of HIV/AIDS, and every girl and woman is treated with dignity and respect (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The UNFPA started working in 1969 and according to the UNFPA South Africa (undated), this organisation partners with governments, relevant agencies and the civil society to advance UNFPA's mission (delivering a world where every pregnancy is wanted, every birth is safe, every young person's potential is fulfilled).

Furthermore, it has been established that two frameworks guide the efforts of this organisation, namely: the programme of Action adopted at the 1994 International Conference on Population and the Millennium Development Goals, eight targets to reduce extreme poverty by 2015 (UNFPA South Africa, 2014).

2.4.10 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The definition of this agency is well defined on the understanding of a refuge, and a refugee is defined as a person who owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of

the protection of that country (United Nations Development Group, 2007). Accordingly, the UNHCR exists solely for the protection of the people who falls under this definition.

The office of the UNHCR, was established on 14 December 1950 by the United Nations General Assembly. The rationale behind this establishment was to take lead in the coordination of the international actions set to protect refugees in the world. The aim was to help resolve problems facing refugees worldwide. This agency seeks to make sure that everyone can exercise the right to seek asylum and find safe refuge in other countries (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The United Nations Development Group (2007) reiterates that the UNHCR opened their office in South Africa in 1991. Concerning their aim and objectives of the agency, they sought to assist with the return of the South African exiles that had fled the country during apartheid. Subsequently, on 12 January 1996, the South African Government signed the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and by signing these international laws, the South African Government committed itself and its people to the protection of refugees, as required under these treaties.

With the help of UNHCR and human rights non-governmental organisations, the South African Government drafted refugee law, specific to South African conditions. The Refugees Act was passed into law by Parliament in December 1998, thus paving the way for the national implementation of South Africa's obligation to protect and assist refugees (United Nations Development Group, 2007)

These initiatives by the South African government showed colossal efforts in working with the UNHCR towards curbing refugee problems, not only in SA but even outside the country.

2.4.11 United Nations Information Centre (UNIC)

The information Centres are part of the Department of Public Information (DPI), and the first two UNICs were established in 1946. At present, there are 63 Information Centres, with services and offices worldwide. Some of these Information Centre are found in Cairo, Mexico City, and Pretoria, where there are high attentions of media outlets. These Centres works strategically with Centres in neighbouring countries to develop and implement communications

plans to promote UN's priority themes in a way that has special resonance in their respective regions (United Nations Information Centre, 2008).

The United Nations Information Centres (UNICs) are the principal sources of information about the United Nations system place in different countries. The office in Pretoria was established in 1995, a year after South Africa's first democratic elections, and the UNIC is today one of 18 United Nations agencies, funds and programmes present in South Africa. The majority of these centres are based in capital cities, hence it is in Pretoria (United Nations Development Group, 2007). From the 1st January 2007, this office assumed regional responsibilities. This meant that the office in Pretoria would assist other UNICs in sub-Saharan Africa. This was due to South Africa's well-developed infrastructure, large national and international media presence, relatively well-resourced government departments, established academia, active civil society and an extensive diplomatic corps, thus Pretoria was a logical choice for such a hub (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

According to the United Nations Development Group, some of the roles played by the office in Pretoria include lending substantive support to other UNICs on thematic and logistical issues, as well as, where necessary, policy guidance and information outreach assistance.

2.4.12 United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

UNICEF was created in December 1946 by the United Nations. The aim was to provide food, clothing and health care to the European children who faced famine and disease after World War II, however the scope of focus has broadened, and the organisation is now mandated by the United Nations to promote children's rights and hold governments to account for their responsibilities towards children throughout the globe (UNICEF, undated).

UNICEF works towards the eradication of children going hungry, or dying from preventable causes. Furthermore, UNICEF in South Africa strive for an environment where no child should suffer abuse or exploitation by those who power over the. This is pursued by improving the quality of education and health care for the children. UNICEF in South Africa believe in every child's right to protection, health and education so they can grow up strong and free, learn and succeed in life (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

2.4.13 United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO)

UNIDO is the specialized agency of the United Nations that promotes industrial development for poverty reduction, inclusive globalization and environmental sustainability (United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, undated), the undertaking was to help developing countries and countries with economies in transition in their fight against poverty and marginalization in today's globalized world by mobilizing knowledge, skills, information and technology to promote productive employment, a competitive economy and a sound environment (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

According to the United Nations Development Group, South Africa only joined UNIDO as a member state in 2002, and subsequently to that, a UNIDO regional office was established in June 2006 in Pretoria as a specialized technical cooperation agency of the United Nations system. This offices focuses on policy advising, institutional capacity-building and technical assistance in the three following thematic priorities:

- Poverty reduction through productive activities: addressing the cause of poverty not just the symptoms but also the support of the private sector development as engine of growth and employment creation.
- Trade capacity building: addressing supply side constraints through quality programmes and industrial restructuring and upgrading.
- Energy and environment: developing energy efficiency, renewable energy sources and encouraging cleaner production and water management.

UNIDO also assist developing countries in the implementation of multilateral environmental agreements, and as a global forum, UNIDO further generates and disseminates knowledge relating to industrial matters and provides a platform for the various actors in the public and private sectors, civil society organisations and the policy-making community in general to enhance cooperation, establish dialogue and develop partnerships (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

2.4.14 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

As noted by the UN parasternal on drugs and crime, they “The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) is a global leader in the fight against illicit drugs, transnational organised crime, terrorism, and corruption” (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2015). The

organisation was established in 1997, and was formed from the consolidation of the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme by the UN Secretary-General to enable the Organisation to focus and enhance its capacity to address the interrelated issues of drug control, crime, and international terrorism in all its forms (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the United Nations Development Group, the Southern African states were fortunate to have a Regional Office referred to as the Regional Office for Southern Africa (UNODC-ROSAF). The ROSAF covers 11 countries in the Southern Africa region, namely: Angola, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

To the United Nations Development Group, UNODC is committed to the achievement of security and justice for all. This can be attained through the fight against drugs, crime, terrorism, and most importantly through working with governments towards achieving these goals.

The UNODC-ROSAF has developed a Strategic Programme Framework for the Southern African region, structured around six key objectives:

- Strengthening legislative and judicial capacity of Southern African countries for the ratification and implementation of international conventions and instruments on drug control, organised crime, corruption, terrorism and money laundering;
- Assisting Southern African countries in reducing illicit drug trafficking and in the control of precursor chemicals;
- Enhancing the capacity of Government institutions and civil society organisations in the Southern African region to counter drug use and related HIV/AIDS amongst the youth and other vulnerable populations, particularly juvenile prisoners;
- Enhancing the capacity of Government institutions and civil society organisations in the Southern African region to counter trafficking in persons, the smuggling of migrants, and the trafficking in organs;
- Creating awareness about, and reducing domestic violence in Southern Africa in co-operation with civil society and Governments; and

- To promote Victim Empowerment by improving coordination, building capacity and strengthening relations between government and civil society in order to improve services to victims, especially women and children.

2.4.15 United Nations Women

The United Nations General Assembly created the United Nations Women in July 2010. This agency was designed as a UN entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women. In doing so, the UN community took a historic step in accelerating the organisation's goals on gender equality and the empowerment of women (UN Women, undated). The creation of the UN Women came about as part of the UN reform agenda, bringing together resources and mandates for greater impact, hence it merges and builds on the important work of four (4) previously distinct parts of the UN system. These four parts of the UN were/are the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW); the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW); the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI); and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (UN Women, undated)

The UN Women supports UN Member States as they set global standards for achieving gender equality, and works with governments and the civil society to design laws, policies, programmes and services needed to implement these standards (United Nations Development Group, 2007). Furthermore, it stands behind women's equal participation in all aspects of life, focusing on five priority areas: increasing women's leadership and participation; ending violence against women; engaging women in all aspects of peace and security processes; enhancing women's economic empowerment; and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting, and above, the UN Women also coordinates and promotes the UN system's work in advancing gender equality (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

2.4.16 The World Bank

The World Bank came into existence in 1944, and from that point, it has expanded from a single institution to a closely associated group of five development institutions. The initial mission of the World Bank has evolved from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) as facilitator of post-war reconstruction and development to the present-day mandate of worldwide poverty alleviation (The World Bank, 2015).

The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. It has become more than just a mere bank, hence it is made up of two unique development institutions owned by 185 member countries namely, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA). Each institution plays a different but supportive role in the mission of global poverty reduction and the improvement of living standards. The IBRD focuses on middle income and creditworthy poor countries, while IDA focuses on the poorest countries in the world. Together they provide low-interest loans, interest-free credit and grants to developing countries for education, health, infrastructure, communications and many other purposes (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

2.4.17 World Bank Public Information Centre

The Public Information Centers (PICs), maintained at various World Bank Country Offices, serve as the central contact for individuals seeking information on Bank operations and related documents (The World Bank, 2013). In South Africa, the Public Information Center (PIC) is located at the World Bank offices in Pretoria SA. This office in SA has a role of overseeing Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland. It also provide information services free of charge to the people of the country and whoever requires it (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

The PIC's objective is to promote an understanding of the World Bank's operations and to share knowledge through the use of and easy access to bank information such as research information. Much of this information is available in hard-copy collections and some documents are available free of charge online on the World Development Sources website (United Nations Development Group, 2007).

2.4.18 Services for Persons with Disabilities

The PIC is a UN agency whose task is to provide assistance to those who are categorized as disabled. Their task is to enable all those who are disabled to access UN information that may be required by them. This is done through assistive technologies that are designed to assist those who are in need of them. These are the instruments, tools and, mechanisms that have been put in place by the UN in conjunction with the South African government for the benefit of the country and the UN as a whole. Hence the UN achieves its targets when the member states develop and reach their high potentials while member states benefit through the efforts put

by the UN. This means that the UN-SA relation has unveiled itself to be productive to the benefits of both parties.

However, it is difficult to isolate South Africa from other countries when understanding the instrumentality of the UN. This is because the UN Act through each individual member states for the benefit of that state and the benefits of other states. This has been seen through the UN helping South Africa help itself and also be an instrument for change within its region in the continent, vice versa. This would be clearly seen when South Africa also had to benefits from the institutions place by the UN in other countries.

2.5 CONCLUSION

After an in-depth scrutiny of the role of the UN in South Africa, it was crucial to firstly identify the presence of the UN and how it manifest itself in the country, from there it was established that for South Africa, the role of the UN started in the pre-1994, hence, it became important to trace and unveil the instrumentality of the UN pre-1994. The importance of tracing the UN-SA relations to as early as the inception of the UN come to relate to the post-1994 because it was these primary relations that laid a foundation from which these relations are born.

Having established this link, the instrumentality of the UN in SA was identified, and it became evident that after the UN helped emancipate the non-whites South Africans from apartheid, it had more positive plans for South Africa. Hence, the UN had continued to play a supportive role towards the development and the protection of the country. The UN, through institutions, established mechanisms that would advance the mission and vision of the UN which entailed the maintaining of international peace and security; the promotion of cooperation in solving international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems; the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the development of friendly relations among nations; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining common goals.

It also became evident as to how the collective effort of the UN strategically designed, interrelated and enshrined the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) package where they would be pursued until 2015, and later on be substituted by the SDG's. This is because for each and every step towards the attainment of these goals interpret the achievement of the mission and vision of the UN and each member state. In essence the MDG's were propounded to be the next phase for the UN from 2000 to 2015, and later reformed to the 2030 SDG's . These goals

were/are driven by targets of reducing the income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter and exclusion, while promoting gender equality, health, education and environmental sustainability. They also embody basic human rights, the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter and security, hence it was/is an initiative that all member states agreed upon, and from there it became the mission for all member states to realize these targets that has been set through and by the MDG's and now SDG's.

After having set the targets to be pursued by member states, the UN established institutions that would help realise these goals while focusing on each institution's goals and mandates. Hence these institutions were established to cover the social aspect of development, the human aspect, the economic and the political aspect of development in each country.

Nonetheless, history suggests that South Africa is by far the number one country which has been able to get the UN's full attention (Barnes, 2008). This is supported by the fact that from the UN's inception, SA was given an attention that called for its own special committee that was established solely for the South African struggle against apartheid. Moreover, the establishment of 17 institutions to help towards the development of South Africa post 1994 is more evident that demonstrate the efforts of the UN and advantages that SA have enjoyed from the UN-SA relations. Furthermore, the on-going UN-SA relations still continue to promise positive result through the current tools placed by the UN (currently the SDG's, RC & UN agencies).

Because the nature of SA's domestic and foreign policy (which is also shaped by its history which involve the UN) is more democratic and human rights conscious (The Presidency, 2011). It therefore falls upon easy understanding for SA to want to continue having relations with the UN. It has been established that the UN is an organisation whose interest is to provide asylum to the impoverished states, protect them from calamities (economic, political or social), and help guide them towards their prosperity. It is in this regard that SA and other member states call themselves UN members till date.

Of course the effectiveness of the UN towards the realization or the reality of their rhetorical doctrines still eludes scrutiny. This is a result of the lack or absence of appropriate instruments that can be used to measures such. This is evident through mixed views that emerge when put against the question of effectiveness upon all member states (including South Africa). Hopefully, pundits will emerge with an appropriate measurement instrument and from that point, there will be studies that will measure such and provide conclusive findings.

CHAPTER 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE AFRICAN UNION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The first section of this chapter gives a historical background of South Africa (SA) and the African Union (AU). This section clearly outlines the historical relationship and affairs between SA and the AU. The second section of the chapter looks at the strategies and initiatives put in place by the AU towards the realization of organizational objectives. This section explores the AU mechanisms that have been in place over the years and highlight how they have been and how they are yet intended to benefit the African continent as a whole and SA in particular. The third section of this chapter deals with SA's role and contribution in the processes of the AU as it functions. This section sight sees the involvement of SA in the AU, the role it has played since joining the AU.

3.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON SA AND THE AU

The African Union (AU) succeeded the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 2002. Initially, the OAU was formed by 32 countries in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1963. However as from 2002 it is now constituted of 54 Member states excluding Morocco which withdrew in 1985. Other African countries that no longer participate in the AU are Madagascar and the Central African Republic (CAR), and this is a result of their suspension which was motivated by the coup d'état that overthrew sitting presidents at that time (Carbone, 2002).

The Idea behind the establishment of the OAU was to help bring about change and freedom to many African countries and restore the dignity of the African people. Its mission was to build a united African continent, where the African people would be politically and economically free and there would be co-operation among them.

The shift from the OAU to be replaced by the AU was a result of a Sirte Declaration (a declaration called by the heads of state and government of the OAU to establish an African Union). The declaration aimed at, inter alia, catalysing the integration process in the continent,

thus, enable it to address the continental multi-layered social, economic and political problems (Department of Foreign Affairs, SA, 2002).

This was the birth of the AU from the ashes of the OAU, with a rigorous and decisive approach towards the unification of African states through partnership and cooperation. According to DIRCO (2004), the African countries, in their quest for unity, economic and social development under the banner of the OAU, took various initiatives and made substantial progress in many areas which paved the way for the establishment of the AU. Noteworthy among these are:

- Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980); incorporating programmes and strategies for self-reliant development and cooperation among African countries.
- The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Nairobi 1981) and the Grand Bay Declaration and Plan of Action on Human rights: two instruments adopted by the OAU to promote Human and People's Rights in the Continent. The Human Rights Charter led to the establishment of the African Human Rights Commission located in Banjul, Gambia.
- Africa's Priority Programme for Economic recovery (APPER) – 1985: an emergency programme designed to address the development crisis of the 1980s, in the wake of protracted drought and famine that had engulfed the continent and the crippling effect of Africa's external indebtedness.
- OAU Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world (1990): which underscored Africa's resolve to seize the initiative, to determine its destiny and to address the challenges to peace, democracy and security.
- The Charter on Popular Participation adopted in 1990: a testimony to the renewed determination of the OAU to endeavour to place the African citizen at the centre of development and decision-making.
- The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) in 1991: commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, it seeks to create the AEC through six stages culminating in an African Common Market using the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks. The Treaty has been in operation since 1994.

- The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (1993): a practical expression of the determination of the African leadership to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in Africa.
- The Cairo Agenda for Action (1995): a programme for re-launching Africa's political, economic and social development.
- African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis (1997): a strategy for addressing the Continent's External Debt Crisis.
- The Algiers decision on Unconstitutional Changes of Government (1999) and the Lome Declaration on the framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes (2000).
- The 2000 Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation: establishes the fundamental principles for the promotion of Democracy and Good Governance in the Continent.
- Responses to other challenges: Africa has initiated collective action through the OAU in the protection of environment, in fighting international terrorism, in combating the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria and tuberculosis or dealing with humanitarian issues such as refugees and displaced persons, landmines, small and light weapons among others.
- The Constitutive Act of the African Union: adopted in 2000 at the Lome Summit (Togo), entered into force in 2001.
- The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): adopted as a Programme of the AU at the Lusaka Summit (2001).

These were the rudiments and underpinnings that steered the OAU towards the establishment of the AU, with an understanding that the OAU served its purpose well and contributed towards decolonization of the African states within the continent. These changes had to be made, the time had come to implement programs such NEPAD (New partnership for African Development) and ECOSOC (Economic and Social Council) in a more effective manner. Furthermore, the idea was to change the ways of the OAU in handling continental issues, this included the silence of OAU on the concerns of violations of democracy and human rights and the failure of the OAU to reflect the interest of African citizens in the new world order. Henceforth, the structure needed to be modernized by adding some new institutions and even transforming the Organisation itself (Olivia, 2011).

The AU is modernised and close to, if not relevant to the modern world when contrasted to the OAU, thus Olivia deliberated that the AU has a broader scope and mandate than the OAU. Olivia further states that the AU has been designed amid full awareness over the challenges in the 21st century thus making it relevant to the world of the 21st century. Olivia further goes to commend the AU for greater transparency, openness, and its willingness to respond and respect human rights in a manner that is in line with international communities expected standard.

The objectives and functions of the AU are similar to those of a government system. This make the AU the government body of the entire continent whose role is to defend and protect each individual member-state. The AU is the government of the continent, by the continent, for the continent. This again is because the existence of the AU is built upon democratic processes. The AU is responsible for the promotion of peace and the cooperation of member states amongst each other. This therefore means that the AU is also responsible for laying policy frameworks that guides how states interact with one another and other relevant stakeholders. Moreover, it is responsible for proving a compatible and conducive environment for each and every member state to grow both economical and politically while maintaining a stable, united and peaceful community (Africa Union, 2002).

Like any governing body, the AU as an organisation has organs that are responsible for carrying out its functions and is made up of ten (10). According to the AU (2015), there is the Assembly, the executive council, the commission, the permanent representative's committee, peace and Security Council, pan African parliament, the economic, social and cultural council, the court of justice, the specialized technical committees, and the financial institutions. The AU (2002:8) clearly outlines the organs of the African Union as follows:

- The Assembly is composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the Union.
- The Executive Council is composed of Ministers or Authorities designated by the Governments of Members States. The Executive Council is responsible to the Assembly.
- The African Union Commission (AUC) is composed of the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson, eight Commissioners and Staff members; Each Commissioner shall be responsible for a portfolio.

- The Permanent Representatives' Committee is composed of Permanent Representatives of Member States accredited to the Union and is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.
- Peace and Security Council (PSC) was established as a result of the Summit of Lusaka, July 2001, where a decision was made for its creation within the AU. The Protocol establishing the PSC is in the process of ratification.
- Pan-African Parliament is an organ that ensures the full participation of African peoples in governance, development and economic integration of the Continent. The protocol relating to the composition, powers, functions and organisation of the Pan-African Parliament has been signed by member states and is in the process of ratification.
- The Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) is an advisory organ that is composed of different social and professional groups of the member states of the union. As an advisory organ, the statute of ECOSOC suggests that the functions of this organ are to provide strategic research based advises. This make this organ the think tank of this organisation as it conducts studies deemed necessary by any other organ of the AU.
- The Court of Justice was merged with the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights to form a new court: The African Court of Justice and Human Rights (ACJHR). It is responsible for the protection of the human rights in Africa.
- The Specialized Technical Committees
The following Specialized Technical Committees are meant to address sectorial issues and are at Ministerial Level:
The Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters; The Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs; The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters; The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment; The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism; The Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources
- The Financial Institutions are the institution such as the African Central bank, the African Monetary Fund & the African Investment Bank.

The organs are responsible for converting the objectives and whims of the AU into practice. Their task is to bring about effective governance amongst the states by focusing on each Organ's role. Though one cannot be adamant about the invisibility and the short falls of the ACJHR as their role is visible amid the noticeable conflicts in Africa. The effectiveness of all these organs shall be reflected on the collective progress of the AU as a governing body.

After SA joined the OAU post their democratic elections in 1994, it officially became the 53rd member of the OAU (SA History Online, 2015). In the Summit held in Tunisia, the foreign affairs minister Alfred Nzo led the South African delegation, and was applauded after the SA membership was welcomed and agreed upon at an OAU Council of Ministers meeting.

According to DIRCO (2004), among the ten organs of the AU, the AUC is the central organ of the AU. Hence, the principal role of the AUC is to be responsible for the day-to-day duties and the management of the AU. Furthermore, the functions of the AUC suggest that this organ is responsible for upholding and representing the interests of the AU. This organ works in close relations with the executive council. This is because of their other function of implementing the programmes and policies of the Union and those of the region (Africa Union, 2002).

The current chairperson of the AUC, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma emerged in 2012 as a first woman to lead the continent. She is also the first from the Southern Africa since the establishment of both the OAU and the AU (mail& guardian, 2012). Because of the centrality of the AUC to the AU and her seniority in the AUC, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma hold the most authoritative position in the AU. She is regarded as the high-powered civil servant who coordinates the meetings and implements the decisions taken at a point in time.

According to Paul Graham (cited in mail& guardian, 2012), this position meant that the chairman (Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma) of the AUC has the duty to participate in the drafting of agendas, the crafting of roadmaps for the attainment of agreed-upon decisions and to further assist in the implementation process.

Mail & guardian further utters that there were high hopes for Ms Dlamini-Zuma as she was seen as a leader who would bring about transformation for both the struggling organisation and the continent. However, after emerging as the leader of the AUC, the mail and guardian outlined that it was speculated that she would fail to be impartial in her leadership of the continent thus the organisation. Her emerging as the chairperson of the AUC brought about questions on her loyalty. These questions centered on whether she is there to serve the interest of the continent or just the southern part of Africa and her native country. Mr Battle (cited in BD live, 2013) believed that Ms Dlamini-Zuma would prioritise her native country and the southern part of Africa. This conviction was informed by an understanding that she is heavily advised by people from the southern part of the continent including South Africa.

Mr Battler was quoted on BD live saying that “the principal advisers who have very close one-on-one consultation time with the chairperson are persons who are SADC-inclined, who are

South Africa -inclined and who are ANC-inclined”, moreover, BD live found that South Africa is responsible for the payments of all the expenses and salaries of those advisers. These have been the rudiments that backed the conviction that Dlamini-Zuma would be bias in favour of the ANC, South Africa, and the Southern Region. Indeed, these finding served as reasonable grounds to the insinuation that she would pursue a South African Agenda if not a regional agenda instead of that of a continent. However, Thomas Wheeler, a research associate at the South African Institute of International Affairs, disagreed on the basis that it was necessary to distinguish between SA as a member of the AU and Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, an official of the AU who happens to be a South African leader (BD Live,2013).

Wheeler acknowledges that of course she is a South African but he places the importance of distinguishing between her persona as a capable leader and her nationality which cannot be changed. He was quoted on Mail& Guardian stating that “She will always be associated with South Africa but her persona, profile and existence is now as president of the AU Commission, and she has nothing to do with South Africa [in that role]" (Mail & guardian, 2012).

3.3 THE AUC AND AGENDA 2063

The Agenda 2063 is the continental road map designed by the AU that is aimed at leading Africa’s individual states to greener pastures (AU undated). According to the AU, the heads of state and Government of the AU propounded for transformation of the continent. Consequently, the AU Summit mandated the Chairperson of AUC along with other concerned parties such as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the African Development Bank (ADB) and the NEPAD Agency to develop a roadmap that would guide the African development, and the Agenda 2063 is that product.

Agenda 2063 is a call for action and a road map to achieve continental development goals. According to SA News (2015), it represents the continental interest and provide necessary space for the continent to grow both its economic and political stance on its own in the global arena. This agenda is in line with, and is driven by the AU’s vision of building an integrated, thriving and peaceful continent that is run by its citizens, for the betterment of other African citizens.

Africa is the richest continent in terms of mineral resources, however the continent has not utilised those resources to the fullest in the interests of its citizens. Being the world’s second

largest continent in size, while richly gifted with a great deal of resources, the continent automatically becomes a land of vast opportunities. However, for Africa to maximise its opportunities and convert them into gains, it needs to resolve its intra-continental differences and work together.

Through this agenda the AU will be an agent for change that will aim at addressing the aforementioned challenges that Africa faces. The AU have the duty to help resolve the African intercontinental conflicts that might hinder the unification and development of these states. The AU assumes this role because it is a continental government that serves the interest of all member states. Therefore, it then falls upon its responsibility to bring mechanisms and strategies that would stimulate the social, economic, political and cultural aspect of development in each country in the continent. Hence, Agenda 2063 is the mechanism and platform established solely to drive the countries to development, and be a catalyst for transformation. This agenda has been identified by observers who have hailed and praised this agenda, saying that this agenda will strengthen African integration and unity. This include the UN General Assembly which on October 2015 praised the Agenda 2063 as a tool that would work for South Africa post 2015 SDG's as comprehensive blueprint for Africa's way forward (UN Meetings Coverage & Press Releases, 2015).

This catalyst for development and instrument for African integration and unity would be seen through what the Agenda entails in theory. This means Agenda 2063 will remain a mere documented plan until it materialises into reality, and for that to happen, we have to allow time to pass by before any judgement can be made about it. The Agenda touches on a range of areas. In essence, its provide for an African user-friendly environment for growth by giving African producers access to regional markets and integrating them into a more productive regional value chains; It includes integrating financial markets, to enable capital to flow more readily among national economies; it includes promoting the free movement of labour for more efficient regional labour markets and for improved access to skilled labour for specialist production (SA News, 2015). This is what the Agenda's crux entails and these are the objectives that the agenda aim to achieve as they are believed to be essential for the achievement of structural transformation in African economies, and advancing the living standards of all continental citizen.

However, the gains that this Agenda entails for all stake holders are not limited to the economic aspect of gains, rather they stretch throughout all developmental aspect in a society. Hence, the

African stakeholders involved in the making of the Agenda painted a clear picture of what they desired for themselves and the continent in the future. The African Union Commission Agenda 2063 Draft Document (2014:10-20) outlines these aspirations as follows:

1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development. This implies that by 2063 Africa would be a continent of shared fortunes, which is responsible for its own development. This would be characterized by better of African citizens in terms of their living standard and quality of their life and well-being; by a better form of education system and status for all the African citizens, thus resulting in them being well-educated and skilled; by a healthy African society which is well catered for by their departments of health, thus improving their life spans; by a modernized settlement system, with modern infrastructures which will provide for all the basic necessities of life; and by a society with a low unemployment rate along with transformed agricultural sector which will boost productivity levels in the continent while preserving the environment.
2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism. This implies that by 2063 African states would be free from any political and economic connexions with any of their colonial masters. This would be characterized by complete self-reliance and independent, and the promotion of a united and strong Africa that is both politically and economically realizes full economic and political integrated.
3. An Africa of good governance, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law. This implies that by 2063 the continent will be led by leaders who will be fully committed to good governance, democratic values, gender equality, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law, with citizens who are also committed to upholding these necessities for good governance and the promotion of democracy.
4. A peaceful and secure Africa. This implies that by 2063, Africa would be a conflict-free continent, characterized by peace and security for all, with intra-continental conflicts being addressed diplomatically. Furthermore there would be low crime rate across the continent. This will be done through mechanisms put in place to prevent and curtail criminal actives on the continent.
5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, values and ethics. This implies that by 2063, the importance of identity along with the conflicts that these identity divergent tend to cause will be resolved, this implies that by 2063, the long awaited united Africa that is characterised by tolerance and consolidation of various nationalities and ethnic groups.

Thus having an African continent with converging identities however well consolidated by all. This is critical for Africa in positioning itself in the global arena.

6. An Africa whose development is people-driven, especially relying on the potential offered by its women and youth. This implies that by 2063, Africa will be a continent of vast opportunities that will be accessible to everyone regardless of their gender, religion, age, ethnic affiliation, political affiliation, or locality.
7. Africa as a strong, resilient and influential global player and partner. This implies that by 2063 Africa will be one of the major contributors and role players in global affairs. This means that Africa will no longer depend on foreign donations to foster their development. This is crucial because these donations do not always come for free. Therefore, this will give the African states full control over their own development and governance. This independence will later on give them solid grounds to represent them without fear or favour in the dynamics of global affairs. (AUC, 2014).

The seven aforementioned targets are both economic and socio-political aspirations that the agenda should be able to yield 48 years from now. Though there are challenges that might hamper the realization of these targets. The agenda has foreseen some of the challenges that it might face, as a result, the Agenda has outlined these challenges. If these challenges are prevailed, the goals of Agenda 2063 would be easy to reach. The AUC (2014: 24-39) posit that these challenges include inter alia, the concentration of populations in the cities; the rampant poverty headcount of 43.5 per cent among the populations in 2010 for the continent as a whole; gender, income and rural–urban inequalities, as well as, unequal access to assets; movements of populations across countries attributed to forced displacements, caused by factors such as civil wars, droughts, water shortages and natural disasters, as well as, young Africans trying their chance outside the continent. All these challenges pose problems for Africa’s peace and stability, and development.

These challenges are a product of the biggest obstacles that the AU has no control over, the dissimilarities amongst member states. That is to say the variation of member states in terms of industrialisation, economic classification, natural resources rich and natural resource poor, and all the other challenges that result from these dissimilarities.

Where challenges emerge, opportunities are always there, therefore, in light of the above mentioned challenges. The Agenda also established opportunities that can be exploited in

favour of the achievement of these aspirations. Hence, the Agenda further delineate on the opportunities that coexist with the challenges that are afore mentioned, and this pave way and give rise to the possibility of the imagined Africa being transformed from a dream into a living Africa in the globe. These opportunities among others are having mineral resource rich countries and initiating the Agenda 2063 as the blueprints to African prosperity (AUC, 2014).

The agenda itself serves as an opportunity because it has strategically captured both the challenges and opportunities to counter them. This therefore places the future of the African people to an advantage. The Agenda has outlined these challenges as broad. This is because of their differing nature in a sense that they stretch from the demographic perspective all the way to education; health; gender equality & empowerment of women; youth empowerment; economic/ finance and employment; industrialization; economic integration and intra-African trade; the inter-connectedness and infrastructure development; information communication and technology; energy; Africa's blue economy; agriculture; food security and nutrition; natural resources and environment. The AUC (2014) does not only capture the challenges rather it also propounded opportunities that coexist with each challenge that has been mentioned above.

Having established how each member states can benefit from the Agenda 2063, it becomes apparent that member states are on the verge of developing their own continent, by the Africans and for the African people. Because this agenda is an African instrument by the African people to address African problems, this make the member states the founders and harvesters of the fruits of the Agenda 2063, thus, making SA a beneficiary of this African package. Since the aspirations and vision of the Agenda does not spontaneously translate reality, it is therefore important that a plan of action be put in place in order to bridge the gap between aspirations and achievement in future, hence the agenda 2063 plan of action.

3.4 AGENDA 2063 PLAN OF ACTION

The following points are essential steps that the Agenda seek to follow however in no sequential order (Agenda 2063, 2014: 14-18):

- Because poverty is one of the strenuous societal issues affecting the African populace, the agenda prioritize the eradication of poverty on the continent by 2025. This will be attained through concentrating all efforts and investments in human development hence the uplifting of the human capital of the African citizens. This will yield

improved incomes, more jobs and better provision of basic necessities of life. This includes the provision of an environment where all Africans can afford a decent house, with opportunities for human growth and development. In this regard, the idea is to improve the living standard of all the Africans (both working non-working) who are living in informal settlements.

- It goes without saying that the elimination of hunger and stabilizing of food insecurity may be one of the first problems that might require great agency. However, for this to happen, there will be a reduction of imports of food while simultaneously raising an intra-Africa trade in agriculture and food to 50% of the total formal food and agricultural trade. Moreover, the policies of an affirmative nature will be developed and implemented. This will help increase the number of women who have access to land and inputs. This will ensure that at least 30% of agricultural financing are accessed by women, thus economically empowering women and youth. In essence, this will translate into a consolidation of the modernization of the African agriculture and agribusinesses, and these projections are set to be reached by 2025.
- The Agenda does not only strive for inclusivity, but it requires the African populace to own the Agenda and make it their sole responsibility to make it a success. It is in this regard that the society should participate fully in the coordination and implementation of the Agenda. This means that everyone will have to be educated and understand the significance of education-based contribution. It is also important to equip the society with a dated and relevant set of skills that can help them develop themselves and contribute to the GDP of their countries. It is further in this context that there will be an expansion of universal access to quality early childhood primary and secondary education; the expansion and consolidation of gender parity in education; the strengthening of the technical and vocational education and training through scaled up investments; the establishment of a pool of high quality Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) centres across Africa, and also, the forging of vibrant links with industries and alignment to labour markets. This would help bridge the skills gap across the continent and help make the African people more than capable of building their respective countries while simultaneously serving the aspirations of the agenda.
- The establishment of an African Accreditation Agency to develop and monitor educational quality standards across the continent has been identified as a tool in

education and skills revolution. This would actively promote science, technology, research and innovation, to build knowledge, human resources, capabilities and skills for the African people. However, monetary means always manifest themselves as hindrances when not taken into account, hence investments in universities, science, technology, research and innovation will be prioritized. Consequently, the next step within the parameters of education and skills will be the strengthening of a Pan African University, and the building of a Pan African Virtual University would be of significance in the advancement of Africa's role in global research, technology development and transfer, innovation and knowledge production.

- The Agenda seek also to create an environment or an African continent that is industrialized. That means there will be prodigious transformation, growth and industrialization of the African economies through beneficiation and value addition of natural resources. However, for this to happen, the Agenda (2063: 15) expresses that the following have to be set into effect:
 - ✓ *The implementation of the African Industrial Development Action Plan, the African Mining vision at country and continental level, in particular fast-tracking the establishment of the Centre for African Mineral Development.*
 - ✓ *The implementation of joint cross-border investments to exploit shared natural resources.*
 - ✓ *The promotion of social dialogue, sectoral and productivity plans and regional and commodity value chains to support the implementation of industrial policies at all levels, with focus on SMMEs and Agribusinesses.*
 - ✓ *The establishment of commodity exchanges for strategic African products.*
 - ✓ *The crafting and implementation of strategies to grow the African Blue and Green economies;*
 - ✓ *The development of the African private sector through engagement and a conducive climate, fostering Pan African businesses through the growth of regional manufacturing hubs and scaled up intra-Africa trade.*
 - ✓ *A vast attention on production for Africa, as an essential engine for industrialization, progressively enhancing the competitiveness of the continent in the global economy.*
 - ✓ *The crafting and implementation of macro-economic policies that will facilitate growth, employment creation, investments and industrialization.*

- In order for Africa to have a uniform development throughout the continent, the collective states through this Agenda and the AU have to be connected through world-class infrastructure. This means connecting all African capitals and commercial centres through the Africa Integrated High Speed Train Initiative (PIDA). The motive is to strengthen the African port and shipping sector as regional and continental assets. Within the perimeters of world-class infrastructure, there will also be a building of the national and also regional energy pools and grids, and also the PIDA energy projects. This will be done through harnessing all African energy resources to ensure modern, efficient, reliable, cost effective, renewable and environmentally friendly energy to all African households, businesses, industries and institutions.
- Africa will also be on equal footing with the rest of the world as an information society, and an integrated e-economy. As a result, every government, business and citizen will have access to reliable and affordable ICT services. Hence there will be an increase in broadband penetration of 10% by 2018, broadband connectivity by 20 percentage points.
- The intra- African conflicts remains one of the strongest hindrances against African solidarity and prosperity. Therefore, in order to tackle these intra- African conflicts, there shall be the silencing of guns in the African continent at least by 2020. This is buttressed by the African leaders. Their intention is not to bestow the burden of these conflicts to the next generations. Hence ending all wars, civil conflicts, human rights violations, humanitarian disasters, gender-based violence and violent conflicts, and the prevention of genocide. This shall be ensured by the establishment of an African Human Security Index (AHSI) to monitor progress.
- There is also a great need for African states to deal with the continental economic relations. The agenda plans to address this through the establishment of a continental free trade area by 2017. This programme is expected to double the intra-Africa trade by 2022, strengthen Africa's common voice and policy space in global trade negotiations, and lastly establish the financial institutions within the agreed upon timeframes (African Investment Bank and Pan African Stock Exchange by 2016, the African Monetary Fund by 2018, and the African Central Bank by 2028/34).
- Because of the multiplicity of societal, governmental, economic and political problems, there is a number of grounds that needs to be covered before the ideal Africa is realized. These grounds have been outlined above however more of them

needs to be addressed. These include investing in the health sector and the education of youth in order to ensure faster movement on the harmonization of continental admissions, curricula, standards, programmes and qualifications and raising the standards of higher education to enhance the mobility of African youth and talent across the continent by 2025. But before that, gender parity in both public and private institutions, and the removal of all forms of gender discrimination in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres have to be addressed as efficiently as possible, at least by 2020.

- Africa as a continent need to be unified and be able to work together as one towards the realization of this Agenda. This means that the agenda itself will have to provide for the forging of the African unity. This will be attainable through an introduction of an African Passport, issued by Member states, capitalizing on the global migration towards e-passports, and with the abolishment of visa requirements for all African citizens in all African countries by 2018.
- For the continent to be on the same path, member states have to consolidate democracy as their political system. The democratic consolidation by all AU member states will not only account for a smooth and uniform government form of system, but it will also help enhance Africa's united voice in global negotiations, through mutual sovereignty and interest.
- African states will have to deal with the domestic areas within their respective countries. This will be done through the solidification of domestic resource mobilization; the building of continental capital markets and financial institutions; the reversing of the illicit flows of capital from the continent. The idea is to eliminate all forms of illicit flows that result in inefficiencies.
- Without proper implementation, monitoring, and an evaluation system to ensure the attainment of these African aspirations, the entire purpose for the AU and the Agenda would be rendered into empty promises. Hence, there will be an identification of strategic leadership and stakeholders at the national, regional and continental level to be assigned roles and responsibilities that they should play in this endeavor. Moreover, to ensure achievement, this will be done complementary to some strategic broad policy guidelines that will would be adopted/adapted by national, regional and continental stakeholders with respect to the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Agenda 2063.

- It is also important to be environmental conscious because development without the protection of the environment is unsustainable. Fortunately, in Africa's quest for development, relevant strategies will have to be done in order to avoid the mistreatment of the environment leading to climate change. The Agenda 2063 (2014: 16) states that these strategies will include the following:
 - ✓ *Identification of five regional technology centers, linking with national designated climate technology entities;*
 - ✓ *Programmes on climate change targeting women and youth;*
 - ✓ *A climate resilient agricultural development programme as CAADP;*
 - ✓ *A sustainable forest management programme.*
 - ✓ *National adaptation plans, systems and structures (National Designated Authorities and Implementation Entities)*
 - ✓ *A sustainable exploitation and management of Africa's diversity for the benefit of its people*
- The Agenda provides for the blueprints towards the realization of the aspirations of the African people. However, the African stake holders will require leveraging that will help strengthen them towards their goals. This means that the AU implementing institutions such as the AUC, along with NEPAD, the PAP and ECOSOCC among others should be leveraged in order to ensure efficiency. It is also important to leverage even the non-AU continental institutions such as the African Development Bank, the UN Economic Commission, the African Capacity Building Foundation, and the African Public Services Commission Association amongst others to assist the AUC institutions in playing their roles effectively. Most importantly, the RECs also need to be leveraged as they are the core in coordinating the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of Agenda 2063.
- After all has been said and done, there will be an annual continental level stakeholder platform to review the progress of implementation of Agenda 2063 at the national, regional and continental levels and submitting the outcome of its deliberation in the form of Annual Agenda 2063 State of the Union Report to the African Assembly.

3.5 THE BENEFIT OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE AU

It is true that all the AU member states joined the AU willingly, and individually, therefore, it is in this context that SA's gains has to be assessed both collectively and also separately. Accordingly, observers have identified that there is a lot of incentive for SA to take part in the integration while simultaneously encouraging other African states to do so. In scrutinizing into how SA benefit from it AU membership. The Business Report (2011) found that the open markets and free trade would expose SA's producers to new and larger markets thus providing a more conducive environment for economic growth. In theory, there will be an increase in the average wealth of all member states and in particular South Africa; Lower barriers to movement of resources and capital within the continent; there will be more foreign direct investment into the continent; there will be an improvement of infrastructure and other development ailments faced by many African nations, including the SA itself.

In essence, within the continental quest for better efficiency and allocation of resources across the continent lies an opportunity for being a superior beneficiary, and since SA is already one of the leading economic power houses in Africa, the opening of economic doors of this nature inevitably means economic opportunities for SA. Thus the question of SA benefiting is guaranteed, however the question of by how much can SA maximize its potential gains from such opportunities remain a mystery to be known in due time. However with this Agenda in place, by 2063 all the gap between desires and reality will be known.

In the context of market integration as one of the benefits that SA is open to, it becomes crucial to briefly and precisely zoom into it, what it entails, and it prospects. According to Belassa (1961), it is asserted that economic integration refers to a process that encompasses measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states: viewed as states of affairs, it can be represented by the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies

This translate into SA labour force having free movement, thus broadening their opportunities, while simultaneously exposing SA companies to a bigger pool of skill sets both from the country and outside the country. Furthermore, the laws of economics suggest that this will result in a reduction of inflation thus giving companies a compatible environment for growth thus enabling them to expand their output. This will also give companies a pool of potential employees both inside and outside their countries (Belassa, 1961).

3.6 SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE AFRICAN UNION

South Africa and the AU share common aspirations for the continent hence SA is a proud member of the AU (see Barnes, 2008; Africa Union, 2002). Because the AU policy document and the South African foreign policy share common interest, the value of South Africa's contribution will be looked at from South Africa's input to the continent concurrently with the impact to the AU, thus treating these contributions as one.

As one of the most economically and politically influential states in Africa, SA have not only been and will not only be enjoying the benefits of what the African states and the AU had/has to offer, however, this relationship has been and is expected to be reciprocal. This means that SA also has to play a role in the practices of the AU. SA's role in the AU has been strongly visible on post-conflicts resolutions when Mbeki became the chairperson of the AU and the development of the continent. However, South Africa's contribution has been underplayed. This is because of perceptivity, that is to say that it depends on one's point of view from where one may stand. This makes sense when one finds that SA has been seen as having a strong and pro-active involvement in almost every region of Africa and also find critics over this contribution.

This suggest that there are mixed results when it comes to the scrutiny and interpretation of SA's role and contribution. This becomes difficult because there were no codified objectives for SA to meet, no clearly articulated goals to be reached in clearly outlined targets. Hence, this contribution can only be measured based on perceptivity in the absence of an appropriate measuring instrument. This argument is supported by the Mail& Guardian (2013) when it states that "there are no clear figure of how much South Africa is contributing in terms of aid and other assistance to the rest of Africa". However, in terms of financial aid, SA has contributed handsomely, considering the \$500-million from the South African budget that was directed to the African Renaissance Fund (ARF), an initiative that enable the South African government to identify and provide funds to African states. These funds have helped agricultural projects in Zimbabwe, cultural projects in Mali, humanitarian assistance in Somalia, dams in Lesotho, and even providing support to the Africa Cup of Nations (Besharati cited in Mail& Guardian, 2013).

The Mail& Guardian (2013) further utters that apart from the African Renaissance Fund (ARF), the South African government is also committed to other ongoing initiatives such as

the provision of technical support to needy states and the offering of scholarships on a bilateral basis, often in post-conflict countries.

Neissan Alessandro Besharati (project manager at the South African Institute of International Affairs and author of a new report on the planned Sapda) utters that post 1994 South Africa's aid to the continent has been marked by efforts to bring stability to war torn countries and to help with post-conflict reconstruction (Mail& Guardian, 2013).

The Mail& Guardian (2013) further find that other stakeholders are off a view that SA is doing more than its share of training, peacekeeping and mediation in conflict zones on the continent, in the interest of a peaceful and prosperous Africa.

While former president Thabo Mbeki, who was very committed to peace building efforts on the continent, spearheaded initiatives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and South Sudan — two countries where South Africa's involvement has been the most visible, Andre Roux who is a senior researcher at the conflict management and peace-building division of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), says hundreds of millions of Rands were spent in the negotiations to end the war in the DRC in the late 1990s. She later unpacks all the milestones that the South African government went through in resolving the DRC conflict (Mail & Guardian, 2013).

South Africa was also visible in South Sudan, training about 1 500 civil servants and police in the run-up to independence in July 2011. The magnitude of this role by the South Africa government is cordially outlined by Peter Bior Alier Biar from the embassy of South Sudan in Pretoria, he states that this was a major task for SA to handle, given that it was dangerous, with two societies being heavily armed after fighting a civil war for two decades in the north. He was quoted in saying that “One had to change the mindset of people from a conflict situation to being a civil servant. It is a whole different philosophical approach. South Africa has done well in helping us with this” (Mail& Guardian, 2013).

History also reminds us that South Africa was also chair of the commission for post-conflict reconstruction set up by the AU. According to the African Union Peace and Security (2015), the objective of this commission was/is to improve timeliness, effectiveness and coordination of activities in post conflict countries and to lay the foundation for social justice and sustainable peace, in line with Africa's vision of renewal and growth.

According to Besharati cited in Mail & Guardian (2013), SA also have universities that also play a major role in the African continent. In this regard, she is taking note of the openness that the South African government has provide to the other African counterparts who are provided the use of these institution at the same fee as the South African students.

Furthermore, the South Africa government contributes about \$150-million to \$200-million to the AU on an annual basis. The South African government further funds the AU institutions such as Nepad and the Pan-African Parliament (Besharati cited in Mail & Guardian, 2013).

South Africa have even go so far as have human contribution to the AU, of course this may not appear as a contribution but then again, it a matter of perceptivity. One may see strategic and well capacitated South African leaders being servants of the African people, driving a big and strategic organisation as the AU, providing great contribution to these structures as far as great leadership is concern. Thabo Mbeki was the first chairperson to ever lead the AU, Nkosazane Dlamini-Zuma was the first female to lead the AUC,

This aid as great as it may be, it is not enough to say that SA has done/ is doing enough for the continent because of the earlier mentioned reasons, that is because there were no/ are no codified expectations for SA to play. This is what gives rise to South Africa's contribution to be overlooked while others give it prays.

It is in this context that there should be sets standards that should be put in place in order for each individual state to be measured against. And there should also be clearly demarcated timeframes or targets for which they are expected to deliver.

Critics suggest that SA is still a very small player when it comes to development aid. However the benchmark which SA is placed against is the developed Western states and also countries such as China and Brazil. In comparison, SA and these countries are by far the same in terms of their economies. The Mail & Guardian (2013) has it that Besharati put forward that SA's contribution is a mere foreign policy tool. Another fundamental critic come from the professor in the department of politics at the University of Johannesburg, Cheryl Hendricks (cited in Mail & Guardian, 2013), he utters that South Africa lack a well-planned way to deliver.

The critics above are still oblivious of the fact that a state cannot be expected to contribute efficiently if there were no benchmark or expectations set to test the efficiency plan for providing aid that the state concern deems as necessary as per its foreign policy. The

argument is that SA is merely practicing its foreign policy structure, however, that need to be considered as absolute consistency rather than a critic on its own. SA shows consistency with its foreign policy, and therefor deserves appreciation for its consistency.

Professor affirms the argument when he suggests that “We should think through where and to whom we are going to give aid. At the moment it is done on an ad hoc basis because we don’t have a clear overarching strategy” (Mail & Guardian, 2013). Hence, if we knew for whom to deliver, where and when, it will be only then when we are able to see if SA was/is able to deliver or not. Therefore, until there is a proper plan that South Africa codify as objectives that it wishes to achieve, or until there are clearly articulated objectives for South Africa to achieve, there cannot be any absolute measurements for SA’s contribution. In conclusion, the measurement theory suggests that for an attribute to be classified as long, there should be an attribute that can be classified as short when juxtaposed against it. It is against this conviction that there should be different tools for measuring South Africa’s contribution, especially if it must be compared and contrasted against any other state. The South African foreign policy integrates the experiences of the anti-apartheid struggle and is conscious of the unjust ramification it entails, Hence the South African government’s promotion of civil liberties, economic emancipation and democratization (Barnes, 2008).

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to investigate the nature of the relations that exists between South Africa and the African Union before and after 1994. The chapter also sought to zoom in and explore the strategies and initiatives that have been planned and implemented by the AU towards the realization of organisational objectives. Furthermore, this chapter sought to better understand the role and contribution of the South Africa in the processes of the African Union.

After a timeous and careful investigation into the above mentioned points of enquiry, the chapter has established that there has been a significant improvement that came along with the organisational transition from the OAU to the AU. This transition was meant to calibrate the workings of the AU to fit the contemporaneous socio-economic and political dispensation. The aim of these changes was to help usher in relevant policy frameworks for the continent. The study shows that these changes include the introduction of new departments and also the shift towards a more inclusive, transparent and proactive African government.

However, the chapter shows that the AU has made strategic improvements towards the realigning of the African Socio-economic and political stabilities. But, the disappointing factor is that all these improvements are only visible in principle while in practise, the collective workings of the African Union have been characterised by a huge level of inconsistencies. These inconsistencies have been associated with the high intra-continental differences that destabilises the continent.

The study shows that the involvement of South Africa in the AU has been clearly visible even though there are numerous inconsistencies that have been raised by different researchers. the study has also found that there is a need for a clear and clever approach that would provide a yardstick towards the weighing of contributions not only for South Africa but for all African states.

CHAPTER 4

SOUTH AFRICA'S MULTILATERAL DRIVE THROUGH THE SADC AND BRICS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section outlines an overview of regional integration. This section conceptualizes regional integration as this chapter is based on it. The second section looks at the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and its involvement with South Africa (SA). In this section the involvement of SA, rationale for their involvement and the contribution of SA is zoomed with intent of unveiling the economic interaction of both SA and the SADC. The third section looks at the pros and the cons of both the SADC as a regional integration unit and that of South Africa in this Unit.

The next section conceptualizes both BRIC and BRICS. This section lays out the philosophical background and ideology that resulted to the formation of what have to be known as BRICS. The second section dwells on the involvement of SA hence BRICS. This section zooms in to the prospects of South Africa (SA) in BRICS with an intent of understanding the economic interaction between SA and BRICS. The third section looks at the challenges of both BRIC and BRICS. This section looks at the challenges that the poses a threat to this alliance and also looks the challenges of SA in this alliance.

4.2 REGIONAL INTEGRATION OVERVIEW

It is important to firstly outline a detailed overview for economic integration because the SADC region is constructed upon the concept of regional integration, hence an overview. According to Carim (1997), the term economic integration is the term used by economist to describe closer economic liaison and co-operation between areas and countries. The word is said to be coming from the latin word "intergratio" meaning renewal or "intergrato" meaning to make a whole. Economic integration can be applied at various levels, but when countries seek closer economic liaison, they firstly look to their neighboring countries hence regional integration. This is where Tau's (2000) opinion comes in to play when he stresses out that

economic integration starts when countries establish an economic approach to economic problems and opportunities which affect them.

Economic integration is always underpinned and characterized by free trade, economic union and monetary union, common market, custom union. Mathews (cited in Tau 2000) distinguishes between these underpinnings and he delineate that in a free trade area, countries eliminate tariffs and other barriers to trade between themselves while retaining their own tariffs towards imports from the outside the area. In a custom union, besides abolishing tariffs amongst themselves, the countries concerned establish a common external tariff towards goods imported from outside. In a common market, there is not only a common tariff and freedom of movement of goods within the market but also a common approach to the factors of production such as labor and capital. An economic union goes further than a common market by establishing common policies in various areas of economic activities. A monetary union extends the concepts of an economic union to common policy formulation in all fields of economic activity, as well as the use of the same currency by all member states.

In essence, the significance and rationale behind states conjoining economies rest upon the perks that regional economic integration brings about. And according to Corden (1972), these are the lowering of cost in production, the broadening of markets, cheaper imports, however, these perks are vividly articulated by the Basic College Accounting (2008) as follows:

- The first one among others is the establishment and promotion of trade which enables member states to have goods and services diversity which are obtained at a lower cost than before the integration.
- When you are neighboring countries of not more than 20, sharing similar environmental conditions, it becomes easy to engage towards reaching a consensus. This becomes easy to understand when you look at other integrations such as World Trade Organisations (WTO) with 147 member states and with many parties involved, it becomes difficult to easily reach consensus.
- When states form an alliance, they gain different types of advantages, including political cooperation advantage. This advantage suggests that a group of nations as a collective have a vivid political influence as opposed to when they are trying to work single-handedly. In essence, this gives these group a greater voice in the international arena, and this comes as a useful tool when dealing with social, economic and globalization challenges.

- Economic integration has always been known for trade liberation, and with trade liberation comes market expansion, employment opportunities, more investment into each country, and eventually development. This automatically upgrade the standard of living for citizens, and this is informed by employment opportunities which lies both inside and outside one's country but within the boundaries of the region.

In a different glance at what regional integration offers in terms of gains, Tau (2000) pronounces what is referred to as the prospective gains of regional integration. Tau (2000) outlines three prospective gains that are offered by regional integration and they are as follows:

- Static and dynamic gains from trade creation and other effects

The static gains speak to the same gains that have been discussed above. These are market-related gains such as the enlarged market; lowered transaction costs amid the removal of tariff barriers; and the free movement of labour, goods and services.

Dynamic gains speak to the efficiency aspect in the private sector that comes from the introduction of production techniques to lower costs and improve quality; reductions in the rent-seeking element invariably embedded in markups in heavily protected markets and the introduction of wider, more diverse product range in regional production in response to market price signals, Mistry (cited in Tau, 2000).

- Economies of scales

This speaks to the reduction of costs of production that results from producing large quantities. This is usually done by each individual state in order to cater for all the regional member states, however, by sharing all the resources that are at the disposal of the region, the cost of production decreases thus making prices cheaper, a study by ABD (cited in Tau 2000)

- Greater attractiveness of regional direct investment

When a country gets involved in a regional integration and it opens it to market and integrate with the region, its economy is favorable to growth. Therefore, this attracts investors to invest in that country because that country now has free trade advantages with other countries.

Furthermore, in an article titled: "Regional Integration: Concepts, Advantages, Disadvantages and Lessons of Experience", the Southern Region Poverty Network (2005) outlines traditional gains and the non-traditional gains that arise from regional integration

arrangements. However traditional gains have been thoroughly discussed, therefore an in-depth look at the non-traditional gains are crucial and should be unpacked for a better understanding of their meaning.

Non-traditional gains from RIAs

- Lock into domestic reforms- when countries conjoin their economies, their domestic policies tends to undergo reform that would make them follow the same direction. These policies tend to be welfare improving and also economically similar to other member states. In essence, these integrations may lock these countries into democracy or/and micro& macro-economic reforms which benefits the welfare of their citizens.
- Signaling- when countries conjoin their economies, the idea and conviction is that these economies are eventually going to develop all their economies, hence, the joining of these economies attract investors to come and invest in these countries because of their predicted growth in the near future. This comes to aid those countries who had credibility and consistency issues because now they will conform the norms of their integration group and thrive along with them.
- Insurance- when states conjoin their states under one region, their economies become interdependent to one another thus putting their economies on the same boat. Hence, being in an alliance with other states gives assurance to each individual states that the other states will protect it against any future hazards (macroeconomic instability, terms of trade shocks, trade war, the resurgence of protectionism in developed countries, etc.).
- Coordination and bargaining power- when states have formed a solid region in the international and political space, it gives them more visibility and credibility when they have to present their stance on a certain matter discussed in other multilateral platforms (such as the WTO). This gives even small states a chance to raise their voice in big multilateral forums. However, this only becomes possible when they act under one collective unit.
- Security- when member states come together under one region, intra-regional trade is highly promoted and consequently increases. This leads to intra-state interdependency and intra-regional investment. In consequence, this leads the cost of going to war with each other being too great hence, they all abstain from it. Furthermore, this gives all

the member states the responsibility to protect each other in order to protect their investments therefore, this increase the security level within the region.

4.2.1 Regional integration shortfalls

Like any other models and ideologies, regional integration has its shortfalls which have economic and political detrimental effects amongst nation states. In light of the advantages that have been presented above, these are the difficulties that translate into disadvantages to regional economic integration and they are as follows:

- **Creation of Trading Blocs:** This results into the region focusing too much on itself, thus leading to the isolation of the region from the other continents which are non-member states.
- **Trade Diversion:** Because of trade barriers, trade is diverted from a non-member country to a member country despite the inefficiency in cost. For example, a country has to stop trading with a low-cost manufacturer in a non-member country and trade with a manufacturer in a member country which has a higher cost.
- **National Sovereignty:** the sovereignty of member states is one of the costs that all member states should be willing to trade off. All member states have to give up a certain degree of control for the greater good of the region (Basic College Accounting, 2008).

4.2.2 Preconditions for a successful regional integration

In order for a region to realize its full potential, certain measures have to be allowed to take their course. This involves improvising for the greater good when it is needed, and the following are adjustments or milestones that each individual state has to be willing to accept and carry out for the greater good of the region. According to Mistry (cited in Tau, 2000), regional co-operation may be successful if the following happens:

- a) Since the economic integration is only limited to the member states involved, it is imperative that they all produce and supply adequately in order to be able to meet the demand by other member states.

- b) When the member states involved are faced with an important decision, it is important that all the member states do not opt for a state-centric decision that might favor them alone.
- c) In light of the conviction that trade division suggest, it is important for intra-regional trade barriers to occur faster than the lowering external barriers.
- d) In the quest for growth acceleration, the privatization process should be promoted and implemented by all member states involved and not just a few, and also, this process should go at the same speed as other member states.

4.2.3 Conditions for regional integration

It has been stated that there are conditions that make up for a successful regional economic integration. According to the standard theory as exhibited by Maasdorp (cited in Tau, 2000), the conditions for a successful regional integration are as follows:

- a. There should not be a significant gap between member state's levels of industrial development.
- b. When industries are almost at the same level, they must compete with one another in order to promote trades in the area.
- c. The industrial sectors in different countries must be complementary to each other, this will contribute to a uniform growth within the region.
- d. The countries involved must be focused and dependent on one another on trade. They should also show promising and substantial growth in order to avoid dragging one another.

In a region where all these conditions are met, progress will be easy and uniform growth shall be inevitable. Evidently, regional integration has its pros and cons at a collective level and after outlining them correspondingly. An overview of regional integration has vividly laid an understanding of regional integration. This was done because it made it easy to understand a number of factors such as the objectives, opportunities, challenges, the strength and weakness, preconditions for a successful integration and so forth. After the detailed overview, attention can therefore be shifted towards the SADC regional integration.

4.3 SADC DEFINED

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) was originally known as the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The SADCC was formed in Lusaka, Zambia on the 1st of April 1980. In 1992, the SADCC officially became the SADC. This was after the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration and treaty establishing the SADC in Windhoek, Namibia (African Union, 2015a; African Union, 2015b; DIRCO, 2004).

Tau (2000) points out that the objective of the SADCC was to eliminate the element of African states having to depend on countries outside Africa (especially South Africa) and develop African cooperation and integration thus enabling African collective growth. Subsequently, in the post-1994 era, revolution reached SA and the SADCC had to change along with the changes that had taken place. As a result, the name had to change to SADC in order to accommodate SA.

The DIRCO utters that the name was not the only thing that changed, but also the aims had to be altered as well. The transition from SADCC to SADC resulted to the adjustment of the aims of the organisation, and these new aims are to create a regional community that is characterised by peace, security and harmony, with an integrated economy. SADC is the authoritative structure in the region, as a result, it fell upon it (SADC) to lay the basis on which the southern part of Africa would peruse in their quest for regional planning and development. DIRCO further iterate that SADC had to further provide instruments or mechanism that would move the southern African region towards the desired position in the continent and the globe. The SADC region has 15 member states namely Angola, Botswana, The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Seychelles.

Like any other multilateral structure, the SADC established strategic branches or institutions that would help smooth the processes of the organisation in attaining their goals. These SADC branches are the Summit of Heads of State or Government, the Summit Troika of the Organ, the SADC Tribunal, the SADC Council of Ministers, Sectoral & Cluster Ministerial Committees, Standing Committee of Senior Officials, SADC Secretariat, SADC National Committees, and the SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC, 2012)

4.4 THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE SADC FORMATION

Regional integration is not a new concept, it has historically been visible in America, Europe and Africa. In all the different parts of the world, regional integration has always been used as means of political and economic advancement. This conviction is underpinned by the belief that this integration results in the strengthening of member states' political and economic status amongst other states in the globe thus enhancing their bargaining power on international issues. The establishment of the SADC is centrally driven by three pillars, namely integration, co-operation and co-ordination (Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014: 24).

Mapuva and Muyengwa-Mapuva (2014) go further to pronounce that there are economic challenges that are of a wide-ranging nature in international relations such as inter alia, conflicts, poverty and global imbalances. And in light of the effects that these economic challenges pose to both collective and individual states, it therefore becomes difficult for individual states to deal with these economic challenges single-handedly, hence the mooted idea of regional economic integration. It is in the above mentioned underpinnings that regional integration has become increasingly accepted as an essential tool in facilitating economic & political development and even environmental sustainability in this lifetime.

According to Chingono & Nakana (2009), regional integration can be used as a vital tool in poverty alleviation and as a tool for uplifting societies thus improving their living standards. This is informed by the notion that pronounces that regional integration carries the potential to promote economic growth and reduce poverty through increased exports of domestic goods.

Consequently, it is in this context that several regional groupings have arisen across the globe. These include among others the European Union (EU), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the East African Community (EAC), the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), and also the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Chingono & Nakana, 2009).

4.5 SOUTH AFRICA IN SADC

After joining the SADC, the South African government regarded this organisation as the most important tool for its foreign policy. To illustrate the importance devoted to this region, the first foreign policy document adopted by the first democratic government was the August 1996 framework for cooperation which produced the collaboration with the region. In terms of this framework SA's vision for SADC is the highest possible degree of economic cooperation, mutual assistance where necessary, and joint planning of regional development initiatives (DIRCO, 2004).

After joining SADC, DIRCO (2004) articulates that SA has taken a leading role in making the region more collaborative and economically integrated. This has been evident through numerous initiatives such as the establishment of a free trade area in the region (the agreement took place in 2008), the development of basic infrastructure (regional transport and communications systems), the development of human resources and the crafting of the necessary strategies (inter alia, the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan, Agenda 2063) that have been put in place in making the continent united and improved.

Furthermore, SA joining the region to some extent has improved the position of the region. This is in light of SA's position in the global space which SA is portrayed as a leader in the continent. SA is one of the power houses in Africa; as a result, SA's inclusion in any regional integration is ideal for the growth of that region.

However, because SADC is geographic based, the SADC enjoys the benefits of having the membership of SA onboard, especially with their significant contribution and influence in the AU. SA's membership does not only magnify the regions potentials in many respects, it also gives them representation by SA abroad. This has even led to other members of the AU to fear the dominance of SA in the AU by steering development towards the SADC region and less commit to the development of other African states. The SADC region currently enjoys the status of being the biggest region in Africa. This gives SADC a leading role, hence, Rossouw (2006) uttered that SADC is an important region in Africa and therefore serves as an example to the rest of Africa when it comes to delivering.

As a collective unit, most member states had been allocated the responsibility of coordinating one or more sectors within the SADC in order to ensure that all the member states are active and participate in their own development. For SA, immediately after joining SADC it was

given a sector responsibility for finance, investment, and health. According to Saurombe (2010), this was a decision that was informed by South Africa's comparative advantage in these areas

According to DIRCO (2004), until 2001 the sector responsibilities within SADC have been as follows:

- Angola: Energy Commission
- Botswana: Agricultural Research, Livestock Production and Animal Disease Control
- Lesotho: Environment, Land Management and Water
- Malawi: Inland Fisheries, Forestry and Wildlife
- Mauritius: Tourism
- Mozambique: Culture, Information, Sport, and the Transport and Communications Commission (SATTCC)
- Namibia: Marine Fisheries and Resources Legal Affairs
- South Africa: Finance, Investment and Health
- Swaziland: Human Resources Development
- Tanzania: Industry and Trade
- Zambia: Employment, Labour and Mining
- Zimbabwe: Crop Production, Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources

The DRC and Seychelles had no sector responsibility because they are not yet participating.

As per their financial sector responsibility, SA have also played a role in the introduction and bringing into effect the SADC Integrated Regional Electronic Settlement System (SIRESS) which is also known as the SADC payment system. This is an essential financial system which allows financial institutions to serve customers and clients across the world. This payment system consists of a set of instruments, banking procedures and interbank fund transfer mechanisms that ensure the circulation of money regionally in SADC and worldwide (Wentworth, 2013).

Wentworth (2013) pronounces that as of 2013, only nine countries have been able to have access to this SADC payment system. These countries are Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mauritius. Measures for more SADC countries to have access to this system are in motion.

Saurombe (2010) posit that the economic position of SA in the region and utters that SA is the most developed and advanced economy in SADC and that their position cannot be overlooked. He further goes to argue that, for its comparative economic position in the region, SA has the potential to make regional integration a success or failure. As a result, SA can be described as the economic center of the region.

Having understood the importance of SA in the region, and how it can make or break the region, it therefore becomes apparent that SA's role in the region is crucial and serves the interest of the region.

In light of the above-mentioned statement, it becomes obvious that it rests upon SA to decide how much attention, contribution and effort it needs to commit itself in the processes of the region. However, SA should be aware of the implications that this decision has on the country because if their domestic and foreign policy commitments are not strategically balanced, it will cause a domestic consequence that SA alone will have to deal with and rectify. Accordingly, Saurombe (2010) supports this when he stresses about SA's inevitable conflict of interest that will arise as a result of the domestic, regional, continental and global interest balance dilemma.

4.6 SOUTH AFRICA'S OPPORTUNITIES IN SADC

South Africa has significant and numerous interests in the region and in regional integration. These interests stretch from natural resources, economic gains as well as political power. It has been profoundly discussed that these integrations broaden the market for member states. This gives SA markets for exporting their goods, and this comes in the rescue of SA's internationally uncompetitive products. Saurombe (2010) outlines that one of the significant gains for SA is that the SADC has an export market for SA's internationally uncompetitive products, as was in Southern African Customs Union. Furthermore, according to Alde and Pere (cited in Saurombe 2000), SADC is the biggest export market for SA, however this market is normally overlooked and underestimated.

Saurombe (2010) also raises the human capital aspect that this integration offers SA. As the biggest economy in SADC and industrialized country in the region, this makes the country very attractive in the labour market. The country attracts from SADC labour-force from all spheres, from the unskilled, semi-skilled to the highly skilled labour. This helps SA to rectify the problem of brain drain that the country faces amid other regions' attractions to their

labour-force. SA suffers brain drain at the hands of other attractive countries such as those that are in Europe, along with Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the USA. The following findings are important because they give a clear picture of the role of SADC in this aspect of gain.

Saurombe (2010) finds that SA suffers greatly from brain drain and that it has cost it 25% of its graduates to the US alone; 9.7% of its medical graduates that were practicing in Canada; 45% of its medical graduates that has been produced by the University of Witwatersrand have left the country between 1965 and 2000; and according to South Africa's Bureau of Statistics, an estimation of between 1 million and 1.6 million people (skilled, semiskilled, and professionals) have been leaving the country since 1994 till 2000. Accordingly, with the above-mentioned South African problem, Saurombe (2010) comments that SADC's labour market to SA will try and make up for this brain drain.

Even though the involvement of SA in SADC has been mercurial, it has been said that since joining SADC, the country has been active in dealing with continental issues such as that of transportation, communications, Agriculture, Trade, Energy and Mining and more. Interestingly, the above-mentioned areas have been said to be one of SA's point of focus in the region (Saurombe, 2010).

Accordingly, SA has ambitious interests in the DRC's mining sector and also its water resource. This is in light of SA's agricultural and industrial sectors being considerably dependent on the water resource of the SADC region. Hence their future development is also dependent on the water resource of this region. However, with regards to future development, more future water imports are expected to come from countries outside the region, such as those on the northern part of the continent (Saurombe, 2000).

The SADC regional integration has proven to bare numerous economic gains for SA as outlined above. Even though some gains are outside the scope of the economy as indicated earlier that regional integrations (in this case the SADC) are economic driven, the other gains that are not economic gains play a significant role in lubricating the processes SA (with other SADC members) economic growth.

4.7 SADC'S INITIATIVES

Like any other regional bloc, SADC had to contemplate on ways and strategic planning's that would guide them towards their desired outcomes. The Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) was their comprehensive 15-year strategic product that was approved by SADC Summit in 2003 and its effective implementation began in 2005 (SADC, 2012). The RISDP was a comprehensive development and implementation framework guiding the regional integration agenda of the SADC over a period of fifteen years (2005-2020). It was designed to provide a clear strategic direction with respect to SADC programmes, projects and activities in line with the SADC common agenda and strategic priorities, as enshrined in the SADC treaty of 1992 (SADC, 2012).

After the adoption of the RISDP, it was established that it would have to be revised in order to obtain greater outcomes and efficiency. Subsequently, in 2015, the SADC concluded and endorsed the long-awaited Revised RISDP 2015 to 2020 agenda (RISDP). The RISDP was endorsed in Harare, Republic of Zimbabwe, in April 2015. And this ground-breaking Revised RISDP marked a beginning of new impetus in the development agenda for SADC (SADC, 2015).

In 2015, another strategic agenda has been heavily cogitated, adopted and now awaiting implantation. This is the Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap (ISR) 2015 to 2063. SADC (2015) pronounced the summit's approval of the ISR 2015 to 2063 in April 2015 as the second major achievement attained within the year. Both these two milestone that have been achieved in 2015 the Revised RISDP and the ISR have been accordingly applauded, however, the first priority has been given to industrialization hence the ISR.

However, this by no means take away the significance of the Revised RISDP, hence, the SADC has been and still is driven by the RISDP for its growth and development. Furthermore, the region is driven by national development strategies, the SADC Treaty and SADC, and it is also informed by African Union's Accelerated Industrial Development of Africa and Agenda 2063.

According to the SADC Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap (2015), the ISR shall materialize within a specified period of 48 years (from 2015 to 2063). During this period, SADC economies will overcome their binding development constraints and progressively move through the growth stages from factor-driven to investment and efficiency-driven and

ultimately to the high growth trajectory driven by knowledge, innovation and business sophistication. SADC region will thus be fully transformed and become an important player in the continental and global landscape.

According to the SADC (2015: 38) on their document titled: Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap 2015-2063, the materialization process of the agenda will go through the following process.

1. Phase I: Years 2015-2020.
2. Phase II: Years 2021-2050.
3. Phase III: Years 2051-2063.

Phase I: Years 2015-2020

This phase, which coincides with the implementation of the revised RISDP (2015-2020), should be predicated on the consolidation and achievement of the remaining agenda and laying down firm foundations for long-term development. The target instruments and prime movers of the phase should incorporate the following elements:

There should be a growth guided strategy that is based on the transformation of production. The Human capital should also be also equipped to adapt to these changes in the production sector. This should be done by all member states in order to advocate for competitiveness and self-sustaining economic development. Furthermore, this will help make up for the gap between the poor states and the developed states. These will later result to a successful African regional integration and cooperation

During this phase, SADC countries should target per capita income growth of about 6 percent annually to achieve the lower income band of the factor-driven stage of US\$ 2000.

Phase II: Years 2021-2050

The Phase II scenario should be elaborated as a continuum to Phase I. During this period, the economy would move from factor-driven to efficiency-driven. It should focus on diversification and productivity of factors and sectors and competitiveness in close partnership between the government and the private sector, both domestic and foreign. To achieve the targeted GDP per capita of US\$ 9000 by 2050 would entail aiming at a per capita growth rate of 8 percent annually from 2020 onwards.

Phase III: Years 2051-2063

During this phase, the economy would further transform, with its strength based on high levels of innovation and business sophistication. To achieve that status, GDP per capita would need to rise from US\$ 9000 in 2050 to US\$ 17000 by 2063, implying annual income growth of about 5 percent. This will necessitate an increased focus and investment on frontier knowledge, development of unique skills, stimulating and nurturing innovation, sponsoring competitive enterprises and deepening the entrepreneurial culture. The three phases could appropriately be cast in a series of medium-term plans, cascading into a consistent whole.

Another initiative that the SADC made within the year 2015 was the launching of the COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) involving SADC, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC). This is the amalgamation of African regions coming together to achieve extraordinary goals, and it has been appreciated as another big milestone that will see an expanded market for member states to trade and increase investment flows. However, this unit needs it designated scrutiny.

Moreover, SADC further pronounces the initialing of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the European Union (EU) and the SADC EPA Group.

4.8 SADC CHALLENGES

The targets and aspirations that have been pursued by the SADC towards economic regional integration, to some other scholars have been portrayed as over- ambitious targets, hence unrealistic. Nonetheless, this does not discredit the potential of the region, rather it remains to be proven upon the accomplishment of the process, and only then will the expected standards be tested against the actual standard on that particular time.

The difference in the economic nature of the SADC countries has also been depicted as a challenge that the region has to craft a way to cope with. Also the ineffectiveness of SADC in handling tribunal matters in bringing about peace and justice in the region is a challenge that has not been dealt with swiftly and will continue to affect the sincerity, trust, and solidarity in the region. This comes after the domineering of the Zimbabwe along with SA in the region. Both these countries have been said to be more equal than other states in the region, thus creating a hierarchy instead of a common ground (Mapuva, Muyengwa-Mapuva, 2014).

In light of the prerequisites of economic integration, the SADC integration is ideal, given the fact that it is characterized by many countries with small and common economies, which is an environment which is ideal for interstate trade and forging of economic links. However, the economic status of SA alone accounts for a significant economic difference that have been said to be problematic for economic integration. SA is the biggest economy in the SADC region (Rossouw, 2006). But in the context of the above-mentioned conditions for regional integration, SA's economic strength carries the chances of pulling SADC to the ground as a result of the gap that its economic strength account for in the region. However, even with the biggest economy, SA cannot afford for the SADC region to collapse since it needs SADC as much as SADC need it, therefore, SA needs to be in the region regardless of its economic strength, and it needs the region to stand, grow and not collapse. Consequently, it can be argued that the success of the SADC regional integration agenda depends on South Africa's willingness to support it. This is supported by Carim (1997) when he pronounces that "The objective of promoting regional economic development and security emerges from the view that the destiny of South Africa is intimately tied to that of its Southern African neighbours".

4.9 BRICS DEFINED

BRICS as an acronym stands for the grouping of five major emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Initially, this group was known as BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India, and China. However, this was before the inclusion of South Africa in 2010. Interestingly, all the BRICS members fall under the category of developing or newly industrialized states, and they have been said to be fast-growing economies in the 21st century (CCTV America, 2014). The BRICS countries have been seen as influential countries in the international arena, this conviction is underpinned by the fact that these countries are regional leaders in their respective regions. Moreover, together these countries account for 3 billion people in the world (40% of the world population), with a total nominal GDP of US\$16.039 trillion (20% world GDP) and an estimated total of US\$4 trillion foreign reserves, thus making them account for 18 percent of the world economy (O'Boyle, 2014).

According to Ambhorka (2014), the person behind the crafting of the acronym was Jim O'Neil. It said that he looked at countries with markets that have been doing very well in the last decade from 2000-2010 and looked at what would happen if these countries came

together and formed a market of an alliance. However, Jim O'Neil also took it into account the role that the population plays, for instance, all these countries are representing 20% of the World GDP and 40% of the world population. Hence, the grouping of these countries is fortified by both their fast growing economies along with their high population in the globe.

The geopolitics is led by the US, and the Europe, along with aid from the IMF, UN, UNSC, NATO, and together they are conservatives which are happy with the status core, thus leaving no room for the emerging economies. Hence the establishment of BRICS which is not there to ask for accommodation but to be an alternative which is aimed at better positioning all these countries in geopolitics. Moreover, this better positions China who wants to take the world stage from the USA (Ambhorka, 2014).

4.10 THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE BRICS FORMATION

Global hegemonies have been changing hands over the years. However, the world economy has also been changing. For the past 70 years, the world has been dominated by the US, but it has not always been dominated by it. Pundits have once again emerged and stated that the global economy as it stands is likely to change in the next 50 years. And according to Purushothaman and Wilson, BRICS as the large, fast developing economies might have a great influence on the world economy in the next 50 years and subsequently surpass the US (Purushothaman and Wilson, 2003).

This conviction is based on the idea that when countries are developing, they have a great room and hunger for growth, however once they are developed, they are left with little room for growth and they grow at a slower rate (Japan and Germany are examples of this; both of them grew rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s and their economy was booming but in the 1980s and 1990s their growth went down to moderate) (Purushothaman and Wilson, 2003).

Mpoyi (2012) offers two factors that cause this deficiency in developed countries and advantage for the developing. The first one is population, and according to him, these countries with their large population are in a good advantage, this is under the conviction that with their high population lies the human capital aspect that will elevate their economy thus thriving their economies to greater heights. Mpoyi further pronounces that the societies within developing countries are more driven and hungry for development than those societies who are leaving in a developed world.

The second factor is that of economic inequalities. The working assumption here is underpinned by the convergence theory which suggest that the gap in income per capita and in income inequalities gradually closes. The interesting aspect of this conviction is that it is suggested that being behind provide a huge room for growth while having grown leaves lesser room for growth, hence, this create an environment which provided for developing countries moving towards the state of being developed. Consequently, if development is well driven these developing countries may even surpass those states that have reached development already.

4.11 THE RATIONALE BEHIND SA JOINING BRIC

Prior the inclusion of SA in BRIC, President Jacob Zuma marketed SA as a country that would serve as a gateway to the African continent. This was a way of lobbying for a place among this group. The motive behind SA lobbying for a place in this group is that the President Jacob Zuma believes that the BRIC group is the most relevant instrument of the 21st century in restructuring political, economic and financial institutions to become more equitable and balanced. Moreover, according to the South African government, the inclusion of SA in this group is expected to yield economic benefits such as increased trade investment opportunities, and also the political status in the international arena by having a sound voice when bargaining in the international sphere (Basada, Tok& Winters, 2013).

Moreover, according to Besada, Tok, and Winters, SA joined BRIC to pursue three objectives.

These objectives were/ are:

1. To advance its national interest
2. To promote its regional integration programme and related continental infrastructure programmes
3. To partner with key players of the South on issues related to global governance and its reform.

Furthermore, due to SA's flexible nature of its foreign policies in the world, the South African interests in BRICS reflects the interest of the all the African States. SA has taken it upon itself to become what has been hailed as a gateway to Africa, meaning SA, through BRICS is bringing development to Africa as a whole. This way, SA has shown a great deal of

consistence with its foreign policy objectives which among others include putting the continental interest.

South Africa as a country has emerged from a point of oppression to a point where it is seen as a regional leader in the African continent. As a result of its economic, diplomatic and military status, in relation to other African nations, it has managed to afford itself the status of being an African hegemon (Habib, 2009). Given this leading position on the continent, South Africa has long promoted the narrative that it represents the entry point to Africa, thus standing not only for itself in BRICS, but also for the emerging African continent as a whole.

Of course the idea of SA being a hegemon in Africa is contested, especially with Nigeria recently being labeled as the largest economy in Africa (which is also contested), however this dispute has led to SA being labeled as a self-proclaimed hegemon. Regardless of the diverging views over the African largest economy, SA's foreign policy is in support of the economic development of the continent thus making it one of its commitments to play a role in the upbringing of the African states.

After understanding the rudiments underlying South Africa's interest in joining BRIC, it subsequently begs a question as to why was it admitted amongst other suitable contenders such as Kazakhstan (Novikova 2013).

Pinto attempts to answer this by pronouncing that apart from SA's relatively small population and economy, it was its natural resources such as gold, diamonds and platinum; its excellent infrastructure; its established corporate footprints; a culture of innovation; easy access to finance for business; a stable macro and micro financial climate; an advanced banking system; and functioning regulatory frameworks, that South Africa was accepted into this group.

Another reason for SA's approval in BRIC was the same standpoint that the President Jacob Zuma lobbied with, the gateway to Africa. This meant South Africa would be a bridge between the African continent's resources for BRIC and the BRIC investments in this continent. SA has already taken it upon itself to represent and uphold the interest of the continent in the face of the globe. Therefore, the BRICS is one of the ways that South Africa aims to bring the BRIC to investment billions in the African continent (Pinto, 2012).

Even with both reasons being put in place as to why SA wanted to join and why it was accepted, its inclusion is still different from the other members and their reason for being part

of this bloc. The overall interest of the entire BRIC bloc is distinct from that of South Africa. Thus the BRIC is in pursuit of a counter measure against the entrenched interests and organisational structures of the west (O'Boyle, 2014). This conviction has been supported by some observers who have seen the BRICS formation as the means used to challenge the U.S hegemon, however, SA have intentional/ unintentionally already formed part of this movement for the multipolar system by being part of the BRICS summit which is one of the mechanisms used to make a mark and attempt to attract global recognition of the world.

“China worked for the inclusion of South Africa in December 2010. South Africa’s involvement worked well in expanding the geographic representation of the group and further strengthened the multipolar and non-Western character of BRICS” Guerrero (2013)

The above point illustrates the distinct interest of the BRIC bloc from that of SA. This is because SA’s current position in the world is not yet at a level where it can be after the same interest, and as the other BRICS members. Hence the overall interest and potential benefits for SA’s is all around maximizing its national interest, improving its comparative advantage, bringing high investments in Africa, and affording an opportunity to influence policymaking and alignment among developing countries to make the international economic system more inclusive (Besada, Tok& Winters, 2013).

4.12 OPPORTUNITIES FOR SA IN BRICS

Since SA’s interest and objectives in BRICS are not limited to what the country alone stands to gain. It therefore becomes important to consider if all its objectives will be realized rather than to solely look at what the country stand to gain. This is important because the countries intended desires stretches out, from the country, to the region, and to the African continent as a whole.

The BRICS group is one of the prominent multilateral units in the 21st century, to an extent that the Standard Bank (2012) has hailed SA’s involvement in this group. It has been appreciated as a great advantage for SA. Standard Bank pronounces that SA stands to gain substantially from this group, if not economically, then certainly in the geopolitical arena.

- a) SA faces numerous potential gains, and according to Besada, Tok, and Winters, these potential include the potential for a vast increase in trade and investment between South Africa with the BRICS nations;
- b) a potential growth in its industrial sectors, thus improving their industrialization rate;
- c) a potential increase in employment rate that would create sustainable job opportunities for the citizens;
- d) a potential political status development for SA that would afford it the credibility to act as a platform for partnership and investment across the continent;
- e) a potential platform to be in the center of cooperation on economic opportunities in infrastructure development;
- f) a potential growth of human capital through cooperation on skills development;
- g) The potential to be in the center of the identification of projects to be financed by the new development bank.

Furthermore, South Africa stands to gains from complementary gains that goes along with the BRICS Trade Exchange such as the following:

- a) due to South Africa's trade exchange with its BRICS counterparts, SA stands to establish a great deal of networking with relevant industries and leaders not only in BRICS but throughout the globe;
- b) South Africa shall be exposed to highly connected visitors who are involved in lucrative business deals;
- c) South Africa stands to engage with the most influential decision-makers and senior executives in the trade and investment industry sectors within the BRICS countries and globally.
- d) Gaining of an early foothold in a market that is forging ahead while more traditional markets are struggling in the face of recessionary pressures
- e) South Africa stands to gain cutting edge knowledge from the leading powerhouses in the globe through. This shall be done through the workshops and seminars that shall be held in the interest of knowledge dissemination.

Indeed, South Africa stand to benefit from BRICS, however the expected gains have long started to come to South Africa and Africa as more is expected to come.

Although most FDI to Africa still comes from the United States, Western Europe and Japan, the largest increases in FDI to Africa in recent years has come from the BRICs. Over the past 10 years, FDI flows from the BRIC, while this is positive for Africa since foreign direct

investment can be a strong catalyst for economic growth and development, there are serious concerns over the BRIC countries' appetite for the continent's natural resources (Mwangi, Kimenyi & Lewis, 2011).

To some analysts, entrance into the BRIC group will allow South Africa to positively contribute to key global governance and democracy issues, and to demonstrate its leadership on issues such as conflict resolution, security, and reconstruction and development.

Many South African analysts assert that the BRICS group can play a political role in counteracting Western countries, giving developing countries a greater voice in international institutions through allowing leaders to be chosen outside of Western countries, trading in currency other than the US dollar, increasing financial regulation, and establishing a stable, reliable and broad-based international reserve currency system.

Standard Bank further asserts that the BRICS would be of benefit for SA, and it has been uttered that the well-spoken BRICS development bank is expected to help develop the "... negotiations for more cooperation between BRICS' development banks, particularly if channeled into coordinating development assistance projects in Africa, could enhance efficiency and support growth."

In BRICS quest for dominating the international market against the west, it is crucial that they strengthen all the BRICS currencies in order to facilitate easy trade and investment. This way the Rand, Real, Renminbi, Ruble, and Rupee stand to regain strength thus growth.

4.13 THE WORTH AND STRENGTH OF SOUTH AFRICA IN BRICS

Even though the BRICS forum is known for its members sharing similarities of being the fast growing economies and SA sharing less commonalities with its BRICS counterparts, SA's ascension into this forum was not random. SA's ascension into BRICS is different from them all; however, different does not translate to less important. Below are rudiments that underpin SA's inclusion and the worth/significance it holds. These underpinnings will later illustrate how and why SA was involved and also help understand why it is not going anywhere from BRICS.

4.13.1 SA and China relationship

Even though the bilateral relations of SA and China dates back to 1931, and consequently grew to the communist ideological support for the liberation movement during the apartheid era, and later reinforced their relations in the post-apartheid period. The interaction between these two states was limited Pre-apartheid. However, in the post-apartheid era amid China's economic ascension, the interaction between these states has grown enormously (Xiong, 2012).

In the post-apartheid era, China has become SA's largest trading partner. Due to their (China) economic outburst they have surpassed the US and the EU as the world's largest economy. The Republic of China has demonstrated a great deal of economic evolution in the post-apartheid era. In China's upbringing to the first place, they have been visible in all parts of the globe advancing their economic objectives. In consequence, they have also been largely visible particularly in SA.

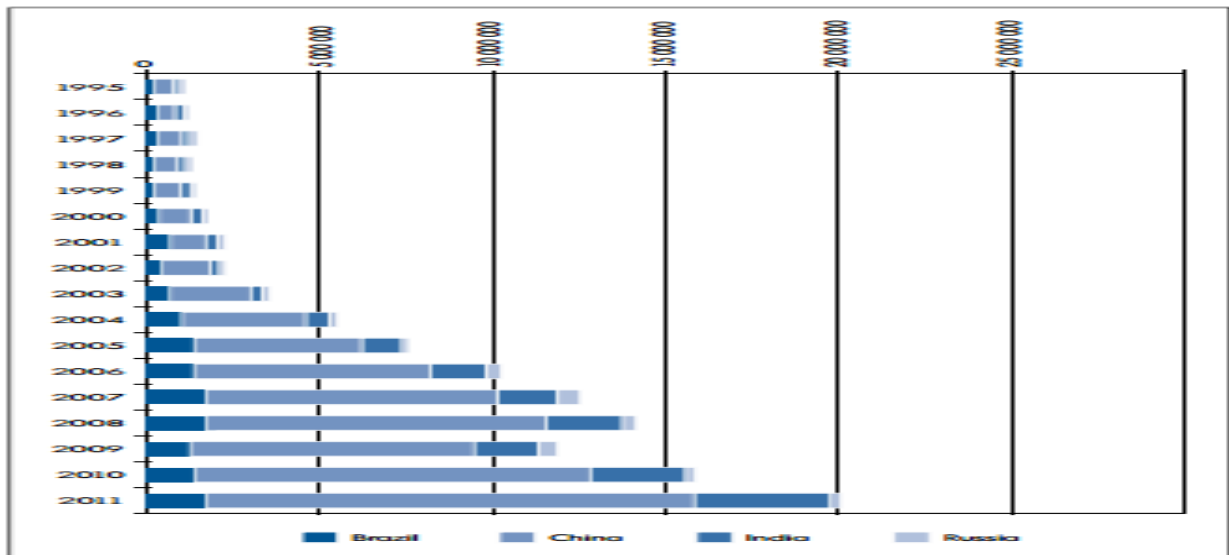
As a results of this China- SA relationship (noticeable by large economic trades), one of the first reasons for SA's inclusion in BRICS have been heavily linked with SA's relations with China (the highest contributor in BRICS). According to Xiong (2012), the interaction between SA and China played a colossal role in the bringing-in of SA into the BRICS forum. He adds that SA does not only offer China with an export destination, and provides raw materials, rather as a regional power in Africa, it also presents China with a strategic opportunity to expand the outreach into Africa.

Of course this relation is reciprocal therefore South Africa like any other nation state that enters on bilateral relations will be benefits something. Apart from SA having access to China's markets and the perks of such a market (traditional north-south economic relations and having options of investment from alternative sources), South Africa viewed and sought China as a key player in the global dialogue especially with regards to the shift towards global multipolarity in favour of the developing world (Xiong, 2012).

The following graphs illustrate the interaction of South Africa with the China and the BRICS countries.

Values of South Africa imports from other BRICS countries, 1995—2011 (\$bn)

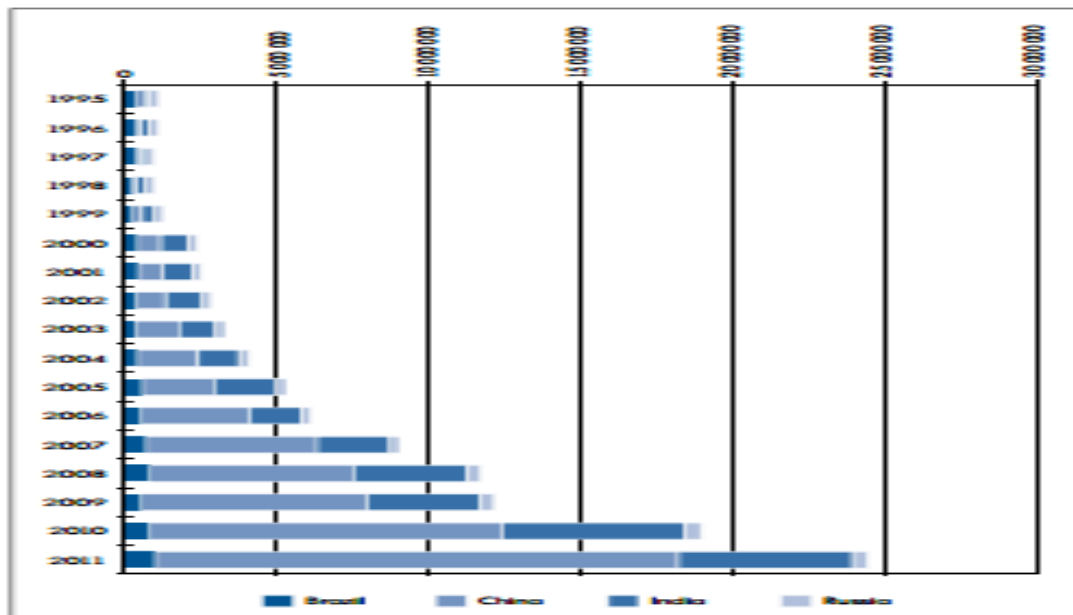
Diagram A



Source: Onyekwena, Taiwo, Uneze. (2014)

Values of South Africa exports to other BRICS countries, 1995—2011 (\$bn)

Diagram B



Source: Onyekwena, Taiwo, Uneze. (2014)

Due to the China-SA relation, it is safe to assume that if China played such a huge role in the bringing-in of SA in BRICS, China will always stand for and protect SA in BRICS for as long as their (China- SA) bilateral relations exist, unless unforeseen circumstances take precedence.

Moreover, even in light of these economic trades, SA still recorded a trade deficit of R73bn, where their trade exports to China totalled R94bn in 2014 while the imports from China in 2014 totalled R167bn, hence the deficit. This means that in R262bn trade value between the two countries only 36% was exported by SA while 63.7% (Marrian and Maqutu, 2015).

However, SA and China have signed 26 agreements valued at a value of R94bn that will help reduce this imbalance or trade deficit. The need for China to make such initiatives towards SA's deficit assures SA of a mutual benefit that is based on pure business and these agreements show a gesture of empathy from China to SA. This means that SA have an ally to count on within the international community, and with China being the largest economy, it is strategic to have an ally out of China.

China has outdone expectations of surpassing the US as the world's largest economy as it was predicted to do so by 2041. It is also worth noting that the other BRIC members are fast growing their economies and are further expected to do so. Pundits have come out to set predictions that suggest that India is expected to assume the third place by 2043. Brazil is expected to assume the fifth place by 2050 while Russia will be number six by 2050 (Wilson and Purushothaman, 2013).

On the other hand, SA is not doing so well as other BRICS members. According to the IMF's Gross Domestic Product GDP per purchasing power parity (PPP), in 2010, SA was ranked as the 25th largest economy in the world. Moreover, the South African economic outlook has not been improving and the economy is still not showing any signs of improvement. In essence, China invited SA in to joining BRICS for more than just mere economic commonalities whatsoever, and therefore SA will continue to be a close ally to China as their (China) affairs with the African continent deepens.

4.13.2 Other contributing factors

Pundits have surfaced to argue against SA's inclusion in BRICS, suggesting the South African inclusion as absurd and irrational (Tsheola, Mabila, Mtsweni, 2013). This has been so because of the obvious economic commonalities that SA alone fail to match amid better contenders who are better suited. Xiong argues that when it comes to the consideration of

economic commonalities, SA dwarfs in all aspects in comparison. However, he then reasons with a conviction that in accounting the economic gap, geopolitical and diplomatic considerations come into play. The foregoing understanding is that SA was extended an invitation because it was seen as crucial to involve an African state in order to properly perpetuate for a multipolar agenda. It is without a doubt, clear that with SA included in BRICS, this multilateral structure is cognizant of the importance of all region/state representation, and SA is there to represent African states thus legitimising this forum in the face of the world.

However, Xiong's argument is oblivious of an important factor. That is, SA serves as source of wealth to the BRICS community amid SA's strategic position in the African continent. This point should not be lightly articulated, rather it should be robustly mentioned as the African continent is vital to BRICS and SA serves as the entry point to it.

SA serves as the entry point to the African resources which the BRICS forums have prodigious ideas about exploiting in the name of business; African industrialisation; and development. Xiong underplays this factor as a geopolitical advantage where by it can serve as a central advantage that stretches beyond mere geography and inclusivity.

Nevertheless, the importance of inclusivity is crucial in the BRICS agenda of multipolarity which seek to give all states (big and small) a voice in the international arena. As a result, without an inclusion of an African state, BRICS is just another multilateral structure which lack inclusivity, fairness and representation.

4.14 CHALLENGES AND RISKS FOR THE BRICS BLOC

The member states have diverging political systems with three of them being democracies and two being communist. The member states are rivals in the international markets.

Another challenge that is facing the BRICS bloc is the division that results into the countries of the South to be undermined while the those that are on the North are given more credits. This has been evident through the 2011 incident, where the BRICS were presented with an opportunity to rally behind one of their members to represent them as a managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the BRICS members failed to unite behind one candidate because the contenders for such position were from the South. This lack of

cohesion will hamper the success of these countries in their attempt to provide a united front against the developed-country control of global institutions.

Moreover, mistrust and undermining for the Southern members already indicate that this group does not believe in equality and is willing to lose a collective gain if it means that a southern member has to be empowered. This limits the potential growth of the Southern states this region, SA in particular.

4.15 CHALLENGES AND RISKS FOR SA IN BRICS

South Africa faces great critics from skeptical African states believe SA's involvement will prove detrimental to the African states. This has resulted to some African viewing SA as a sellout of the underdeveloped African states to the BRICS bloc. This will come in a form of neo-colonialism; hence South Africa's intentions are seen as self-serving to the other African counterparts. Critics suggest that the BRICS policies promotes liberalised trade and lowering of capital controls, which could have a detrimental effect on African countries, many of which are one-resource economies with small industrial bases (Besada, Tok & Winters, 2013).

Furthermore, critics suggest that the expected gains for the African states are not even close to what BRICS will bring the African states in reality, instead there will be more exploitation and less gains for the African states.

South Africa's ability to fully participate in the BRICS forum could potentially be constrained by its dearth of diplomatic resource, compared to those of the other members.

4.16 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to unpack the nature of regional integration that South Africa shares with both BRIC and the SADC region. The first part of the chapter sought to outline an overview of regional integration. The chapter sought to understand the rationale and unveil the economic interaction of South Africa with both the SADC and BRIC. Furthermore, the chapter looked at the pros and the cons that underpin the involvement of South Africa with both the SADC and the BRICS bloc.

The chapter further sought to conceptualize the philosophical background and ideology that resulted to the formation of both SADC and BRICS. The second section dwelled on the involvement and the prospects of South Africa in both SADC and BRICS with an intent of understanding the economic interaction between SA and both these regional Units.

The study established that the involvement of South Africa with both these integrations has been heavily linked with fear for the economy and political stability of the country. This has been because of the risks that both these relations hold for South Africa. However, it has been also established that these relations also promise great potentials for positioning South Africa and the continent in the evolving global politics. The nature and dynamics of these relations were cordially addressed however require continuous assessment overtime.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The study investigates the multilateral relations of South Africa with the intent of establishing the relevance and prospects of these relations in the post 1994 era. Four multilateral organisations were used as samples of analysis namely the United Nations, The African Union, Southern African Community Development and BRICS. In concluding the study, an analysis of the findings is provided in response to the research questions as follows: How has the international objectives of South Africa fared in her interactions with the UN (Agencies); How has South Africa's regional economic interactions via the SADC and BRICS developed since 1994; To what extent has South Africa contributed to African Union since 1994 and has its membership impacted on the country's other multilateral drives.

5.2 HOW HAS THE INTERNATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA FARED IN HER INTERACTIONS WITH THE UN (AGENCIES)

The findings on this question have indicated that South Africa and the United Nations share similar vision and aspirations for all the states in world. They both aspire for a peace free and prosperous world, with nation states catering for all natives. This does not only manifest in the history books however it also manifests in the 21st century in a form of agencies that both the United Nations and South Africa have embraced.

After their first democratic elections, the new Republic of South Africa came out with their own domestic and foreign policy. While their domestic policies were considerate not only to the natives but also to who so ever worked it. Their foreign policy conveyed intent to provide an intervening role in the assistance of other nations especially in Africa.

The findings on a historical background indicated that South Africa is an example of the United Nations progress in the pre-apartheid era. However, in the post-1994 era, South Africa stood tall and became the beacon of hope and also a leader in bringing peace and prosperity in the world but with a foreign policy that priorities the African continent.

South Africa represents the similar courtesy and ideology of the United Nations. With both South Africa and the UN working together to help protect and avoid calamities that they (South Africa and other countries) have been victim to in pre-apartheid. Furthermore, the objective is

also to help develop South Africa and other troubled states through the accessible services of the UN Agencies at their disposal.

The strategic MDG's and the transition from MDGs to SDG's have indicated that these goal continue to guide the development of the world. These goals continue to relate to the changing illnesses of the globe. Thus the UN and South Africa still relate to these objectives. The newly applied Resident Coordinator system have been further identified as a new way of synergising the services of the UN agencies, governments, relevant stakeholders and the new SDG's with an intent of bringing about effectiveness and efficiency in the development of the world, and the African states in particular.

It was also found that one of the greatest hindrances affecting the UN's mission is that the third world countries are not fully benefiting from the services of the United Nations Agencies. And the findings indicated that this is a result of their low economic situation which prevents them from being able to cater for the UN agencies in their respective countries. South Africa have mitigated this ill by having most of these UN Agencies as multi- country offices in South Africa Pretoria. This means that most of these Agencies are situated in South Africa and they are there to serve multiple countries. Moreover, the other offices that are not in South African borders are still situated within the SADC and they also serve multiple countries.

The findings interestingly indicated that the UN plays an aiding role in the development of the country involved. This means that the United Nation act as a catalyst in the processes of the country by working with that country therefore governments have to be willing to develop in order for the UN to be able to assist. This was evident through the effort by South Africa in their fight against apartheid, in this regard South Africa became victorious by fighting the domestic/ internal fight while the United Nations assisted their struggle until victory was claimed.

In essence, in the post 1994 era, the United Nations along with South Africa are in the process of providing help to those in need of it. In the post 1994 era The United Nations have deployed the use of SDG, UN Agencies and the Resident Coordinator to advocate for a peaceful world.

5.3 HOW HAS SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS VIA THE SADC AND BRICS DEVELOPED

The South African foreign policy opts for the economic development for all the African states. Regional integration is one the way that South Africa pursued as means of achieving this goal, hence SADC and BRICS.

5.3.1 SADC

The Findings on this question indicate that from the inception of SADC back in 1992, there haven't been many activities in terms of framework crafting and initiative taking. However, from the year 2015, the continent along with the region has been showing great signs of control. This has been evident through the decision for the revision of RISDP, the crafting of the SADC Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap 2015- 2063, the amalgamation of regions forging unity, and lastly the EPA between the EU and the SADC EPA Group.

The findings indicated that the SADC started being vibrant from the year 2015. This is because in all 35 summits that have been held by this community, it was only the 35th that produced sound resolutions and initiatives that were aimed at transforming the region and continent. It has also been identified that these initiatives are designed to address regional and continental economic issues at a gradual pace, hence they are long term targeting-initiatives.

The findings suggest that the gradual transformation is a result of the African continent situation of not having fast growing economies that would be able to fast track the process. Accordingly, the SADC region does not promise spontaneous change, rather, their road maps to development are time-aware planned, thus giving them realistic targets that can met in due time (in a long term). However, this might create a room for regional leaders to a hide behind gradualism when they have to account to their regional citizens. It is in this context that the findings therefore suggest that in a process that is dependent on gradualism, openness is key to tolerance and good governance, therefore it is important for regional leaders to be open and transparent throughout the long process of gradualism

The findings suggested that the SADC have not yet fully bridge the gap between the theoretic regional integration into a fully practical integrated community. There are qualities which characterize an integrated region (lower barriers to movement of resources and capital, market integration etc.), SADC have not yet met the conditions and are not even attempting

to move towards those conditions that have been said to be the mother of a successful regional integration.

Nonetheless, the findings indicated that there has been low activities within SADC which have led to the low economic interactions. This slow economic interaction is also a consequence of the slow process of the integration of this region. The inclusion of South Africa in SADC have tried to bridge this gap however it have not done enough since the integration I not yet completed.

Lastly, the findings indicated that South Africa membership is beneficiary for the development of the country. But most of the benefits that South Africa stands to gain are not direct economic gains but these gains will contribute greatly in the economic growth and development of South Africa. These are inter alia, an export market for SA, Access to human capital, mineral resources (including water and energy which South Africa need).

5.3.2 BRICS

The findings suggest that the BRICS bloc is not built entirely on common interest, rather they are indifferent. Although the bloc is of an economic integration nature, there are exterior motives which are political and might play a significant role in the future of this bloc.

The BRICS bloc is also not fully integrated yet as per the findings, but this alliance complements each other for a successful regional integration. This is because this integration is made up of well-established economies who are regional leaders in their respective continents. This alliance carries the potential of being the world's biggest regional integration and the future of this integration is promising. This therefore exposes South Africa to opportunities which will boost their economic and political status in the world.

With regards to the economic interaction, the findings suggest that the BRICS have started interacting with South Africa and Africa states. Findings also suggest that there has been an upward trend in imports and exports between South Africa and Africa with the BRIC countries. There has been a tremendous growth in the economic interaction between South Africa and these countries. Further to that, the African states have also been getting their fair share of increased economic interaction with the BRICS countries. Findings also suggest that this interaction will continue growing for both the country and the African continent.

The findings suggest that because the BRICS bloc was established to serve long term objectives which would later decide the structure of International Relations, the interaction

between these three parties (South Africa, BRIC, and Africa) will also be affected by the future of this progression.

5.4 TO WHAT EXTENT HAS SOUTH AFRICA CONTRIBUTED TO AFRICAN UNION SINCE 1994 AND HAS ITS MEMBERSHIP IMPACTED ON THE COUNTRY'S OTHER MULTILATERAL DRIVES.

The AU and South Africa share similar aspirations for the future of the African continent. This therefore suggested that what South Africa does in assisting African states, it do it for both the AU and to be true to its foreign policy. Nonetheless, the findings on the looming question indicate that South Africa have displayed great effort and contribution towards the upbringing and the currently functioning African Union. South Africa have contributed with financial resources, military resources, institutions, diplomatic resources and more.

Findings also suggest that the impact of South Africa in the AU is well felt and applauded. This is because after joining, South Africa have played its sector responsibility exceptionally well. The findings indicate that the South African leaders in the AU have also contributed their leadership qualities towards the establishing of strategic initiatives that the AU have adopted as the blue prints to the desired prosperous Africa. With the plan of action having been clearly put in place, one can almost say it is guaranteed that the continent will be a transformed Africa in the near future. But to what extent will Africa develop through these initiatives (Agenda 2063) and realize these great aspirations for each individual state. This question will be left unanswered amid the ever changing political and economic state of affairs from nation to nation in Africa.

Findings also indicated that in light of the appraisal on South Africa's contribution, there are however critics against South Africa not doing enough or doing very little in the development of the African continent. The findings discovered that these critics surface and will continue to surface in future. And the reason is because of dubious assessments that are/were made in the absence of visible and compelling benchmark to test the efficiency of SA's contribution in the AU and the continent as a whole.

It is in this context that a more compelling approach should be taken into consideration before there could be any captivating conclusions on SA's contribution towards Africa and the AU. However, it is clear that the South African government have been conforming to their foreign policy which suggests that they (South Africa) have to contribute to the

assistance of the upbringing of other African states and work towards forging African solidarity and prosperity.

5.5 GENERAL CONCLUSION

The multilateral relations of South Africa in the post-1994 era appear to be more about positioning South Africa in the global showground. These relations have offered no immediate economic value to the betterment of South Africa. However, after 22 years, they have started slowly pouring in some economic inputs to the development of South Africa.

The findings have shown that South Africa have become an important player in the international community. With its significant position in the AU, along with its economic status in the African continent, South Africa have better-positioned itself in the eyes of all the global states. Consequently, the involvement of South Africa in all these multilateral organisations have not dented nor deviated from their foreign policy, rather it has better positioned them in the international community. Indeed, confusions and inconsistencies in their foreign policy priorities have been visible; as a result, they have been heavily criticized for that.

South Africa dominates the African multilateral organisations thus making it an important country in Africa. This status has helped South Africa extend to other multilateral forum (BRICS) who also happens to share the similar intent (positioning itself in the international arena). Together these regional leaders are in pursuit of recognition. These relations will have an interconnected relation where by the progression of one will have an effect on the other multilateral relations.

South Africa shall continue to make use of multilateral forums in order to advance both its national and international interest in global politics. This is because of the significance and strategic role that these organizations play in international relations. They have proven to be relevant in the curbing of political, economic, social and even environmental calamities whilst promoting socio-economic and political advancements for not just one state, but many state all at once.

As noted prior, there are weaknesses in South Africa's foreign relations. Importantly as a recommendation, there should be set benchmarks against which to access the success/failure of SA's foreign policies generally and as against the studies multilateral organizations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adams B. and Luchsinger, B. 2012. *Reclaiming Multilateralism: for people rights and sustainable development*. New York: 2012 United Nations
- Africa Union, 2002. *Constitutive Act of the African Union*. Addis Ababa: African Union.
- Barnes, C. 2008. International isolation and pressure for change in South Africa. In Aaron Griffiths and Catherine Barnes. *Powers of Persuasion: Incentives, Sanctions, Conditionality in Peacemaking*. London: Accord. pp 36-39
- Belassa B. 1961. *The Theory of Economic Integration*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Cawthra G. 2010. *The Role of SADC in Managing political crisis and conflict The Cases of Madagascar and Zimbabwe*. Mozambique: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Creswell, J.W. 2007. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mwangi S, Kimenyi & Lewis Z., 2011. The BRICS and the New Scramble for Africa. *Foresight Africa: The Continent's Greatest Challenges and Opportunities for 2011*. Washington: Brookings. Pp. 19-21
- Reddy, E.S. 1986. *Former Principal Secretary, United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Sven Grimm, Y. K. a. R. A., 2014. *South African Relations with China and Taiwan*. South Africa: Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University.

Journal Articles

- Belfiglio, V.J. 1978. United States Economic Relations with the Republic of South Africa. *Africa Today*. Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 57-68.
- Besada, Tok & Winters , H, E & K, 2013. South Africa in the BRICS Opportunities, Challenges and Prospects. *Africa Insight*. Vol 42: 4, pp. 1- 15.
- Bouchard C. and Peterson, J. 2011. Conceptualizing Multilateralism: Can we all Just Get Along? *MERCURY E-paper* No.1. pp. 1-39
- Carbone M. 2002. From OAU to AU: turning a page in the history of Africa. *The Courier ACP-EU*. No. 194, pp 30-31
- Carim, X, 1997. Multilateral Trading, Regional Integration and the Southern African Development Community. *South African Journal of Economics*. Vol no 65: 3, pp 335-353.
- Chingono M and Nakana S, 2009. The challenges of regional integration in Southern Africa. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 3: 10, 396-408.
- Corden, W.M, 1972. Economies of Scale and Customs Union Theory. *Journal of political economy*, Vol. 80, No. 3, pp. 465-475.

- Gardner, R.N, 1962. The United Nations: Asset or Liability? *American Bar Association Journal*. Vol. 48, No. 9, pp. 811-815.
- Habib, A, 2009. South Africa's foreign policy: hegemonic aspirations, neoliberal orientations and global transformation. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 143-159.
- Jebb, G, 1952. The Role of the United Nations. *International Organisation*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 509-520.
- Kaloudis, G, 1993. Could THE United Nations Preserve International Peace? *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 47-52.
- Keohane, N.O, 1990. Multilateralism: an Agenda for research. *International journal*, Vol 45, No. 4, pp 731-764.
- Keohane, R.O. 1969. Lilliputians Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics. *International Organization*. Volume 23, Issue 2; April 1969, pp. 291-310
- Nel P, Taylor L & Westhuizen J. 2000. Multilateralism in South Africa's Foreign Policy: The Search for a Critical Rationale. *Global Governance*. Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 43-60
- Petersen, K.S, 1965. The Business of the United Nations Security Council: History (1946-1963) and Prospects. *The Journal of Politics*. Vol. 27, No. 4. pp. 818-838.
- Saurombe, S, 2010. The role of South Africa in SADC regional integration: the making or braking of the organisation. *Journal of International Commercial Law and Technology*, Vol. 5: 3, pp 124-131.
- Mapuva J & Muyengwa-Mapuva L. 2014. The SADC regional bloc: What challenges and prospects for regional integration? *Law Democracy and Development Law Journal*. Law Vol.18 No. 1. Pp. 22-36
- Venter J.J. 1999. H.F. Verwoerd: Foundational aspects of his thought. *Koers* 64(4) pp. 415-442

Conference and Policy Papers

- Le Pere G. 2014. South Africa's Foreign Policy in a Globalising World An Overview: 1994-2002. Prepared for: The Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services in the Presidency as part of a 10 year review. Pretoria: Institute for Global Dialogue
- Tsheola J., Mabila C., Mtsweni S. 2013. South Africa in the BRICS: Wither the economic freedom policies and inequality? Athens: ATINER'S Conference paper series, No: CBC2013-0888.
- UN Meetings Coverage & Press Releases. 2015. General Assembly Praises African Union's Agenda 2063, Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals as Comprehensive Blueprint for Africa's Advancement. Available at: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/ga11708.doc.htm>. [Accessed 19 April 2016].
- Onyekwena C, Taiwo O, Uneze E. 2014. South Africa in BRICS: A Bilateral Trade Analysis. Economic Diplomacy Programme. South African Institute of International Affairs. Occasional Paper 181. Pp 6-30

Lindsey Powell. 2003. In Defense of Multilateralism. Prepared for *Global Environmental Governance: the Post-Johannesburg Agenda*. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy.

Reddy, E.S. 1992, The United Nations and the struggle for liberation in South Africa. In *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Volume 3, International Solidarity, Part I. pp 41-140 Available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/docs/misc/1992/roadtodemocracyl.pdf> [Accessed 17 August 2016].

Theses and Dissertations

Korf, L, 2010. D.F Marlan: A Political Biography. Being a Phd thesis submitted to the University of Stellenbosch.

Tau, LM. 2000. Regional Economic Integration in South African Development Community: Problems and Prospects. Being a Master's Thesis submitted to Rand Afrikaans University.

Xiong H. 2012. China-South Africa Relations in the Context of BRICS. Being a Master's Thesis submitted to the Department of International Relations University of the Witwatersrand.

Internet Sources

African National Congress. 1994. Foreign Policy Perspective in a democratic South Africa. Available at <http://www.anc.org.za/content/foreign-policy-perspective-democratic-south-africa>. [Accessed 10 June 2015].

African Union Peace and Security. 2015. African Union Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (AU PCRD). Available at: <http://www.peaceau.org/en/page/70-post-conflict-reconstruction>. [Accessed 10 May 2016].

Ambhorkar N. 2014. What is the rationale behind the formation of BRICS? Available at: <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-rationale-behind-the-formation-of-BRICS>. [Accessed 08 January 2016].

Answers Africa. 2015. South Africa Apartheid: everything you should know. Available at: <http://answersafrica.com/what-is-south-africa-apartheid-and-when-did-it-happen.html>. [Accessed 23 August 2015].

African Union. 2015a. AU in a Nutshell. Available at: <http://www.au.int/en/about/nutshell>. [Accessed 07 October 2015].

African Union. 2015b. SADC. Available at: <http://www.au.int/en/recs/sadc>. [Accessed 12 November 2015].

Basic College Accounting. 2008. The Advantages And Disadvantages Of Economic Integration. Available at: <http://basiccollegeaccounting.com/2008/10/the-advantages-and-disadvantages-of-economic-integration/>. [Accessed 07 November 2015].

BD live. 2013. Outgoing US envoy warns African Union about South Africa. Available at: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/africa/africanews/2013/09/06/outgoing-us-envoy-warns-african-union-about-south-africa>. [Accessed 14 October 2015].

- Calcuemus. Undated. Economic Integration. Available at: <http://calcuemus.org/pub-libr/eu-integr/1-2econ-integr.pdf>. [Accessed 16 May 2016]
- CCTV America. 2014. Explainer: What makes the brics. Available at: <http://www.cctv-america.com/2014/07/18/explainer-what-makes-the-brics>. [Accessed 08 January 2016].
- Department of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa. 2002. Transition from the OAU to the African Union. Available at: http://www.au2002.gov.za/docs/background/oau_to_au.htm. [Accessed 09 December 2015].
- Dinar. 2014. ANC Foreign Policy. Available at: http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern_Political/ANC_Foreign.html. [Accessed 14 October 2015].
- DIRCO. 2004. African Union in a Nutshell. Available at: http://www.dfa.gov.za/au.nepad/au_nutshell.htm. [Accessed 09 December 15]
- DIRCO. 2004. International Labour Organisation (ILO). Available at: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/inter/ilo.htm>. [Accessed 28 September 2015].
- DIRCO. 2004. SADC history and present status. Available at: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/sadc.htm>. [Accessed 12 November 2015].
- Dugdale-Pointon, TDP. 2002, Namibia 1966-1990. Available at: http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/wars_namibia.html [Accessed 23 August 2015].
- Filer G. 2014. ANC Retains Control of Government Despite Decline. Available at: <http://gabrielfiler.weebly.com/blog/category/african%20national%20congress>. [Accessed 28 August 2015].
- Guerrero D.G 2013. The Rise of China and BRICs: A multipolar world in the making? Available at: <http://focusweb.org/content/rise-china-and-brics-multipolar-world-making>. [Accessed 17 May 2015].
- Hirsch J. 2014. Africa's Challenges and the Role of the African Union: Q&A with Aisha Abdullahi. IPI Global Observatory. Available at: <http://theglobalobservatory.org/2014/10/africa-challenges-role-of-african-union-aisha-abdullahi/>. [Accessed 17 July 2015].
- International Relations and Cooperation. 2004. Southern African Development Community (SADC): History and Present Status. Available at: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/sadc.htm>. [Accessed 16 July 2015].
- Kraemer R.A. 2012. The Role of BRICS in the Developing World – Study for the European Parliament. Available at: <https://community.oecd.org/docs/DOC-42174>. [Accessed 17 July 2015].
- Lissoni, A. 2000. The Anti-Apartheid Movement, Britain and South Africa: Available at: <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=5695>. [Accessed 07 August 2015].
- Mail & Guardian. 2012. SA will need to build bridges at the African Union. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-07-16-sa-will-need-to-build-bridges-at-the-au>. [Accessed 14 October 2015].

- Mail & Guardian. 2013. SA's role on the African continent. Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-29-00-sas-role-on-the-african-continent>. [Accessed 10 May 2016].
- Marrian, Maqutu. 2015. SA signs 26 new trade agreements with China. Available at: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/business/trade/2015/12/03/sa-signs-26-new-trade-agreements-with-china>. [Accessed 23 May 2016].
- Media Club South Africa. 2014. Multimedia: South Africa, the United Nations and apartheid. Available at: <http://www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com/twenty-years-of-freedom/3895-multimedia-south-africa-the-united-nations-and-apartheid>. [Accessed 17 August 2015].
- Merriam Webster. 2015. Research. Available at: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/research>. [Accessed 04 September 2015].
- Millennium Project. 2006. About MGDs. Available at: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/>. [Accessed 30 August 2015].
- Novikova E. 2012. Are the BRICS Countries Becoming the BRICK Countries? World Economic Journal Available at: http://world-economic.com/articles_wej-156.html. [Accessed 05 January 2016].
- O'Boyle B. 2014. Explainer: What Are the BRICS? Available at: <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/explainer-what-are-brics>. [Accessed 08 January 2016].
- Olivia. 2011. Difference Between OAU and AU. Available at: <http://www.differencebetween.com/difference-between-oau-and-vs-au/>. [Accessed 10 September 2015].
- Permanent Mission of South Africa to the United Nations, New York City. 2011. The official website. Available at: <http://www.southafrica-newyork.net/pmun/index.html>. [Accessed 16 July 2015].
- Pinto A. 2012. Why is South Africa a BRIC(S)? Fair Observer. Available at: <http://www.fairobserver.com/region/africa/why-south-africa-brics/>. [Accessed 01 January 2016].
- Reddy, E.S. 2012, United Nations And The African National Congress Partners in the Struggle against Apartheid. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/arts/2012/un_anc.pdf. [Accessed 17 August 15].
- Republic of South Africa Country Report. 2013. Millenium Development Goals. Available at: http://www.za.undp.org/content/dam/south_africa/docs/Reports/The_Report/MDG_October-2013.pdf. [Accessed 08 September 15].
- Rossouw J. 2006. South Africa's role in macroeconomic convergence in SADC. Available at: <https://www.resbank.co.za/Lists/News%20and%20Publications/Attachments/56/Rossouw.pdf>. [Accessed 2 June 2016].
- SA.info. 2015. South Africa welcomes African Union summit. Available at: <http://www.southafrica.info/africa/au-summit-080615.htm#.ViUjz36rTIU>. [Accessed 19 October 15].
- SADC, 2015, SADC Industrialization Strategy and Roadmap. Available at: file:///D:/PS/SADC_Industrialisation_Strategy_Roadmap.pdf. [Accessed 10 November 15].

- SADC. 2012. Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP). Available at: <http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/strategic-pl/regional-indicative-strategic-development-plan/>. [Accessed 07 November 15].
- SADC. 2012. SADC OVERVIEW. Available at: <http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/>. [Accessed 07 November 15].
- SARPN. 2005. Regional Integration: Concepts, Advantages, Disadvantages and Lessons of Experience. Available at: http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0001249/P1416-RI-concepts_May2005.pdf. [Accessed 03 November 15].
- South Africa History online. 2012. The Organisation of African Unity is formed and Africa is declared. Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/organisation-african-unity-formed-and-africa-day-declared>. [Accessed 16 July 15].
- South African Government. 2011. Building a Better World:.. Available at: <http://www.gov.za/documents/white-paper-south-african-foreign-policy-building-better-world-diplomacy-ubuntu>. [Accessed 11 June 15].
- South African Government. 2015. BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa). Available at: <http://www.gov.za/about-government/brics-brazil-russia-india-china-south-africa>. [Accessed 16 July 15].
- South African News Agency. 2015. A moment for Africa to shine. Available at: <http://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/moment-africa-shine>. [Accessed 19 April 2016].
- Standard Bank. 2012. South Africa must protect competitive advantages as BRICs build ties with Africa. Available at: http://www.standardbank.com/Article.aspx?id=-177&src=m2012_34385466. [Accessed 01 January 16].
- The World Bank. 2013. InfoShop. Available at: <http://go.worldbank.org/U39STT8DZ0>. [Accessed 26 September 15].
- The World Bank. 2015. History. Available at: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/history>. [Accessed 26 September 15].
- The Presidency. 2011. Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu. White Paper on South African Foreign Policy. Available at http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/foreignpolicy_0.pdf [Accessed 05 February 2017]
- UN Women. Undated. About UN Women. Available at: <http://www.unwomen.org/en/about-us/about-un-women>. [Accessed 26 September 15].
- UNESCO Press. 1974. Racism and apartheid in southern Africa South Africa and Namibia. Unesco Press. Paris
- UNESCO. 2015. About us. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/about-us/>. [Accessed 21 September 15].
- UNESCO. 2015. Introducing UNESCO. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco>. [Accessed 24 September 15].
- UNESCO. 2015. South Africa. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/worldwide/africa/south-africa/>. [Accessed 24 September 15].

- UNFPA South Africa. 2014. About UNFPA. Available at: http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/southafrica/2013/04/24/6634/about_unfpa/. [Accessed 24 September 15].
- UNICEF. Undated. about UNICEF. Available at: http://www.unicef.org/about/who/index_history.html. [Accessed 01 October 15].
- United Nations Development Group. 2007. UN Agencies. Available at: <http://www.un.org.za/agencies/>. [Accessed 18 September 15].
- United Nations Development Group. 2015. Resident Coordinator System. Available at: <https://undg.org/home/resident-coordinators/>. [Accessed 31 August 15].
- United Nations Development Programme. 2012. Repositioning the Public Sector for better service delivery. Available at: http://www.za.undp.org/content/south_africa/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/successstories/repositioning-the-public-sector-for-better-service-delivery--und.html. [Accessed 31 August 15].
- United Nations Economic and Social Council. Undated. FAO in South Africa. Available at: <http://coin.fao.org/cms/world/southafrica/en/Home.html>. [Accessed 27 September 15].
- United Nations Human Rights. 2015. Who we are. Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/AboutUs/Pages/WhoWeAre.aspx>. [Accessed 21 September 15].
- United Nations in South Africa. Undated. About Us. Available at: <http://www.un.org.za/about/>. [Accessed 28 August 15].
- United Nations Information Centre. 2008. Who we are. Available at: <http://www.harvardgenerator.com/references/website>. [Accessed 26 September 15].
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime . 2015. About UNODC. Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/about-unodc/index.html?ref=menutop>. [Accessed 26 September 15].
- United Nations Rule of Law. Undated. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Available at: <http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?n=undp>. [Accessed 21 September 15].
- United Nations System. 2015. United Nations Development Group: Coordinating UN country-level support for the Millennium Declaration. Available at: <http://www.unsceb.org/content/box-23-united-nations-development-group-coordinating-un-country-level-support-millennium-0>. [Accessed 03 September 15].
- United Nations. 1994. The United Nations: Partner in the Struggle against Apartheid. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/apartheid.shtml>. [Accessed 08 August 15].
- Wentworth L. 2013. SADC Payment Integration System. Perisa Series: Private Sector Available at: <http://www.saiia.org.za/special-publications-series/447-perisa-case-study-2-private-sector-sadc-payment-integration-system/file>. [Accessed 6 November 2016].