

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



POLICY DISCUSSION DOCUMENT

March 2012

INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of the centenary of the ANC, we are reminded that a salient feature of the ANC is its commitment to the struggle for a humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free world, and a better Africa. The founders of the ANC recognised from the start that the South African liberation struggle was not isolated from the numerous liberation struggles across the continent and the globe. Following the end of the Cold War, we have witnessed a number of changes on the continent and in the international arena. These include unipolar tendencies; the dominance of global multilateral institutions by a few countries; the possible weakening of traditional Western powers with the emergence of new economic powers as well as the continued acceleration of globalisation. These developments vindicate the commitment of the ANC and its international relations to progressive values of global reform.

This discussion document aims to provide the basis for critical reflection and engagement within the movement on the nature of the international environment, the changing balance of forces in the world and how these will impact the continent and South Africa. On the basis of the understanding of the long-held ANC perspective on the international situation, the document discusses the ANC's strategic role in shaping a better world and in continuing to drive the renaissance of Africa as well as the role of party-to-party, continental and international solidarity and specific campaigns to this end.

It moves from the premise that our international relations policy also simultaneously reflects our domestic policy perspective.

HISTORICAL MANDATE OF THE ANC: A PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONALISM

The ANC's international relations have their roots right from the turn of the last century. Before the formation of the South African Native National Congress (later ANC) in 1912, Comrade Pixley ka Seme castigated imperialism and colonialism, called for democracy and a renewal of Africa in public speeches



and publications. No wonder, anti-imperialist forces like the Sandinista in Nicaragua celebrated the ANC's formation in 1912 as a welcome addition to this commitment to replace imperialism with democracy.

It was in this context that in 1927 Cde Josiah Gumede would attend the Anti-Imperialism Conference in Brussels as a delegate of the ANC. The conference demanded the complete overthrow of imperialist and capitalist domination, the protection of freedoms of speech and assembly, and that the right to education be extended to all peoples. The founders of the ANC recognised that the struggle against colonialism in South Africa was tied to the defeat of colonialism in Africa and the rest of the colonised world. Thus, the founders of the ANC joined international progressive forces in the fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Although insurrection was a strategic possibility, the ANC and its leadership was always committed to a revolutionary transformation of society through the power of reason and mass mobilisation. Thus, from the onset, the ANC worked with other progressive forces including trade unions in galvanising mass campaigns in defiance of colonial and apartheid laws as a tool to pursue the liberation struggle. In the process, the ANC also won the support of progressive elements in colonial headquarters that would later assist the struggle in many ways.

It was in this period that the ANC also forged strategic links with the trade union movement in the ANC. The formation of the Industrial Commercial Union was particularly opportune for the ANC. This enabled it to build a united force of the working class worst affected by the policies of colonialism and global capitalism.

In 1941 the ANC mobilised Africans to join the Allied Forces in the war against Hitler as a symbol of racist supremacy in the hope that at the end of the war, the world powers would work earnestly towards a truly free world. The ANC crafted the African Claims document whilst the Allied Forces prepared for a Summit in Malta scheduled for 1943 to detail the expectations of the

colonised people of South Africa and elsewhere. It hoped that the Summit outcomes would reflect these aspirations, but it would not, thus causing the movement to pin its hope on the solidarity of the newly independent states in the struggle for a new world.

Indeed, in 1955 there was the first gathering of forces of the global south, the Non-Aligned Movement's (NAM) conference in Bandung, in which the ANC participated in shaping what would be known as the World Progressive Movement committed to non-alignment in the cold war; non-proliferation of nuclear arms; non-interference in domestic affairs of countries; a peaceful resolution of conflicts; and the right of all nations to determine their own path, form and content of development.

As we know the ANC co-ordinated and facilitated the writing of the Freedom Charter in 1955. Ordinary South Africans, in their appeal for an ideal South Africa, included the idea of a free and co-operative world in the charter. The moral stance of the ANC for basic freedom and equality, especially in the face of racism and bigotry, ensured that progressive people around the globe, even in colonial powers, supported the South African struggle for freedom and democracy.

Throughout the years, the ANC made various representations to the United Nation's (UN), calling for its intervention against apartheid South Africa. It was no accident of history that in 1966, the UN General Assembly resolved that apartheid was a *crime against humanity* and later proceeded to suspend South African government's participation in its proceedings. This laid the basis for countries of the world to isolate South Africa and the intensive internationalisation of the struggle through a campaign of mobilisation of support for our struggle and driving the economic, political, and diplomatic isolation of the apartheid state.

The ANC pushed for a strong international solidarity against apartheid, resulting in the establishment of anti-apartheid movements in all regions of the world. They were mobilised ordinary people, students, the trade union

movements, middle class, faith-based organisations to support the struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. This helped to build a global and non-racial movement against apartheid as a racial chauvinism.

As evidenced by ANC President, Chief Albert Luthuli's Nobel Peace Prize in 1958, the struggle for South African independence became the centre-stage of the international struggle for the liberation of Africa. The ANC would also occupy the centre of the major political discourse on the liberation of Africa during the independence years.

The ANC also co-operated with the broader struggle against colonialism in Africa, recognising that the struggle in South Africa was a part of the broader pan-African struggle for liberation. When the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established the ANC fully participated. It recognised the OAU as a strategic platform to mobilize the continent against the apartheid state and former colonial powers which sought to divide the anti-colonial struggle.

Indeed, the work of the ANC in the OAU, as well as the support of African countries, was a crucial reason for success in the struggle. Many countries in Africa, particularly Southern Africa, paid a heavy price in the destabilisation campaigns of the apartheid state and its allies using brutal military and economic measures to subvert the struggle and the ANC. Frontline states, which provided refuge for ANC. were invaded and destabilised and their economies were blockaged by the apartheid regime.

By the mid-1980s, the movement's international campaigns had gathered so much momentum that the ANC had 20 representative offices in Africa, 14 in Europe, and 4 each in North America and Asia. The movement had international diplomatic presence in more countries than the apartheid government. As a movement with such an extensive presence on the international scene, the ANC was able to protect the struggle from its enemies in the international system.

BALANCE OF FORCES

As the governing party, the ANC has used progressive internationalism including the commitment to multilateralism, peaceful resolution of conflict, human rights, social justice, and the reform of the global political and economic order, as a prism of its role in international affairs. It has from conference to conference also been guided by the need to link national interests to the achievement of a better Africa and a better world. It has paid particular attention to the content and direction of global shifts and trends. The movement has understood the impact of the end of the Cold War, the rise of a single superpower and the growth of unilateralism after the September 11 terror attacks including the unilateral invasion of Iraq on Africa and South Africa.

The movement has also sought to understand and respond to the impact of the continued contest between a generally conservative/neo-conservative ideological perspective on world affairs that resists change globally, on the one hand, and a generally progressive that is pro-change, on the other. But the impact that this has had on the role and function of the ANC, especially as the ruling political party still needs to be better understood. For instance, it is not clear if these contests have had a corrosive or demobilising effect on the ANC as a liberation movement in power. The ability of those who oppose our progressive stance in international fora like the United Nations to exploit the existence of domestic neo-liberal forces that dominate internal public discourses even though they cannot win elections being small in number is not fully understood. The use of independent South Africa's foreign policy choices that coincide with that of the East to cast us as stooges of China and Russia are part of this ideological onslaught on pro-reform stance misconstrued as anti-west behaviour. The controversies surrounding the planned visit by the Dalai Lama was used measure our proximity to neo-liberal agendas concealed as commitment to human rights. The backlash to our stance on the human rights of Palestinians and the Saharawi expose the selective commitment to human rights on the part of our detractors globally and internally. These issues pose the question as to whether we have not underestimated the extent to which these domestic forces control not only the

agenda in public debates, but also the judgement on the progressive nature of the ANC's international relations.

Regardless of our challenges, we insist that the progressive internationalist agenda that calls for a better Africa and a better world right from our very inception a 100 years ago continues to be relevant today as remnants of imperialism, colonialism, authoritarianism, racism, poverty, and underdevelopment continue to haunt millions in the world.

When we last held our National Conference in 2007, George W Bush, the global symbol for neo-conservatism, was vacating the Presidency of the United States for Barack Obama, the country's first black president. Obama had promised reducing the power of the financial markets represented by the Wall Street, actively participating in multilateral institutions, and ending American military presence in Afghanistan and Iraq. We acknowledged that this represented a partial victory over neo-liberalism and conservatism. We have to assess whether the experiences of the past five years have borne our hope out.

This took place in an international environment marked by growing multipolarity with the emergence of several developing countries as influential powers that helped to counterbalance to some extent the power of the United States as the sole superpower in global affairs. Gradually increasing in number, these emerging powers bring into global affairs a perspective that is informed by their struggles against colonialism. Accustomed to acting multilaterally in international relations, these powers share our commitment to rebuilding and reshaping multilateralism through the reform of institutions of global governance, the building of strong relations between the UN and regional organisations and the democratisation of the whole political space in global affairs.

The global economic crisis that began late 2007 and matured in 2008 is essentially a crisis of the ideology and system of global capitalism. It, however, opens new opportunities for fashioning a new international

economic order. It provides space to direct the globalisation process, which has provided the locomotives for global dominance of capitalism through the proliferation of technologies and new sciences, growth in global trade and investment, and the integration of the processes of production and consumption. This globalisation also reproduced and cemented socio-economic inequalities, perpetuated global poverty, promoted crass materialism and excessive consumption, encouraged greed and exploitative economic processes in many parts of the world.

The crisis whose epicentre was the advanced capitalist economies of North America and Europe marked a crisis of global economic governance. For a time in 2008, world powers seemed open to alternative economic responses including those designed to boost social justice and solidarity through state intervention in the economy as well as the regulation of markets. Major world economies from the global north and the south gathered at the G20, a premier platform on global economic governance, seemed to understand the need for drastic and radical shift away from economic orthodoxy and seemed to accept that the thinking on which the current global economy is based was flawed. Through the Rio Group, Latin America succeeded in getting international consensus on the need for a greater role of regional institutions in economic governance. The G20 looked set to become the platform for developing a consensus on a new set of institutions and systems to be used to deal with structural weaknesses of the global economy. The need for restoring the credibility and political legitimacy of the system of global economic governance seemed universally recognised. The question is whether we sufficiently utilised the space provided to our government and civil society to push for a progressive economic agenda in order not to allow the forces of global capital, particularly the finance corporations to re-engineer the debate to preserve the failed economic dogma?

Since, the global response through the G20 has moved from the grossly inadequate focus on restoring liquidity in affected economies to a complete reassertion of the neo-liberal economic paradigm as a framework for post-crisis economic management. Thus, the opportunity for a radical shift in

economic thinking was squandered. There are many reasons for this. Key amongst them is the continued existence of the G8 that meets separately from the G20 and pushes its particular agenda. Elements of the global north has thus far succeeded in preserving conservative economic ideologies to prevent the introduction of fresh and progressive economic thinking. The G20 is, therefore, becoming a legitimising platform for the G8 and failed economic orthodoxy to gain a facade of legitimacy, unless progressive forces do something to turn it into a driver of the fundamental transformation of the world economic order.

For this reason, we may have to recognise that the G20 is not a yet platform for fresh new thinking on global economic governance, nor should new approaches be expected to emerge out of it in the absence of pro-active strategic interventions by progressives. The development consensus that the G20 adopted in Seoul, South Korea, in 2010 does very little to depart from the unsatisfactory Washington Consensus unless we work to infuse the thinking of the south in it. This suggests that the impact of developing countries, which have the numerical majority in the G20, is minimal because the numerical minority has an ideological upper hand. To get to this point, the global north was wiser in deflecting disagreements by pushing for maintaining consensus on the idea that the crisis called for global solutions and concerted action. Summit after summit, the G20 is looking more like an expanded G8 rather than a new body born out of the clearest evidence of the need for new thinking and approaches. The question is what have we done to improve our ability to influence the agenda in the G20 and if we have in fact legitimised the resurgence of failed ideologies.

Part of the challenge is that while it was the UN General Assembly that first responded to the onset of the economic crisis in October 2008 by convening a high-level discussion on the economic crisis, the initiative shifted to the US-initiated G20. This tendency of small groups of countries to usurp the role of the more democratic and inclusive United Nations without being mandated by the General Assembly is a feature of club diplomacy in general that the movement should be concerned about because we believe that the UN is the

legitimate body to lead decision-making, agenda-setting and rule-making in the world. But we need to reconcile this principle with our energetic participation in exclusive multilateralism that is epitomised by clubs and alliances of this nature. *The two terrains are not mutually exclusive choices, but as the ANC we need to think creatively about how to ensure that the principles of multilateralism and reform are not sacrificed at the altar of expediency.*

For instance, South Africa's membership in India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Forum and the recent expansion of the Brazil-Russia-India-China (BRIC) Forum to include South Africa (now BRICS) have provided a timely opportunity to engage on the current global economic and development challenges, while using the platforms to push for global governance reforms.

A multilateral approach to international developments has never been more appropriate. Changes in the global political economy have brought to the fore a number of transnational challenges that underline the growing interdependence amongst nations and regions of the world. Global epidemics, abject poverty, climate change, environmental degradation, energy security, food security, crime and international new crime syndicates, radicalism and, terrorism require collective action by all members of the international systems and coordination between the UN and regional organisations. No country will overcome these challenges without co-operating with others. For this reason, while considerations of political and economic power lead to even greater enforcement of old hierarchies of nations, these shared challenges make a strong case for global responses based on transnational consensus and co-operation.

Studies suggest that it is going to take some time before multipolarity and multi-lateralism fully displaces unilateralism in the international system. The two tendencies are likely to co-exist rather uncomfortably for at least another decade or two. Towards that end, multilateralism will continue to intensify in various ways including the growth of alliances, coalitions and clubs bringing together like-minded countries across the north-south divide working in

tandem to achieve shared goals. These trends will help re-energise the UN and international organisations as primary platforms for managing global affairs. The crisis of global capitalism is unlikely to stop or reverse the process of globalisation, but does create spaces for finding new ways of globalising, negotiating the interests of the excluded and marginalised in the process of globalisation or helping to destroy the globalisation of an exploitative system of capitalism.

Africa remains at the centre of both the growing abuse of multilateral institutions by powerful states for unilateral agendas as well as the acceleration of an exploitative global capitalism. It is in Africa where the practice of displacing or appropriating established multilateral institutions has been most blatant. In responses to the post-election dispute in Cote d'Ivoire, the UN was turned into a partisan player working in cahoots with a former colonial power to unseat the incumbent president before the electoral disputes were resolved. In the case of Libya, the Western powers used a UN Security Council Resolution supported by African members of the Council, including South Africa, to smuggle in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a military alliance between Europe and America, to carry out a regime change in Africa, a region over which NATO has no jurisdiction.

Africa has also seen a growing scramble for economic power between the West and the emerging East in ways that could become reminiscent of the Cold War. This is a manifestation of an exploitative tendency of globalisation in which the west and east are active participants. As in the past, Africa is selling off its precious assets for foreign direct investment including some infrastructure development. Africa is increasingly mortgaging its economic future prospects to meet and feed the high consumption patterns in the emerging Asia and in the West. Africa's mineral and marine resources, oil and agricultural land are particularly targeted in these neo-imperialist economic relations.

The failure to develop the continent's capacity to drive economic production including the weak focus on beneficiation and processing industries means

that this character of economic relations will persist. Again, as it happened in the past, Africa will be integrated deeper and deeper into the global economy without drawing maximum benefits from this. Weak regional institutions compound Africa's challenges, poor linkages between continental and regional country institutions; poor or non-existent transnational transport infrastructure; low levels of intra-Africa trade; as well as poorly shared values, and relatively weak leadership.

While the uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East are a welcome expression of democratic impulses by ordinary people in areas where democracy has been largely elusive, responses to this by external powers have undermined the leading role of the African Union and its mandated countries in assisting this democratisation process. The response of Western Europe and the United States is central in marginalising of the African Union and its search for "African solutions for African problems". The manner in which the UN Resolution 1973 on Libya, which South Africa has voted for, was implemented was a set back for African solutions. The outcomes of uprisings in Egypt seem to have resulted in the entrenchment of military power rather than democratic civilian rule. This contrast with the outcomes in Tunisia, a country with a significantly lesser geo-political role and natural resources than Egypt and Libya, Tunisians have been allowed space to make substantial progress in building democracy. While the actions of the west had a negative impact on this democratic wave, the slow response by the African Union and its inability to get its point across cannot be excused. These developments pose a serious challenge for South Africa as a member on the UN Security Council dedicated to pushing an African agenda.

The Strategy and Tactics of 2007 remain correct in suggesting that, "South Africa's interests in a complex and unpredictable global environment necessitate the building of capacity for strategic as well as rapid response to changes in our region, Africa and the world." And such responses should be anchored on the strengthening of African institutions and those of the developing world. In this climate of many contradictions and fluidity in the international environment, both Africa and the global south have greater

opportunities to see progress to extricate themselves from the shackles of global apartheid.

The ANC will continue to join forces with an alliance of progressive forces working towards the reform of the global order to ensure that the opportunities presented by the afore-mentioned global trends are fully seized. It would do us well to recall that the ANC has had the ability to mobilise both states and peoples of the world, and we must remain to seize opportunities. As a governing party, we should not lose our ability to mobilise progressive forces to give hope to people that are on the receiving end of the growth of poverty and underdevelopment, conflict and injustice.

This will require a strategic response to the task of consolidating our search for a better Africa and a better world including our participation in global solidarity networks, inter-state relations, party-to-party relations and people-to-people engagement. Below is a brief outline of such a response.

ANC's ROLE IN BUILDING A BETTER AFRICA

African renaissance

On the occasion of the movement's centenary, it is important to underline the fact that Africa is an important pillar of the ANC's international relations. The ANC has recognised from its establishment in 1912 that South Africa's prosperity and success is linked to the success and prosperity of Africa. The concrete work done towards the achievement of the African renaissance since 1994 is the ANC's response to the clarion call for the regeneration of Africa.

Africa was an important pillar of the strategy of isolating the apartheid state and the creation of a rear base for the armed struggle, a strategy that would help bring the apartheid state to its knees. After our liberation, we understood the importance of working with fellow Africans to advance African unity, solidarity, development and integration. For this reason, we played an active part in the transformation of the OAU into the African Union with improved capacity to respond to post-Cold War challenges in Africa. We actively

participated in the development of a number of social, economic and political policies and protocols, and in pushing for their full implementation. As a movement in power, we played a significant role in the crafting and operationalisation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as a collective developmental vision and programme for Africa in partnership with strategic partners in the world. South Africa is today acclaimed for its role in promoting peaceful and inclusive resolution of Africa's conflicts in countries like Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, the DRC, Sudan, South Sudan, Madagascar, Comoros and, Zimbabwe.

We have played a meaningful role in the strengthening of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The development of SADC's political, security and developmental programmes are crucial contributions to the process of building a regional integration machinery that is able to respond to the region's challenges of poverty, conflict and underdevelopment. This machinery is important for the stability and prosperity of South Africa also. To this end, we as a movement in power have worked with the region to develop sound policies and programmes, which can assist in stabilising and assisting the region's growth.

The ANC and the South African government have deliberately avoided playing a hegemonic role in African institutions and politics. We have resisted the call for us to take a hegemonic posture, which others have called a robust regional leadership that we lack. Some have accused us of lacking energy to pursue the renaissance of Africa right to the end. There have been concerns about links between our efforts on the continent and domestic imperatives of growing our economy, creating new developmental opportunities and other forms of returns for investments made. The view that African renaissance initiatives have so far been state-led is in fact a criticism of the movement's failure to lead the mobilisation of civil society in support of the goal of African renewal.

Therefore, it is imperative for us to recognise that the fluidity of politics and objectives within our continent require us to respond dynamically and with

speed in defence of African renaissance. Whatever the temptations for us to be interest-driven and expedient in pursuit of the African agenda, we should resist. We do not need to be a hegemonic power to safeguard a progressive agenda. Rather we must acknowledge our responsibilities as the largest economy in Africa, and hold fast our continued belief that our prosperity is directly linked to the prosperity of Africa.

Equally we must also recognise and accept that there have been strident calls for South Africa to play a central role in the affairs of the continent. These calls have been informed by concerns that the number of our continental institutions are not adequately strong and progressive-minded to support the African agenda. We must also note that the criticisms are fuelled by sometimes realistic and unrealistic expectations, which we have bear in mind in our ongoing engagements on the Africa agenda.

Another matter of particular concern is that as long as linkages between the AU and its building blocks, the regional economic communities, are weak the agenda of a better Africa cannot be realised. For as long as our African leaders do not embrace shared values or adopt concerted action with African citizens to improve Africa, then African renaissance will not be achieved.

While we have sought to remedy weaknesses in our policies, the fluid global and continental environment throws up new dynamics, which constantly test our ability to act consistently and energetically to promote the African agenda as encapsulated in many common positions, protocols and the Constitutive Act of the African Union. These need to be analysed and thoroughly discussed to be fully understood.

We expect neo-colonial tendencies seeking to re-subordinate Africa to the whims and interests of powerful external factors will continue as old powers seek new ways of maintaining their hegemony over global affairs in the face of shifts in global power away from them. Unless, something drastic is done to strengthen the institutions and leadership in Africa, its voice and choices will continue to diminish. Africa being a fast growing economic and demographic

region will remain a magnet for competition between old and new powers over the continent's rich natural resources. For this reason, the the growing role of Russia, South Korea, India, Brazil, Turkey, and particularly China in developments in Africa, taking note that we have varying degrees of party-to-party relations and participate together in multi-lateral forums, needs to be well-understood.

Revitalising Africa and robust engagement

In thinking carefully and creatively about our strategic role in creating a better Africa in the current global climate, part of our focus should be on re-energising the continent about the need for greater progress towards the African renaissance. This includes re-invigorating efforts to strengthen the AU, NEPAD, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), and SADC. We need a sharper focus on the implementation of common policies and programmes that the continent has painstakingly developed as an expression of this agenda for change.

But we should also be open to other initiatives that might be started or we should allow for the execution of old plans differently. Our strategic role should be informed by the dialectical relationship between continuity and change in a constantly changing environment. This dialectic is best managed on the basis of an enlightened understanding of what is in South Africa's interests where this does not mean narrow self-interests, but a host of developments that should considered to be for the greater good of South Africa and Africa, directly or indirectly. Yet, we guard against pursuit mainly that which will be of immediate direct value as opposed to creating conditions for long-term sustainability of the South Africa.

It should be equally recognised that any programme of revitalising Africa will be stillborn if it continues to remain in the realm of government and government-to-government relations and institutions. The low-level involvement of the general public in these initiatives has to be remedied as a matter of urgency.

Strengthening institutions and leadership

A key component of the African agenda is the strengthening of continental and regional institutions. The recent events in Cote d'Ivoire and Libya suggest that of primary importance will be to ensure that these institutions, especially the African Union, including its organs, and the Regional Economic Communities, as well as SADC have sufficient political, intellectual, and technical capacity to respond quickly to the ever-changing context. This raises the question whether we should not as a movement stimulate a broad and inclusive discussion about the character of political and institutional leadership that is required to respond to the particular challenges of our time as well as how the continent and sub-region will sustain a certain level of leadership on African concerns globally and within Africa.

The government has been involved in the processes leading to the merger of the African Court of Justice and the African Court of Human and People's Rights, the review of the mandate of the Pan African Parliament with a view to transforming it, and the operationalisation of financial institutions provided for in the AU Constitutive Act including the African Development Bank (AfDB). These efforts must be continued.

As indicated above, central to the agenda of these institutions and leadership should be the popular aspirations of our people with their mass participation.

Consolidating African governance

Building on the work done to promote adherence to AU principles of good governance and democracy as well as the APRM initiative, the ANC and government should ensure that the governance guidelines and systems are understood, promoted and adhered to. The number of countries that go through the APRM process and ratify all the relevant protocols are critical for progress to be made. Failure to make progress in efficiency and effectiveness of governance undermines the achievement of a better life for all in Africa and creates opportunities for external powers to interfere in Africa. The ANC should promote African countries' the voluntary accession to the APRM.

More particularly, it is imperative that the ANC leads the South African people in ensuring that the SA APRM Programme of Action is fully implemented.

African Unity

Our position on the need for deeper continental unity and our principled support of the campaign to build a union government for Africa remains, despite the lull in the continental debate on Union Government. We maintain that the road to this phase of continental unity is through the strengthening of regional communities, which the African Union considers to be building blocks for African unity. Believing that the unity we create should be sustainable and systematic, we consider a strong focus on strengthening regional integration as the surest route to a strong continental unity and one that is best poised to respond to developmental imperatives of the continent. The support and expectation to see the full implementation of the African Union decision to strengthen the African Union Commission is an essential glue that connects various parts of the Union. The ANC supports the process of exploring the transformation of the Au Commission into an Authority in the hope that such a transition could result in a more efficient and effective central organ of the AU. The ANC will continue to encourage inclusive public discussions amongst African peoples on the options towards stronger continental integration.

African Solutions to African Conflicts

The principle of allowing citizens of conflict-ridden or crisis-prone countries opportunities to own solutions to their problems is an important condition for lasting peace, and one that must anchor the mediation efforts. Our track record in peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa bears out the correctness of this principled position. Yet to sustain this position, we must ensure that there is sufficient popular understanding of the value of this approach. We must also ensure that there is sufficient capacity in regional and continental institutions to rapidly respond to crises before they become entrenched. We will continue to contribute to post-conflict reconstruction and development, peacekeeping operations and peace diplomacy through the support to mediation efforts. The engagement of interested external actors is crucial for ensuring their support for African solutions.

The developments that took place in North Africa in early 2011 illustrate the need for the AU organs to respond quickly and appropriately to the social upheavals. The ANC supports the government's efforts to ensure that the outcomes of these challenges are inclusive and generally credible transitional governments.

SADC integration

Having been involved in the process of the reform of the SADC Secretariat and in consolidation of its policy agenda, the task of the movement and the government is to promote the strengthening of the capacity of SADC central organs to fully execute SADC decisions taken and to co-ordinate the implementation of its programmes. This will require that by example South Africa encourage the strengthening of SADC National Committees as key nodes for domestication of the SADC agenda. There has to be a clear alignment of our domestic programmes with the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. Without this, the vision of developmental regional integration expected to help create developmental states in the region and thus fight against poverty will falter. The movement has to ensure that this happens in order to ensure that developmental regional integration helps the region to respond to both the globalisation process and changing power dynamics that come with it.

It is in our own interest to promote an improved regional stability through support for peace, conflict resolution and prosperity. In this regard, preventative diplomacy and early warning systems are crucial tools for achieving this. The movement supports the efforts to ensure that the new SADC election advisory body and the mediation mechanism work optimally. It will actively participate in regional efforts to ensure successful and democratic elections as contained in the "SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections". Failure in this regard will lead the growth in post-election disputes and violence, which in turn will attract the hawkish external powers.

The advance of the agreed deeper economic integration initiatives ought to be ensured. The establishment of a SADC Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2008 was meant to lead towards the establishment of a SADC Customs Union, which has not yet taken place. The ANC supports efforts to implement the FTA, as the basis for greater integration programmes. The regional body must be able to get the region ready for both a customs union, which is now two years behind its scheduled launch, and a common market. The SADC-East African Community (EAC) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) initiative should receive support from the ANC and the government. The ANC should contribute to public awareness about these developments.

SADC Integration should be comprehensive and all encompassing to include the formation of a SADC Parliament.

ANC's STRATEGIC ROLE TOWARDS A BETTER WORLD

The ANC remains committed to building a better world that is humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free. Throughout its long history, the ANC has drawn lessons from human solidarity of world citizens in support of its struggle. This includes the necessity of having several terrains for the pursuit of the cause including state-to-state, party-to-party, people-to-people and civil society efforts. The ANC believes in the right of people to fight against tyranny and oppression. It will continue to work with other progressive forces globally to promote global transformation towards multi-lateralism and against growing unilateralism.

Transformation of global governance

The ANC continues to attach a lot of value to the concerted campaigns for the reform of global governance in order to reflect the realities and demands of the current period. Global governance regimes, in particular the UN, have hardly changed since 1945 as they continue to reflect the power dynamics of the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. While maintaining the status quo may have many advantages for the victors of the war, it does not help to create a better world. As shown in our discussion of the global

economic crisis, the current global governance regimes remain untransformed and ill-prepared to respond to the systemic challenges that are arising.

Therefore, the commitment to reform of the United Nations and the international finance institutions, especially the World Bank and the IMF, is also a matter of necessity. We reject the idea that five permanent members of the UN Security Council should hold sway over global decision-making and that the more democratically constituted General Assembly and its organs be reduced into a mere talk shop. We want to see the UN Security Council transformed to reflect the current balance of power. Whereas developing countries have an increased global responsibility, they do not have increase powers to act accordingly. The AU's Ezulwini Consensus, which calls for permanent and non-permanent seats for Africa, is still a correct framework, but we ought to be open to progressive ideas that emerge from further negotiations. Further we should not restrict our discussions to the matter of the veto, but also discuss the concept of permanence itself.

For this reason, as a movement we will campaign for progress in the on-going negotiations on the UN reform and will encourage Africa to renew its commitment and re-invigorate its common position in line with developments on the negotiation table. To this end, we should remain vigilant to ensure that the idea does not die prematurely, at least not in the minds of the people.

We also must be vigilant not to restrict ourselves to the UN Security Council and the General Assembly. It is also necessary to focus on the many other organs of the UN, like the UN Development Programme, Economic Commission for Africa, amongst others. And we need to measure our output with regard to the deployment (or lack thereof) of South Africans to the UN. We need to build alliances across thw world towards this end.

In regard to the reforms of the IFIs, the ANC position maintains that these institutions, which now have a strategic role in managing the contradictions in the evolution of the global economy whereby growth in prosperity is accompanied by ubiquitous poverty, should be overhauled to give expression

to the interests of the developing countries and Africa. To this end, we consider it an affront to principles of fairness, justice and equity that the positions of heads of IMF, as we witnessed recently, and the World Bank are exclusively reserved for Europeans and Americans respectively. The disproportionate decision-making power the West also enjoys in the governance structures of both institutions ought to change. Our position is that Africa must be adequately represented in the governance structures and senior management in both institutions, at least because the continent remains a major region of focus for IFI interventions. However, it would be foolish, given our history and experience, to believe that African representation would automatically mean progressive agendas and programmes. Therefore, we must be able to build necessary accountability mechanisms and support those who are deployed in the IFIs to ensure that they further the African agenda in these institutions.

Our strategic role on the Doha Round of trade negotiations under the auspices of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is to ensure that the development imperatives are not trounced by market needs or technical fixations. Yet, our goal is also a transformed WTO. We believe in multilateral trade negotiations as the best way of responding to problems of world trade.

Our overarching goal must remain that of strengthening the social, political and economic initiatives that promote the global fight against poverty and underdevelopment. These could seek to remove the Washington Consensus, increase mass participation and involvement in these global institutions, and strengthen the participation of African continental and regional institutions.

Strengthening South-South cooperation

We are committed to strengthening south-south cooperation by contributing to the fortification of global south multilateralism as epitomised by organisations like the Non-Aligned Movement, the New Asia Africa Strategic Partnership, the G77 plus China and our alliance like India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) and Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa (BRICS). This is a part of our strategic response to the changing global environment, especially the rise of emerging

powers as a potential counter-veiling force against unilateralism. In this regard, to further strengthen our strategic response, we should participate in movements like the Sao Paulo Forum.

South Africa's membership of the BRICS, which was not fully understood by some in our country, is a major success of our efforts to strategically position ourselves as one of the key catalysts for broader south-south relations. We need to support the BRICS as a special partnership arrangement because it can represent a platform for alternative ideas to the Washington Consensus and neo-liberal policies. BRICS countries constitute more than 8% of world GDP, occupy the 26% of the world's territory and play hosts to 42% of the world population. Part of its objectives are:

1. The promotion of a new international financial system and the use of member countries own currencies, including a new currency for international trade and exchange;
2. The struggle for peace, the dissolution of NATO, the closure of all foreign military bases in countries of the world;
3. The elimination of all nuclear weapons;
4. The resolution of political problems and conflicts through non-military means;
5. The promotion of investment in energy and infrastructure to benefit of the people of our countries; and
6. The promotion of food sovereignty and food security.

The task that remains is to ensure that our business sector and civil society are fully included in the programmes of these alliances, in order to create linkages with our domestic situation, especially with regard to job creation and investment generation. We also have to ensure that the partnerships that Africa has with these countries and the regions of the Caribbean and Latin America and Asia grow and impact concretely on African development by feeding into Africa's own plans.

The Movement needs to intensify the engagements in South-South cooperation. Equally ensuring that our membership into BRICS does not reduce our co-operation with Asian countries and Caribbean and Latin America.

Strengthen North-South Dialogue

The ANC is committed to strengthening north-south dialogue on matters of common interests. Government should devise a strategy on this whilst as a movement deepening and enhancing cooperation at a party-to-party level.

The ANC should recognise the primacy of the anti-apartheid solidarity movements, many of which have not collapsed, as strategic avenues for deepening dialogue and consensus between global north and us on a progressive global agenda and on bilateral economic relations.

The task of fashioning a global consensus for a stronger multi-lateralism and the emergence of a new world order, especially in the current context of uni-multi-lateralism and a regress in global economic governance, requires that we grow our bilateral and multilateral relations with the global north. The dialogue between us is important to build a common understanding and shared interests. For the ANC, this requires that in the context of the celebration of our centenary we ought to re-invigorate the spirit of solidarity that we built with the people of Europe and America during the struggle.

On the one hand, this entails refining our multilateral relations, especially the SA-EU relations, EU-Africa partnership, BRICS and other platforms, by ensuring that these produce the public goods in the form of both consensus on global reform and the restructuring of economic relations. South Africa should promote the building of stronger bridges for co-operation between Africa and the global north.

On the other hand, growing north-south relations entails a stronger focus on strategic bilateral relations with countries of the global north in the hope that this will also benefit the African Renaissance agenda. Our focus should be on

ensuring that the relations are deepened through stronger platforms for people-to-people relations through civil society platforms and functional business forums.

It is important to evaluate and assess our relations with party formations and organisations in the North. Importantly, we need to check if we still share similar ideological dispositions, in particular, with regard to transformation and development. This should be a key consideration in party-to-party dialogues.

Parliamentary Diplomacy

Parliamentary dimension in our international relations could be defined as a continuation of a national political process and dialogue among legislatures at international level that has been brought about by significant changes in the world. At different international meetings, Members of Parliament and Presiding Officers have the opportunity to change views and adopt resolutions on a range of international issues and challenges with the view to make the world a better place for all.

Historically, parliaments had scant involvement in international relations. The role of parliament in the area of international relations in an age where the line between domestic and international relations is becoming blurred and where there is globalisation of problems, democracy ought to be promoted at all levels of governance.

The South African foreign policy is an expression of domestic public policy that projects national values and interests. The values and principles that guide our work are entrenched in the provisions of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The Constitution affirms the right of the South African society to live in human dignity, equality, democracy and freedom. There is, therefore, a need for an “activist” Parliament to ensure that the people that Parliament represents at the national level are also represented at the international level. It must take up the challenges like the democratisation of the structures of global governance, the consolidation of the African

agenda, the development of the global South, the strengthening of North-South relations for a better South Africa, Africa and the world.

Therefore, the ANC should assist in building better alignment between the Pan-African Parliament and the AU as well as SADC and the SADC Parliamentary Forum. The parliamentary bodies at regional and continental levels cannot operate in silo, too separated from the executive arms of continental governance. The ANC has to assist the government in initiating discussions on the transformation of the SADC Parliament Forum into a fully legislative body.

Parliamentarians that serve in multilateral forums like the International Parliamentary Union and others should be assisted and empowered in order to push forward the African agenda.

In respect of public education it is imperative that we find ways and means to inform the public in South Africa on the nature and approach of our foreign policy as well as issues that emerge from time to time. We ought to do better as the ANC and government in explaining the decisions we take, so that our should not rely only on slanted reporting in the media, reporting that is designed to confuse and obfuscate issues.

Economic Diplomacy

We re-emphasise the previous resolutions on the critical need to build connections between our international relations and domestic interests through economic diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy. The ANC is of the view that economic diplomacy is not merely about basic economic knowledge, but deeper appreciation of the importance of growing our economy to enable us to increase our voice and choice in international affairs. This should be the strategic orientation of our framework on economic diplomacy, which should be widely distributed and discussed within the movement, the alliance, government and broader public domain. But interpretation of economic diplomacy is not about promoting narrow economic interests, but it is about

responding to our historical responsibility to enhance Africa's economic renaissance.

Para-diplomacy: Provincial and municipal international relations

We reiterate previous conference resolution on the need for stronger national and provincial coordination of para-diplomacy in order to strengthen coherent international diplomacy on our part. We support the efforts of government to improve consultative platforms between all three tiers of government on international engagements. We are of the view that government has to establish a policy framework and guidelines in line with the South African government foreign policy. An audit of the current para-diplomacy agreements and other activities should be conducted to measure their adherence to the South African government foreign policy.

STRENGTHENING THE UNDERSTANDING OF PARTY-TO-PARTY AND POLITICAL MULTI-LATERAL RELATIONS

Relations with progressive forces across the globe have always been a strategic focus of the ANC's pursuit of what the Strategy and Tactics calls "a path of hope and solidarity." Meetings with fraternal parties have continued and intensified. In our 52nd National Conference we resolved that we should (i) strengthen relations with the former liberation movements, (ii) form strategic relations with parties of different ideological disposition in Africa, and, (iii) establish areas of common interest, especially with governing parties. Our party-to-party relations have over time enhanced relationships within the governmental sphere.

The resolutions underlined the importance of prioritising our relations with the Southern African former liberation movements, especially in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In this regard the ANC has been fairly successful in not only maintaining relations, but also enhancing them at both party-to-party and governmental levels, as is the case with Angola. We need to consider broadening the former liberation platform to

encompass other liberation movements on the continent such as PAIGC, PAIGV, FNL and so forth.

It is still necessary for us to continue assessing the ideological orientation and character of the various political parties on the continent to identify those with political visions that are reconcilable with that of the ANC to determine the basis of party-to-party dialogue. This would also assist the ANC to strengthen the African progressive movement. Our ability to help build a progressive movement has the potential to build stronger relations with both governments and democratic forces in Africa generally, as well greatly enhance the possibilities of a global progressive movement.

In growing the global progressive movement to attain the goal of a better Africa and better world free from hunger disease and underdevelopment we continue to engage various political parties to understand the plight of the ANC and broader Africa. This makes it imperative for us to continue the already existing relations and further seek relations with political parties through party-to-party relations and other global forums. We continue to maintain relations with many political parties.

After a thorough debate in the ANC, we decided to become full members of the Socialist International (SI) in the late 90's. The ANC and MPLA (Angola) from Southern Africa are current Vice-Presidents in the SI Presidium. But the organisation has weaknesses including the dominance of European Socialist parties although there has been growth of membership from the developing world. There has been a level of reform within the SI, but the leadership still does not reflect the change in membership. We welcome discussions on transforming the character and skewed leadership representation in SI. For example, a decision has been taken that the future leadership will be decided by voting rather than by consensus. The SI Africa Committee is very weak. The ANC needs to play a pivotal role in dramatically increasing the capacity of the African members in SI. The ANC participates in the SI Commission on Climate Change and should seriously look at how we can increase our participation in the other important Commissions of SI. SI is an important

platform for the ANC to increase its networking ability to expand its party-to-party relations as well as a platform for the battle of ideas.

Our relations in South America have grown. It would be necessary for the ANC to participate in regional South American progressive forums like the Sao Paulo Forum, which can assist us in growing and deepening relations with progressive formations and political parties in the region.

Furthermore, the ANC has historical relations with the Caribbean countries. It is correct to note that with regard to Haiti, we have assisted positive developments in the country. We have also played a significant role in the discussions on the diaspora, with Caribbean countries. However, our relations and discussions with Caribbean countries have waned over time and needs to be resuscitated.

Relations with social democratic parties in the global north continue to grow. They are crucial platforms for north-south dialogue in a changing world.

CONTINENTAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Below is a list of solidarity efforts that the ANC is involved in at various levels. Participation and discussion in these efforts need to be broadened to include Alliance structures and other political stakeholders.

Libya

Noting the harm that has been caused to the country and peace prospects by the interference of external powers that helped the rebels topple Colonel Qaddafi's government, the ANC should focus support on the efforts of our president as a member of the Ad-Hoc High Level Committee of the AU in ensuring a speedy transition to democracy in that country.

Cote d'Ivoire

Notwithstanding concerns about the manner in which western powers interfered to resolve a political stalemate between Laurent Gbagbo and

Allasane Ouattara, the ANC should work with the people and government of Cote d'Ivoire to strengthening of relations with this country in order to promote inclusive nation-building efforts.

Zimbabwe

It is imperative that we do not begin to think that the challenges facing Zimbabwe can only be overcome by elections. The SA Government and SADC should ensure that the key elements of the Global Peace Agreement including those relating to creating a conducive climate for elections are implemented to ensure that Zimbabwe does not repeat the disastrous experience of 2008.

It is also imperative that the SA government plays a pivotal role in constructing an international consensus on the conditions for a democratic election in Zimbabwe, both by pushing for a change of policy on the sanctions question, as provided for in the GPA, and ensuring that it will work with various international players, under the direction of SADC.

Sudan and South Sudan

The separation between the North and South of Sudan makes it necessary for the ANC to engage with Sudanese parties and people on both sides to support efforts to build confidence and mutual trust between the two sides in order to promote peaceful co-existence between the two neighbours.

DRC

The post-election developments in the DRC call for us to undertake a stocktaking of our role in post-conflict reconstruction and development. This review has to be completed and discussed within the ANC in order for the movement to identify strengths to build on and weaknesses to remedy. The engagement with different political parties should continue, at least, to ensure that all parties are committed to continuous inter-Congolese dialogue.

Swaziland

Our support for the democratisation of Swaziland is a principled position. The ANC supports efforts by the SA government to help prevent an economic meltdown in Swaziland through the provision of loan and through a continuous dialogue on the economic and political reforms required to solve the underlying challenges in this country. There is a need to open up the discussion on the Swaziland question, especially its implications for the region.

Madagascar

The crisis in Madagascar unfolded after the 52nd National Conference when there was a forced collapse of a sitting government and the installation of another through the military. We support the SADC position Madagascar needs to establish an inclusive political arrangement on the basis of inclusive dialogue facilitated by former President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique. The nuances of this position will require that the ANC meets with all the parties and discusses with alliance partners on how the ANC could complement the role of government in this regard.

Somalia

The situation in the Somalia remains dire and the recent outbreak of disease and famine is only a symptom of deep-seated structural problems. As the movement, we believe that a lasting solution should be found in inclusive national dialogue, leading to an inclusive government that is well supported by the international community. This should provide the basis for peacekeeping. We also support the efforts to fight and eradicate the scourge of piracy that has negative effect on the stability of the entire Horn of Africa region. We need to use our influence to also begin discussions on how to prevent private companies from illegally dumping waste and exploiting marine resource

Haiti

The ANC has intensified its support for the people of Haiti and the transition towards a permanent government. The support that our government has provided to this historic country after an earthquake and a disease epidemic was fully backed by our movement as an expression of solidarity with a

people who have fallen victims to the vagaries of nature and neo-colonial machinations. We, of course, provided hospitality to President Aristide and welcome his recent return to Haiti in the hope that he will contribute immensely to building national unity and development.

Palestine

Our position on Palestine is that a credible inclusive dialogue with Israel on the basis of a two-state framework as well as strong unity amongst Palestinian parties are critically important conditions for peaceful co-existence between Israel and a free Palestinian state. It is, therefore, strategic for the movement to, through government, support peace efforts and to engage in intense dialogue with Palestinian parties to ensure unity of purpose.

Western Sahara

The freedom of the peoples of Western Sahara within internationally recognised borders is an important principle. The Polisario Front and Saharawi Republic are important solidarity partners for us. We support their commitment to a negotiated settlement with government of Morocco under the auspices of the UN and their campaigns for greater focus on human rights violations in occupied territories.

Cuba

The ANC continues to pledge solidarity with the government and peoples of Cuba; and calling for an immediate end to the US Embargo against Cuba. The efforts to build multi-faceted relations of co-operation with Cuba including twinning agreements, capacity building and training programmes, trade relations and exchange programmes are to be encouraged. Our relations with Cuba remain as strong as they were when Cde Fidel Castro was the president of Cuba.

Our support for the release of the Cuban Five could be stronger and more widespread than it has been. We need to explore a parliamentary motion denouncing their imprisonment.

With the continued opening of the Cuban economy the ANC should discuss with Cuba how we can increase Cuban-South African economic co-operation.

Eritrea-Ethiopia

The challenges between Eritrea and Ethiopia have their roots in the process of separation and the failure to develop cordial relations and intensified after the failure of the arbitration process on the border disputes to find a solution that was acceptable to both sides. The damage that the current stalemate has caused to the region and to relations between these related peoples is huge. The ANC believes that an inclusive dialogue and confidence building are needed to ensure that this stalemate ends and the two countries become partners in rebuilding this important region of Africa.

Sri Lanka

The political landscape in Sri Lanka has changed since early 2009. The ANC supports the UN's Panel of Experts on Accountability in Sri Lanka. The ANC should decide on how it wants to support the UN process already put in place and have a deeper discussion and understanding on the situation in Sri Lanka for the ANC to come out with a clear position. The ANC further needs to decide where the Sri Lanka matter fits within the policy framework.

CAMPAIGNS

As the movement, we are involved in various campaigns linked to our international relations agenda generally and that are part of campaigns by progressive forces globally.

Africa Day: Africa Day is celebrated only in limited ways and platforms. It is mainly celebrated by government departments, but not by broader civil society and us as the movement. The ANC will use the occasion of the centenary celebrations to make prominent the importance of Africa Day as a platform for celebrating African renaissance. The ANC should investigate the possibility of government institutions and Parliament flying the AU flag on Africa Day.

Mandela Day: This day provides strategic opportunities for us to proclaim our commitment to building a better world. While work in this regard has started, not enough has been done within South Africa to celebrate this day. We ought to intensify our efforts to celebrate this day as it is essentially a celebration of the greatness of this movement and its principal cadre, Cde Nelson Mandela. To assist the efforts of the ANC, we should hold discussions with the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

African Diaspora: We have been at the forefront of building concrete and strategic relations with the African Diaspora as part of the regeneration of Africa. The Diaspora is strategic in that it is located in all centres of global power and, therefore, has potential to promote the African agenda ways formal institutions cannot. We note the government plans towards an AU/SA African Diaspora Summit, which is expected to declare the African Diaspora as the sixth (and global) region of Africa. These discussions should intensify and as the ANC, we must take a lead in building people-to-people relations between continental Africa and its Diaspora.

AfriCom: We are opposed to militarisation of African politics through the establishment of military bases in Africa as part of the US's AfriCom initiative, which forms part of this country's national security agenda against terrorism, fundamentalism and extremism. However, the ANC is conscious of the fact that opposition to AFRICOM should not be confined to military bases as the initiative has shifted to more concealed efforts such as military aid, humanitarian assistance and post-conflict reconstruction. The ANC joins the voices of most of African civil society and governments against these initiatives. We have to play an active role in African networks campaigning against AFRICOM.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The South African Foreign Policy White Paper

We note the fact that government recently released a White Paper on International Relations. But such an important document, which is an

opportunity for us to share our doctrine, philosophical orientation, strategic calculus and toolbox on international relations must first be thoroughly discussed within the structures and within the alliance before formalisation.

SADPA

The establishment of a development partnership agency was a resolution of the 52nd National Conference. The movement and the alliance must get a chance to discuss whatever concepts and plans are being put together in order to enhance the dialogue on South Africa's approach to development partnership. It should also be discussed with interest groups including development finance institutions and research institutions.

Code of Business Conduct

We note information that the draft code has been developed and needs to be put up for discussion within the movement and with affected stakeholders in order to guide its implementation.

Co-ordination of Para-diplomacy

Conference resolutions have raised the issue of co-ordination challenges in the international engagements of provincial governments and municipalities and the need for a framework to guide this form of diplomacy. The ANC ought to discuss proposals in this regard and all structures must be exposed to this discussion. It is imperative that government, both the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, and the Department of International Relations and Co-operation, begin working on draft policy framework for discussion.

Diplomatic Service: It is necessary for the ANC to ensure that we continue to build competent diplomatic service to deliver on the ANC mandate. This necessitates that the ANC deploy carefully selected competent comrades into the diplomatic service, especially in areas of priority like Africa and the Global South.

CONCLUSION

As we struggle for a more progressive new world order, it is important to acknowledge that it is a complex challenge to fully anticipate the way the current global political and economic environment is changing. In place of a transformation towards a world order that is progressive, recent developments suggest a sort of stalemate between this vision of the world and a world order in which poverty and equality, disease, plunder of natural resources, war, religious and ethnic conflict persist. The global transformation that followed the end of the Cold War has not led to a significant positive change in world affairs. The rise of right-wing tendencies in global affairs finds expression in the perversion of multi-lateralism into a sort-off uni-multi-lateralism, which also attempts to co-opt emerging countries of the global south including South Africa.

To the extent that this finds expression on our own continent and in our country, suggests that the ANC's international relations perspective requires constant thinking and enhancing and be open to self-criticism.

KEY DISCUSSION AREAS

- What is the impact of the current global power shifts and contest on the role and functioning of the ANC, especially as a ruling party? Could this be considered to have had a corrosive and demobilising effect on the movement? What is our understanding of the existence of dominant neo-liberal forces in South Africa using their own prism to understand out progressive outlook?
- What is our assessment of emerging tendencies in Africa, with particular reference to re-colonisation, energy security, food security and so froth? How do these impact on Africa and South Africa's role in it?
- sHow do we better promote the strengthening of institutions and bodies in the region and Africa to give them the necessary capacity to deal with these tendencies?

- How do we develop a strategic outlook to consolidate our search for a better Africa and a better world?
 - How do the ANC and government dynamically align themselves to ensure that our foreign policy objectives are advocated and implemented?
 - How well do we understand the South African public and dynamics within ANC structures? How does the ANC facilitate a richer appreciation of the country's foreign policy and the ANC's international relations policy?
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References documents:

1. *Previous ANC International relations documents and Strategy and Tactics on www.anc.org.za*
2. *Documents on Draft South African Foreign Policy White paper, SADPA, bilateral and multilateral treaties, agreements and protocols etc, on www.dirco.gov.za*
3. *Documents on International Relations in Parliament on www.parliament.gov.za*
4. *For any further information access www.igd.org.za , www.aisa.org.za, www.saiia.org.za , www.accord.org.za*
5. *In the run-up to the policy conference the Subcommittee will be publishing articles in the ANC Today*