

SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY, 1990-2010: SECURING A NICHE ROLE THROUGH NORM CONSTRUCTION AND STATE IDENTITY

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree D Phil (International Relations) at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Jo-Anxiekvan Wh

Jo-Ansie Karina van Wyk 30 January 2013



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Strabo, a Greek geographer and philosopher, maintained that geography is destiny (quoted in Dawson 2005: 362). This holds true for me. I grew up approximately 60 km west of Vaalputs, South Africa's National Radioactive Waste Disposal Facility. I became aware of its existence much later in life and this awareness gradually resulted in an academic interest in environmental, hydro- and space politics and more specifically an interest in the influence of nuclear science on international relations and diplomacy.

My academic interest in nuclear politics and nuclear diplomacy was cultivated in 1995 when I was awarded the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's (FCO) New South African Security Policy Fellowship which allowed me to spend time at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. There I attended the lectures of Dr Martin Navias on nuclear strategy which left me in awe of the power of the "ghost inside the atom".¹

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¹ This phrase is taken from South African anthropologist and singer-songwriter, Johnny Clegg's lyric "I call your name" which appeared on Johnny Clegg and Savuka's 1988 album *Shadow Man*.



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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

⁹⁹Mo Molybdenum-99

AAM Anti-Apartheid Movement

ABMT Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty

AEB Atomic Energy Board of South Africa

AEC Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa

AFCONE African Commission on Nuclear Energy

AFRA African Regional Cooperation Agreement for Research, Development,

and Training Related to Nuclear Science and Technology

AG Australia Group

ANC African National Congress

ANWFZ African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone

ARMSCOR Armaments Development and Production Corporation of South Africa

AU African Union

AUPSC African Union Peace and Security Council

AWB Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
BIOT British Indian Ocean Territory

BTWC Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention

CANE Coalition Against Nuclear Energy

CD Conference on Disarmament

CEO Chief Executive Officer

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States

COP Conference of State Parties

CPF Country Programme Framework

CPPNM Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material

CTBT Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

CTBTO Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organisation

CWC Chemical Weapons Convention

DFA Department of Foreign Affairs (South Africa)

DIRCO Department of International Relations and Cooperation (South Africa)

DME Department of Minerals and Energy (South Africa)

DOE Department of Energy (South Africa)



DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo

DST Department of Science and Technology (South Africa)

€ Euro

EMG Environmental Monitoring Group

EU European Union

FCO Foreign and Commonwealth Office

FMT Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty

FNRBA Forum of Nuclear Regulatory Bodies in Africa

FNWS Former Nuclear Weapons State

G-77 Group of 77

GC General Conference

GCIS Government Communication and Information System (South Africa)

GIF Generation IV International Forum

GNPI Global Nuclear Power Infrastructure

GNU Government of National Unity (South Africa)

HCOC The Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation

HE His Excellency

HEU Highly-Enriched Uranium

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

IBSA India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum

IEC International Enrichment Centre

IGO Inter-Governmental Organisation

INFC International Nuclear Fuel Centre

IR International Relations

IRBM Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile

IRP Integrated Resources Plan

ITDB International Atomic Energy Agency Illicit Traffic Database

LEU Low-Enriched Uranium

LTBT Limited Test Ban Treaty

Mo-99 Molybdenum-99

MP Member of Parliament
MPI Middle Powers Initiative

MTCR Missile Technology Control Regime

MW Megawatt



NAC New Agenda Coalition

NAM Non-Aligned Movement

NECSA Nuclear Energy Corporation of South Africa

NERS Network of Regulators of Countries with Small Nuclear Programmes

NETC Nuclear Energy Technical Committee (South Africa)

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

NNEECC National Nuclear Energy Executive Coordination Committee (South

Africa)

NNR National Nuclear Regulator (South Africa)

NNWS Non-Nuclear Weapons State

NP National Party (South Africa)

NPA National Prosecuting Authority (South Africa)

NPC South African Council for the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass

Destruction

NPT Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

NSG Nuclear Suppliers Group NSS Nuclear Security Summit NTI Nuclear Threat Initiative

NTP Nuclear Technology Products Radioisotopes (Property) Limited

NWS Nuclear Weapons State

NWFZ Nuclear Weapons Free Zone

NWFZT Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty

NUFCOR Nuclear Fuels Corporation of South Africa

OAU Organisation of African Unity

OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OTB Overberg Toetsbaan

P5 Five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council

PAC Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

PBMR Pebble Bed Modular Nuclear Reactor

PIV Physical Inventory Verification

PREPCOM Preparatory Commission of the International Atomic Energy Agency

PREPCOM Preparatory Committee of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of

Nuclear Weapons

PPNN Programme for the Promotion of Nuclear Non-Proliferation



PSI Proliferation Security Initiative

PWR Pressurised Water Reactor

R/ZAR South African Rand

REC Review and Extension Conference

REVCON Review Conference

RSA Republic of South Africa

SADC Southern African Development Community

SAFARI-1 South African Fundamental Atomic Research Installation-1

SANDF South African National Defence Force

SAPS South African Police Service

SIPRI Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

SORT Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty

START Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

TACC Technical Assistance and Cooperation Committee of the IAEA

UAV Unmanned Air Vehicle System

U-235 Uranium 235

UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations

UNGA United Nations General Assembly

UNMOVIC United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission

UNSC United Nations Security Council

UNSCEAR United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

US United States of America

US\$ United States Dollar

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WA Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms

and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies

WANO World Association of Nuclear Operators

WMD Weapon of Mass Destruction

ZC Zangger Committee



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SUMMARY

SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY, 1990-2010: SECURING A NICHE ROLE THROUGH NORM CONSTRUCTION AND STATE IDENTITY

by

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The main thesis of this study is that since 1990 South Africa has conducted its nuclear diplomacy by constructing certain norms and its identity in a particular way to serve its national interests. A constructivist analysis of South Africa's nuclear diplomacy concerning the nuclear non-proliferation export control regimes; the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); the Pelindaba Treaty; and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) suggests that South Africa's application of three typical middle power diplomatic strategies, namely confrontation, cooperation and parallelism have enabled the country to secure a niche role for itself that has provided the country with some material and non-material rewards.

South Africa's membership of some of the major nuclear export control regimes reflects its socialisation of the norms of non-proliferation, disarmament, and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. South Africa has incorporated aspects of this regime in its nuclear export trade policies and national nuclear-related institutions. Despite this, the South African government's efforts were undermined by a series of contentious nuclear proliferation-related incidents, most notably the involvement of South Africans in the AQ Khan network.

South Africa was a founder member of the IAEA in 1957. Despite this early role in norm construction, South Africa's relations with the IAEA deteriorated as international opposition to its apartheid policies escalated. Defying international isolation, the country embarked on a nuclear weapons programme that produced six atomic devices. South Africa returned to its designated seat for Africa on the IAEA Board of Governors in 1995. A vocal opponent of the discriminatory nature of the



IAEA Statute and supporter of all countries' right to the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, South Africa's influence in the Agency expanded. Despite this, the country's candidate for the position of IAEA Director General was not elected.

Africa's position on nuclear non-proliferation originated in the 1960s. Once South Africa's domestic policies became known and suspicions of its nuclear weapons programme grew, the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) turned its focus to condemnation of South Africa. As a result of the political transition in South Africa; its ratification of the NPT; and the IAEA's verification process, South Africa joined Africa to establish the African nuclear weapons free zone in terms of the Pelindaba Treaty. As a result the country was elected to chair and host the AFCONE.

Despite its historical opposition to the NPT, the country ratified the Treaty in 1991 and has constructed its niche role in the NPT regime through its problem-solving and bridge building roles at various NPT conferences.

Therefore, this study concludes that South Africa's post-1990 nuclear diplomacy has maintained a normative foundation; employed various diplomatic strategies; and was conducted in compliance with the set objectives of the country's foreign policy. In this, the analysis of the nuclear diplomacy of a state such as South Africa, which discontinued its nuclear weapons programme, provided insights into nuclear diplomacy in general and the nuclear diplomacy of states similar to the South African situation.