



G77 + CHINA @ 50: SOUTH AFRICA/AFRICA AND THE CHANGING MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY OF THE SOUTH

Proceedings Report of a Symposium organized by the Institute for Global Dialogue associated with University of South Africa, and supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung South Africa Office on 25 July 2014, at Burger's Park Hotel, Pretoria



Compiled by Dr. Kwesi D. L. S Prah, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI)

G77 + CHINA @ 50: SOUTH AFRICA/AFRICA AND THE CHANGING MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY OF THE SOUTH

Proceedings Report of a Symposium organized by the Institute for Global Dialogue associated with University of South Africa, and supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung South Africa Office on 25 July 2014, at Burger's Park Hotel, Pretoria



Compiled by Dr. Kwesi D. L. S Prah, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI)

© Institute for Global Dialogue, 2014

Published in June 2014 by the Institute for Global Dialogue

ISBN: 978-1-920216-57-3

Institute for Global Dialogue
3rd Floor UNISA Building
263 Skinner Street
Pretoria

Tel: +27 12 337 6082

Fax: 086 212 9442

info@igd.org.za

www.igd.org.za

With support from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
South Africa Office 34 Bompas Road Dunkeld West 2169

Editor: Beth le Roux

Design and layout: Andri Steyn

Cover image: <http://www.viacampesina.org/en/index.php/actions-and-events-mainmenu-26/10-years-of-wto-is-enough-mainmenu-35>

All rights reserved. The material in this publication may not be reproduced, stored, or transmitted without the prior permission of the publisher. Short extracts may be quoted, provided the source is fully acknowledged.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	6
I. INTRODUCTION	
Setting the Context: <i>Speech by SA Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation: Hon. Luwellyn Landers</i>	8
The Global Significance of the G77+China: <i>Mr Roberto Bissio - Social Watch International</i>	11
II. GLOBAL REFORM, MULTILATERALISM AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH	
The Global South and the G77+China – An African perspective: <i>Amb. John Tesha - Africa Forum</i>	14
The contributions of African countries to the multilateral diplomacy of the G77+China within the UN system: <i>Dr. James Jonah - Former UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs</i>	17
Southern minilateralism and implications for the G77+China: <i>Dr. Siphamandla Zondi, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA</i>	18
III. THE FUTURE OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH	
Implications of the changing southern multilateralism for South Africa's foreign policy: <i>Amb. Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko, Deputy Director General: Multilateral, DIRCO</i>	22
Positioning the G77+China in the new global multilateral framework: <i>H.E. Ms. Susana Caputi - Honorary Consul of the Pluri-national State of Bolivia</i>	23
Strengthening cooperation between the AU, the Africa Group and the G77+ China: <i>Amb. David K. A. Kikaya - former Kenya Representative to UN-Habitat</i>	27
Parliaments engaging the G77 – a proposal: <i>Hon. Samson R. Osagie - Minority Whip in Nigerian National Assembly</i>	29
INTERACTIVE DISCUSSION	
A Synthesis of Reflections	30
APPENDICES	
Symposium Programme	31
List of Participants	33
About the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) associated with UNISA	35

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
ALBA	Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América
ANC	African National Congress
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCR	Center for Conflict Resolution
CIVETS	Colombia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African State
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
G77 + China	Group of Seventy Seven and China
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRULAC	Group of Latin American Countries
IBSA	India, Brazil, South Africa
IFAD	International Organization for Agricultural Development
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
IGD	Institute for Global Dialogue
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Least Developed Country
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NIEO	New International Economic Order

OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
WTO	World Trade Organization
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNISA	University of South Africa

INTRODUCTION

In celebrating the 50th anniversary of the G77+China, it is important to note that the advent of colonialism, and the impact it has had globally elicits important questions, and lays out important challenges. It compels a majority of the global human family to realize the increasing need for collective engagement and diplomacy. In 1964, a group of concerned states, which have come to be known as the countries of the South, got together to challenge the growing severity of political and economic hegemony, and to address the growing injustices and material problems of inequality. The Group of 77 (G-77) was “established on 15 June 1964 by seventy-seven developing countries signatories of the ‘joint Declaration of the Seventy-Seven Developing Countries’ issued at the end of the first session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Geneva. Beginning with the first ‘Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 in Algiers (Algeria) on 10 – 25 October 1967, which adopted the Charter of Algiers’, a permanent institutional structure gradually developed which led to the creation of Chapters of the Group of 77 with Liaison offices in Geneva (UNCTAD), Nairobi (UNEP), Paris (UNESCO), Rome (FAO/IFAD), Vienna (UNIDO), and the Group of 24 (G-24) in Washington, D.C. (IMF and World Bank). Although the members of the G-77 have increased to 133 countries, the original name was retained due to its historic significance.”¹



1 See website: <http://www.g77.org/doc/>

All the countries that experienced the ravages of colonialism inherited structural and functional constraints that began, and still continue to debilitate their developmental processes. Therefore by adopting both nationalist and humanist ideologies, and plans of action, a large body of nations pooled their interests together for common goals. We are reminded by Dr. S. Zondi that “the G77+China is an important epitome of the urgency of the countries of the South, the developing world, at a time as they emerged out of a terrible era of colonial rule, and sort to assert what was understood then as primary interests of developing countries, in a world dominated by a few countries that would come to be known as developed countries. It is one of the most crucial defenders of the broad interests and values of people on the fringes of society.”

It is within this context that the theme of this symposium was formulated. The theme, the “G77+China @ 50: South Africa/Africa and the changing multilateral diplomacy of the South”, represents an important reflection and dialogue on the ideas and actions of the G77+China. As a result, over the past 50 years, it has championed significant causes, and attained “a number of achievements - footprints on the landscape of international diplomacy; including ideas like the right to development, ideas like collective self-reliance, and ideas like growth with development.”

Furthermore, the symposium was convened to reflect on particular questions with regard to the challenges faced by the G77 + China, which would unravel important perspectives that challenge the status quo. These questions were as follows;

- What does it mean when there are serious difficulties concluding the Doha development round at the WTO?
- What does it mean when there are lingering questions of de-colonization in the world and a few islands and a few countries that still have to realize their sovereignty?
- What does it mean when big corporations buy land for purposes of economic speculation and thus threaten the ordinary peoples’ access to food?
- What does it mean when vast tracks of land on the African continent are being purchased for commercial reasons, or to feed other people other than Africans?
- What does it mean when we have many holding challenges with regards to the application of international law, and the rules and norms in the world?

These questions have recently necessitated a need for “Team Spirit” amongst a heterogeneous G77+China. It is on the basis of these factors, questions and challenges that the program of the symposium was structured and themed.

Setting the Context: Speech by SA Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation

To kick start this dialogue, the South African Deputy Minister of International Relations, H.E Luwellyn Landers, gave the keynote address. He began his speech by informing the audience that he had recently attended a G77+China summit in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. At the summit, it was agreed that there was a need “to strengthen and expand the struggles of the G77 and China in all fields, towards greater achievements, and for the betterment of the lives of our people.” Furthermore, he highlighted the fact that the G77+China was “the largest inter-governmental organization of developing countries in the United Nations system,” and that it had forged “alliances between countries of the South... by leveraging the South’s collective bargaining power, and negotiating capacity, across many different negotiation tracks in the UN system.” He also reminded



the audience that the G77+China had played “a critical role in promoting South-South cooperation for development, as well as successfully strengthening economic and technical cooperation among developing countries themselves.”

Due to the recent calamities of the international financial crises, the Deputy Minister stated that an important agenda tabled by the G77+China was to leverage its collective bargaining power, to secure the interests of developing nations. Despite these efforts, the pressures of the current economic crises, according to H.E Landers, have become increasingly difficult to circumvent, as nations try to secure their private interests and gain comparative economic advantage. As a result, maintaining unity within the G77+China had also become a real challenge. Smaller sub-groups of nations (LDCs, BRICS, ALBA, and AOSIS) had thus pooled together in lieu of these pressures. The Climate Change negotiations served as a primary indicator of these pressures, and how nations within the G77+China manoeuvred their interests.

Explaining the complexities of the negotiation processes between nations within the G77+China, the Deputy Minister highlighted that it was difficult for the G77+China to reach consensus on issues related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) initiative, and other related collective development agendas (Millennium Development Goals), due primarily to the fact that member countries “tended to revert to their traditional negotiation blocks which cut across regional and continental groups and, in some cases, negotiated in their own national capacities.” Therefore issues regarding the provision of financial resources for development became pertinent agendas for the G77+China in recent times. Also, recent trends in population growth and consumer habits altered the competitive economic advantage of nations with the G77+China, placing geo-political groupings such as BRICS as important stakeholders in the global development agenda. It is within these contexts that the African development agenda manifests itself.

In this regard, H.E Landers reminded the audience that the G77+China understood that addressing the special development needs of Africa was central to the success of global efforts to eradicate poverty and achieve all

Internationally Agreed Development Goals, including the MDGs. He added that “in this regard, the Group... attached great importance in the establishment of an effective and comprehensive monitoring mechanism of the commitments on Africa’s development, in order to ensure a periodic review for the full and timely fulfilment of commitments, in accordance with the Political Declaration on Africa’s development needs.”

Thus issues like ‘Development Aid’, in its functional and politically-motivated senses, and fair representation in decision-making within the UN, are agendas that have continually motivated, and challenged the mandate of the African development and political agenda in recent times. The G77+China thus represented a credible platform on which to air these concerns on the aforementioned issues. H.E Landers was clear in his observations in this regard. He stated that the G77+China had been “bold in affirming the need for ensuring synergy between the work of UN agencies and the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Trade Organization and other international organizations that deal with, among other development-related issues, trade, finance, labour and capital, intellectual property rights, health and technology, respectively.”

In summary, the Deputy Minister H.E Landers concluded that South Africa’s role in chairing the G77+China in New York in 2006, focused on preserving the “unity and cohesion of the Group, to promote engagement with the Group in inter-governmental processes as a responsible negotiating partner.” It is through these



actions and objectives that one must view the importance and relevance of South Africa, and the G77+China, in the global struggle for equitable representation and development.

The Global Significance of the G77+China

In order to frame the debate, Roberto Bissio of the *Instituto del Tercer Mundo* and Social Watch, focused his input on the challenges faced by this coalition of nations; a coalition of nations in which 133 countries, including some of the richest in the world (if measured in per capita income), and all of the poorest countries

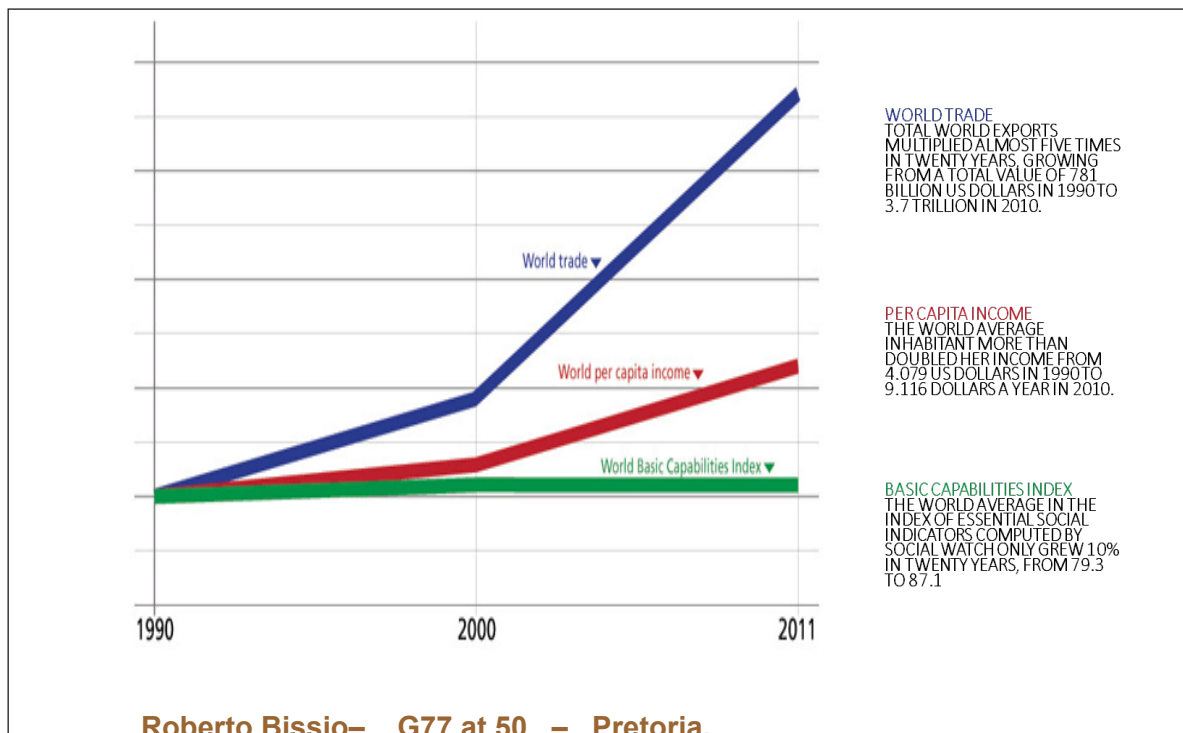
in comparison, as well as the largest economy on the planet (China) – which shares a billion-plus population size with an immediate neighbour (India) – makes a vision and realization of cooperation seem impossible.

According to Bissio, the serious challenge faced by the G77+China was building a coalition between governments that desperately competed against each other to attract the same investors, or between nations selling the same products to the same markets. Thus the operational challenge within the G77+China was to retain its members, and to manage the group without coercion and without charismatic leaders, to rotate responsibilities every year, and to manage the group with a staff membership that one could count with their fingers; a group of staff spread in five cities, and three continents.

He went on to highlight the emergence of the G77+China, and how it geared its actions toward accelerating the industrialization processes of developing countries through a re-organized division of labour. Also, an international system that specifically enabled these processes of accelerated development in developing countries was necessary, in order to address the gross imbalances in social and economic equality worldwide. According to Roberto Bissio, this was the essence of the rallying call behind the G77+China.

In an exposition of the achievements from the activities of the G77+China, he highlighted Agreements and Declarations such as;

- Creation of UNCTAD, IFAD and UNIDO
- 1974 – New International Economic Order
- 1986 – Declaration on Right to Development
- 1988 – Global System of Trade Preferences
- 2000 – First South Summit in Havana
- 2014 – Santa Cruz Summit – New Development Paradigm



Bissio went on to emphasize that despite the controversial and economically disastrous actions typified by the agreements made by the WTO, and the declarations / policy-statement and their implications articulated through the Washington Consensus, the G77+China had understood and endeavoured to address the need for an alternative economic and political paradigm.

Through graphic illustrations and brief statistical breakdowns, he illustrated how certain economic prescriptions exacerbated levels of inequality. He also showed that through the actions of organizations such as Social Watch, the catastrophic impacts of infant mortality and lack of basic education could be understood better, gauged and regulated by a Basic Capabilities Index. However, despite these practical and constructive interventions, he showed that little progress had been made. Roberto Bissio thus emphasized how surprising it was that “progress on social indicators slowed down after the turn of the century, despite steady growth in the global economy and despite international commitment to accelerate social progress and achieve the MDGs. This slowing trend of social indicators can only get worse as the impact of the global financial crisis that started on Wall Street in 2008 is not yet registered in internationally comparable statistics. The processing of social aggregated data always lags two to three years behind the publishing of the economic indicators.”

Furthermore, he touched on the problems and contradictions created by financial instabilities and the ‘standard’ de-regulation of trade (by governments supporting multi-national corporations) within globally-established markets: this he illustrated by pointing to experiences during the year 1964, and the socio-political and economic problems that troubled the South (poverty, hunger), as well as the ‘solutions’ that would come from the North – Aid, technology transfer, debt alleviation, trade, investment-defined economic relations. Unfortunately in 2013, these problems also originated in the North (climate change, financial instability) and the victims are the vulnerable people in the South that had no part in creating them. He even observed that extra-budgetary funds represented 20% total the overall development of the UN system in 1992, they are 80% of the total now. Private foundations, mainly US-based, are now a major donor to the UN, but their contribution is not transparent. The Gates Foundation and UN Foundation play a major role in the post-2015 discussion.

Other seriously troubling, and terribly ironic problems were and still are the continued denial or lack of constructive action by international bodies regarding the protection and nurturing of the right to life / health; as well as the Agricultural Agreement (WTO) against the right to food; the bilateral investment treaties that act against the right to health (tobacco vs. Uruguay and others); the bilateral investment treaties against affirmative action in South Africa; conspicuous financial liberalization and secrecy jurisdictions against stability everywhere. Therefore, Bissio argued that ODA must be re-defined, and that it should ‘leverage investment’; that it should provide and develop better Social security mechanisms and opportunities for migrants; that it should support peacekeeping; that it should contribute to Climate Change funds. In essence, there must be a new measure of “total contribution.”

The notion of ‘Partnerships’ has therefore become an important trend. Citing a number of major multi-national corporations and their social development initiatives, Bissio indicated that there is no “one size fits all” approach, and that steps must be taken to re-formulate international rules that allow for policy space and policy flexibility. Furthermore, a lot more effort has to be made to reduce inequalities at all levels, because at present, large corporations have had negative effects on social, economic and environmental development, and they often deny the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources.

This emphasis on a ‘new paradigm’ must also ensure that the conditions for nature, and for ecosystems to have the capacity to regenerate, for the benefit of present and future generations, must be able to sustain itself. This

can only be achieved when there is greater awareness and a higher sense of urgency to overcome the constraints caused by a world financial and economic crisis, continuing food insecurity, volatility of capital flows, extreme volatility of commodity prices, and challenges posed by climate change. Roberto concluded by stating that the member nations of the G77+china have understood that “sustainable development involves a change in the order of priorities from the generation of material wealth to the satisfaction of human needs in harmony with nature. The excessive orientation towards profit neither respects Mother Earth nor takes into account human needs. The continuation of this unequal system will lead to further inequality (the Santa Cruz Declaration).”



GLOBAL REFORM, MULTILATERALISM AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The Global South and the G77 – An African perspective

It is at this stage that the symposium switched perspectives. Ambassador John Tesha of the Africa Forum began his observations and arguments by stating that firstly, Africa was effectively the architect of the G77+China. This could be observed through the establishment of political and economic partnerships between the African group of nations, and other member states with the G77+China, and was also illustrated not only through support for liberation struggles fought in Africa, but also through economic development issues that faced Africa, and its relevance to the rest of the world. In other words, African concerns were about the structure of the international system and its governance.

Ambassador Tesha stated that African member states felt that the structure of the current international economic and political world order was asymmetrical, and that it favoured one group. He stated that Africa group eventually introduced a debate at the level of the G8 on developing a New International Economic Order (NIEO), to change the structure of the international system, for it to complement more equitable development paradigms. Furthermore, reporting on developments within the African continent became another important focus. Therefore a New International Information Order needed to be established, so that it supported the creation of the proposed New International Order. The totality of these demands made by African member states influenced the decisions and agreements made and taken by the G77+China in its formative years.

Nevertheless, the focus of the African group from the beginning was on the GATT, the formation of UNCTAD, and the running and decision-making processes within UNCTAD. As far as trade negotiations were concerned (at a time when the major focus was on commodities), efforts were made to get trade issues tabled as a UN priority agenda. Ambassador Tesha reminded the audience that Africans did not necessarily have substitutes to international coalitions such as the G77+China. Also, the processes of dialogue first employed through discussions within the OAU, then actualized through the work of ambassadors to the UN, with the support of the G77+China, were complicated. Two actions supported these processes, namely the Economic Commission for Africa and the African Development Bank, and a drafted document that was titled 'Lying with Statistics'. Together, they challenged the UN and its credibility when the Berg Report was published, as well as challenged the value of the Structural Adjustment Programs and the Bretton Woods Institutions. Through the collective efforts of these institutions, and in collaboration with the Economic Commission of Latin American Countries, the African group within the G77+China thus developed a 'cohesiveness approach' to help the G77+China present its positions at the UN General Assembly.

However, despite the G77+China's decision-making power, and the support of UNCTAD, and despite the creation of the UN Programme for Economic Recovery and Development which was supported by the

G77+China (and later the MDGs), the problem with the negotiating processes was that there was a lot of effort made to produce evidence through researched documents, yet nothing was done to address the issues and challenges that were raised. Despite periodic reviews every four years, and new nomenclatures, nothing happened. Thus a theory of 'de-coupling' was formulated to counter a growing 'North-South' divide in developmental aims.

Thus African member states established an entity called the Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries (TCDC), to enable exchanges complementing technical development. But this effort was ineffective because there was no financial support for it. Nevertheless, the TCDC still exists today. Ambassador Tesha then insisted that the problem, once again, was that there were efforts made to produce material, but there was little or no implementation of the knowledge gathered. In essence, this indicated that there was no Political Will from the North to support the South, and secondly, that they had been able to weaken the ability of the G77+China to negotiate better agreements for their development agendas.

Therefore in order to overcome these challenges and enhance capacities, the ambassador recommended that it was important to strengthen Africa's multi-lateral representation. Priority needed to be given to the staff representing the African group, and the G77+China, at major multi-lateral stations; especially at the UN.

Lastly, new geo-political realities had created new processes of dialogue and interaction, and complex issues had emerged regarding trade and development. Africa, in association and cooperation with the G77+China, thus needed to act more urgently and proactively to cope with these changes.



The contributions of African countries to the multilateral diplomacy of the G77+China within the UN system

After these insights were shared regarding the involvement of African member states within the G77+China, and its representation and influence at the UN, Dr. James Jonah, former UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, chose to illustrate why many of the efforts of the G77+China had been circumvented by geo-political and economic coalitions from countries of the North. He stated that these countries of the North were able to ignore the efforts of UNCTAD and the G77+china through what he termed 'benign' neglect. His experience attained over 10 years advising the UN Secretary General, helped him understand the inner workings of the UN, and encouraged him to assist in lobbying for the rejection of control by UN over financial resources in the 1970s.

He measured the successes of his tenure by first re-counting the events of a meeting in Cape Town, convened by the CCR. This meeting, convened to provide a platform for dialogue between African participants from the high level panel on reform, exposed the fragile nature of relations between groups within the panel. He also indicated that Boutros Boutros-Ghali was replaced by Kofi Annan; a move that he argued was encouraged by the North to further its own interests. He had observed this through the unusually high number of policy reforms tabled during Kofi Annan's tenure, which he argued exceeded Kofi Annan's capacity, and thus did not often originate from Kofi Annan's concerns. Therefore at the meeting held in Cape Town, which included academics and politicians from Africa highlighting salient flaws in the UN system, concerns were tabled regarding the operational biases within the UN system; yet they were inadvertently shunned.

As a result, Dr. Jonah re-collected that a book was produced, titled 'The Dialogue of the Deaf'. The book was taken to the United Nations, and shared amongst the G77+China. The contents of the book and the information it provided motivated the G77+China to take a firm stand on various issues related to the decision-making power, and the unbalanced share of influence enforced by particular nations and sub-groups within the UN. Chairmanship by countries such as Jamaica and South Africa represented major resistance against the monopoly of certain groups within the UN. The diplomatic delegations of Jamaica and South Africa (during their tenures as representatives of the G77+China) had noted that certain groups within the UN wanted to create what was known as a 'Little Assembly'. The idea was to have a small number of people who would decide on behalf of others. The US attempted to institute this reform, but it was eventually rejected. Later, they tabled a proposal for the creation of a small committee to oversee the UN budget. The former UN Under-Secretary General argued that this was because the US refused to pay its dues to the UN; due to nefarious engagements with the Apartheid regime and other similar types of associations. The African groups rejection of these measures to control the UN system culminated in a US delegation summoning the leading authorities within the G77+China to explain why member states within the G77+China were averse to the formation of this over-sight committee. Nevertheless, the G77+China had succeeded in curbing the monopolization of control within the UN system, thus changing the nature of the UN.

Dr. Jonah then went on to explain how the period in which he served as UN Under-Secretary was unique. According to his experience, the three most powerful committees (political, peace-keeping, humanitarian) were all manipulated and controlled by three Western nations (US, France, UK). However, during his tenure, Dr. Jonah explained that two of these committees were under the responsibility of Africans (Kofi Annan being responsible for peace-keeping, and himself, in charge of Political affairs); a scenario that was unique for the UN, and now almost impossible to achieve. It was therefore no coincidence that this period in global economic development highlighted the strength of influence possessed by the G77+China in curbing the excess of control by G8 countries.

He was very frank about the fact that the Libyan invasion was a turning point, in which the inadequacies of the UN system compelled the G77+China to take more aggressive steps toward reforming its decision-making capacities. Financial support for the development agenda of G77+China is a tentative and difficult exercise, due to the diverging economic interests of countries such as China and India. Coalitions such as the BRICS group must do a lot more to cooperate with each other, given the grave financial challenges the G77+China face today. He reminded the audience that there will always be an effort to divide the cooperative abilities and purposes of the G77+China. Also removing the dollar as a back-bone of economic exchange is very important. New leadership that is emerging is a promising sign of that there could be constructive changes within the UN in the near future.



Southern minilateralism and implications for the G77+China

It was then helpful to steer the discussion toward more specific challenges faced by the G77+China, primarily about the deeper challenges that disrupted the managing of agency within the Global South, in a changing environment. This particular discussion raised questions about how one used the structures that exist to caucus a position so that there was unanimity; for example, on issues such as the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the atrocities in Gaza, or violence in the DRC.

The discussion was introduced by Dr. Siphamandla Zondi, and he argued that despite there being many differences and diversity amongst the countries of the South that had varied historical experiences, when it

came to understanding and addressing the question of injustices within the world system, there was a similarity that was shared amongst these nations. These questions were felt most crudely in Africa where colonial rule ended more recently, and where imperial designs continue to limit the continent's progress. Therefore, the need for a strong African leadership working in a G77+China that is constantly 're-invigorated and re-energized', in order to represent the interest of peoples on margins of major international issues, cannot be ignored.

He then went on to point out that African representation at the centre of international institutions was integral to the processes of equitable, global development agendas; and that leadership, if it was authentic, could achieve a lot for Africa in this regard. In reference to the anecdote from Dr. James Jonah regarding the controversy of Kofi Annan's appointment and tenure as secretary general, Dr. Zondi reminded the audience that the countries of the North understood how to manipulate the UN system in such a way that even if a leader from the South was elected, they manoeuvre to make sure he / she was partisan to their interests.

This had serious implications for African member states within the UN system because simply accepting that an African leader, an Asian leader, or a Latin American leader represented the Countries of the South's interests was not adequate anymore. Therefore when discussing what should happen to the UN and when discussing the reform of international finance institutions, does placing an African as head of the IMF solve the problem? Would it matter which African leader it should be, or what the leader stands for as an African?

In this regard, Dr. Zondi went on to highlight and reflect on the phenomenon of the proliferation of 'diplomatic clubs' from the South principally IBSA, BRICS, CIVETS amongst others, as representing a certain measure of differentiation among countries of the South. In one way, this expresses itself in the fact that some Southern countries have improved their economic standing so much that they have broken into the ranks of major global powers, thus threatening the sustenance of the current world order based on Western powers occupying major centres of influence and power within the world system. Yet, their emergence poses challenges for the solidarity of the South and standing of big multilateral institutions like NAM and the G77 + China in two ways: first, their ability to take decisions quickly because they are smaller and can organise themselves non-formally, they appear a little more efficient than older organisations. The second is that these clubs operate like caucus platforms to harmonise strategies on global platforms and are therefore able to respond to the changing strategies of established global powers during negotiations. This creates a third challenge, which is fear that on the part of the rest of the global south that the emerging powers would simply push their own narrow national and sectional interests, and thus weaken the solidarity of the greater south.

Furthermore, these groupings raised questions about whether they represented the division of the global South into two levels, namely;

- a group of major powers, which represented a more prestigious group of countries that could negotiate with the more powerful blocs within the UN and thus derive benefits for itself;
- or a pragmatic selection of countries that brought to the international negotiations' environment, their own complex, their own diplomatic capital, their collective economic power, in order to represent the interests of the greater 'developing world'.

According to his observations, the important debate amongst scholars regarding these diplomatic clubs was about whether these clubs delayed the processes of reform, in favour of deals with the powerful countries of the North. Again, this dilemma was particularly evident in the Climate Change negotiations, in which questions were raised about whether these groupings within the G77+China would 'sell-out'. Nevertheless, Dr. Zondi argued that these small clubs of 5 / 6 nations meant that they could decide very quickly, that they could act and respond very quickly to changing dynamics in international negotiations, and respond at a pace that was required in order to protect the interests of the rest.

However, in order for them to do so, there had to be agreement and trust that they would consistently act on behalf of the interests of the broader global South, that they understood what the G77+China had incubated over the last 50 years, and that they would be able to at least suppress their own national interests not only by allowing opportunities to just represent themselves, but to also represent the interest of the rest; especially at a time when big multilateral organizations are facing difficulties in responding very quickly to development challenges.

Another challenge facing these diplomatic clubs and their representative capacity has been the issue of exclusivity, in the sense that they represented just a few countries grouped together, and in which membership was not open. In contrast to the G77+China which is more inclusive in terms of membership and shared interests, the size of these small diplomatic clubs has enabled them to respond to the high politics of global reform.

In this regard, Dr. Zondi argued that the general understanding in international relations was that the more powerful you were, the more capable you were in terms of dealing with questions on reform, whether the challenge was economic or political. Therefore a closer analysis of decisions and actions taken by BRICS was important, in order to ensure that its positions with regards to the reform of all global institutions, and “in order to respond to the changing dynamics of global power today... no longer reflect the situation in 1945.”



Whether it is able to leverage its power, both as a hard power and soft power, in order to make sure its goals are actually achieved, will be observed in the near future.

Lastly, it was pointed out that external powers still seek to divide and weaken the influence and impact of these diplomatic groupings because the unity of the South and the clout of the emerging powers is a major

challenge to the power and privilege of big western states. The other serious challenge to arise is that these sub-groupings are not spending enough time building internal cohesion through strengthening institutional mechanisms, common vision, popular engagement and intra-group economic and social activity. The problems that arose from being consumed by external questions, consumed by projecting power externally, leads them to neglect the strengthening of bi-lateral relations among themselves, shared political vision among themselves, and developmental and economic cooperation among themselves. Therefore, the intra-BRICS dialogue, intra-IBSA dialogue, and intra-CIVETS dialogue are critical for any agenda that the G77+China chooses to focus on, as well as the fact that experiences between states and civil society in the region must inform this dialogue between the citizen and the state. The strengthening of partnerships between the G77+China and these diplomatic clubs is crucial for the South's ability to pursue its agenda on both tracks: platforms of high politics of reform and democratic and large forums for deliberation.

It would be a crisis if BRICS faced the same legitimacy crises on the 'streets', which the G8, and the G77+China have had to contend with in the last 15 years. BRICS is beginning to engage constructively with civil society, and trade unions from the BRICS summit in Brazil have also agreed to formal and informal relationships with the BRICS.

Dr. Zondi concluded that through the discussion on the heritage of the G77+china at 50, observing that the G77+China could no longer function purely in the manner in which it had functioned was important. According to him, there were great opportunities that arose from these informal clubs, "leveraging their own power in order to defend, to advance, and promote the interests of the greater global South; provided that they cared about the question of legitimacy, they cared about the question of representation, and they cared about the questions of internal cohesion among themselves."

THE FUTURE OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Implications of the changing southern multilateralism for South Africa's foreign policy

To begin concluding this dialogue, Ambassador Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko of DIRCO, explained that the previous discussions highlighted the need to follow up on what broke the chain of control held by the countries of the G8, and to highlight how the victory of G77+China in helping end Apartheid built the multilateral negotiating capacities of countries from the South.

She stated that multilateralism was and is the terrain through which global governance is shaped. It is a terrain that one could not 'opt out' of. What had changed was the balance of power, which international economists explained through the theory of comparative advantage, and how this explained the changes regarding the basis of countries' competitiveness. Traditional political-economic alliances outside the G77+China were falling apart making the multilateral terrain highly contested.

Redefining development becomes an important agenda as a result, either of support recovery, or to affirm and assert the right to development. As the comparative advantage shifts towards the countries of the South, who are the carriers of recovery (collective purchasing power), the struggle in the North would be about how they constrain the moving forces, or control these forces in order to re-create their competitive advantage.

This attempt to regain the comparative advantage is very evident in how the global North has approached the Doha Round of WTO multilateral trade negotiations. The outcomes of Bali 9 in December 2013 are thus highly charged. She explained how the north pushed to have trade facilitation made the only binding outcome, when in fact this meant that developing countries would be burdened with adjustments to enable trade by adopting standards that the north already uses. This will give them an advantage over developing countries in the area of trade. How do the G77+China re-group in the face of issues like climate change, or the SDG fora? She argued that the issue is the contestation over principles put in place to safe-guard the right to development and principles that constrain such development. Therefore, it is not so much about the changing nature of Southern multilateralism; as much as it is that the stakes are high; compelling the West to mind their interests carefully.

Ambassador Mxakato-Diseko then explained that the beauty of the G77+China lay in its diversity. This ensured that if one component is weak, the others come to the fore and configure their agendas toward a common position that safe-guarded the interests of the collective group as a whole. It was thus challenging to manage GRULAC, (group of Latin American Countries), and bring them together with the Asia-Pacific group, as well as bring them together with the Africa group. Also, these groups were internally fragmenting in to the least developed countries that wanted to have special mention.

AOSIS had a particular urgency about climate change, but one unlike Europe's urgency about climate change. For instance, she added that the green economy and the institutions for sustainable development were the current agendas that swayed the interests of countries from the North. Agendas like non-tariff barriers, donor-conditionality created the emergency behind the MDGs. ALBA countries carried forward the mission of the G77+China as a result. What was learnt was that negotiating within the UN system happens in 'packs'. The G77+china have thus been constantly called upon to be creative in how it garnered support for its objectives.

She noted that there was a need for a better understanding concerning the inner workings of the negotiations; not in abstract, but in real terms, in order to read the nuances; find ways to fund our civil society, in order to empower our civil society to start from the point of view of Africa. A decisive group of African states is troublesome for Western powers within the UN as a result.

In conclusion, she stated that it is not that South multilateralism has changed, in as much as the terrain is becoming much more complex, and the challenges to capacitate officials with agility that enables them to understand and read situations; to act fast, to take the necessary risks, but cohere to cover themselves, and be ready to speak to the African positions.



Positioning the G77+China in the new global multilateral framework

The discussion then shifted perspective. Ms. Susana Caputi, the honorary consult of Bolivia, began by drawing attention to an event held recently, in which Bolivia hosted the summit of Heads of State and Government of

the G77+China in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 14 and 15 June 2014; for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Group.

Ms. Caputi underlined the fact that during the past 50 years, these countries went beyond their statements and promoted resolutions at the UN, as well as embarking on shared actions in favour of development, underpinned by South-South cooperation; a new world economic order, and responsibility for climate change and economic relations based on preferential treatment. This legacy emphasized that to revitalise the global political economy, peoples and their governments needed to move from obscure models of sustainable development to more comprehensive development agendas that encouraged equitable social and economic standards that was in balance with the earth's ecology.

This meant that humanity needed to conceive of a vision that was different from the Western capitalist development model. The practicalities challenging human futures dictated that social welfare had to move away from fashionable, sustainable development paradigms, and had to start constructing a 'live-well comprehensive development approach' that sought to not only strike a balance among social, economic and political realities; but also strike a balance with the ecology of Mother Earth.

According to Ms. Caputi, no development model could be sustainable if production destroyed Mother Earth as a source of life and of human existence. She added that no economy could sustain itself if it generated greater inequality and exclusion. She also stated that no progress was just and desirable if the well-being of some was at the expense of the exploitation and impoverishment of others.

Secondly, the pursuit of sovereignty exercised over national resources and strategic areas was an important agenda for the G77+China. Countries that have raw materials could and should take sovereign control over the production and processing of their raw materials. The nationalization of strategic companies and areas could help the State take over the management of production, exercise sovereign control over its wealth, embark on a planning process that lead to the processing of raw materials, and distributing the profit among its people. In this regard, exercising sovereignty over natural resources and strategic areas did not mean isolation from global markets; rather, it meant connecting to those markets so that it benefitted the country, and not primarily for the benefit of few private owners. Sovereignty over natural resources and strategic areas did not mean preventing foreign capital and technologies from participating. It meant subordinating these forms of capital and technology to the needs of each country.

Thirdly, attaining a value standard that emphasized the need for the healthy well-being of everyone and the provision of basic services as a human right was important. The resolution of social inequities required that both international law and the national legislation of each country defined basic services (such as water, power supply, communications and basic health care) as a fundamental human right of every individual. This meant that the States have a legal obligation to secure the universal provision of basic services, irrespective of their costs or margins.

Fourth, there was a need for society to emancipate itself from the existing international financial system and to construct financial systems that compliment broader interests. In this regard, Bolivia proposed that society rids itself of the current financial architecture by building a new financial system that prioritizes the requirements of the productive operations in the countries of the South, within the context of comprehensive development. H.E Susana Caputi insisted that people must incorporate and enhance banks of the South that support industrial development projects, reinforce regional and domestic markets, and promote trade within the G77+China, on the basis of complementarity and solidarity. This replacement of international financial institutions, for other entities that provide for a better and broader participation of the countries of the South in their decision-making structures, is imperative.

Fifth, it is important to build a major economic, scientific, technological and cultural partnership among the members of the G77+China. Asia, Africa and Latin America are not only home to 77% of the world's population, but also account for nearly 43% share in the world economy. And this importance is on the rise. The peoples of the South are the future of the world. Immediate actions must be taken to reinforce and plan this inescapable global trend. As a result, the G77+China need to expand trade amongst countries of the South. The G77+China also need to gear its productive capacities and operations toward the requirements of other economies in the South, on the basis of complementarity necessities and capacities. There is also a need to implement technology transfer programs among the countries of the South. Technological sovereignty and leadership that are critical for a new global economy based on justice will not be obtained by any country acting on its own. Science must be an asset held by humankind in its entirety. Science must be placed at the service of everyone's well-being, without exclusions or hegemony. A decent future for all the peoples around the world will require integration for liberation, rather than cooperation for domination.

Sixth, there is an urgent need to mitigate and eradicate the spread of hunger worldwide. It is imperative that hunger be eradicated and the human right to food be fully exercised and enforced. Food production must be prioritized with the involvement of small growers and the indigenous peasant communities that hold age-old knowledge in regards this activity. Each country must make sure that the supply of the basic food staples consumed by its people is secured by enhancing production, cultural and environmental practices, and by promoting people-to-people exchanges on the basis of solidarity. The States have an obligation to ensure the supply of power, the availability of road connections and the access to water and organic fertilizers.

Seventh, the need to strengthen the sovereignty of states, free from foreign interference, intervention and / or espionage is important. Within the framework of the UN, a new institutional structure must be propitiated in support of a new world order to live well. International agencies that promote peace, eliminate global hegemony and advance equality among states are required. Therefore one must strengthen integration schemes in support of peaceful coexistence, mutual development and faith in shared values, such as justice.

Eighth, there must be a strong focus on the democratic renewal of our states. The realization of the peoples' leading role requires that democracy be renewed and strengthened. We must supplement the electoral democracy with participatory and community-based democracy. Humankind must move away from the limited parliamentary and party-based governance and into the social governance of democracy. It must reinstate the following codes of conduct; *Ama Sua, Ama Llulla, Ama Quella* i.e., "thou shall not steal or lie and thou shall not be lazy." as a guide for ethical behaviour of governments. According to Ms. Caputi, democracy is not a personal benefit vested in the rulers, let alone abuse of power. Democracy means serving the people with love and self-sacrifice. Democracy means dedication of time, knowledge, effort and even life in the pursuit of the well-being of the peoples and humanity.

Ninth, the creation of a new world order rising from the South, which would serve and speak to the interests of the whole of humankind, is inevitable. Today, another world is not only possible, but also indispensable; and that other world of equality, complementarity and organic coexistence with Mother Earth can only emerge from the thousands of languages, colours and cultures existing in brotherhood among the peoples of the South. The G77+China have certainly positioned itself in the new global multilateral framework.

For example, Bolivia, a small economy compared to Brazil, South Africa or China, has excelled in trade. The Multilateral Development Cooperation that is happening between these nations speaks for itself. The G77+China thus play a very important role in the new global multilateral framework. In this regard, H.E Susana Caputi concluded her observations by pointing to the Ministerial Declaration held in New York at the UN headquarters on 26 September 2013, on the occasion of their 37th Annual Meeting:

- The Ministers underscored the historic importance of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the G77.
- Stressed the fact that the focus of the developing countries is to continue to find means to achieve their developmental objectives, specifically with regard to the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals. Also to elaborate a post-2015 development agenda that truly meets the needs of the developing world.
- It was noted that the ongoing world financial and economic crisis is negatively affecting the growth prospects of many developing countries.
- It emphasized the international efforts made by developing countries to eradicate poverty and advancing their levels of development.
- The Ministers accordingly underscored the need for a strengthened and scaled-up global partnership for development, based on the recognition of national leadership and ownership of development strategies. They emphasized that international cooperation must be enhanced; including the fulfilment of commitments of internationally agreed official development assistance, debt relief, market access, capacity building and technical support, including technology transfer.
- The Ministers stressed the need for a more transparent international credit rating system that takes fully into account the needs, concerns and peculiarities of developing countries, especially heavily indebted developing countries. In this regard, the Ministers expressed concern about the soundness of the methodology used by the major credit rating agencies
- It is stressed that developed countries must meet and scale-up their existing bilateral and multilateral official development assistance commitments and targets made, inter alia, in the United Nations Millennium Declaration, the Monterrey Consensus, the 2005 World Summit Outcome, at the G8



summit in Gleneagles, in the Doha Declaration for Financing for Development and in other relevant fora.

- It was stated that international trade is a vital tool to provide long-term sustainable growth. Due to the global financial and economic crisis, the decline in trade has had a severe impact on developing countries through the fall in exports and loss of export revenues, trade barriers and trade distorting subsidies in developed countries, restricted access to trade finance and reduced investment in production diversification and in the promotion of exports remain a matter of concern.

Strengthening cooperation between the AU, the Africa Group and the G77+China

Ambassador K. A. Kikaya, former Kenyan Representative to UN Habitat, began by highlighting that May 25, 1963 marked the victory of independent African states against challenges of fragmentation and disunity. Francophone, Anglophone, Lusophone, Arabophone, Africaphone countries resolved to unite under the umbrella of the Organisation of African Unity.

Apart from the divide and rule strategies of the colonial era, the then African leaders were divided along these lines: radicalism VS conservatism. These were later on to be known as the Casablanca and Monrovia groups. The Casablanca caucus included what were known to be the radical states; Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Morocco. The other group, the Monrovia caucus consisted of what were commonly known to be liberal / conservative states; Ethiopia, Sierra Leone, Congo-Brazzaville (today's Republic of the Congo), Cameroon, Senegal, Dahomey (today's Republic of Benin), the Malagasy Republic (today's Madagascar), Chad, Upper Volta (today's Burkina Faso), Niger.

Ambassador Kikaya reminded the audience that prior to the formation of the OAU, it was clear that integration was a process and not an event. However, the inspiration to continue the process of integration in Africa by founding the OAU came from outside the continent. One source of inspiration was the Bandung Conference of April 1955, where 29 governments of African, Middle Eastern, Caribbean and Asian countries gathered together. Other Countries like Yugoslavia and Cuba joined in what was later known as the 'The Non-Aligned Movement – NAM'. Pan-Africanists who attended this conference returned home with new ideas to foster greater integration in Africa. The major proponents from outside Africa of NAM were Field Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia and Zhuo Enlai of China. They provided the link that earned this group this historical title. NAM then crystallized into the Group of 77+China.

Apart from support for liberation, this group spear headed the economic philosophy of South - South Cooperation that was aimed at strengthening both political and economic links for developing countries of the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa and Asia. It can be argued that the creation of the ACP/EU- Lome convention was a marriage of convenience to tame the growing unity and hence strength of the periphery South. Nevertheless, Africa has made commendable strides, both economically and politically, while confronting formidable challenges. This progress was made possible by integration at both the regional and continental levels. This allowed cross-border development programs to facilitate maximisation of economies of scale.

Ambassador Kikaya stated that the AU was now continuing this integration work from a regional approach, instituting strategies that focused less on politics and more on socio-economic issues. This regional integration approach involved several groupings. In West Africa, there was the Economic Community of West African States, with a conflict intervention force, the ECOMOG. The Horn of Africa was integrated through the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The East African Community had expanded from the three countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to include Rwanda and Burundi. South Sudan and Somalia

have also applied to join this group. In Central African countries, integration was centred around francophone nations. These include the Central African Republic and Gabon. Most North African countries were members of the Maghreb Union as well as the predominantly Middle Eastern Arab League. Further south, the Southern African Development Community member countries are connected by a customs union for the promotion of trade.

Integration has also been enhanced by membership in the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation. The primary purpose of this association has been to ensure the sustainable utilization of the Indian Ocean resources.

For much of its existence, though, the OAU had, in effect, acted as the “trade union of the African heads-of-state,” to quote Tanzania’s first President, the late Julius K. Nyerere, one of the Organisation’s founding fathers. Africa is on the threshold of the Second scramble. The difference this time is with the connivance of Africa’s elites, whether covertly or not. Proponents of this entry and scramble include; the Sino-Africa Summit, TICAD, AGOA, Franco-Africa Summit, Turkey – Africa Summit, and the Tony Blair Commission

The model of analysis that Ambassador Kikaya employed as a conclusion to his observations was termed Diversification & Democracy – 2Ds, to help understand the practicality behind the success of regional integration and African Unity. He argued that the 2Ds are Africa’s best panacea for a profitable role in collaboration in and with G77+China.

The Scramble provides Africa with both Challenges and Opportunities. These challenges revolve around the fear of economic subjugation and indebtedness in a broad sense; intra-State conflicts and re-alignments the ‘Cold War’ style. Opportunities lie in diversification of development partnerships across board. Therefore there



is a need for Africa to go back to the provisions of South – South Cooperation with clearly identified targets, cognizant of Hans Morgenthau’s conception of National Interests – State-Centrism.

The second D falls in the purview of the well-intentioned African Peer Review Mechanism. This continental body of credible wise Africans was meant to bring to the attention of Africa’s Statesmen and Women the need and value of encapsulating best practices in their governance. The emphasized the need for a Democratic Ethos that provided the threshold for these practices. These would serve as a buffer against the draconian ‘pill’ of SAPs. Heads of States would also be spared the dreaded expression that, “Today’s Presidents are tomorrows Prisoners.”

Despite some of these obstacles, he argued, African integration can help the continent secure a place and voice on the global stage. In the words of Ghanaian Kingsley Amoako, former UN Under-Secretary General, “Unity will not make us rich, but it can make it difficult for Africa and the African peoples to be disregarded and humiliated.”

Parliaments engaging the G77 – a proposal

To conclude this dialogue, it was agreed that a proposal be made, to round off these discussions. So the Rt. Hon. Samuel R. Osagie of the Nigerian National Assembly asked; are parliaments of nations within the G77+china effective in helping achieve / attain the objectives laid out by the G77+China? Little was understood in previous discussions about the primacy of parliaments in producing decisions that have a bearing on G77+China negotiations.



Parliament as a distinctive institution of democracy, must be allotted its rightful place in the objective of promoting the interests of the G77+China, and must be actualized without inhibition from municipal legislations of member countries. Parliaments of the South must be allowed to participate more actively in the affairs of the G77+China.

In the past 50 years, have the G77+china engaged their parliaments both in policy incubation and implementation? It is also fitting to note that regional parliaments such as the Pan-African parliament, the ECOWAS parliament etc, occupy very strategic positions to pursue the objectives of the global south. This presupposes that the G77+China should pursue democratic principles and cooperate with national and regional parliaments that are people-centred. It is doubtful that any nation can pursue a credible agenda on the global stage without the vote and approval of its parliamentary representatives.

The G77+China must not only be seen or made up of heads of states and ministers of government, but also the peoples through their elected representatives in Parliament. It would be important for the G77+China to create a parliamentary forum, in order to be able to ensure that member countries are able to drive the objectives of this organization and of this group in such a manner as to actualize the objectives of the G77+China.

INTERACTIVE DISCUSSION: SYNTHESIS

After the day's discussions, there were a number of interesting questions, comments and responses. Among key questions that came up were the following two: how do we build internal cohesion?; and how do we involve the people on the ground in championing change at a global level?

In response to these questions it was argued that what was needed was a better understanding of multilateral diplomacy and its complexity. It was necessary for the G77+China to note and be aware that power and privilege have been the main factors behind EU policy. Issues like the Green Economy tend to confuse, and obfuscate. BRICs, seen from a Western perspective, was supposed to under-write the power and privilege of Western control, by legitimizing the transfer of capital to the countries with large populations, and stable military capabilities (typical definitions of hard currency). Now, BRICS enables industrialization in Africa in important ways. BRICS Bank serves as a vital tool in this regard. However, more membership for BRICS dilutes its cohesion, and slows down-decision-making. Thus for purposes of internal cohesion, smaller more 'agile' groupings aid the G77+China developmental agendas.

Lastly, in order to remain in multilateral diplomacy, it is important to strengthen civil representation; at a parliamentary level and state level. If one does not have a strong position in the UN, then there will be weak representation.

APPENDICES

Symposium Programme

G77 +China @ 50: South Africa/Africa and the changing multilateral diplomacy of the South

Date: 25 July 2014

Venue: Burger's Park Hotel, 2 Lilian Ngoyi Street, Pretoria

Opening

(Chair: **Dr Siphamandla Zondi**, Director: Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA)

09:30 – 09:45	Welcome	remarks
	Ms Renate Tenbusch (Country Director: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung)	
10:00 – 10:30	<i>Keynote address by</i> Honourable Luwellyn Landers, Deputy Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa	
10:30 – 11:00	<i>Framing the debate: The Global Significance of the G77+China:</i> Mr Roberto Bissio (Executive Director, Third World Institute, Uruguay)	
11:00 – 11:15	Group photograph & tea break	
11:15 – 13:00	Session one: <i>Global reform, multilateralism and the global South</i>	

Chair: **Dr Lesley Masters** (Senior Researcher: Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA)

This session will examine the changing terrain of multilateral diplomacy from the perspective of the global South. It will reflect on the emergence, activism and impact of pioneering southern multilateral organizations like the *G77+China* and NAM, while also interrogating the role of new southern blocs such as IBSA and the BRICS in advancing and defending the interests of developing countries.

Speakers (15 minutes each):

- *The Global South and the G77: An African perspective:* **Amb. John Tesha (Executive Secretary, Africa Forum)**
- *The contributions of African countries to the multilateral diplomacy of the G77+China within the UN system:* **Amb. James Jonah (Former UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs)**
- *South Africa's role in the G77+China:* **Amb. George Nene (Former Permanent Representative of South Africa to the UN in Geneva)**
- *Southern minilateralism and implications for the G77+China:* **Dr Siphamandla Zondi (Director: Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA)**

12:15 – 13:00 Q&A

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch

14:00 – 15:45 Session Two: *Towards a new Southern multilateralism: Implications for Africa and South Africa*

Chair: **Prof Wendy Isaacs-Martin (Archie Mafeje Research Institute, UNISA)**

This session will build on the issues, trends and dynamics brought up in the first session to reflect on the future of multilateral diplomacy in the global South and how African states could leverage on this to promote their development agenda in the global arena. In particular, it will examine the extent to which key African countries could ensure that the multilateralism of the South is relevant to the development aspirations of the continent.

Speakers (20 minutes each):

- *Positioning the G77+China in the new global multilateral framework:* **H.E. Ms. Susana Caputi (Honorary Consul of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Chair of G77+China)**
- *Strengthening cooperation between the AU, the Africa Group and the G77+China:* **Amb. David K. A. Kikaya (Former Permanent Representative of Kenya to UN-Habitat)**
- *Implications of the changing southern multilateralism for South Africa's foreign policy:* **Amb. Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko (Deputy Director-General: Multilateral, DIRCO)**
- *Parliaments engaging the G77: a proposal:* **Rt. Hon. Samson R. Osagie (Minority Whip: House of Representatives, Nigerian National Assembly)**

15:20 – 16:20 Q&A

16:20 – 16:30 Closing remarks

18:00 – 20:00 Cocktail dinner

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Luwellyn Landers, Dept. International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa
Nozipho Mxakato-Diseko, Dept. International Relations and Cooperation, South Africa
Susana Caputi, Pluri-national Republic of Bolivia, South Africa
Roberto Bissio, Third World Institute, Uruguay
John Tesha, Africa Forum
James Jonah, Former UN Under-Secretary for Political Affairs
Wendy Isaacs-Martin, Archie Mafeje Research Institute, UNISA
David K. A. Kikaya, Former Permanent Representative of Kenya to UN-Habitat
Samson R. Osagie, Minority Whip: House of Representatives, Nigerian National Assembly
Siphamandla Zondi, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA
Renate Tenbusch, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Lesley Masters, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA
Serges Djoyou Kamga, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, UNISA
Samuel Oloruntoba, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, UNISA
Kwesi Prah, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, UNISA
Sibulele Walaza, Independent Consultant
Kenny Dlamini, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA
Wayne Jumat, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA
Solani Ngobeni, AISA/ HSRC
Candice Moore, ACCORD
Mthandazo Ndlovu Hlahla, OXFAM
Christopher Wood, SAILA
Anna Xoyane, Institute for Global Dialogue associated with UNISA
Showers Mawowa, SALO
Elnari Potgieter, NEDLAC
Surprise Malehase, DIRCO
Sipho Ndebele, Dept. of Labour
Tshepiso Diako, SATSSA
Dumisani Mthembu, Dept. of Science and Technology

Mzi Ndeleman, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, UNISA

Levy Motebejane, UNISA

Mário Rui QUEIRÓ, Delegation of the European Union

Jose Valencia, Embassy of Ecuador

Radu Gabriel Safta, Embassy of Romania

Christian Meuwly, Embassy of Switzerland

Jean-Jacques Cornish, 702

Mbali Magagula, DIRCO Radio

Norman Tabane, ANC

Alexis Lingandu, Independent consultant

ABOUT INSTITUTE FOR GLOBAL DIALOGUE (IGD) ASSOCIATED WITH UNISA

The IGD is an independent foreign policy and diplomacy think tank dedicated to the analysis of and dialogue on global dynamics that have a bearing on South Africa in Africa. It advances a balanced, relevant and policy-oriented analysis, debate and documentation of South Africa's role in international relations and diplomacy.

Established in 1995 as the Foundation for Global Dialogue after several years of effort led by the former South African president, Nelson Mandela, in his capacity as the president of the African National Congress, it became an institute in 1998 after a strategic review had found that it had developed a competitive edge in the combination of policy-oriented research, catalytic dialogue, tailor-made publications on international relations.

The IGD's research agenda has three broad programmatic focus areas: foreign policy analysis with special reference to the making and management of foreign policy and diplomatic tools like economic, developmental, and public diplomacy; African studies focusing on the role of regional and continental integration in African politics and development as well as the study of peace diplomacy; and international diplomacy, analysing dynamics in international diplomacy that have a bearing on African peace and prosperity.

In 2011, following a strategic review the institute entered into its strategic partnership with the University of South Africa, the biggest university in the southern hemisphere to pursue through research, publications and community engagement the shared vision of a prosperous and peaceful Africa in a progressive global order through.



associated with



3rd Floor UNISA Building
263 Nana Sita Street
Pretoria
South Africa

PO Box 14349
The Tramshed, 0126
Pretoria
South Africa

+27123376082
+27862129442
info@igd.org.za
www.igd.org.za

All rights reserved. The material in this publication may not be reproduced, stored or transmitted without the prior permission of the copyright holder. Short extracts may be quoted, provided the source is acknowledged.

ISBN 978-1-920216-37-5



9 781920 216375