

President Thabo Mbeki and President Hu Jintao during the first ever Summit Meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC) which took place in Beijing, China on 4-5 November 2006

#### **DEAR COLLEAGUES,**

elcome to the November *DFA Now*. This is the last issue for 2006 and sincere thanks to the colleagues here at Head Office and at Missions for the unwavering support in making the *DFA Now* a sustainable success since its re-launch in May 2006. Please continue assisting us in the New Year.

The *DFA Now* wishes to take this opportunity to say well-done to our Director-General (DG), Dr Ayanda Ntsaluba for having achieved an A in the Mail & Guardian assessment of all government's DGs. Sir, on behalf of all the staff of the Department of Foreign Affairs know that this is an achievement of note and we are all proud of you. Keep up the good work!

For all colleagues who will be driving to the various holiday destinations this December please be cautious on the road and 'arrive alive'. The Minister and the Department need you still in the New Year to propel the country to even greater heights in the building and sustenance of international relations. Enjoy the festive season!

As stated in the past the DFA Now needs and value your views/opinions. Please continue to forward your letters and articles to the Editor before the deadline.

Hoping that you will enjoy reading this issue!

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The views expressed in this newsletter do not neccessarily reflect those of the DFA or the editors. The deadline for contributions is 19 January 2007. Contributions may be sent to cbe300 or mokhetheap@foreign.gov.za

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## **REACTIONS TO SA ELECTION TO UN SECURITY COUNCIL**

## SA TO SHAKE-UP THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL: MANDELA (SABC NEWS ONLINE, 20061019)

Nelson Mandela, the former president, says he is confident that South Africa will add weight to the deliberations and actions of the Security Council and the entire United Nation (UN). Mandela's congratulated the government for what he calls their 'sterling work' that led to the recognition of the country. South Africa was elected on Monday night to serve on the council in a non-permanent capacity for two years. Mandela says reform of the UN and particularly the Security Council remains high on the agenda on the international agenda. Earlier this week, F W de Klerk, a former president, also congratulated South Africa and the foreign ministry.

## BRITAIN LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH SA ON SECURITY COUNCIL (SAPA, 20061017)

Britain, one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, said on Tuesday it was looking forward to working with South Africa on the council. Congratulating South Africa on its election to the council on Monday, Britain's High Commissioner to South Africa, Paul Boateng, said the election to the two-year nonpermanent seat on the council was "well-deserved" in light of the country's efforts to bring peace to Africa. "As a permanent member, the UK looks forward to working with South Africa on the challenges facing the Security Council; and on reform of the United Nations," Boateng said. South Africa takes up its two-year seat on the Security Council in January after it was elected to it with 186 votes out of 192 UN member states. South Africa would be one of 10 non-permanent members joining permanent members Britain, United States, China, France and Russia to make up the 15member Security Council. The SA Communist Party also welcomed the election, saying it hoped the opportunity would be used to push a progressive agenda. "We are confident that our country will consistently act as a champion of the collective wishes of the developing world, and consistently argue for a UN that prioritises the interests of the overwhelming majority of the global population, which remains poor and exploited," a statement from the party read.

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# How the DG's were graded (Mail &Guardian online, 20061020)

The overriding theme of our first Directors-General report card is that it is a hard job to do. Why? Most Directors-General are new; many have been in office for less than a year. The only Director-General who has spent more than one term in office is Frank Chikane, the Head of the Presidency.



Director-General of Department of Foreign Affairs Dr Ayanda Ntsaluba Grade: A

#### What the scores mean

A: Take a bow. You are doing an excellent job. B: Good, but room for improvement. C: You're okay, but that's all we can say for you. D: Get your act together. E: Do yourself and the country a favour -- resign. F: You're fired.

HESE SHORT TERMS are a problem because each new director general takes at least two years to settle in. The instinct of new bosses is to reinvent the wheel so there is still a lot of re-engineering, strategising and formulating, when the demand for delivery, growth and job creation are paramount.

Ideally, we should be moving to a system of greater stability in the top ranks of the civil service. But a Director-General's job is so demanding that burnout is acute and where they get it right, these men and women are ripe for the picking by the private sector where companies have much deeper pockets.

Some Directors-General made self-assessments that were higher than our team's final score. This is understandable. We measure by outcome; individuals will measure by input. Is it really fair to grade those who have been in their jobs for less than a year? Often, they are cleaning up and clearing out before implementing. You decide.

And what of departments like transport where the success of the taxi recapitalisation rests on the cooperation of the taxi "industry", if one can call it that? Part of the art of governing is negotiation and buy-in for policies, but often bargaining partners are so disorganised and blinded by vested

interest that progress is impossible.

#### THE DG'S ASSESSMENT

South Africa is playing a complicated and risky foreign affairs game. On the one hand we have deep and long-standing ties with the Western powers, who are also our major trading partners. On the other, we have a policy of expanded South-South cooperation and a leadership role in the Non-Aligned Movement, which sometimes entails taking positions that conflict sharply with those of the West, for example on Iran's nuclear programme.

On the one hand South Africa wants to punch above its weight in international affairs, and insist on the importance of the multilateral, rule-based system; on the other we seem willing to engage with states like Belarus, even North Korea, which show little respect for that system, and cosy up to an increasingly authoritarian Russia.

So, Ayanda Ntsaluba must manage a department that is pulled in numerous directions. He must also mediate between thinly stretched officials, a ministry that is widely seen as a letter-carrying agency for the Presidency, and a foreign diplomatic corps that finds his department very frustrating to deal with. When South Africa takes up its non-permanent United Nations Security Council seat next year that task will only become more difficult.

Despite the complexities, however, he can cite some fairly major achievements in the growing success of the India-Brazil-South Africa relationship, new security cooperation arrangements with foreign powers, and crucially, that Security Council seat. Sometimes it is difficult to know where the Presidency ends and the Foreign Affairs Department begins, but few dispute that Ntsaluba is an able administrator. And, unlike his bosses, he is very good at communicating with the media.

There are things he needs to do better, however. One is to communicate with the diplomatic corps, many of whom are openly critical of the department's perceived inefficiency. Another is to manage better South Africa's crucial foreign missions.

# Is our 'Rainbow Nation' pursuing the end of the rainbow in the DRC?

## REFLECTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S SUPPORT IN THE DRC SECOND ROUND OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

## SOUTH AFRICA AND 1ST ROUND OF DRC ELECTIONS: A BIRD'S EYE VIEW

OUTH AFRICA IS PROUD to have played a significant role in organising the successful 30 July 2006 elections. These were indeed landmark elections. They were the first democratic elections in that country in over forty years. Close to 25 million out of the targeted 28 million eligible voters, registered for these elections. In total, close to 270 parties registered for the elections. There were 33 presidential candidates, 9 632 candidates for the 500-seat national assembly, and 49 600 voting stations.

In May 2006 South Africa signed an Agreement with the United Na-Development Programme (UNDP), which paved way for South Africa to print and deliver ballot papers to the DRC. A total of about 2000 tons of ballot papers was delivered to the DRC in 78 flights undertaken by the RSA Air Force. The Observer Mission, led by Deputy Minister of Defence Mluleki George and South Africa's largest Observer mission ever dispatched, was deployed to the DRC from 19 July to 04 August 2006. The Mission observed the three phases of the election including pre-election campaigns, the election day, as well as the counting process. The main contingent of the Observer Mission safely returned to South Africa on 04 August 2006, while a skeleton staff of 14 remained in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi until 15 August to observe the counting process.

The DRC election with a six-page ballot paper for the national assembly elections, was the most complex and most challenging in the history of the UN. The UN Mission in the DRC, MONUC, is the organisation's largest mission with over 17000 personnel deployed to secure these elections. The EU also deployed 1500-member force

## **Overview**

The 30 July 2006 Presidential and General elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were indeed landmark elections. These were historic elections not only in the sense that they were the first democratic elections in the history of that country in over forty years, since that country got independence on 30 June 1960, but also because they led to a Presidential run-off on 29 October 2006. The run-off was engendered by the fact that none of the two presidential candidates - incumbent President Kabila and Vice- President Bemba – got the requisite 51% of the votes, as stipulated by the 2006 Constitution, to form a government. Once again, South Africa, in support of these elections, sent a 105-member South African Observer Mission (the SAOM), to observe these watershed elections. The South African IEC also sent 78 IT experts and logisticians, to support the DRC IEC in the 62 designated centres. This was over and above the comprehensive support the South African Government had offered to the DRC Transitional government in preparation for the 1st round and in propping up fragile governance institutions in that country since August 2004. This paper, therefore, seeks to contextualise South Africa's continued support in organising the DRC elections.

(EUFOR), to support the UN. South Africa, as a pre-eminent member of the international community, also played a critical role in preparation for these elections. The South African Government in this cause has been supported by its citizens, who took part in the

observer mission when the call was made, as well as by the private sector. In this regard, three companies - Netcare, Anglogold Ashanti and Rand Water – made generous donations to the RSA Observer Mission in the DRC elections.



The Congolese turned up in their big numbers to vote in the recent elections.

#### THE OUTCOME

The earnest endeavours made by South Africa in co-operation with the members of international community in support of the transition in the DRC were not in vain. The SAOM, in releasing its final report, indicated that the DRC elections were a success, albeit there were few logistical problems experienced in some of the polling stations on the Election Day. These isolated incidents, however, did not affect the overall results. These views were also corroborated by other international observer missions in the DRC elections, to which South Africa dispatched the largest number of election observers since 1994.

The DRC elections were hotly contested on regional and ethnic basis. The outcome was that no candidate got the required majority of 51%, as required by the new constitution, to form a government. The incumbent President Kabila got 44 per cent, while his main contender Vice President Bemba got 20 per cent. This outcome of the result brought about much anxiety that culminated in the fighting that broke out between their guards from 20-22 August 2006, killing around 23 people.

A major achievement to chalk-up, though, was the launch of the new 500-

member national assembly on Friday 22 September 2006. This body replaced the transitional parliament formed in accordance with the 2002 Sun City Agreement, which laid foundation for the outgoing transitional government in the DRC. This is regarded as a major landmark as this is the first democratically elected parliament in the DRC for over 40 years. The installation of the new parliament was indeed a major step towards the conclusion of the tenure of the transitional government, led by President Kabila and four vice-presidents, including Bemba.

The outcome of the Presidential elections, however, brought about clarion calls for the Presidential run-off on October 29 2006, to coincide with the Provincial elections. Such calls were made amidst the glaring reality that there were inadequate resources to run another election in a vast country almost the size of Western Europe, with poor transport infrastructure.

## THE INTERLUDE: AN OVERVIEW OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE SECOND ROUND

In terms of the May 2006 Agreement with the UNDP, South Africa, within her limited resources, continued

to render electoral support for the DRC Presidential second round as well as provincial elections.

Firstly, South Africa through the IEC and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) designed, printed and transported the presidential and provincial ballots. This process was completed on 29 September 2006, five days ahead of schedule. The SANDF executed this operation with remarkable exactitude. According to the schedule, the ballots had to be delivered to 14 hubs in the DRC by 02 October 2006 to ensure further distribution by the DRC IEC and MONUC to over 50,000 voting stations before the 29 October election.

Secondly, South Africa also sent a 105-member SAOM to observe the 29 October 2006 presidential run-off. The Mission, once more led by Deputy Minister of Defence Mluleki George, deployed in all eleven provinces from 22 October to 2 November 2006. In addition, an advance team of observers was deployed as early as 11 October 2006 ahead of the start of election campaign. The main contingent of the SAOM was successfully retrieved on 02 November 2006, while the remain-

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ing skeleton staff of ten also returned home, safe and healthy, on Friday 10 November 2006.

Thirdly, to prevent the recurrence of the August clashes, South Africa has been very much instrumental in encouraging a dialogue between the two leaders, to ensure a climate conducive to holding of elections and acceptance of the outcome of the election results. Thus far, these attempts including visits to the DRC by President Mbeki in mid-September 2006 and subsequent high-level government delegations seem to have come to fruition as both leaders signed the code of conduct prior to the elections and also pledged to accept the outcome of the elections.

South Africa's electoral support for the DRC 2006 elections was rendered within the context of economic development, as well as the promotion of peace and stability in especially the African continent and the world over. This view was felicitously stated by Deputy Minister Sue Van Der Merwe, in the briefing session of the SAOM members in July 2006, when she averred:

As we go into the DRC to support the Congolese with their elections, we do so in the firm belief that our future is inextricably linked to the future of the African continent and that of our neighbours in Southern Africa. The success of the DRC elections will inspire more hope for the people of our continent and give further momentum to what President Mbeki termed as a "confluence of encouraging possibilities."

The foregoing quotation nicely captures the essence of South Africa's involvement in the DRC 2006 elections from the first round right through to the second round. Patrice Lumumba, the first democratically elected prime minister of Congo and the father of the modern DRC clairvoyantly anticipated this comradely help from fellow Africans and indeed the peoples of the world. As if he had a premonition of death, this great son of Africa, in his last letter to his wife, before his brutal assassination in 1960, had this to say on the passionate subject of the Congolese liberation:

We are not alone, Africa, Asia, and the free and freed peoples all over the world will always stand beside those millions of Congolese who will not give up the struggle until the day when no colonizers and no mercenaries are left on our soil. I would like my children, whom I am leaving and may perhaps never see again, to be told that the Congo has a great future, and that it is up to them as to every other Congolese, to carry out the sacred task of rebuilding our independence and our sovereignty, for where there is no dignity, there is no freedom, and where there is no justice there is no dignity, and where there is no independence there are no free men.

Currently, four decades after, there is much reason for this sanguine view. On 29 October 2006, the Congolese turned up in their big numbers to vote, in what was a relatively peaceful election. On 31 October 2006, the SAOM released an interim statement in which it concluded that the DRC's presidential and provincial elections were democratic, peaceful, credible and transparent. The Mission was of the view that space was created for the people of the DRC to freely choose their leaders. The outstanding challenge facing the political leaders is to ensure that reconstruction of that country takes place for the betterment of the lives of all Congolese.

# PERORATION: IS SOUTH AFRICA CHASING A CHIMERA IN THE DRC?

South Africa's relentless involvement has been a major victory for our fledging Foreign Policy since 1994.

For one, our engagement in the DRC has laid a firm foundation for the at times elusive concept of people to people diplomacy, especially among Africans within the wider continent.

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Yet in the case of the DRC, fellow South Africans, perhaps informed by a sense of patriotism, pan-Africanism and fortitude, turned up in their large numbers, to form part of the two observer Missions. These South Africans also showed a clear determination and unwavering support towards the government's cause of ensuring that South Africa's mission in the DRC becomes a resounding success. Individual members of the RSA Observer Missions remained unfazed amidst conspicuous health and security risks posed to them by their involvement in these Observer Missions.

Secondly, South Africa's involvement in the DRC has most recently exemplified that Africans can be in the forefront of bringing about "African solutions to African problems", to use a common term within the academic parlance in African International Relations. The DRC election has been the most costly and complex election in the history of the UN. For South Africa to have designed, printed and delivered such ballots is a major achievement not usually attributed to a developing country. For South Africa, one of the emerging clarion and heeded voices in international fora on behalf of the developing world, a successful DRC election remains an inalienable achievement. This is particularly true in the aftermath of the phenomenon of an "Afro-fatique" that came to the fore when the Developed countries became reluctant to commit human and financial resources towards the resolution of conflicts in Africa, especially after the debacles in Rwanda and Somalia in the 1990s.

Thirdly, South Africa has thus boosted her profile within the African continent and other international fora. It, inter alia, is as a result of South Africa's constructive engagement in the DRC and other conflict areas in the Continent that South Africa has been awarded the much coveted United Nations Security Council (UNSC) nonpermanent seat from January 2007 to December 2008. South Africa, as the champion for the promotion of human rights and democracy, will do well to use its tenure in the UNSC to ensure that the DRC and indeed the Great Lakes Region continue to be one of

the priority items in the UNSC agenda. There is a continued and acute need for this proaction in respect of the DRC where over 300 000 people have died in combat, close to four million others have died as a result of indirect consequences of war, currently averaging 1000 a day. Many more have been displaced internally inside the DRC and externally in the neighbouring states as refugees. This humanitarian situation is compounded by the presence of militia groups in the Eastern DRC from the neighbouring states, including the Hutu-dominated Rwandan FDLR and the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), who still maim and kill civilians, loot food and plunder the DRC's natural resources.

In conclusion, while qualified benefits of our involvement in the DRC have been stated above, costs cannot be immediately quantified. Enormous resources have been committed and sacrifices – individual and collective- have been made towards the realisation of the DRC cause. Freedom, as our troubled history and similar experiences elsewhere have taught us, invariably comes at an exorbitant price. In the same letter, cited above, the late Lumumba had this to say on the subject:

No brutality, no agony, no torture has ever driven me to beg for mercy, for I would rather die with my head high, my faith unshaken, and a profound trust in the destiny of -my country, than live in subjection seeing principles that are sacred to be laughed to scorn. History will have it one day - not the history they teach in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations. but the history taught in the countries set free from colonialism and its puppet rulers, Africa will write her own history, and both north and south of the Sahara. It will be a history of glory and dignity.

South Africa, with its turbulent history, remains proud to have been part of history-making in the DRC. For this reason, the South African government will remain willing to share experiences with the Congolese counterparts as they carve their post-election settlement. The die is cast and all must play.





# The Nuclear Disarmament Debate Part 3 (Final)

## DISARMAMENT, NON-PROLIFERATION AND ARMS CONTROL (DNPAC) OVERVIEW OF SA'S DNPAC POLICY

The following are the 13 Practical Steps for Nuclear Disarmament agreed to at the 2000 NPTRC:

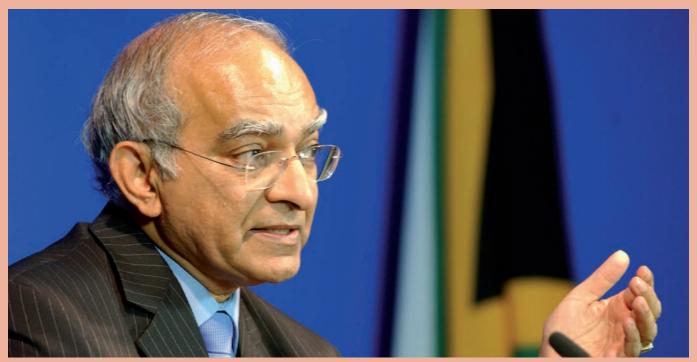
- 1. The importance and urgency of signatures and ratification's, without delay and without conditions and in accordance with constitutional processes, to achieve the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear- Test-Ban Treaty.
- **2.** A moratorium on nuclear-weapon-test explosions or any other nuclear explosions pending entry into force of that Treaty.
- 3. The necessity of negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices in accordance with the statement of the Special Co-ordinator in 1995 and the mandate contained therein, taking into consideration both nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation objectives. The

Conference on Disarmament is urged to agree on a programme of work, which includes the immediate commencement of negotiations on such a treaty with a view to their conclusion within five years.

- **4.** The necessity of establishing in the Conference on Disarmament an appropriate subsidiary body with a mandate to deal with nuclear disarmament. The Conference on Disarmament is urged to agree on a programme of work, which includes the immediate establishment of such a body.
- **5.** The principle of irreversibility to apply to nuclear disarmament, nuclear and other related arms control and reduction measures.
- **6.** An unequivocal undertaking by the nuclear weapon States to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals leading to nuclear disarmament, to which all States parties are committed under article VI.
- 7. The early entry into force and full implementation of START II and the conclusion of START III as soon as possible while preserving and strengthening the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems as a cornerstone

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Mr AS Minty, Ambassador and Special Representative for Disarmament and Nepad, during a press briefing on Nuclear Disarmament.

of strategic stability and as a basis for further reductions of strategic offensive weapons, in accordance with its provisions

- **8.** The completion and implementation of the Trilateral Initiative between the United States of America, the Russian Federation and the International Atomic Energy Agency.
- **9.** Steps by all the nuclear-weapon States leading to nuclear disarmament in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all:

Further efforts by the nuclear-weapon States to reduce their nuclear arsenals unilaterally;

Increased transparency by the nuclear weapon States with regard to the nuclear weapons capabilities and the implementation of agreements pursuant to article VI and as a voluntary confidence-building measure to support further progress on nuclear disarmament;

The further reduction of non-strategic nuclear weapons, based on unilateral initiatives and as an integral part of the nuclear arms reduction and disarmament process;

Concrete agreed measures to further reduce the operational status of nuclear weapons systems;

 A diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies to minimise the risk that these weapons will ever be used and to facilitate the process of their total elimination;

The engagement as soon as appropriate of all the nuclear weapons States in the process leading to the total elimination of their nuclear weapons.

- **10.** Arrangements by all nuclear-weapon States to place, as soon as practicable, fissile material designated by each of them as no longer required for military purposes under IAEA or other relevant international verification and arrangements for the disposition of such material for peaceful purposes, to ensure that such material remains permanently outside military programmes.
- **11.** Reaffirmation that the ultimate objective of the efforts of States in the disarmament processes is general and complete disarmament under effective international control.
- 12. Regular reports, within the framework of the strengthened review process for the Non-Proliferation Treaty, by all States parties on the implementation of article VI and paragraph 4 (c) of the 1995 Decision on "Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament", and recalling the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 8 July 1996.
- **13.** The further development of the verification capabilities that will be required to provide assurance of compliance with nuclear disarmament

agreements for the achievement and maintenance of a nuclear-weapon-free world.

The adoption of the 13 practical steps for nuclear disarmament, as well as the nuclear disarmament proposals in the SSOD I Programme of Action have presented the international community with ideal measures to enhance nuclear disarmament leading to a total ban on nuclear weapons. These measures would create a conducive environment for the achievement of a total elimination of existing nuclear weapons and their further development.

Inspite of all these initiatives the international community is increasingly concerned that NWS are not doing enough on nuclear disarmament because there is limited, if not minimal progress and that in some areas there is in fact a reversal in agreements previously reached. This state of affairs is attributable to a number of factors examined in the following segment of this piece.

## ISSUES IN THE NUCLEAR DISAR-MAMENT DEBATE

It was a widely held view that the end of the Cold War would improve the prospects of international peace and security through meaningful progress on nuclear disarmament. The nuclear weapons states (NWS) did not rise to this opportunity nor did they beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

## (1) RETENTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Any presumption of the indefinite possession of nuclear weapons by the NWS is incompatible with the integrity and sustainability of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and with the broader goal of the maintenance of international peace and security. Continuous and irreversible progress in nuclear disarmament and other related nuclear arms control measures remains fundamental to the promotion of nuclear non-proliferation.

The continued possession of nuclear weapons, or the retention of the nuclear weapons option by some States, by definition, increases the risk of these weapons falling into the hands of terrorists. Compliance with nuclear disarmament instruments cannot be fulfilled as long as these approaches guide new security policies and doctrines. The complete elimination of nuclear weapons and the assurance that they will never be produced again therefore remains the only assurance against their use and this should remain our ultimate goal.

## (2) NWS LACK OF POLITICAL WILL

The lack of political will is a serious impediment to nuclear disarmament that manifests itself in many different ways. NWS continue to reject any and all proposed language within the multilateral fora calling on them to implement their nuclear disarmament obligations. In general NWS have systematically and determinedly opposed all attempts to be involved in a substantive engagement on nuclear disarmament in the NPT preparatory process, the First Committee and the Conference on Disarmament. South Africa believes that if we are truly committed to multilateralism and the objectives of the Treaty it would be unfortunate to approach the Review Conference with an attitude of "business as usual". States Parties must have the necessary political will to advance nuclear disarmament by implementing commitments and undertakings previously made. To demonstrate their seriousness it is vital for the NWS to implement agreed to practical steps for nuclear disarmament.

## (3) NEGOTIATION IN BAD FAITH

It is a cause of great concern that one of the emerging impediments to meaningful nuclear disarmament is the tendency to reinterpret, negate or withdraw from the obligations, commitments and undertakings that we agreed to during previous conferences.

While it may meet an immediate national interest to reinterpret, negate or withdraw from the obligations, commitments and undertakings previously made, it should be borne in mind that the reciprocal consequences of any such successful attempt lays the logical foundation for other States Parties to perhaps also reinterpret, negate or withdraw from the obligations, commitments and undertakings made. South Africa believes that this trend will also result in selectivity, avoidance or even minimisation of certain aspects of the Treaty and yet its vitality and effectiveness lies in its comprehensive implementation.

Anegation of any aspect of the agreements reached under the NPT umbrella undermines the veracity of the other agreements that may be considered by all, or some, as being of greater and/or more substantive importance. If we fail to ensure that agreements reached are implemented and fulfilled, the danger exists that the Treaty will continue to be undermined.

The challenge lies in safeguarding against this tendency in order to reinforce the bargains made in some treaties and to build on the commitments and undertakings that have already been agreed to so as to achieve irreversible nuclear disarmament.

# (4) DEVIATION FROM THE BASICS OF MULTILATERALISM

The recent rising tendency towards unilateralism and the reliance on power and might does not auger well for multilateralism which has been effective in the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as nuclear disarmament.

Treaty bodies and the UN system are a credible multilateral framework to enhance nuclear disarmament and like in any other multilateral fora. States Parties should take into consideration the interests and concerns of others. In the event that these are not compatible with those of other role players, States Parties should offer credible alternatives that will advance our common objective - nuclear disarmament. The give and take basics of multilateralism should inform our approaches in this regard since multilateral solutions are sustainable and have the potential of advancing in earnest international peace and security.

## (5) DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The development of new types of nuclear weapons or rationalisations for their use contradicts the spirit of nuclear disarmament treaties such as the NPT in particular. This also goes against the agreements in the negotiation of nuclear disarmament treaties and the emphasis that should be placed on a diminishing role for nuclear weapons in security policies. The modernisation of nuclear weapons raises concerns that nuclear testing might be resumed, which would impact negatively on international peace and security. It is for these reasons that it is imperative to uphold and maintain the moratorium on nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosions, pending the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

## (6) DISARMAMENT VERSUS NON-PROLIFERATION

There is a widely held view that progress in the DNPAC multilateral system now largely depends on the emphasis placed between nuclear disarmament and nuclear non- proliferation and yet these are mutually reinforcing processes. Nuclear disarmament and nuclear non- proliferation are inextricably linked and intertwined and progress on both sides is instrumental in our quest for a world free of nuclear weapons.

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We must avoid approaches that entrench restrictive emphasis on preferred aspects of the Treaty to the detriment of others and precipitate unnecessary arguments on which aspects outweigh the other. It is a cause of concern that major role-players such as G8 countries are determined to pursue this line of thinking. This was illustrated in their Summit decision taken recently in St Petersburg stating that "The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery, together with international terrorism remain the preeminent threat to international peace and security. The international community must therefore boldly confront this challenge, and act decisively to tackle this threat."

The most effective way of dealing with nuclear non- proliferation is the actual elimination of nuclear arsenals because you cannot proliferate what you do not have. This is of utmost importance now than ever before as the risk that these weapons might land in the hands of terrorists is real and increasing.

In as much as there is a need to further entrench the non-proliferation due to genuine proliferation concerns, it is disheartening that at the core of this concern appears to be attempts to curtail the inalienable right of States Parties to verifiably utilise nuclear science for peaceful purposes. It would be unfair to place more restrictions on NNWS access to nuclear science without genuine movement towards nuclear disarmament.

#### (7) SECURITY ASSURANCES

Security assurances are constraints in the use of nuclear weapons. They are an embodiment of guarantees offered by the NWS not to use nuclear weapons against NNWS. The issue of adequate security assurances (SA) was first raised specifically in connection with the negotiations of NPT. In order to provide a counterbalance to the undertaking of the non-nuclear weapon States not to acquire nuclear weapons as embodied in the Non- proliferation Treaty, three nuclear-weapon States - the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States - agreed to provide certain security assurances to these countries through a Security Council resolution.

Security Council resolution 255 (1968) recognised that aggression with nuclear weapons, or the threat thereof, against a non-nuclear-weapon State party to the Treaty would call for immediate action by the Council and, above all, by its NWS permanent members. The Council also welcomed the intention expressed by certain states to assist any NNWS party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty that was a victim of an act or threat of nuclear aggression and reaffirmed the right to collective self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

However, a number of NNWS while welcoming the "positive" assurance provided for by the 1986 SC resolution, expressed preference for "negative" assurance, i.e. a commitment by nuclear-weapon States that they would not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear weapon state. All five nuclear-weapon States have provided unilateral negative security assurances, although those assurances reflect the different security perceptions of the nuclear-weapon States.

The question of negative security has been actively considered in the CD as far back as in 1979. There are no fundamental objections in the CD to the idea of an international convention SA although the difficulties are in developing a "common formula" on the substance of security assurances, which would be acceptable to all states. This in turn has led to further agreements on what is the most appropriate forum for discussing SA. The CD continues to be the major disarmament forum actively seized with the question of SA.

## (8) FISSILE MATERIAL CUT-OFF TREATY (FMCT)

Without fissile material (highly enriched uranium and separated plutonium) it is impossible to build a nuclear weapon. With fissile material, the building of nuclear weapons is only a problem of limited engineering difficulty.

With the conclusion of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treat (CTBT), the next major nuclear disarmament treaty which it had been agreed should be negotiated by the CD was a convention banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. A fissile material

cut-off treaty is most probably one of the most important preconditions for nuclear disarmament.

A FMCT with the necessary verification regime will be essential to provide the necessary security that entities are unable to build nuclear weapons. Whereas the CTBT prevents the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons, a cut-off treaty will prevent the increase in the number of nuclear weapons.

The CD has been unable to make any progress on this issue because some major NAM members have linked the question of Cut-Off Treaty with negotiations for nuclear disarmament. This is to say there should be no negotiation of the Cut-Off Treaty unless there are concurrent negotiations of nuclear disarmament in a time-bound framework.

The USA proposal of a precondition not to include verification is yet another factor that has recently contributed to the deadlock in the CD on negotiations for a FMCT.

The other vexing issue that is responsible for the CD deadlock on FMCT negotiations have to do with how to deal fissile material stocks. In this connection there are those that argue for the inclusion in the negotiations of all existing stocks while others are of the view to only consider future a certain fixed (cut – off) period.

## CONCLUSION

Following the detonation in 1945 of atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear disarmament has occupied a prominent place in peoples thinking. It has since become a principal goal in the maintenance of international peace and security even though it continues not to be among the notable achievements of mankind. It is the most talked of and yet the least practised in the post Second World War collective security arrangement.

The onus to embark on nuclear disarmament in earnest continues to depend on NWS as the predominant possessors of nuclear weapons and pacesetters in this arena. Their lack of political will has unfortunately laid the fertile ground from which the ensuing deadlock in the multilateral forum for nuclear disarmament prospers. The only guarantee to a world free of nuclear weapons is their total elimination.

## Reactions to SA election to UN Security Council

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## **DE KLERK CONGRATULATES SA ON UN SECURITY**

COUNCIL SEAT (SAPA, 20061018) Former president FW de Klerk congratulated South Africa and the foreign ministry for being elected to the United Nations Security Council. In a statement on Wednesday, De Klerk said the overwhelming vote that South Africa received in the UN's general assembly was an indication of the esteem in which the country was held in the international community. "I would like to congratulate Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and all those who were involved in helping to secure the seat." He said much of the esteem had its roots in the balanced and constructive role South Africa played in many areas of global relations "and particularly with regard to our exemplary contribution to peace in Africa". "I hope that our country's election to the Security Council will be the precursor to our appointment before too long to a permanent seat in an expanded Security Council," he said. South Africa was elected on Monday night to serve on the council in a non-permanent capacity for

## SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: CHURCHES APPLAUD SOUTH AFRICA'S SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT

(JOHANNESBURG 18 October)

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) welcomed South Africa's election to the United Nations Security Council and urged the South African government to use its mandate to promote economic justice, peace and good stewardship of the environment. "It is appropriate that news of South Africa's near-unanimous election to the Security Council reached most South Africans on 17 October, the day designated by the United Nations as the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty," said Mr. Eddie Makue, SACC General Secretary. "As churches, we hope that South Africa and her colleagues on the Security Council can work together for a world where all nations will use the bounty of God's creation responsibly so that all may enjoy life in abundance." Mr. Makue said that it was particularly important for the Security Council to nurture a climate conducive to fair trade practices that favour developing nations and enable them to grow and diversify their economies. "The scale of support for South Africa's appointment is gratifying but not surprising," Mr. Makue continued. "South Africa's democratic transition and record of respect for human rights since 1994 is widely seen as a model for peaceful conflict resolution and development. South Africa is able to speak with a unique moral authority on questions of justice and reconciliation. We therefore have a particular duty to help the global community to resist aggression and to resolve conflicts peacefully and fairly." The Council applauded the South African government for its peacemaking role on the African continent and its vision as an architect of the African Union. "It will be important for South Africa to keep Africa's needs and interests before the eyes of the world and to prevent Africa from being pushed to the periphery of global attention." Makue observed. The General Secretary cited the environment as another key priority for South Africa during its Security Council tenure. "The world is already paying the price for decades of environmental pillage, particularly by rich and powerful nations," Mr. Makue warned. "Climate change is gathering a momentum that may be unstoppable if we do not take collective action to protect the integrity of God's creation. The exhaustion of fundamental resources - such as clean water - and the rapid privatisation of remaining supplies and delivery infrastructure are likely to intensify struggles for access to and control of these resources in future. Unless we devise responsible mechanisms to regulate use and share these resources equitably, we are heading for terrible consequences." South Africa was elected to one of the Security Council's non-permanent seats on Monday with the support of 186 of the United Nations' 192 members. It will begin its two-year term on 1 January.

For more information contact: Mr. Eddie Makue, 082 853 8781

#### **CIVIL SOCIETY APPLAUDS SA'S SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT (SABC**

NEWS, October 18, 2006, 13:45)

The country's major civil society groups have applauded South Africa's future participation in the United Nations Security Council. South Africa takes up its two-year seat on the Security Council in January after it was elected to it with 186 votes out of 192 UN member states. It will be one of 10 non-permanent members joining permanent members Britain, the United States, China, France and Russia to make up the 15-member Security Council. The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has called on the South African government to use the opportunity to strengthen the movement of progressive countries who are fighting to end war, stop the abuse of human rights and a fair world trade regime. Meanwhile, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) has welcomed the development and has urged the South African

government to use its mandate to promote economic justice, peace and good stewardship of the environment

## SACP WELCOMES THE ELECTION OF SOUTH AFRICA AS NON-PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UN SECURITY **COUNCIL** (SAPA, 20061017)

The South African Communist Party (SACP) joins our movement, the entire country, and indeed the whole world, in celebrating the election of the Republic of South Africa as a non permanent member of the UN Security Council for the next two years. The SACP welcomes South Africa's joining of the UN Security Council, and this is fitting recognition of the role that South Africa has played internationally since our democratic breakthrough of 1994. We are confident that our government will use this platform to pursue the objectives of the creation of a just, peaceful and equitable world order, free of poverty, war and diseases. We are confident that our country will consistently act as a champion of the collective wishes of the developing world, and consistently argue for a UN that prioritises the interests of the overwhelming majority of the global population, which remains poor and exploited. We shall, in the coming period, engage our government, our allies, and progressive forces in our continent to ensure that indeed the collective force of these progressive force is felt in the UN.

Issued by: SACP

## ANC WOMEN'SLEAGUE **REACTION** (SABC NEWS ONLINE,

20061019) Meanwhile, the ANC's Women's League says the honour is a prestigious one. The league's praised Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the foreign minister, as well as President Thabo Mbeki for their work in the country and on the world stage.

## **ANC-CAUCUS STATEMENT ON SA'S ELECTION TO UNSC** (17 October 2006)

The ANC Parliamentary Caucus welcomes the election yesterday of South African into the Security Council of the United Nations during the global association's General Assembly in New York. The election into the most powerful organ of the UN will catalyse South Africa into playing an even more greater role in the international community and help in the transformation of the global body. Indeed the involvement of developing countries in the global multilateral system is critical in placing high on the world development agenda issues affecting the poor countries. We share our government's conviction that the multilateral system of global governance remains the only solution to current challenges facing humanity, in particular, the need to eradicate poverty and under-development. Caucus is deeply humbled by the confidence African governments and the world community have demonstrated in our country's capability to represent the interest of the African people in the Council.

Issued by the ANC Parliamentary Caucus

## **Drum beat of change (DFA EE and Culture survey) ...**















