South-South Cooperation: Mapping New Frontiers

It's a unique moment in world history, marked by a tectonic shift of economic power from the North to the South, and from West to the rest.

Resurgence of South & SSC

The ongoing renaissance of the Global South, home to three-fourth of the humanity, is justly being celebrated, and has become the subject of intense academic discourse, commentaries and media attention. The resurgence of the South has also opened up new avenues for remapping the global economic order and the development landscape, putting the spotlight firmly on the burgeoning South-South cooperation among kindred countries of the South bound by ties of history, culture and decolonization and animated by a soaring vision of an inclusive world order.

I ideological solidarity apart, what has imparted an added traction and resonance to South-South Cooperation is a marked increase in intra-South trade, investment and developmental cooperation. The 2008 global economic slowdown, by default, proved to be a trigger for enhanced SSC due to shrinking of resource and developmental aid/OID flow from developed countries of the North, propelling emerging economies of the southern countries to step up mutual sharing of funds, knowledge and expertise. The increased South-South cooperation, however, needs a reality check, and has to factor into account the declining growth rates in major BRICS emerging economies, except India.

The emergence of the South as the hub of economic vibrancy, enterprise and can-do spirit is not a feel-good rhetorical construct, but is attested by empirical evidence. The 2013 United Nations Development Programme Report which is entitled “The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World,” fittingly encapsulates this steady ascent of the South. “For the first time in 150 years the combined output of the developing world’s three leading economies – Brazil, China and India – is about equal to the combined GDP of the longstanding industrial powers of the North – that is Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the UK and the US, which is six of the G7,” said the report. It’s not just economic growth alone, but developing countries have also been performing better on critical human development indices like education, health and infrastructure. The adoption of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the UN underlined the global intent to “end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all” within a specified timeframe.

Upsurge in SSC

This overall renaissance of the South has coincided with the relative slowdown in large parts of the developed world, resulting in a marked decline of ODA by North countries. This shifting global situation is leading to a reconfiguration of global development architecture, necessitating enhanced SSC in areas which are pivotal to continued economic flowering of the South. The areas of development include financing and partnership, peace and security, environment, people-centered development, and science, technology and innovation (STI).

New Development Architecture: Southern Consensus

Against this backdrop, the South began looking beyond the North-South Cooperation (NSC) and Triangular Development Cooperation (TDC), which had traditionally been fuelled by the Official Development Assistance (ODA) for development cooperation. Refreshingly, the Southern consensus on development cooperation is emerging, which is marked by an equal partnership among sharing countries, unlike the donor-recipient or patron-client relationship that characterised aid giving by OECD. Unlike the Washington/World Bank-IMF consensus, the Southern paradigm is distinguished by development cooperation which is free of external conditionalities and is not based on imposition, but on the requests and priorities of recipient countries. The SSC is underpinned by ‘Development Compact’, which works at five different levels: trade and investment, technology, skill upgradation, lines of credit and grants. The increase in engagement of emerging economies with other countries of the South entails accelerated cooperation across all these areas.

In this context, it should be emphasised that the evolving Southern consensus is not a monolithic construct, but is marked by a plurality of approach vis-à-vis developmental cooperation within the broad ambit of core ideas of solidarity that bind SSC. Over the last few years, South-South Cooperation (SSC) has, therefore, emerged as a sustainable parallel mechanism to support empowerment of developing countries and the global quest for improved quality of life across the world.

The recent upsurge in SSC has coincided with a declining Country Programmable Aid (CPA) of Official Development Assistance (ODA) by 7 per cent in real terms in 2014 from an estimated USD 105.3 billion from an estimated USD 111.56 billion in the year 2013. The share of ODA flows to LDCs has been decreasing in recent years, while allocations increased to upper middle-income countries. ODA to the African continent decreased by 5.6 per cent in 2013. ODA to landlocked developing countries (LLDCs) has stagnated for four consecutive years since 2009. ODA to Small Island developing States (SIDS) fell steeply between 2010 and 2012.

All these features point towards the growing need for SSC to occupy more commanding heights in global developmental paradigm. SSC has been estimated at between $16.1 billion and $19 billion in 2011. The share of SSC in total development cooperation increased from 6.7 per cent in 2006 to 10 per cent in 2011 — below its peak of 11 per cent in 2008.

The SSC is widely seen to have contributed meaningfully to qualitative transformative changes that have taken place due to the rise in development partnership – that focused primarily on capacity building and experience sharing to begin with – and now increasingly encompass infrastructure and institution building. The overall increase in the quantum of development cooperation within the SSC framework has birthed new institutions of the global South like the BRICS-led New Development Bank and the emergence of pluri-lateral groupings like IBSA. Post-Busan, the prominent and unquestionable role of SSC in global development architecture has acquired a visible profile.
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Indian model of SSC

The ethos that underpin SSC can be encapsulated in the ancient Indian ideal of "daamam" (giving) and "dharma" (duty), which has been reflected in India's model of developmental cooperation, which is based on sharing of resources for mutual gain and empowerment. Trade, Training and Technology Transfer, which frame India's expanding developmental cooperation with the African continent, is also applicable to the larger Indian approach to SSC. The three principles that animate India's approach to SSC can be summarised as 1) an equal partnership with a fellow developing country 2) the determination of priorities by the recipient/development partner 3) the selection of projects and the methods of implementation through consultation and mutual consensus. Highlighting the essence of SSC and India's approach, Ms. Sujatha Mehta, Secretary (West) in India's Ministry of External Affairs, has aptly said that "South-South cooperation is the concrete reflection of a very important idea that developing countries can provide support and assistance to each other in the journey towards development. "This is significant because what we share with each other as part of South-South Cooperation is a symbol of solidarity with each other. It is voluntary and it is something that we undertake in spite of not being rich ourselves. So, in other words this is something which is reflective of a camaraderie and a spirit of solidarity of sharing which is of great significance in international relations."

Recasting Global Governance

The SSC is also inextricably intertwined with the ongoing quest for fashioning an inclusive and democratic world order, with a greater say for developing countries in key institutions of global governance. "As members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, we are committed especially to the promotion of South-South cooperation and the strengthening of the voice of the poor and disadvantaged in the ordering of world affairs," said visionary and iconic leader Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa. In India, Jawaharlal Nehru underlined the interconnectedness of Asia and Africa and the larger global South. "It is up to Asia to help Africa to the best of our ability because we are sister continents. We are determined not to be dominated by any country or continent. We are determined to bring happiness and prosperity to our people and to discard age-old shackles that have tied us, not only politically but also economically to the shackles of colonialism," he said.

People-to-People Connect

Looking ahead, SCC is set to expand its compass by harnessing energies of the private sector and enlisted proactive participation of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), academia, think tanks and intellectuals. Enhanced people-to-people contacts among southern countries through travel, tourism, education and cultural exchanges are also set to provide South-South Cooperation the much-needed popular resonance.

The Way Ahead: SSC Conference

The two-day conference on South-South Cooperation in New Delhi (March 10-11) will hopefully generate a plurality of views and perspectives on bolstering SSC and investing it with greater strategic and economic depth and content. The conference, supported by Ministry of External Affairs, is also expected to enunciate and flesh out India's narrative on development agenda and the nature, scope and modalities of South-South Cooperation.

Network of South-South Think Tanks (NeST): Crafting a new narrative

In a pioneering move to shape the unfolding narrative of South-South Cooperation, leading think tanks from Southern countries have decided to forge a coalition that will entail focused research, knowledge production and exchange of perspectives.

One World: Beyond North and South

Cutting across the North and the South, the interconnectedness of the world is becoming increasingly visible and important in view of a host of cross-cutting threats and challenges, ranging from terrorism, piracy and pandemics to climate change, inequality and sustainable development. In this globalised world of the 21st century, one can't afford to indulge in artificial adversarial constructions, but think in terms of a holistic, organic view of humanity by promoting human-centred development, as opposed to brute mercantilism and predatory capitalism. Moving beyond categories of Us and Them, the ideal of 'One World' has acquired a new resonance. The notion of One World harks back to the ancient Vedic ideal of 'vasudhaiva kutumbakam' (world is one family) and similar articulations of the oneness of humanity in all major religions and cultures. This organic idea of One World has informed India's vision of SSC and development cooperation, which is based on the premise that poverty anywhere in the world is a challenge to global peace. Shared prosperity, and the elimination of socio-economic asymmetries across the world, is therefore critical to global peace and stability. In contemporary times, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi has eloquently articulated a vision of 'equator-less' world to confront common challenges in the spirit of solidarity. The notion of 'one world', reflecting the principle of internationalism and hope for a world free from systemic ills and deficiencies, has figured prominently in India's foreign policy.

The South-South Cooperation reflects this spirit of One-World-ism in so far while it promotes enhanced cooperation among southern countries, it also encompasses North-South cooperation in its holistic worldview. The guiding principles of SSC have been premised on the commitment to the promotion of human freedom, opposition to colonialism and creation of equitable conditions for peaceful and harmonious socio-economic development of all countries. This explains how through various international platforms, almost all developing countries have taken a position that national development across the South must not only be an outcome of the efforts of respective national governments but also the just treatment of the South at the hands of the global community in general. This imposes major responsibilities on the nations to ensure that their economic processes are guided by ethical principles and directed towards desirable ends by political will.
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This pithy booklet highlights varied strands of the evolving and dynamic South-South cooperation through views of iconic leaders, well-known scholars, diplomats and officials. It’s an invitation to think afresh about SSC and generate new ideas to sustain the ongoing resurgence of the South and South-South cooperation, underpinned by ideals of equity, inclusion and one world.
Sharing is symbol of South-South solidarity

Sujata Mehta. Secretary (West), Ministry of External Affairs, India

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In my view, the conference on South-South cooperation being hosted and arranged by the RIS in New Delhi is an important occasion because it will enable scholars, institutions and others interested in this subject to discuss and analyse and understand the implications of South-South cooperation for our current activities in this process and also try to understand how this should be recalibrated for the time ahead. The modality and the instrumentality of South-South cooperation continues to be an important and vital one. However, we need to reconfigure the manner in which we understand it and the manner in which we approach it, so as to maintain its continuing relevance in the time ahead.

Q. Is there a South way of doing things? Is there a South world view? Is there a South way of conducting international relations?

A. There is a Southern way; that is why this conference is being held to try and get people to understand that there is an alternative narrative. There is an alternative way of approaching issues of development cooperation which is based on norms which are somewhat different from the OECD norms. This is not to say that there is no opportunity for us to be able to work together with the north, to deliver development cooperation to southern countries. For example, India itself sometimes works together with other aid agencies for capacity building, like training exercises are held in India, but they are partly financed by some of the western donor countries. We sometimes work with the UN. For example, with the FAO we work together to deliver sometimes food supplies to other countries. So, there are ways in which we are also willing to cooperate with the north. So, it is not this is rejected. But, also what we want to point out is that, if we are now trying to evolve a new international consensus on development cooperation which is much more in keeping with what is a more diffused political order, a democratic political order. If we want to have development cooperation which is geared to achieving what we have set out for ourselves in the sustainable development goals, then this cooperation and the manner in which it is undertaken in spite of not being rich ourselves. So, in other words, this is something which is reflective of camaraderie and a spirit of solidarity and sharing which is of great significance in international relations.

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Evolving narrative of South-South cooperation

Sachin Chaturvedi
Director-General, RIS

Prime Minister was saying, that the North and the South should come together for tackling and addressing global challenges. So, from that point of view, the idea of global citizenship, one world, equator-less world, these are some of the propositions which we are going to explore across different sessions. We have also tried to create a corner for young scholars from the south. So besides several established scholars, there is a young crowd which also wants to be heard. So, we had received a huge response to our call for papers and we have invited almost all the young scholars who showed interest, inclination and of course have tried to link up with private universities like Symbiosis University, Sharda University, Ashoka University, JNU and Delhi University. So there is a huge young crowd which is now taking interest in international relations which was never case before. So, taking advantage of that interest and inclination, we have roped them in young scholars to support some of this work.

Q. In the matrix of South-South cooperation, where do you see major progress in the days ahead? Which are the priority areas?

A. The priority areas are broadly three. Number one is in terms of evolving the very narrative on South-South Cooperation; for that the associated issues are the theoretical framework and the methodological sort of issues. The second addition is in terms of how the private sector looks at it in terms of the investment priorities, in terms of their corporate social responsibility in the countries, partner countries where they are engaged. Thirdly, in terms of India’s initial set of contributions in terms of idea of one world, trying to think of equator-less, as India’s Prime Minister was saying, that the North and the South should come together for tackling and addressing global challenges. So, from that point of view, the idea of global citizenship, one world, equator-less world, these are some of the propositions which we are going to explore across different sessions. We have also tried to create a corner for young scholars from the south. So besides several established scholars, there is a young crowd which also wants to be heard. So, we had received a huge response to our call for papers and we have invited almost all the young scholars who showed interest, inclination and of course have tried to link up with private universities like Symbiosis University, Sharda University, Ashoka University, JNU and Delhi University. So there is a huge young crowd which is now taking interest in international relations which was never case before. So, taking advantage of that interest and inclination, we have roped them in young scholars to support some of this work.

Q. In this evolving world order, with the South acquiring greater economic weight, how do you look at South-South cooperation in the twenty first century landscape?

A. First of all, let me make the point as far as India is concerned that South-South cooperation is not a new concept. In fact, right since India’s independence, the kind of philosophy that Pandit Nehru put forward was that even if India’s own resources are very modest, it has an international responsibility to share those modest resources with other sister developing countries and that is the reason why we had, in very early years, fairly significant development cooperation programme with some of our neighbouring countries, with some of the African countries and that tradition has continued. What has happened in recent years is that because India is now one of the emerging economies, it has more resources than it had before. It has more technical capabilities than it has had before. There is a greater scope for engaging in development cooperation with other developing countries and that is why not only for India but some of the other emerging economies like China, for example, or Brazil or even South Africa, you see a greater salience of development cooperation emerging from these countries.

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Preserve political solidarity

Deepak Nayyar
Emeritus Professor of Economics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

How do you look at the growing importance of South-South cooperation amid an evolving global order?

The world has changed at a pace that would have been difficult to imagine 25 years ago. The share of developing countries (Asia excluding Japan, Africa and Latin America including the Caribbean) in world GDP, in current prices at market exchange rates, has more than doubled from 18 percent in 1990 to 38 percent in 2014. This transformation alone has enhanced the significance of, and the potential for, South-South cooperation.

What, do you think, are key challenges for South-South Cooperation?

The challenge is to nurture economic cooperation and preserve political solidarity among countries despite differences in levels of development and growing income divergences in the South.

India can help build a sharable vision

Thomas Pogge
Leitner Professor of Philosophy and International Affairs, Yale University

How do you look at the growing importance of South-South cooperation amid an evolving global order?

The greatest promise of SSC is that it allows the Southern countries to exert much more influence on the still evolving ground rules of the global institutional order. Together, they can strengthen the international rule of law, advance the justice of supranational rules and practices toward more democracy and poverty avoidance, reduce the importance of the capacity for massive violence in international affairs, and promote the solution of common problems (global warming, drug resistance, pollution, resource depletion, etc.).

What, do you think, are key challenges for South-South Cooperation?

The key challenge is to maintain harmony on a basis of equality and mutual respect. The North will try to divide the South, play off one country against another, bribe, deceive, manipulate, threaten and coerce. And the most powerful Southern states will be tempted to become hegemons within the South, coercing, humiliating and exploiting the smaller countries in their region. The South must stand united in resisting these corrosive forces.

South-South trade holds the key

Nagesh Kumar
Head, South and South-West Asia Office, UN-ESCAP, New Delhi

South-South Cooperation has assumed a new criticality in the current context of a rather subdued and uncertain economic outlook of the key engines of the world economy namely the advanced economies. The future growth of developing countries has to be increasingly propelled by South-South trade and investments—within and between the regions. Emergence of South-South trade as the most dynamic and substantial component of global trade over the past decade shows that it is a viable development strategy. Over time developing countries have accumulated substantial development experiences, capacities and other resources that can be valuable for other developing countries as they struggle for development. Going forward developing countries could pool their resources to develop low carbon growth paths to address the challenge of sustainable development.

Focus on capacity building

Yaduvendra Mathur
Chairman and Managing Director, Exim Bank

How do you look at the growing importance of South-South Cooperation (SSC) amid an evolving global order?

The emergence of the dynamic South and the spectacular growth of South-South trade and investment, presents an important window of opportunity to progress beyond the quest for natural resources and for new markets. As Governments across the world experience structural disruptions, the political component of SSC should at no time be ignored, since one of its main objectives is to reform the international order and the global economic system, while simultaneously engaging in creating a robust and stable political environment.

It must not replicate the Northern paradigm of power politics but rather must anticipate and promote the different, juster world order that we must achieve in this century if humanity is to survive and prosper for the millennium.

What's the way ahead for South-South cooperation? Can you identify three-four areas which will witness a major forward movement in South-South Cooperation?

Progress is by no means automatic, and the current economic disruptions could even lead to major steps backward. This is why we need enlightened political leaders and an informed and vigilant citizenry to preserve the gains of the last years and to continue progress under adverse conditions. The emergence of India as a globally significant leader in the South can greatly contribute to continued progress, given India’s amazing culture of tolerance and non-violence. India can play a very special role in helping to build a sharable vision of a world order based on reason and on respect and love for all human beings in their wonderful diversity.
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South-South trade holds the key

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The greatest promise of SSC is that it allows the Southern countries to exert much more influence on the still evolving ground rules of the global institutional order. Together, they can strengthen the international rule of law, advance the justice of supranational rules and practices toward more democracy and poverty avoidance, reduce the importance of the capacity for massive violence in international affairs, and promote the solution of common problems (global warming, drug resistance, pollution, resource depletion, etc.).

What, do you think, are key challenges for South-South Cooperation?

The key challenge is to maintain harmony on a basis of equality and mutual respect. The North will try to divide the South, play off one country against another, bribe, deceive, manipulate, threaten and coerce. And the most powerful Southern states will be tempted to become hegemons within the South, coercing, humiliating and exploiting the smaller countries in their region. The South must stand united in resisting these corrosive forces.
The southern countries should increasingly devise mechanisms to help each other to build up their capacity to promote development. This could include training personnel/purchase of equipment not produced in the home country/and facilitating technology transfer.

Q) What are key challenges facing South-South Cooperation?
   i. Weak institutional mechanisms and governance structure in some of the LDCs
   ii. Reducing tariff barriers amongst the southern countries to enable greater trade flow amongst themselves.
   iii. Reducing creation of multiple forums; focusing on building the existing structures towards common benefits.
   iv. Unwillingness of developed countries to acknowledge the importance of the Developing South and ignoring their plea to reform the multilateral institutions.

Q) What's your assessment of the growing importance of South-South Cooperation?
   The growing importance of South-South Cooperation comes in the wake of the relative fall in momentum occasioned by the 'end of history' assessment and postulations on the global order following the collapse of the Soviet Union and with it, socialism and communication as an attractive way forward for developing countries. The non-realisation of the hopes and aspirations of the post-cold war era in terms of de-ideologisation of the world, the deepening of democracy and the promotion of rapid economic development including the emergence of new threats such as terrorism and climate change impelled a reassessment of the prospects South-South Cooperation and international collaboration. This has necessitated closer socio-economic collaboration within the Global South. Going forward, South-South partnerships in particular will be most useful for industrialization, linked to the goals of inclusive growth and sustainable development. The disparity in levels of development between various segments of the Global South such as Asia, Africa South of the Sahara and other Least Developed Countries require collaborative partnership with the entire spectrum of South-South Cooperation and international collaboration. This has necessitated closer socio-economic collaboration within the Global South.

Q) What's the way ahead for South-South cooperation? Can you identify three-four areas which will witness a major forward movement in South-South Cooperation?
   i. Golden opportunities provided by the commencement of the SDGs and the Paris Climate Agreement (17 SDGs and 119 targets, in Southern partnerships) and Agenda 2063:
   ii. South-South Cooperation can enhance African capacities for initiatives such as Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) (internal resource mobilization) as means of financial sustainability of national and regional programs and projects, thereby addressing gaps in financing for development;
   iii. South – South Cooperation could support macro-economic institutions including those in extractive industry through exchanges of knowledge, information and lessons learnt;
   iv. South – South Cooperation can contribute to defuse illicit financial flows aimed at increasing the resources available for development;
   v. Intra-regional trade among African countries on the one hand and to increase the continent's trade with other members of the Global South on the other, thereby increasing Africa's share of global trade;
   vi. More countries in the South need to graduate to the league of emerging economies and beyond; they should forge strategic alliances like IBSA, BRICS (to an extent since Russia is not Southern), D8, MINTS, with greater intra continental outreach on AU initiatives like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its African Peer Review Mechanism, (APRM), for global interface;
   vii. Implementation of the Busan Outcome on Effective Development Cooperation which replaced the Paris and ACCRA in 2011;
   viii. A proper appreciation and articulation of the interest of the South and agenda setting by themselves in the evolving global development cooperation rather than the dictat of the North.

(Ambassador Sola Enikanolaiye
Acting High Commissioner/Charge d’affaires, Nigeria

Industrialisation and growth top priorities

Q) What's the way ahead for South-South cooperation? Can you identify three-four areas which will witness a major forward movement in South-South Cooperation?
   i. Industrialisation and growth top priorities
   ii. The advances in technology for value-addition and manufacturing in Asia via-a-vis Africa's aspirations (AU Agenda 2063) and the global context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs/2030 Agenda for Development. This paradigm shift is further demonstrated by the phenomenal increase in intra-continental partnership mechanisms and vehicles such as Africa-India, FOCAC, Africa-South America Forum, TICAD, etc.
   iii. Another important factor is that SSC will help countries of the South to address challenges of HIV/AIDS, Malaria, Tuberculosis etc between Africa and Asian countries. So while North-South development cooperation will seek to complement national resources, South South Cooperation with help in a triangular relationship, to boost national development and the attainment of the SDGs.

Q) What do you think are the key challenges for South-South Cooperation?
   The main challenges of South-South Cooperation include the following:
   i. Weak institutional mechanisms and governance structure in some of the LDCs
   ii. Inadequacy of development finance for cross-country programmes and projects within the South to achieve and support the development objectives at national and regional levels which North-South Cooperation have not substantially addressed;
   iii. Paucity of resources for investment in human security such as health, education, skills, research and development of direct benefits to the Global South;
   iv. Need for greater understanding of the conceptual inter-connections between 3 themes, namely, South-South Cooperation, Financing for Development and Capacity Development. The essence of this appreciation is for the new South-South Cooperation to bequeath greater technical capacity to growing continents like Africa;
   v. Lack of effective follow up by the Global South on the outcome of the 2015 Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) on Financing for Development;
   vi. Achieving the requisite development impact given the high level of pervasive poverty, underdevelopment and social exclusion in many Southern countries;
   vii. Paucity of resources for investment in human security such as health, education, skills, research and development of direct benefits to the Global South;
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Q) What are the key challenges facing South-South Cooperation?

i. Weak institutional mechanisms and governance structure in some of the LDCs
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iii. Reducing creation of multiple forums; focusing on building the existing structures towards common benefits.
iv. Unwillingness of developed countries to acknowledge the importance of the Developing South and ignoring their plea to reform the multilateral institutions.

Q) What’s the way ahead for South-South cooperation? Can you identify three-four areas which will witness a major forward movement in South-South Cooperation?

A) SSC require continuous nurturing through coherent policies, coordinated not only among developing countries but also with developed and transition economies in a South – South context. This paradigm shift is further demonstrated by the phenomenal increase in intra-continental and international collaboration. This has necessitated closer socio-economic collaboration within the Global South. Going forward, South-South partnerships in particular will be most useful for industrialization, linked to the goals of inclusive growth and sustainable development. The disparity in levels of development between various segments of the Global South such as Asia, Africa South of the Sahara and other Least Developed Countries require collaborative partnership with the entire spectrum of South-South Cooperation and international collaboration. This has necessitated closer socio-economic collaboration within the Global South.

Going forward, South-South partnerships in particular will be most useful for industrialization, linked to the goals of inclusive growth and sustainable development. The disparity in levels of development between various segments of the Global South such as Asia, Africa South of the Sahara and other Least Developed Countries require collaborative partnership with the entire spectrum of South-South Cooperation.

Q) What do you think are the key challenges for South-South Cooperation?

The main challenges of South-South Cooperation include the following:

i. Effective coordination and pooling of South-South and triangular cooperation as well as international partnerships for the implementation of the SDGs.
ii. Inadequacy of development finance for cross-country programmes and projects within the South to achieve and support the development objectives at national and regional levels which North-South Cooperation have not substantially addressed.
iii. Paucity of weak institutions and structures of governance and for internal resource mobilization for development.
iv. Emergence of new peace and security threats such as terrorism and climate change.

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viii. Need for greater understanding of the conceptual inter-connections between 3 themes, namely, South-South Cooperation, Financing for Development and Capacity Development. The essence of this appreciation is for a view of South-South Cooperation as bringing greater technical capacity to growing continents like Africa;
ix. Building a Southern led process to promote understanding on internationally agreed principles to guide the universal delivery of South-South Cooperation and Triangular partnerships. This is to say that the principles and ideals of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and ACCRA Agenda for Action (Triple - AAA) are not fully acceptable to some major members of the Global South;

x. Reluctance of advanced countries to accept fundamental reforms of the global governance such as the UN Security Council and financial architecture such as the Bretton Woods institutions;

ix. Building a Southern led process to promote understanding on internationally agreed principles to guide the universal delivery of South-South Cooperation and Triangular partnerships. This is to say that the principles and ideals of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and ACCRA Agenda for Action (Triple - AAA) are not fully acceptable to some major members of the Global South;

3. What’s the way ahead for South-South cooperation? Can you identify three-four areas which will witness a major forward movement in South-South Cooperation?

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(The interviews have been organised by Manish Chand, Editor-in-Chief, India Writes Network, www.indiawrites.org, an e-magazine and journal focused on international affairs)