

South Africa's peacebuilding and PCRD activities

The role of IBSA and BRICS

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Summary

South Africa can do more to enhance peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) on the African continent, through capitalising on its unique access to multilateral arrangements such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS) and India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA). Since 1994, South Africa has made a great effort to integrate and advance itself as a global player and promote African concerns beyond the continent, but what role will its membership of IBSA and BRICS play in advancing its peacebuilding and PCRD activities?

SOUTH AFRICA CAN enhance peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD) in Africa by capitalising on its unique access to multilateral arrangements such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS) and India, Brazil, South Africa (IBSA). Since 1994, South Africa has made a considerable effort to integrate and advance itself as a global player and promote African concerns beyond the continent. It has been actively involved in conflict mediation and peacebuilding activities in Africa, and achieved membership of multilateral organisations such as IBSA and BRICS while also serving for two terms as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Today, strengthening its involvement in Africa

remains a priority for South Africa. In 2014 the newly established South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) is set to start coordinating South Africa's outgoing development cooperation, which will include peacebuilding and PCRD activities. South Africa is already one of the biggest African contributors to development on the continent, but if SADPA is to be successful, clear directives are necessary, especially in terms of its peacebuilding and PCRD activities.¹

Since SADPA is still gaining momentum, South Africa currently has an opportunity to develop clarity on specific strategies and mechanisms for enhancing the country's development cooperation. As a middle-income country that is now in the

position to help less developed countries, while at times still requiring assistance domestically, South Africa faces the challenge of being expected to contribute substantially to the peacebuilding and PCRD agenda on the continent.

Today, the global development arena is characterised by an increased number of state and non-state actors, all in different stages of development and forming part of various multilateral arrangements, with the potential to influence global governance and issues of development, peace and security. In this new context, South Africa has the opportunity to move forward its development cooperation agenda for the continent through its unique position in multilateral arrangements such as BRICS and IBSA.

This paper will examine the role BRICS and IBSA can play in enhancing South Africa's development cooperation through SADPA, with a specific focus on peacebuilding and PCRD processes. First, South Africa as a player in the current global development context will be discussed. Second, the role of BRICS and IBSA will be analysed as mechanisms that can promote peacebuilding and PCRD. In conclusion, recommendations on enhancing South Africa's development cooperation will be offered.

committed to ensuring that South Africa helps the rest of the region to achieve similar wealth and levels of development, in order to root out 'negative interdependencies' such as civil war, arms and drug trafficking, undocumented trade and social disintegration.⁶

Research conducted by the ISS in March 2014 on perceptions of South Africa at the African Union (AU) reveal that while South Africa's intentions on the continent are at times regarded with some suspicion, it is still expected to

Since 1994, South Africa has made a considerable effort to integrate and advance itself as a global player and promote African concerns

A player in the new global development context

South Africa's peacebuilding and PCRD engagements

South Africa has centred much of its post-apartheid foreign policy formulation on a commitment to human rights and to Africa's development.² This commitment has been visible in the prominent role that South Africa has played in the area of peace and security on the continent. Shillinger describes South Africa as a 'constant architect of Africa's new peace and security architecture'.³ In the post-apartheid era, South Africa has been involved in peacekeeping efforts as well as preventative diplomacy and mediation efforts.⁴ Examples include Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The country has remained involved in Burundi, the DRC and South Sudan through peacekeeping and PCRD activities.⁵

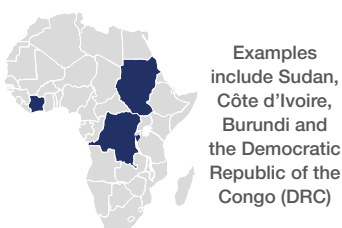
A focus on the economic development of South Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the rest of the continent also featured prominently. Pretoria has been

contribute more towards development.⁷ South Africa's membership of IBSA and BRICS increases its influence and enables it to advance African interests more effectively. With the launch of SADPA, which is meant to coordinate South Africa's outgoing development cooperation, South Africa has the opportunity to streamline its development cooperation in terms of its peacebuilding and PCRD activities.⁸

South Africa's engagement with multilateral organisations

'Southern Africa, Africa and the South' have been described as forming 'the regional axes of South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy'.⁹ Active internationalism has also been a feature of the country's foreign policy.¹⁰ Well before the establishment of SADPA, South Africa began to play a prominent role both on the continent and internationally. After its first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa joined a number of international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU, later transformed into the AU), SADC and

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the Commonwealth.¹¹ South Africa also served as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) for two terms (2007–2008 and 2011–2012).

In 2003 South Africa joined India and Brazil in 2003 to form IBSA, a trilateral arrangement of emerging powers with the objectives of contributing to the ‘new international architecture’, consolidating their voice on global issues and strengthening their relations.¹² The principles underpinning the IBSA dialogue forum are ‘participatory democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law’.¹³ Another significant development was when South Africa joined Brazil, Russia, India and China to

to ‘strategically position South Africa’s leadership on development issues’ with the aim of reinforcing the country’s role as a ‘consistent and effective player in multilateralism’.¹⁶

South Africa’s joining IBSA and BRICS is in line with its 2011 White Paper on foreign policy, which states that ‘the developing world, especially Africa, has a limited voice in the decision- and policy-making processes of the global trade, economic and financial institutions’. The White Paper continues to describe how South Africa hopes to address this imbalance by promoting ‘increased alignment between the developmental agenda of Africa and the South and that

it faces the challenge of mobilising funds for the projects that it aims to implement. At present, SADPA is set to receive the money in the African Renaissance Fund, which currently includes a yearly allocation of R500 million from the South African treasury.²¹ The SADPA Fund, as it will be known, will be able to receive funds from third parties, including parliamentary allocations, unused funds from previous years, loan repayments and funds from foreign and private donors.²²

It will also receive funding from ‘charitable organisations, the private sector and philanthropies’.²³ However, it is hoped that most of SADPA’s funding will come from trilateral cooperation with foreign partners, an idea already accepted by many of South Africa’s Northern donors.²⁴ Considering the change in the global economic structure, not only Northern donors but also the newer powerful groupings such as IBSA and BRICS should assist South Africa.

South Africa supports the trend of like-minded countries forming ‘groupings outside the formal multilateral structures’ to address issues affecting the international community

form BRICS in 2010. With the launch of SADPA, South Africa’s involvement in IBSA and BRICS may prove to be even more important than before.

Even with the rise of South–South cooperation and multilateral organisations, many still see the UN as the primary body for advancing development cooperation. It appears that South Africa agrees with this, as in 2013 it chose to re-join the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).¹⁴

At a briefing held at the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD) on 15 March 2013, Dr Sheldon Moulton, the Acting Director of Economic and Social Affairs at the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), stated that the UN remained the ‘most inclusive and transparent means to advance development cooperation’.¹⁵ He added that South Africa chose to re-join ECOSOC for a three-year term in order

of the global South’ and that South Africa will partner with other African countries to ‘forge a collective vision’.¹⁷

South Africa supports the trend of like-minded countries forming ‘groupings outside the formal multilateral structures’ to address issues affecting the international community. The White Paper lists the G-20, Basic, Major Economies Forum, BRICS and IBSA as examples of such groupings.¹⁸ The country strongly supports multilateralism as a response to managing globalisation and the ‘deepening interdependence of national economies’.¹⁹ In this regard South Africa has committed to participate actively in BRICS, ‘whose members are reshaping the global economic and political order’.²⁰

Coordinating South Africa’s outgoing development assistance

While establishing SADPA is clearly in line with South Africa’s foreign policy,

Functions of SADPA

- Develop policy guidelines for South Africa’s outgoing development cooperation
- Support programmes and projects with respect to outgoing development cooperation
- Build and maintain cooperation with international development cooperation agencies
- Maintain oversight of South Africa’s outgoing development assistance and cooperation
- Conduct an annual accountability audit, and monitoring and evaluation
- Promote and market itself

Source: Department of International Relations and Cooperation, <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2013pq/pq16ncop.html>.

The IBSA countries all have experience in development cooperation as a part of the IBSA Facility Fund for Alleviation of Poverty and Hunger (IBSA Fund).

SADPA does not clearly state how it defines PCRDR, but it does say that in accordance with the Draft Partnership Development Fund for Development Bill, there are a number of foreign policy priorities in terms of South Africa's development cooperation. These are regional integration; the development of regional and sub-regional projects;

ensure that there is a manageable focus on its activities, taking into account the already considerable expectations for South Africa.

Importance of South–South cooperation

South Africa has recognised continued South–South cooperation as a way to advance both its development needs and the African agenda.²⁶ According to the UN, South–South cooperation can be defined as when developing countries

It is important that SADPA gains clarity on its own definition and mechanisms for implementation before it starts coordinating outgoing development assistance

peace, security, stability, post-conflict reconstruction and development; strengthening political and socio-economic relations with African countries; promoting good governance; and providing humanitarian assistance.²⁵

At present SADPA has conceived of PCRDR quite broadly and could benefit from being more specific, especially considering that it needs to coordinate South Africa's peacebuilding and PCRDR activities and given how divergent views on these concepts can become, both within Africa and globally. The topics of peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction or post-conflict assistance and development are still the subjects of significant debate. Not only are there sensitive political connotations that need to be considered when describing the giving and receiving of aid of any type, but there is also a continuing lack of consensus over the scope of peacebuilding and PCRDR. It is important that SADPA gains clarity on its own definition and mechanisms for implementation before it starts coordinating outgoing development assistance, as this will be the best way to

share 'knowledge, skills, expertise and resources to meet their development goals'.²⁷ Less developed countries and those emerging from conflict traditionally received assistance from the countries in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC). It is often through these OECD countries that South–South cooperation takes place in the form of triangular or trilateral cooperation.

With trilateral cooperation, South–South cooperation is facilitated through the provision of funding, training and other forms of support from OECD countries.²⁸ In reality, this usually means that an OECD country partners with a middle-income or developing country to implement an initiative of the developing country in a third country. However, there are also instances of South–South cooperation that bypass traditional donors, such as the African Solidarity Initiative (ASI), where African countries are set to give assistance to other African countries.²⁹

South–South cooperation has become an important avenue for promoting

THE IBSA FUND SELECTS PROJECTS THAT CAN CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs), WHICH ARE:



Achieving universal primary education



Promoting gender equality and empowering women



Reducing child mortality, improving maternal health



Combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases



Ensuring environmental sustainability and a global partnership for development

'alternative development models and approaches among developing countries'.³⁰ It operates along the principles of 'solidarity, non-interference and mutual benefit' through the sharing of 'knowledge and experiences, training, technology transfer, financial and monetary cooperation and in-kind contributions'.³¹ The principles of South–South cooperation were established under the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) in 1978, and finally confirmed by the High Level United Nations Conference on South–South Cooperation held in Nairobi in 2009. The BAPA represented the advancement of technical cooperation among developing

South–South cooperation has become an important avenue for promoting 'alternative development models and approaches among developing countries'

countries; a concept that eventually became South–South cooperation.³²

The identity of South Africa within IBSA and BRICS, and its adherence to the principles of solidarity, non-interference and mutual benefit, is very important. As South Africa becomes increasingly ambitious and plays an ever-growing role both on the continent and globally, it has to ensure that it holds on to its identity and to its initial post-apartheid foreign policy principles. When then President Nelson Mandela led South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy, it was clear that the country was committed to constructive participation in multilateral institutions.³³

As South Africa has developed over the last two decades, it now has a better chance than ever before to showcase its foreign policy commitments within these influential multilateral organisations. The global governance architecture and development context is in flux, but it is during this time of change that South

Africa can benefit from demonstrating that it is still committed to these foreign policy ideals and to the principles of South–South cooperation. South Africa should not miss this golden opportunity to increase its credibility both on the African continent, where it is still mistrusted at times, and as an effective global development player in the eyes of IBSA, BRICS and the rest of the world.

South Africa has already engaged with IBSA and BRICS in terms of development cooperation. The BRICS summit in Durban in March 2013 was themed 'BRICS and Africa – partnership for development integration and industrialisation', showing how

important BRICS is to development on the continent.³⁴ IBSA has also played an important role in South–South development cooperation, notably through the IBSA Fund. In order to establish the best way for South Africa to enhance its outgoing development cooperation, especially in terms of PCRD activities, it will be useful to compare the identities and capacities of IBSA and BRICS and how these institutions could be utilised to promote peacebuilding and PCRD.

The role of BRICS and IBSA in South Africa's PCRD activities

This part of the paper will explore the identity of IBSA and BRICS, how South Africa has engaged with each multilateral arrangement in terms of peacebuilding and PCRD, and what possibilities there may be for enhancing future cooperation. The global development context has undergone major changes, giving rise to new coalitions and multilateral arrangements such as IBSA and BRICS,

which have the potential to significantly influence global governance. In both these multilateral arrangements, South Africa is the only African voice. While being a member of both IBSA and BRICS is a foreign policy achievement in itself and offers extensive opportunities for furthering other foreign policy goals, it is also a big responsibility.

Within BRICS, South Africa has the task of representing Africa, whether the rest of the continent approves or not. South Africa has to ensure that its actions within IBSA and BRICS are in line with its actions at the AU, to avoid the inaction that can result from inconsistent diplomacy. The identity of a multilateral arrangement evolves along with the changing political agendas of its members, thus the identity of IBSA and BRICS (and that of South Africa within these multilateral arrangements) is necessarily complex and amorphous, especially in the case of BRICS. However, it is still worth considering the reasons for BRICS and IBSA's establishment (and how these may have evolved) in order to consider their ability to enhance PCRD.

IBSA

In 2013 IBSA celebrated its 10th anniversary since its formal launch and the adoption of the Brasilia Declaration on 6 June 2003.³⁵ IBSA was created to promote dialogue between developing countries of the South, with the aim of fighting back against political and economic marginalisation by more powerful countries, which is also an objective of South Africa's foreign policy, as mentioned above. The IBSA grouping brought together three large democratised countries from the South, all with a commitment to sustainable development and the well-being of their people, as well as that of others in the developing world.³⁶ All the IBSA countries are geographically removed

from the major global powers, and all are regional leaders in their parts of the world. IBSA was established so that these countries could work towards a new international architecture, unite their voice on global issues and strengthen their ties in areas of importance.³⁷ IBSA has been praised for its development work and has done well in presenting a unified voice at the level of multilateral institutions, including the UN, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and various conferences.³⁸

It is equally important that South Africa and SADPA consider and incorporate this new agenda.

IBSA Fund: challenges and opportunities

South–South cooperation is an important aspect of the foreign policy agendas of all the IBSA countries, and due to this unified vision they managed to establish the IBSA Fund in 2004.⁴⁰ The IBSA Fund can be viewed as a ‘pioneering initiative to implement [South–South cooperation] for the benefit of other Southern

IBSA was created to promote dialogue between developing countries of the South, to fight back against political and economic marginalisation

Enhancing PCRD through IBSA

South Africa will have to consider how these arrangements can increase its influence when it comes to enhancing its peacebuilding and PCRD activities on the continent. It has already successfully contributed to PCRD projects through IBSA and has more flexibility within IBSA, as it does not have to consider the added complications of China and Russia’s political considerations.

The IBSA Fund selects projects that can contribute towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which are: achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, and ensuring environmental sustainability and a global partnership for development.³⁹ Considering that the MDGs were set to be met in 2015, IBSA now needs to consider whether it will align itself with the UN’s post-2015 development agenda, and whether this will require it to reset the criteria for the type of projects in which it gets involved.

countries in partnership with the UN system’.⁴¹ The Fund adheres to five core principles, namely national ownership and leadership, mutual benefit, equality and horizontality, non-conditionality and complementarity to North–South cooperation.⁴² The IBSA Fund is currently managed by the Special Unit for South–South Cooperation (SU-SSC), which is hosted by the UN Development Programme. The IBSA Fund was established to help the least developed countries, or what IBSA calls ‘PCRD countries’, in partnership with the UN.⁴³ IBSA pursues projects that contribute to achieving the MDGs and recognises that it can play a role in PCRD countries emerging from conflict, as ‘peace and development are mutually reinforcing’.⁴⁴

While the IBSA Fund has had numerous successes, it remains quite small, with each IBSA country contributing US\$1 million a year.⁴⁵ Even though the IBSA Fund has had comparatively little money to work with, and while its members have been criticised for donating a relatively small amount to the fund every year, it has achieved notable results. In 2010, the IBSA Fund received the MDG

Criteria considered for IBSA Fund projects

- Reduction of poverty and hunger
- National ownership and leadership
- South–South cooperation
- Use of IBSA country capacities
- Strengthening local capacity
- Ownership
- Sustainability
- Identifiable impact
- Replicability
- Innovation

Source: Francisco Simplicio et al, *South–South cooperation principles in practice: the IBSA fund experience, Multilateral development cooperation: what does it mean for South Africa’s foreign policy, Institute for Global Dialogue proceedings report, 2013, 27.*

award for South–South Cooperation from the Millennium Development Goals Awards Committee, and in 2012 it received the South–South and Triangular Cooperation award.⁴⁶

Some observers have expressed doubts over the continued viability of IBSA,⁴⁷ but this argument has been countered by the members of IBSA pointing out that IBSA was created, or rather merely formalised, due to a prior existing ‘natural partnership’, and that its creation was based on a ‘spontaneous convergence of positions of the three countries’.⁴⁸

South Africa has to take a decision on the role it wants the IBSA Fund to play in its PCRD activities. The fact that the

IBSA Fund is currently so small calls into question IBSA’s political will and intentions in terms of the future of the fund, and even IBSA itself. It can be argued that, had there been greater political will, donations to the Fund would not have remained so small for almost a decade.

If IBSA does decide that the IBSA Fund is relevant, its members should push to advance trilateral cooperation through the fund. At the same time, however, it may not be useful for IBSA to push so hard that it starts competing with the BRICS’ New Development Bank (NDB) or other, much larger organisations or arrangements. Carving out a niche by continuing to engage in projects in

which other donors do not want to get involved, is an excellent way for IBSA to distinguish itself.

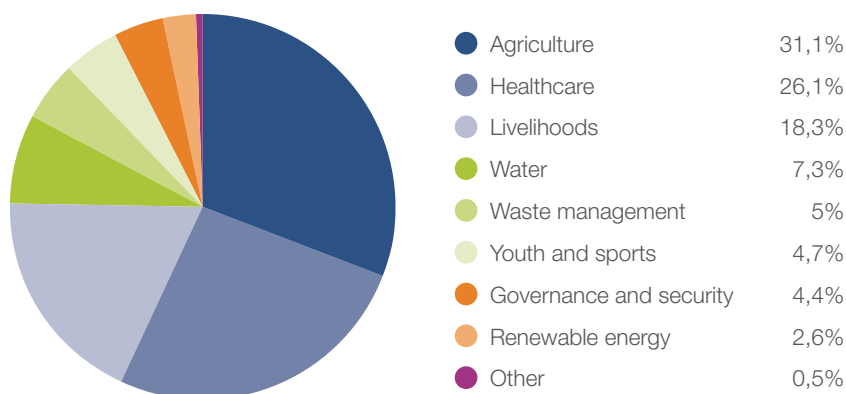
The IBSA Fund already has a history of supporting projects that are in line with the AU’s PCRD definition and the MDGs, and it offers the added opportunity of ensuring that South Africa can become involved in projects in non-IBSA countries. Even though South Africa attaches greatest importance to the primacy of the PCRD agenda on the African continent, it can benefit from the experience gained in development cooperation in non-IBSA countries. Such projects are an additional foreign policy achievement as it shows the ability of South Africa to play an important role in global development even beyond the African continent. A breakdown of IBSA’s development projects across the world is given in Figures 1 and 2.

Despite its limitations, South Africa should not underestimate IBSA, but acknowledge it as a powerful vehicle for enhancing its foreign policy objectives. If there is still concern regarding the size of the IBSA Fund, South Africa could push for the fund to receive more money from both IBSA members and OECD-DAC donors, for the purposes of triangular cooperation with the IBSA Fund acting as the emerging country. However, more money does not necessarily translate into more successful projects, while carving out a niche and carrying out projects that other donors cannot take on is very valuable to South Africa’s peacebuilding and PCRD advancement.

BRICS

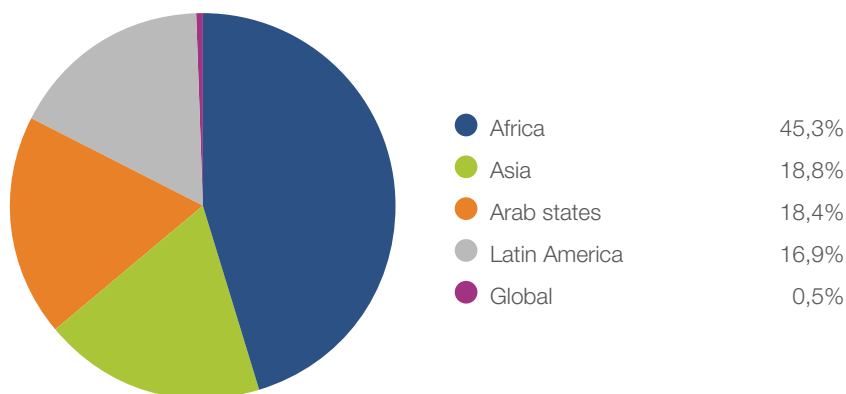
BRICs was established in 2009, when the presidents of Brazil, Russia, India and China held their first official summit. In December 2010 South Africa was formally invited by China to join the BRICs grouping, and thus BRICS was born.⁴⁹ BRICS was formed to push the reform of global financial institutions and

Figure 1: IBSA Fund budget approvals by thematic area



Source: UN, IBSA Fund, Overview of project portfolio, 2014.

Figure 2: Budget approvals by geographic region



Source: UN, IBSA Fund, Overview of project portfolio, 2014.

promote the shift in global economic power from developed to developing countries.⁵⁰ While IBSA was established at the initiative of the three governments and based on an existing relationship, the term ‘BRICs’ was coined by economist Jim O’Neill from Goldman Sachs as an acronym for the major emerging markets.⁵¹ It was only later that the BRICs countries recognised the advantages of this grouping and formally established BRICs and eventually BRICS.

There have been questions over the continued relevance of BRICS as an economic bloc, and even whether its members ever intended it to be one. These questions are based on, among

political and economic marginalisation that inspired its initial formation.

Despite the debate over relevance, the unique identity of each arrangement remains important. This is especially true considering South Africa’s interests. South Africa will benefit more from a forum like IBSA, where it is not overshadowed by China’s enormous economy or inhibited by being overly concerned with China’s political agenda – not always a comfortable topic given the good trade and diplomatic relations between the two countries, but a pertinent one. The identity of BRICS as a group is still more fluid than that of IBSA, and membership is not decided

BRICS is increasingly perceived as playing a major role in global governance reform

others, the disproportionately fast growth of China’s economic power in relation to that of the rest of the group; the comparatively small size of South Africa’s economy in relation to that of the rest of the group; and the rise of new groups such as the MIKTA initiative (a grouping of Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia). The first MIKTA meeting was held on 25 September 2013, and it appears as though it has been founded on similar principles as IBSA and BRICS, such as democracy, a peaceful approach to international relations, and the fact that they all have growing economies and want to cooperate in global governance.⁵² However, BRICS is increasingly perceived as playing a major role in global governance reform,⁵³ and the importance that the BRICS countries attach to its identity as an economic bloc should not be underestimated. In fact, it could be argued that the grouping is very motivated to stay intact as an economic bloc and continue to challenge the

on a definite set of criteria, making South Africa’s position within BRICS a bit more tenuous than in IBSA.

Despite its relatively small economy, South Africa still has one of the largest economies on the African continent, as well as military and political clout in the region, making it one of the prime African candidates to join BRICS. However, none of these attributes guarantees it the same amount of leverage within the grouping. At this stage it appears as though, at least from a Chinese perspective, South Africa is well placed to advocate the African agenda through BRICS, and to allow the BRICS countries to ‘listen better to African voices’.⁵⁴

That said, South Africa has brought BRICS increased legitimacy, making it perhaps the first international grouping that can challenge the current global governance structure. Stuenkel argues that, due to South Africa’s inclusion in BRICS, the ‘civilizational aspect of international politics’ (as defined by Samuel Huntington) has been challenged, as the BRICS members

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT BANK IS TO BE ESTABLISHED WITH A CONTINGENT RESERVE ARRANGEMENT OF US\$100 BILLION

South Africa will contribute

US\$5 billion

China will contribute

US\$41 billion

India, Russia and Brazil will each contribute

US\$18 billion

In addition to the reserve currency pool each member donated US\$10 billion to the bank, giving it starting capital of US\$50 billion

come from 'five different civilizational backgrounds', making the grouping radically different from 'common alliances in international politics'.⁵⁵ The fact that BRICS as a grouping, or perhaps alliance, is so different and includes African representation should not be underestimated. A similar argument can be made about IBSA, even though it is not quite as diverse as BRICS.

Enhancing PCRD through BRICS

While BRICS does not yet have a history of development cooperation similar to that of IBSA, it is in the process of establishing a development bank. The 5th BRICS Summit yielded a number of significant outcomes that show that development cooperation is high on its agenda. Firstly, and most significantly,

while it may not appear as though BRICS intends to address peacebuilding and PCRD directly, it will have an influence on these processes.

A number of issues that are currently high on the AU agenda also featured prominently at the 5th BRICS Summit. The BRICS leaders affirmed their commitment to peace and security on the African continent, as well as their support for 'sustainable infrastructure development ... industrial development, job creation, skills development, food and nutrition security and poverty eradication and sustainable development in Africa'.⁵⁸ It is thus clear that development, peace and security issues do feature on the BRICS agenda, and that the NDB will fund infrastructure and sustainable development projects. However, at the time of writing it was

also decided that India would be the first to hold the five-year rotating presidency of the bank.⁶² The chair of the board of governors was selected from Russia and the chair of the board of directors from Brazil.⁶³ In addition to the reserve currency pool of US\$100 billion, each BRICS member donated US\$10 billion to the bank, giving it starting capital of US\$50 billion.⁶⁴

Due to its larger budget, the NDB will be able to take on more heavy-duty projects than the IBSA Fund, which means that each may develop distinct development niches. However, the IBSA Fund operates according to a clear rationale (choosing projects that contribute to the MDGs) and a strict set of criteria for identifying these projects and partners.⁶⁵ The NDB still needs to formulate its own rationale, and this will determine whether it will be useful in peacebuilding and PCRD projects.

The declaration and action plan of the 5th BRICS Summit correctly points out that the current global governance architecture is still run by institutions that were conceived in a time characterised by very different political realities from those of the present day.⁶⁶ It then states that as the global economy is 'being reshaped' BRICS will explore new 'approaches toward more equitable development and inclusive global growth'. In this BRICS faces both a major challenge and a great opportunity. The NDB has the potential to make a considerable difference in terms of development projects, and peacebuilding and PCRD. However, if the BRICS countries do not manage their own inequalities the NDB may continue to be hampered by bureaucracy and the different political agendas of individual members.

The delayed decision at the BRICS Summit over whether India or China will host the NDB, as well as the question over the presidency of the NDB, already

Both infrastructure and sustainable development projects play an important part in peacebuilding and PCRD processes

the BRICS leaders agreed on the establishment of the New Development Bank (NDB). Secondly, two agreements regarding global development were concluded. The first concerns BRICS' multilateral co-financing agreement for Africa, which aims at establishing co-financing agreements for infrastructure projects on the continent.

The second concerns BRICS' multilateral co-financing agreement for sustainable development, which aims at establishing co-financing agreements around 'sustainable development and green economy elements'.⁵⁶ Both infrastructure and sustainable development projects play an important part in peacebuilding and PCRD processes. Kornegay points to the 'critical food-energy-environmental security nexus at the heart of global development' in discussing the 'challenge of stabilisation'.⁵⁷ Thus,

not yet clear how the NDB would function or in which countries, other than the BRICS members, it would contribute to peacebuilding and PCRD activities. The NDB is geared to fund projects within the BRICS countries initially, and later in other low or middle-income countries.⁵⁹

NDB: challenges and opportunities

The NDB is to be established with a contingent reserve arrangement of US\$100 billion.⁶⁰ South Africa will contribute US\$5 billion towards the US\$100 billion, while China will contribute US\$41 billion and India, Russia and Brazil will contribute US\$18 billion each.⁶¹ South Africa had hoped to host the NDB, but after the BRICS Summit in Fortaleza, Brazil it was decided that the NDB would be based in Shanghai, China. BRICS

points to ineffective management of the inequalities among BRICS members. There is also an understandable concern that since China contributed the bulk of the bank's reserves, the other BRICS members may have less influence in decisions on how it will be used.

BRICS has called for the reform of global financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, but how does it guarantee that it will ensure 'more equitable development and inclusive global growth'? Many questions remain regarding the NDB: What criteria will it use to approve loans? How does the NDB conceptualise peacebuilding and PCRD activities? Will it focus

not guarantee that it will be willing or able to overshadow the activities of the IBSA Fund. Instead, each of them may be able to create its own niche, as mentioned above.

The way forward for South Africa's PCRD activities

If South Africa wants to advance its peacebuilding and PCRD activities through the NDB, it has to consider which countries it will be able to target. Through the IBSA Fund, South Africa has targeted non-IBSA countries and carried out successful projects, but some are arguing that the NDB should only fund projects in BRICS countries.⁶⁷ Despite

Could the NDB adopt IBSA's method of administrating its fund, and would BRICS even consider it?

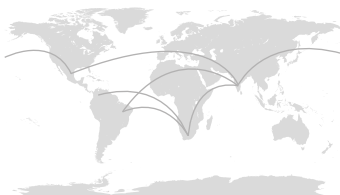
on environmental issues? Will the dominance of the Chinese economy affect power dynamics within the bank?

Some of IBSA's success can be attributed to a certain amount of synergy among member states on how to coordinate development cooperation. As mentioned previously, the formation of IBSA is sometimes viewed as the formalisation of a naturally existing relationship. The same kind of synergy is thus not necessarily replicable among BRICS members. Could the NDB adopt IBSA's method of administrating its fund, and would BRICS even consider it? Will there still be space for the IBSA Fund, seeing how much bigger the NDB will be? Considering that the IBSA Fund has been one of IBSA's major success stories, and how much the NDB overshadows the IBSA Fund, this may appear to be a setback for IBSA. However, IBSA has been a more low-key organisation by choice, and has also been known to choose riskier development activities. The fact that the NDB will have more funding does

the fact that, after the 6th BRICS Summit, it appears as though other countries will be able to apply to the NDB for funding after the initial funding of projects in BRICS countries, the way forward is still not clear. South Africa may have to rely on SADPA and other triangular cooperation initiatives if it cannot use SADPA to apply to the NDB for funding for its projects on the continent.

All considered, even though the IBSA Fund is very small compared to the proposed NDB, for now it is more feasible for South Africa to conduct its peacebuilding and PCRD activities through the IBSA Fund. The eventual possibility of using the NDB should not be discounted, but it still has to establish its identity. Given the potential of the NDB, and keeping in mind South Africa's foreign policy priorities, South Africa has the opportunity to clarify what it needs from the NDB in order to address Africa's development needs. Within the NDB South Africa's influence and PCRD activities may either be constrained or, simply because of the size of the

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT ENVIRONMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT EMERGING ISSUES



These include changing population dynamics, changing North-South political economy relations and instability in the global food and financial markets

Chinese economy, see a certain amount of dictation. However, South Africa's Minister of International Relations and Cooperation has stated that BRICS members will have an equal say in the decisions of the NDB, regardless of their financial contributions to the bank.⁶⁸ If this is the case, South Africa could use its position within BRICS to negotiate for more assistance for African development.

It also may not be a case of South Africa's being better off advancing its development cooperation through either IBSA or BRICS, because the future of neither of these organisations can be predicted. Multilateral organisations evolve, and while at times they may weaken or undergo transformations, this does not mean that a long-term vision should be taken out of the equation. South Africa should consider not only its

to South Africa's PCRD activities specifically? According to ISS research carried out in 2013, South Africa successfully intervened in Burundi when peacemaking and peacekeeping were necessary, but left before PCRD activities started, essentially clearing the way for other donors to move in.⁷⁰

ISS research in the DRC in the same year showed similar results – South Africa contributed admirably to UN peace missions in the DRC, however its PCRD activities were initiated but not seen through to the end.⁷¹ Better coherence, strategic planning and sustainability were called for to increase the impact of South Africa's post-conflict development and peacebuilding experiences.⁷² In moving forward with SADPA, the agency that is meant to provide the necessary strategic planning and coherence, it is

2012 UN Conference on Sustainable Development, UN members adopted the 'Future we want' document, catalysing the post-2015 development agenda.⁷⁴ Although conflict in certain parts of Africa seems to be increasing and the need for peacebuilding and PCRD activities would thus appear to remain consistent, there are two reasons why South Africa (as well as the IBSA Fund and the NDB) should consider rethinking their development cooperation criteria and interests.

Firstly, considering how organisations like IBSA and BRICS and countries like South Africa wish to change the global governance architecture, development context and the way the global economy is run, they also have to consider how this will affect the way in which they carry out their peacebuilding and PCRD activities. Secondly, the UN report entitled 'A regional perspective on the post-2015 development agenda' pointed out that, in designing the post-2015 development agenda, it is necessary to keep in mind that this development will take place in an environment that differs greatly from when the MDGs were first designed.⁷⁵

Some of the differences that characterise the post-2015 environment are that there is less global goodwill than in the late 1990s, and that the new development environment must take into account emerging issues such as changing population dynamics, changing 'North-South political economy relations', 'instability in the global food and financial markets', and an increased demand for 'social justice, rights and freedoms'.⁷⁶

The growing concern about inequality in and between countries and about 'conflict and security' was also highlighted. The issues of inequality, and conflict and security, are of particular concern to South Africa as it moves forward with SADPA, the NDB and the IBSA Fund. South African society is characterised by extreme levels of

Maintaining coherence, strategic planning and sustainability will probably be vital in ensuring success while working with IBSA or BRICS

past achievements and engagements with these organisations, but also its role in IBSA or BRICS in the next 10 or 20 years. Lechini and Giaccaglia argue that South Africa's incorporation into IBSA and BRICS has much to do with its liberation from apartheid and how quickly it assumed the representation of the African continent. They argue that through IBSA, South Africa can advance the African agenda, which is a key component of its foreign policy. With BRICS, however, they warned that the members' 'competitive and individual approach to Africa' could be construed as a 'predatory replication of the historical links the continent had with Europe'.⁶⁹

It is clear the IBSA and BRICS both have certain advantages and disadvantages for South Africa in terms of development cooperation, but how will this apply

important that South Africa also aligns its vision with the AU PCRD definition, before it starts involving IBSA or BRICS. This is necessary as South Africa has to perform a delicate balancing act in terms of African perceptions of the country – it needs to contribute to PCRD on the continent without being seen as a hegemon. Considering South Africa's experience in peacekeeping and PCRD activities, maintaining coherence, strategic planning and sustainability will probably be vital in ensuring success while working with IBSA or BRICS.

The outcome of the My World survey, in which over 1,4 million people worldwide have voted thus far on which six development issues have the most impact on their lives, will also be of great use in determining which issues need to be addressed through BRICS, IBSA or SADPA.⁷³ At the June

inequality, while many other African countries tend to view South Africa as a land of milk and honey. With the ambitious move of launching SADPA and its involvement in the NDB, it will be critical that South Africa manages perceptions domestically, as the government's actions may appear counter-intuitive to many South Africans when the country's levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality are taken into account. The same can be said of the concern over conflict and security.

While South Africa has the expertise and the duty to assist other African countries when it comes to peacemaking and peacekeeping, these actions have to be

cooperation and PCRD activities, and while this paper advocates IBSA, it will be up to South Africa how it chooses to play its role and use its considerable soft power within these groupings.

Conclusion

Neither IBSA nor BRICS is without future challenges, but if South Africa really wishes to move forward with SADPA, and if it wants to avoid perpetuating an over-reliance on the OECD-DAC, IBSA and BRICS still offer important opportunities.⁷⁷ Since the IBSA Fund is already established, it must not be discounted as a way for SADPA to move forward with its trilateral initiatives.

However South Africa chooses to advance its PCRD activities, it has to manage domestic perceptions at the same time

Recommendations

- SADPA must ensure that its PCRD vision is aligned with that of the AU, and it must promote this vision through multilateral groupings such as IBSA and BRICS
- South Africa could push to use the IBSA Fund as a model for future peacebuilding and PCRD processes
- South Africa could utilise its experiences with the IBSA Fund to make use of multilateral cooperation on a bigger scale, with IBSA acting in the place of the emerging country
- It is necessary to establish a strong vision and dialogue for engagement with the NDB, including determining which countries are eligible for funding and how to engage in terms of PCRD
- SADPA should consider how it can capitalise on South Africa's engagements with multilateral arrangements to promote African development

justified. However South Africa chooses to advance its PCRD activities, it has to manage domestic perceptions at the same time. South Africa should not be so eager to advance its image as an effective global development player that it misses or refuses opportunities to advance its own development, even if this happens through more traditional types of development cooperation. This is especially important in the health and education sectors.

SADPA has already recognised the need to keep better account of South Africa's outgoing development cooperation, especially the fact that working monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems still have to be established. The IBSA Fund could also benefit from keeping clearer accounts, being more transparent, and having more accessible M&E information. With the advent of SADPA, this could be a service South Africa could offer the IBSA Fund. South Africa has more than one avenue through which to pursue its development

However, the same possibility exists with the NDB, where there will be much more funding for more ambitious projects, but this possibility hinges entirely on how the bank will function and the criteria it will use for loans and projects, none of which has been established.

South Africa has learned valuable lessons from its previous development cooperation and PCRD activities. Ultimately, however, the success of South Africa's future development cooperation will only be assured if it adheres to the three key elements of strategic planning: sustainability, coherence, and a renewed and visible commitment to its initial post-apartheid foreign policy principles. South Africa's commitment to its foreign policy principles, cognisant of lessons learned during its previous PCRD activities, will greatly improve its chances for success in future activities.

Notes

- 1 Peacebuilding and PCRD are interrelated concepts, both still the subject of debate and both still evolving. In 1992, the United Nations (UN) defined peacebuilding as 'action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict'. In 2007 the definition became 'a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.' See UN Peacebuilding Fund, What is peacebuilding?, www.unpbf.org/application-guidelines/what-is-peacebuilding/, (accessed 21 May 2014). Curtis identifies three frameworks of peacebuilding, namely liberal peacebuilding, peacebuilding as stabilisation and peacebuilding as social justice, and notes that these different understandings of peacebuilding are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but that institutions such as the UN and the African Union (AU) 'used the language of all three'. See Devon Curtis, Introduction: the contested politics of peacebuilding, in Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi Dzinesa (eds), *Peacebuilding, power and politics in Africa*, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012, 9–15. The AU developed its policy on PCRD in 2006. This policy is aimed at consolidating peace, promoting sustainable development, growth and regeneration in countries emerging from conflict. See African Union (AU), Policy on post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD), www.peaceau.org/uploads/pcrd-policy-framwovork-eng.pdf, (accessed 21 May 2014).
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Acknowledgements

This paper was made possible with support from the Department for International Development (DFID). The ISS is grateful for support from the following members of the ISS Partnership Forum: the governments of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the USA.

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