

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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ANC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A BETTER AFRICA IN A BETTER AND JUST WORLD

INTRODUCTION

1. The ANC celebrates the 60th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 2015. Encompassed within the Charter is the clause *"There shall be peace and friendship"* which is central to the implementation of the ANC International Relations policy.
2. The ANC, our Alliance partners and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) are gearing themselves in preparation for the forthcoming National General Council to be held later this year.
3. The NGC is a constitutional gathering whose overall strategic mandate is to evaluate the organisational progress report, to review and consolidate new policy proposals, and more importantly to appraise the role of our National Liberation Movement into the future.
4. The ANC is revolutionary national liberation movement which is an integral part of the international revolutionary movement to liberate humanity from the bondage of imperialism and neo colonialism.
5. Over the years of our struggle for liberation, our political, economic and ideological ethos has been based on our revolutionary principles of internationalism and solidarity. Our historic mission is to build a better Africa and a better World that is humane, just, equitable, democratic, and free.
6. Our cadres have to appreciate that the international relations question is the most complex terrain of struggle. It is primarily about power and hegemony.
7. At the heart of this important question is how we locate our national interest within the unfolding world realities. Our foremost immediate task is to expand the influence of our nation state as part of the common effort to transform the world into a better place for humanity.
8. The NGC provides an important platform to expand our horizons in this complex terrain of our struggle. The premise is to build a special cadre of the ANC capable of taking forward the objectives of the second phase of our transition for socio economic transformation of our society in the context of our international relations.
9. We therefore present to our structures and membership this discussion document, which seeks to analyse the international balance of forces, and the extent to which they impact on our own specific concrete material conditions as a country and the continent.

2. CHARACTERISATION OF THE WORLD TODAY

1. The world has become an arena of protracted struggle characterized by legacies spanning thousands of years. The panorama of nationalities, languages, cultures and traditions characterizing the theatre of the world gives credence to the popular song *"Yinde Lendlela Esiyihambayo"* (It is a long journey that we traverse)
2. What remains important is our endless contribution to this historic task of human development. The guiding strategy is our political, economic and ideological basis for taking certain principled positions in the midst of these most complex world realities.
3. One of the important tasks of our National Democratic Revolution (NDR) is to grapple with the demands of the ever-changing complex world's material conditions. Our theoretical understanding of the world is derived from the traditions of our movement of the analysis of the balance of forces.
4. The balance of forces is about our understanding

of the concrete analysis of the dynamic world material conditions and how they impact on our own particular conditions. It is imperative to grasp the complexities of the world environment and the extent to which they influence the pace and the direction of the NDR.

5. The dialectic relationship between theory and practice in the struggle for the transformation of society is important for various reasons. Of importance to this dialectical relationship is the notion that theory without practice is sterile.
6. This theoretical formulation is affirmed by Vladimir Lenin when he maintains that, *“revolutionary scientific theory is the weapon to make us judge and define the methods of struggle correctly. It is a weapon that helps us analyse and understand correctly the cause of development of human society at every moment, to analyse and understand correctly every turning point of society and to carry out the revolutionary transformation of society.”*
7. Our historic conjuncture of the 1994 democratic breakthrough took place against the backdrop of events of far reaching political significance. These historic events changed the theatre of the balance of forces in the world.
8. The democratic breakthrough took place against the backdrop of the demise of socialism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states. A defining moment, which caught the imagination of the world, at the time, was the fall of the Berlin Wall, which separated the East from West Germany.
9. The sudden collapse of socialism in the world altered completely the balance of forces in favour of imperialism. It ushered in a new world hegemonic era of global socio economic agenda of capitalism and free market imperatives.
10. The world is navigating through a complex period of a transition from a bipolar into an increasingly contested unipolar world led by the US. There is still an increased contestation of ideas between the two previously opposing hegemonic systems of the world.
11. Our transition to democracy is taking place against the backdrop of a global economy buttressed by the worse global economic crisis at any time since the 1930s. The world economy is underpinned by growing features of poverty, disease and underdevelopment.
12. The world economic meltdown has led to increasing destabilization of regions outside the West and generated new conflicts. This is compounded by declining international solidarity, which is decreasing the ability of multilateral organisations to develop solutions to global and regional conflicts.
13. There is a fundamental need to appreciate the reality that we are taking forward the tasks of our revolution under the most complex and fragile conditions dominated by the world industrial military complex. The global economic trajectory is on a path to serve the interests of the international monopoly capital.
14. Imperialism has plunged humanity in a perpetual socio-economic crisis. The high levels of poverty, inequality, unemployment, disease and underdevelopment confirm our long held view that the capitalist market economy cannot resolve its own contradictions.
15. Western economies have become the epicenter of the world financial crisis. Most of the EU nation states were compelled by the worsening economic conditions to impose harsh austerity measures that saw huge cuts on social spending, privatization of key sectors of the economy, high levels of inflation, decreased standards of living and increasing inequalities and underdevelopment.
16. The increasing level of income inequalities amongst and within most of the world nation states remains a serious challenge. Statistics indicate that more than 870 million people in the world everyday sleep without food. At the same time 1% of the world population owns 50% of the wealth.
17. The deteriorating world economic crisis has a tremendous adverse effect on the economy of our country and therefore our revolutionary programme for radical socio-economic transformation.
18. Despite our achievements since the democratic breakthrough in 1994, our people are still facing the structural consequences of the apartheid colonial realities oppression and exploitation. Our people bear the brunt of poverty, inequality, unemployment, disease, and underdevelopment which is still the principal characteristic of our society.
19. The question we need to ask ourselves is whether we have been able to consolidate the posture of our foreign policy in the continent and the world to advance our national interest? In other words

how do we distinguish our analysis of the world balance of forces and how they impact on our foreign policy perspective?

20. Our sphere of influence is underpinned by our understanding of the global economic power relations. Of importance are where to commence with our theoretical formulation of our national interest from the world perspective in general and our country in particular.
21. One of the crucial questions is whether we are able to use the opportunities we enjoy in the international relations platforms to advance the objectives of our national interest. Of importance do we relate to our understanding of the principles of internationalism and solidarity to achieve the fundamental objectives of our national democratic revolution?
22. Our answer to this question will help us expand our sphere of influence within the international arena. Therefore our main objective is to consolidate the leadership role of our country within the realms of the international world.
23. The main objective of our revolution is to create prospects for meaningful participation of the majority of our people into the mainstream economy. Therefore ours is the transformation of our economy in a manner that responds to the demands of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country.
24. Our perspective on human solidarity and internationalism has informed the role of South Africa on the international platform. Our approach is informed by our struggle to create a world, which is a better place for all humanity.
25. Our strategic approach is to strengthen multilateral institutions such as the SADC, AU and the UN to achieve the overall objectives of creating a just, equitable and humane world.
26. History is a testimony that the US effectively using its aggressive foreign policy to advance its national interests. In most instances it has been supporting undemocratic changes of government as an instrument to serve its global agenda.
27. But on the contrary, lack of democracy has been used as an excuse for US intervention in areas where its national interests are under threat. National interest has become an important factor in determining the world balance of forces.
28. While the economic situation described above presents a gloomy picture, the rise of emerging economies led by China in the world economy has heralded a new dawn of hope for further possibilities of a new world order.
29. In the past twenty years of our democratic dispensation, we have witnessed an increased growth of trade relations between our country and the People Republic of China. China–South Africa trade and investment has been on a pedestal both quantitatively and qualitatively.
30. The trade volumes between China and South Africa have far surpassed the value of USD \$400billion in this current year. But whilst we appreciate this phenomenal growth, more has to be done.
31. Our economic relations have grown in leaps and bounds into investment and beneficiation of both our industrial and manufacturing goods. We therefore have to use the opportunities of these great economic prospects between our two economies to build the friendship of our two people.
32. China economic development trajectory remains a leading example of the triumph of humanity over adversity. The exemplary role of the collective leadership of the Communist Party of China in this regard should be a guiding lodestar of our own struggle.
33. The rise of China as the second strongest economy, with the re-emergence of economies of Russia, and major countries of the South, is gradually redefining the world towards a multi-polar order. Therefore, the growing influence of China on the global economy is an important factor in the balance of global power relations.
34. Further giving credence to “*shifting balance of forces*”, as opposed to static observation, of the dominant US led unipolar world, is the emergence of BRICS constituted by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The formation of BRICS as a powerful political and socio economic bloc is necessarily not just about the size of the population of the member states but also the abundance of the requisite markets.
35. What has become clear is that the formation of BRICS was a conscious political decision to roll back the post-World War II Washington Consensus. The formation of the BRICS Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank will have a far-reaching impact on the development trajectory of the world institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

36. Our understanding of the fragile world environment is important for the success of BRICS as a regional power block. Of importance is to ensure that we guard this milestone achievement against centrality of the Washington Consensus. As progressive forces our immediate task is to constantly work towards building an alternative world that would create a fair, just, equitable and better environment for all the people of the world.
37. The US does not appreciate the resurgence of China and Russia as dominant factors in the arena of international power relations. It has instead declared a cold war against these two emerging world powers.
38. Its destabilisation strategy against China is on three fronts:
- The US is bent on portraying China as the world's worst polluter and a threat to the environment with the intention being to suggest that China is but a paper tiger whose economic rise is not sustainable.
 - The US, backed by its ideological apparatus, has tried a repeat of the Tiananmen Square against the Chinese government by parading to the world counter revolution as a popular uprising and counter revolutionaries as human rights activists.
 - The US is exploiting China's dispute with some of its Asian neighbours over the North and South China Sea islands to rally these neighbours against China, including trying to build an anti-China alliance of Asian satellite states that will take its orders from Washington.
39. Russia has not been spared the wrath of US-led Western imperialism. As with China, the Russian leadership is constantly being portrayed in the Western media and official discourse as monsters abusing human rights. As with China, counter revolutionary demonstrations and marches are being staged and given huge publicity in the Western media in order to destabilise and/provoke the Russian government.
40. Whatever genuine concerns may exist within the Russian population and populations of former Soviet Union, there is a clear plot to exploit this in order to contain the rise of Russia globally. It is an encirclement strategy that seeks to isolate Russia in the manner that is being attempted on China as well.
41. This is the context within which the crisis in Ukraine should be understood by the world progressive forces. The war taking place in Ukraine is not about Ukraine. Its intended target is Russia. As with China, Russia's neighbours are being mobilised to adopt a hostile posture against Moscow, and enticed to join the European Union and NATO. Pro-West satellite states are being cultivated or as we saw with the coup in Ukraine, even invented, to encircle Russia and allow their territory to be used for the deployment of NATO's hostile military hardware faced in the direction of Russia. These Western manoeuvres, directed from Washington, are reminiscent of Cold War. They have vowed in Washington that there will be Russia or China to challenge the US hegemony.
42. Washington's sponsored destabilisation is not limited to Russia and China. We see it unfolding in the streets of Latin America including in Venezuela which the US has strangely declared a threat to its "national security", in the Middle East and in African countries with the sole intention of toppling a progressive democratically-elected governments. This has a bearing on the nature of conflict and the scourge of terrorism we see in the world today.
43. The South has been rising in a manner that promises to alter the international balance of power and offer opportunities for the emergence of a post-Western world order and Washington is in a fighting mood to ensure that this does not happen.

3. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION AND REINDUSTRIALISATION OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

1. This year the people of the African continent and the world marked the 51st anniversary celebrations of the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU is the most important political instrument used over the years of our struggle to accelerate the process of the decolonialization of the continent.
2. The OAU, which is now the African Union (AU), has played a much significant political leadership role in the struggle of our people against imperialism and colonial domination. The AU continues to occupy the forefront trenches of our struggle to build a better Africa from the shambles of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

3. African leaders have identified industrialization as central to the development of the continent. Developmental integration as a radical approach to integration is imperative for our overall strategy to build the economic base of continental integration.
4. Promoting developmental integration across the existing Regional Economic Communities culminating in the eventual establishment of a continental Free Trade Area is a common endeavour agreed by the continent.
5. The integration of the African regional blocks and multilateral structures remain at the heart of ensuring that our continent occupies its rightful position in the arena of the global socio-economic power relations. Unity and cohesion of the people of our continent is a backbone of our international relations policy.
6. This will assist to unite the African continent against the superficial designs manifest in colonial boundaries and regional blocs. The fragmentation of the African continent was a result of the resolutions of the Berlin Conference of 1884-5.
7. Our focus is to accelerate the political, social and economic integration of our continent. There is a need to continue strengthening the capacity of the African Union (AU), its institutions and Regional Economic Communities.
8. Our movement has been consistent in its strategic approach of ensuring that African development remains at the center of the world development agenda. At the heart of this strategic approach is the development of its governance architecture at continental and regional level.
9. Centuries of colonial oppression and exploitation have left our continent at the periphery of the high levels of poverty, inequality, unemployment, diseases and underdevelopment. The question we need to pose to ourselves is whether we have the necessary capacity to use our political power to change the living conditions of our people.
10. Imperialism and neo-colonial forces are responsible for the wave of social instability in our continent. The principal aim is to exploit the human and the material resources of our continent.
11. However, we need to take cognizance that our continent is still confronted by mammoth challenges of lack of human capital and weak institutions to juxtapose this historic legacy. We need to steer our continent into a more qualitative trajectory of economic growth and development.
12. The political economy of the continent is still characterized by the colonial economic logic of exporting raw materials while importing value-added products largely from the developed world. There is less initiative to benefitiate the economy in order to increase its productive capacity, and therefore create more requisite skills and the necessary job opportunities.
13. The socio-economic ownership patterns in our continent have still assumed the posture of the historical relationship between the former colonies and colonial master.
14. We have learned that the achievement of political independence does not necessarily translate into economic freedom. Therefore, our task is to accelerate the development agenda on the continent through fast-tracking the massive infrastructural backlog.
15. The 2012 UN Global Population Report predicts that the global population will grow by 9, 6billion people by the year 2050. Currently almost half of the global population is under the age of 25, with 1, 3billion people between the ages of 12 and 24 years, it should also be noted that Africa is the second fastest growing population.
16. The African Economic Outlook Report describes our continent as the world youngest continent with 600 million young people. The number of young people in the continent is growing faster than anywhere else in the world.
17. Our continent faces the biggest burden of youth unemployment crisis. Most of our countries are unable to create sustainable job opportunities to the exploding youth population.
18. The growing discontent amongst the youth in the continent could lead to explosive conditions that result in social upheavals, violence and therefore deepening political instability.
19. More emphasis is to build on the productive capacity of the economy of our continent so that it can respond to the needs of our people. We need to be proactive in channelling our resources to enhancing human capital especially the youth.
20. Our trade relations with the African continent have grown exponentially. Our trade volumes have grown larger than our combined trade with all the European countries.

21. According to statistics from the Department of Trade and Industry, in 1994 trade between South Africa and Africa was R11, 4billion and today is at R389billion. In the same year our trade volumes with Asia and the Middle East were at R42billion and now at R788billion as compared to R439billion from the European Union.
22. The vast North American market continues to offer opportunities for increased value-added exports and the attraction of FDI, technology transfer and skills development. The renewal of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) presents an opportunity to increase trade with the US not withstanding challenges.
23. Developments in the Pacific Alliance (Columbia, Peru, Chile and Mexico) need to be closely monitored with the view to identify opportunities for our country.
24. Brazil, Mexico and Argentina are G20 member states are destined to become privileged interlocutors in South Africa's efforts to improve regulation of the global political, economic, social and environmental sectors. Mexico is the 2nd largest manufacturing country by value in the world and may surpass China by 2018 as the number one manufacturing country.
25. Therefore as much as we must appreciate the increasing economic integration and trade with the other African states and the world, our democratic state must continue its work of ensuring that it becomes the anchor of the development of our continent.
26. The apartheid regime has over the years created a perception that our country is a typical colonial outpost on the African continent. We therefore, need to reposition the role of the South African capital in a manner that advances the objectives of the reconstruction and development of the continent.
27. At the same time we need to understand that the movement of the South African capital into the continent is an inevitable objective process of the development of our productive forces. Competition is in the nature and the character of the capitalist system.
28. Our continent is steadily becoming stable with most of our countries embracing democratic practices. However, the tendency by some in political leadership to remain in power for many years against the will of the people is a worrisome phenomenon.
29. The phenomenon has become a seedbed for counter revolutionary activities in the continent. It also cultivates an environment for social and political disharmony, creating fertile ground for manipulation and all sorts of conspiracies by imperialist and neo-colonial forces.
30. Whilst achieving some successes, the continent continue to face social upheavals that characterized regime change, internal conflicts, violence etc in countries such as Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, Lesotho, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Madagascar, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia. These are the challenges the people of the continent have to confront.
31. One of the contributing factors hampering the political, social and economic integration and development of the African continent is the high levels of illicit capital flow. Corruption has become a cancer to our developmental objectives.
32. The Report by the African Development Bank and the Global Financial Integrity Institute, reveal a high calibre analysis of the extent to which the illicit financial outflows hamper the social and economic development of the continent.
33. Each and every year, roughly one trillion dollars flow illegally out of the developing countries due to crime, corruption and tax evasion. The estimates are more than ten times the amount of the foreign aid flowing into the same economies.
34. The consequence of the illicit financial outflow is that it drains hard currency, reserves heightened inflation, reduce tax collection, cancel investment, undermine trade, worsen poverty and undermine income tax.
35. From the year 1970–2004, the estimated illicit financial flows from the African continent are at approximately \$854 billion.
36. The report estimates that the illicit money stolen by corrupt government officials amount to 3%, whilst 65% moves across the border through international trade.
37. Further compounding the high levels of poverty as a result of income inequalities amongst the nation states are the continued challenges of diseases such as HIV/AIDS, TB, Malaria and recently Ebola.
38. Climate change continues to inflict catastrophic disasters to the poor of the world particularly those in the developing world.

39. Globally, terrorism remains one of the most serious concerns. The unfolding situation in the Middle East and some of the African countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Libya, Mali, Kenya and the Sahel region need our close scrutiny.
40. The growth of international piracy of eastern and western coasts of Africa hampers trade, security and commerce in transport corridors that are crucial for the global economy.
41. Religious extremism and fundamentalism has become an anchor of terrorism in the continent. The terrorist groups with their anti-west radicalism have reined terror mainly in the East, Central and the northern parts of the continent.
42. Western Sahara remains one of the last bastions of colonialism on the African continent. We need to accelerate our campaign of demanding that the UN and AU end the occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco.
43. We therefore make a call that the Saharawi people be given the right to self-determination. Our movement is committing itself to host a solidarity conference with the people of Western Sahara.
44. The new agenda for reconstruction of Africa is about infrastructure development and industrialisation of the continent.
45. But this growth and development will be meaningless if its benefits only grow the pockets of the rich and the elites. To be meaningful, it must be truly transformative, eradicate poverty, reduce inequality, create jobs, and make our continent prosperous. This is what the rise of Africa must be about.
46. When we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the OAU/AU, we looked back with satisfaction on the road we have travelled. But also committed for doing better in the next fifty years. As part of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations, the African Union, during the Summit of May 2013, adopted a solemn declaration that rededicated the collective leadership for the development of the continent. The declaration also called for the development of a continental agenda that will guide our work towards a peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa, driven by its citizens and taking its rightful place in the world by 2063.
47. The evolving Agenda 2063 is currently premised on seven inspirational pillars, which are:
- A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development;

- An Integrated Continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan Africanism;
- An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for Human Rights, Justice and the Rule of Law;
- A peaceful and secure Africa;
- An Africa with strong cultural values and ethics;
- An Africa where development is people-driven, relying particularly on the potential of women and youth; and
- Africa as a strong and influential global player and partner.

48. In highlighting the above aspirations, the African people unequivocally expressed a collective desire to uplift the continent from the morass of underdevelopment and degradation. With Agenda 2063, the AU is rallying all African people to join the march for the rebirth of the African Continent in all aspects – to extend our political liberation to economic, cultural and social liberation.

“Agenda 2063 is about the Africa we want to build in the next 50 years. It connects the Africa of yesterday to the Africa of today and the Africa of tomorrow. The Africa of yesterday is the indispensable lessons we have learnt since the days of independence some 50 years ago. The Africa of today is our destiny that is firmly in our hands with every action we take. The Africa of tomorrow is the future we are creating through what we do today.”

4. OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SECOND PHASE OF TRANSITION FOR RADICAL SOCIO ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

1. The greatness of any revolution is measured in terms of its capacity to take forward the aspirations and the wishes of the people and to make possible the transformation of society.
2. The 53rd National Conference in Mangaung reaffirmed our 52nd Conference resolution that the ANC is a strategic centre of power. This resolution remains a cornerstone towards all our principal goals of reviewing organisational policies and programmes.
3. Our 53rd National conference dedicated this decade to the development of an ANC cadre capable of taking forward the tasks of the second

phase of our transition for radical socio economic transformation of our society.

4. The task is to build a diplomat of a special kind in the context of the present complex global political-socio-economic power relations and our national interests. This will assist to reposition us as a powerful force for change in the arena of international politics.
5. Since the advent of our democratic breakthrough in 1994, our people have bestowed our movement with the mandate to lead the process of transforming our society. In its capacity as a political movement and the leader of society, the ANC has engaged with fraternal parties and governments at various levels.
6. At the level of the international arena, our country was readmitted to the United Nations (UN) and all other multilateral agencies. In the continent we continue to dispatch our historic participatory leadership role in the AU and the SADC community.
7. Our movement continues to be instrumental in matters of strategic importance such as equality, development and peace in regional, continental and international bodies. Our principal task continues to be the consolidation of unity and cohesion of the progressive forces in the continent and the world.
8. Our foreign policy is at the heart of our domestic imperatives. The essence is to promote our national interest to build a humane world order.
9. Within this space the ANC should be firm in promoting peace and stability and at the same time articulating its domestic imperatives in the continent and the whole world.
10. We need to build a stronger continent based on African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 to ensure that the strategy of the reconstruction and industrialisation of our continent benefit our people. This will forge the competitive edge of the continent in its multilateral trade with the rest of the globe.
11. It is through the unity of the continent that we can ensure the eradication of poverty, inequality, unemployment, disease and underdevelopment as well as promote stability and prosperity. The question we must pose is what must be done to achieve this noble objective?
12. In this regard, we need a continuous transformation of our foreign policy to achieve the objectives of our national democratic revolution.

5. PROGRESS REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS POLICY AREAS

1. Our 53rd National Conference reconfirmed the ANC as a strategic centre of power. It is from this premise that our foreign policy perspective is informed by the decisions of the ANC's National Conferences.
2. The report elucidates progress achieved by both the ANC international relations subcommittee and our democratic government over the period of review. The subcommittee's report will be covered under the Organisational Component while matters of governance will be presented under the section Governance Component. However, the two components must be examined as one because government implements the decisions and programmes of the ANC.

3. ORGANISATIONAL COMPONENT

Our organisational programme is anchored on the following six pillars adopted during our 53rd National Conference:

- Building a better Africa and World
- Continental and International solidarity
- Party-to-Party, intra-party and multi-party relations
- Transformation of global governance
- Policy development issues
- Campaigns

PILLAR I: *Better Africa and Better World*

1. We begin with our programme for Building a Better Africa. Over the past two and a half-year period of review, we have made significant progress in ensuring that our structures and the general public understand the global political and socio economic situation. Of more importance was to promote the spirit of solidarity and internationalism.
2. We successfully advocated our foreign policy positions by organizing and participating in seminars, workshops and other platforms both in our country and throughout the world. Amongst others were platforms such as the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD),

Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD), South African Liaison Organisation (SALO), dialogues hosted by Universities and solidarity events like Palestinians Solidarity Week and the Colloquium to Free the Cuban Five.

3. We have also embarked on a vigorous programme of disseminating information through seminars and cultural exchanges between the different countries of focus and our Alliance partners. Amongst the programmes that were implemented include:

- A seminar celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the OAU/AU;
- A seminar on peace and conflict resolution with particular reference to the Central African Republics and South Sudan organised at the University of the Witwatersrand Business School;
- International Relations seminar on Alba-TCP (Bolivarian Movement);
- Political Education seminar on "Australian Labour Party Solidarity with South Africa and the Labour Accord";
- Solidarity programmes on Palestine and Cuba.

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Post-2015 Development Agenda

- In 2014 the plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly finalized the framework for the Post-2015 Development Agenda which will succeed the programme of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) when it expires in 2015. It is therefore important that the ANC familiarizes its structures and our people about the Post-2015 Development Agenda which will be a global programme for combating poverty, inequality, unemployment and underdevelopment.
- Our structures must engage our people on the MDGs and their implementation. We must also make our structures and broader society understand the strategic differences between the MDGs and the Post-2015 Development Agenda. The ANC membership has to be in the forefront of our struggle for the achievement of the goals of the MDGs and the Post-2015 Development Agenda.

The African Union

- The ANC and our democratic government has to

focus more on strengthening regional economic integration by promoting NEPAD, utilising the African Peer Review Mechanism, and consolidating our participation in AU structures and programmes.

- In this regard the ANC has been engaging progressive parties, some of them ruling parties, in the region and the continent on a party-to-party level on AU matters. We are confident that this will go a long way in making sure that the people of the continent work together for the realization of the goals of the AU.

The Pan African Parliament (PAP)

- The year 2014 has been remarkable in the history of PAP. Much has been achieved to ensure that the revised protocols facilitate the upgrading of PAP into a full legislative body.
- As PAP develops its legislative frameworks and develop model legislation for the continent, the ANC together with South Africa (as host) should take advantage of this positive development, to mobilise our people in support of this organ of the AU and its progressive agenda.
- The construction of the permanent home for PAP in South Africa is work in progress.

The Pan-African Women's Organisation (PAWO)

- The ANC and the ANC Women League are current faced with the challenges of the establishment of the Head Quarters as requested by the women of the continent to have South Africa as the host.
- The Women's Wings of MPLA in Angola, ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe, SWAPO in Namibia and CCM in Tanzania have registered their concerns in the Forum of the Former Liberation Movements in Southern Africa about the slow pace of progress as it relates to PAWO and have further raised fears that the institutions faces imminent collapse in the hands of South Africa.
- The matter is receiving urgent attention as the National Working Committee has established a task team to ensure that all outstanding matters in this regard is solved and the institution receives a home.

Pan African Youth Union (PAYU)

- The ANC faced some challenges of representation in the PAYU since the disbandment of the ANC Youth League (YL) NEC.

- The ANC International Relations subcommittee is working together with relevant ANC structures to ensure that PAYU challenges are addressed once the ANC YL NEC is reconstituted.

All-Africa Student Union (AASU)

- The regional structure of the Southern Africa Student Union (SASU) attempted to meet in 2013 but due to limited resources the meeting was unable to take place. On other areas such as the AU support to the All-Africa Student Union and the establishment of the Pan-African University, work is in progress.

Southern African Development Community (SADC)

- The ANC and the government play a prominent role in consolidating the region politically, socially and economically.
- The ANC in the Former Liberation Movements (FLMs) meetings, its party-to-party meetings with sister parties of FLMs, as well as in meetings with other ruling parties in the region, continues to engage to find solutions and develop programmes to fast-track the regional economic integration, cultural exchange, people-to-people and country-to-country development and other integration programmes.

SADC Parliamentary Forum

- The transformation of SADC Parliamentary Forum to a full legislative organ of SADC must serve to reinforce regional integration ensuring that it addresses the needs of the peoples of the region. Work on this is in progress.

Building a Better Africa goes hand in hand with Building a Better World which includes promoting South-South Cooperation

- It is generally accepted that the international balance of forces are gradually shifting in the direction of the countries of the South. South-South Cooperation is important in the South Africa's Foreign Policy architecture.
- In pursuit of the progressive agenda of a better world, the ANC has in the context of South-South party-to-party relations engaged with like-minded sister parties such as the Communist Party of Cuba, Australian Labour Party, Indian National Congress, Brazil Workers' Party, Former Liberation

Movements, POLISARIO, Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), South Sudan People's Liberation Movement, National Congress Party of Sudan, NCD Ghana, Al-Fatah of Palestine, Baath Party of Syria, PUK of Iraq, and the Worker's Party of Brazil. We also met ruling parties of different ideological orientation to ours to discuss shared concerns and opportunities.

- The ANC participates in various forums, seminars and conferences to strengthen South-South relations such as in the Sao Paulo Forum; and meets regularly with fraternal parties on the margins of such international gatherings.
- The ANC's relations with political parties in Latin America and the Caribbean are weak. Consequently the ANC has identified strategic political parties in the region, while strengthening the already existing relations.

Brazil-India-China-South Africa (BRICS)

- The ANC led awareness campaigns on BRICS and hosted a post-BRICS Summit seminar in partnership with Wits University Business School.
- **On the establishment of the BRICS Bank:** The ANC campaigned strongly through its party-to-party and government-to-government relations for this Bank to be hosted in South Africa but the final decision at the BRICS Summit held in Brazil in 2014 concluded that it would be hosted by China with a regional structure based in South Africa.
- **On the use of BRICS membership:** The ANC is in discussion with the ruling parties of f BRICS member states to sign a joint Memorandum of Understanding to promote stronger party-to-party relations in order to utilise the mechanism to promote party-to-party exchange. This mechanism will enable the parties to find common areas of cooperation that would be beneficial to all the members of BRICS, and present an alternative to the Washington Consensus.
- **On consolidation of party-party relations:** The ANC has renewed its Memorandum of Understanding with the United Russia Party and the Communist Party of China with regular interaction and programmes. Bilateral engagements with the Workers' Party of Brazil and the Indian National Congress are underway.

North-South Dialogue

- The ANC continues to strengthen its existing

relations of North-South interaction with sister parties of the North such as the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, Social Democratic Party of Germany, Norwegian Labour Party, Socialist Party of Spain, and the All United Russian Party, to promote respect for African Union Processes, respect for decisions made by African Countries and African solutions to African problems. Where differences may arise the ANC engages these political parties to establish common understanding on those matters.

Peace and Security, Reconstruction and Development

- Since 2013, a new wave of conflicts has arisen in parts of Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and Eastern Europe, while territorial disputes have surfaced elsewhere including the North and South China Sea area. The ANC has observed this closely.
- The ANC has been active in peace-building missions both politically and governmentally and continues to assist in various ways to find resolution to conflicts in DRC, Madagascar, Somalia and Somaliland, Sudan and South Sudan, North Africa, Middle East and Sri Lanka.
- The ANC has been engaging various role players on recent changes in the continent as a result of the uprisings in North Africa (the "Arab Springs"), the situations that ensued in CAR, South Sudan, Chad, Madagascar and Libya as well as analysing the impact of the recent economic recessions in Europe and the United States America (USA). The ANC has to continue analyzing the unfolding complex world reality the movement of NATO in our continent and the world.

Zimbabwe

- South Africa through President Jacob Zuma continued to play a significant role as SADC facilitator in Zimbabwe until the country had democratic elections in 2013 that were declared by most observers as free, fair and credible. ZANUPF won with an overwhelming majority in the elections.
- SADC, inclusive of South Africa, continue to advocate for the full lifting of sanctions against Zimbabwean leaders as a catalyst to promoting social and economic development in the country.

South Sudan and Sudan

- The Horn of Africa Focus Group ceased to

function at the beginning of 2014 but has now been resuscitated and reorganized as the Africa Focus Group which is a useful resource for the IR Subcommittee, NWC, and NEC.

- During the initial visits of the Special Envoy and his team to the region IGAD had agreed that South Africa's role would be on a political level to assist SPLM South Sudan. It was further agreed that a tripartite arrangement between ANC, SPLM (South Sudan) and EPRDF (Ethiopia) to find political solutions should be signed.

South Sudan:

- Since the South African General Elections, the matters of South Sudan conflict in the office of the Deputy President of the Republic and together with his team they have been engaging various role players to find lasting solutions to the continual conflict in South Sudan.
- Although the ANC International Relations is not directly involved in conflict resolution processes, however our movement is inundated with requests and enquiries from continental political parties, Europe and the USA about our role in both The Sudan and South Sudan.
- The MOU between the ANC and SPLM South Sudan is up for revision and both parties have agreed to facilitate such revisions in the course of 2015.
- During the initial visits of the Special Envoy and his team to the region IGAD had agreed that South Africa's role would be on a political level to assist SPLM South Sudan. It was further agreed that a tripartite arrangement between ANC, SPLM (South Sudan) and EPRDF (Ethiopia) to find political solutions should be signed.
- Since the South African General Elections, the matters of South Sudan conflict rest with the office of the Deputy President of the Republic that has been engaging various role players to find lasting solutions to the continual conflict in South Sudan.

Sudan

- The conflict situation between the Government of Sudan and the opposition forces of Sudan (of which SPLM North Sudan is a component) still persist. The AU High level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) mandated by the AUPSC continues the facilitation to develop peace agreement between the Government of Sudan and opposition forces in Sudan continues with minimal progress.
- The ANC has met with SPLM North Sudan to revitalize relations, reignite communication lines

and is developing a strategy for relations and engagement on issues in Sudan and South Sudan.

- The ANC participated in the NCP Congress in Sudan and the implementation of the MOU signed will begin soon.

Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

- The ANC had party-to-party meetings with PPRD (ruling party) in DRC as part of our further engagement stemming from a letter of intent signed by both parties in 2013, to work on the content of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on organisational building.

Swaziland

- ANC International Relations has been engaging various role players such as PUDEMO, SWADEPO, NLF, the Ngwane National Laboratory Party. We also participated in seminars on Swaziland organised by various NGOs and Solidarity movements on Swaziland.
- In 2014, the world witnessed the arrest of the President of PUDEMO, Mario Masuku and other NGO role players who were advocating for democracy in Swaziland. The momentum on the campaign to release Mario Masuku is on the increase, with limited participation from the ANC.
- The situation in Swaziland is becoming worrisome on a daily basis. It is without any contradictions that the regime has become a typical police state. The ANC must ensure that the necessary diplomatic interventions are initiated to bring democracy to our neighbouring state.

Ethiopia and Eritrea

- The ANC in terms of lessening the tensions between the two countries have done very minimal work. The deployment of cadres from the Alliance on a fact-finding mission to both countries is still outstanding. There has been significant improvement regarding engagement between ANC and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), but less so with PFDJ Eritrea.

Ethiopia:

- The ANC continues to engage the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) at different levels to share experience and work together on common programmes. The

cooperation between the ANC and EPRDF around the hosting of a conference of Progressive Parties on the continent remains work in progress.

- The ANC, SPLM South Sudan and EPRDF signed a trilateral agreement to deal with the internal party conflicts in SPLM South Sudan.

Eritrea:

- Currently, Eritrea is not part of IGAAD whose current Chairperson is Ethiopia and this is a matter of concern because a regional body should include all countries. Therefore unresolved matters between the two countries must be resolved.
- Notwithstanding this situation, Eritreans are present in many countries in the region, particularly, Sudan and South Sudan. Thus the Eritrean government is an important role player to consult pertaining to the current situation in South Sudan.
- The PFDJ Eritrea has in the past requested to meet with the ANC and reiterated this request in 2014. The ANC is setting up a fact-finding mission to Eritrea as mandated by the national conference.

Somalia & Somaliland

- The ANC-led government has continued to do extensive work in this area with a view to finding lasting peace. The understanding of Somalia/Somaliland within ANC Structures and in the broader South Africa public domain is very minimal. It is therefore imperative for the ANC to gather information to enhance our understanding and create awareness in our structures and the broader South Africa public domain, in order to empower our members.

Central African Republic (CAR)

- The coup in CAR in 2013 resulted in deaths of SANDF soldiers providing training to the CAR army and police personnel and thus led to the withdrawal of the SANDF from CAR.
- The situation in CAR deteriorated into conflict between religious groupings until agreements were reached in processes South Africa played a crucial supportive role in. CAR's instability threatens regional stability.
- The SI Africa Committee that the ANC is a member will be sending a fact-finding mission to CAR to observe and assess the situations, and engage forces and leadership on the ground.

Libya

- The Western sponsored NATO military campaign in Libya in 2011 left a trail of destruction, disillusionment and widespread instability. The country continues to witness this four years on. Libyan situation continues to be unstable with a variety of political and armed actors vying for the control of the state and the country's resources.
- The Libya crisis helped the spread of illegal weapons to the rest of the Sahel Region, thus contributing to increased destabilization of Africa by fuelling cross-border crimes, human and drug trafficking, and violence affecting the ECOWAS Region and other parts of Africa.
- By invading Libya under the pretext of protecting civilians, the West has thus helped the spread of violence, conflict and terrorism in Africa.

Middle East

- The conflict in Syria, which now involves a few global powers, remains unresolved but there has been new developments unfolding with the rise of the extremist groups in Iraq putting further pressure on the Syria government.
- We have witnessed the spectre of violence spread to other parts of the Middle East with the rise of extremist groups in Iraq with a spill-over effect on the region.
- This has attracted the interest of western powers and others deploying militarily in the region, ostensibly to fight the rise of extremists, but in the process helping to further complicate the situation in the Middle East.
- Furthermore, great understanding with regard to the Arab World is required in lieu of The Middle Eastern Alliance that was formed between Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan with regard to the situation that has evolved in Yemen. Secondly, the changes unfolding between the Western Forces and Iran necessitate the ANC to political research and analyse the impact these changes would have on the Region as well as the impact it would have on the Palestinian situation.

Russia and Ukraine

- The conflict in Ukraine escalated in the global power rivalry between US-Europe seeking to isolate and encircle Russia, on the one hand, and, Russia seeking to preserve itself. In the process, we

have seen the conflict become entrenched with concern.

- The ANC is in the process of setting up consultations with experts and others as well as academics regarding the situation to enable it to remain informed on the developments.

China and Vietnam

- China is involved in territorial disputes over islands in the North and South China Sea areas that have also drawn the ire of the US that has military bases in the region. Vietnam is one of the countries involved in the disputes and its ruling party has conveyed its concerns about this to the ANC. We should observe this situation closely.

PILLAR II:

Continental and International Solidarity

International solidarity will continue to inspire our approach to world affairs. As such, we support the struggle for the right to self-determination of the people of Palestine and the Western Sahara. We also continue to pledge support to Cuba for the lifting of the economic blockade.

Cuba

- We will always be inspired by the role of Cuba in the struggle for internationalism and solidarity. Its role in the struggle for the liberation of the African continent against imperialism and colonialism will always be treasured.
- Cuba continues to be an inspiration for us in pursuit of our agenda of international solidarity. Its role in the fight against Ebola in West Africa is exemplary.
- We need to take forward the campaign for the end of the fifty years old US economic blockade against the republic of Cuba bearing in mind that 184 countries in the United Nations voted for the lifting of the blockade.
- Our Movement, together with other progressive organisations across the world, has consistently campaigned for the release of the Cuban Five. The recent visit by the Five Cuban heroes to our country, during the significant celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter, was a demonstration of friendly relations between our two countries.

- We commend this positive step taken by both the governments of Cuba and the United States to improve relations. The ANC wishes both Cuba and the United States well in further moves to improve their diplomatic relations between these two countries.
- The ANC re-affirms our ongoing solidarity with Cuba and the Cuban people and will continue to offer support for an end to the US economic blockade. The struggle of the people of Cuba is the struggle of the people of the world.

Palestine

- The ANC continues to pledge solidarity with the people of Palestine, advocating for a two-state solution as a resolution to the continued ongoing conflict situation between Palestine and Israel.
- The ANC has participated and will continue to participate in activities of the week-long programme on Israeli Apartheid Week in solidarity with the Palestinians.
- Following the invasion of Gaza and the bombardment and the killings of innocent Palestinians by the Israeli military, the ANC issued a statement of condemnation and joined solidarity marches and programmes for a free Palestine. The ANC commends all provinces, the Leagues and the Alliance, for their participation on the campaign.

Western Sahara

- ANC and ANC-led government in different platforms (solidarity meetings domestically, seminars on Western Sahara both domestically and internationally, Socialist International Africa Committee and Council meetings, United Nations, and so forth) continues to sponsor and support resolutions promoting the self-determination of the Saharawi people.
- The ANC engaged with representatives from the POLISARIO Front on the sides of Socialist International (SI) meetings and put forward a proposal for SI Africa Committee to send a fact-finding mission to Morocco and Western Sahara, as well as the refugee camps in Algeria.
- The domestic solidarity campaign has dropped to almost non-existence and therefore the ANC and the Alliance partners have to find a mechanism to reignite the solidarity campaign with the people of Saharawi.

- For almost two years, the ANC has not participated in Solidarity activities in Spain and Algiers, but we have tried to rectify this by ensuring our participation in the Solidarity Conference held in Algiers in December 2014.
- The ANC has also committed itself to host the next African Solidarity meeting for the people of Western Sahara in 2016 at the latter mentioned conference.

PILLAR III:

Party-to-Party, Intra and Multilateral Relations

- The ANC receive frequent requests from other political parties and organisations, both continentally and internationally, to establish relations and share experience.
- The ANC continues to participate in party-to-party and intra-party relations and has decided to take more politically informed approach to forging relations, but guided by our principles as outlined in national conference resolutions.
- Many of the party-to-party relations arise as a result of the ANC's participation in Peace building, reconstruction and development and Continental and International Solidarity.
- The ANC continues to participate in the Conferences and Congresses of our Fraternal parties such that of the Norwegian Labour Party, Swedish Social Democratic Party, Botswana Democratic Party, Botswana National Front, EPRDF, Cuba Communist Party, MPLA, FRELIMO, SWAPO, CCM, and ZANU-PF.
- The ANC participates in seminars arranged by FES and the Olof Palme Foundation annually. The ANC further participated in a seminar hosted by FRELIMO and FES in Maputo, which was followed up with a party-to-party visit to the new Secretary General of the FRELIMO to share experience on elections.
- The ANC met with the United Russian Party to elevate the relations and conclude a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which was signed between the two parties. The ANC has already embarked on some party-to-party exchange programmes in Russia.
- The ANC is in the process of reviewing its MOU with the Communist Party of China. The first delegation

of NEC members has embarked on a two-week Study Tour to China in early this year. There are other exchanges envisioned for 2015.

- The ANC has met a number of parties that have requested forging relations with the ANC. The ANC has also received request from parties it has relations with for strengthening these relations. Amongst these are CNDD-FDD Burundi, PNR Libres et Indépendance (PNRF) Libres et Indépendance Honduras, SDP Denmark, PAIGV Cape Verde, PAIGC Guinea Bissau, PDS Benin, PDS Niger, MLSTP Sao Tome and Principe and NDP Ghana, PPRD DRC, PCT Congo Brazzaville, LCD Lesotho, SPLM North Sudan, NCP Sudan, Workers Party of Korea, Netherlands Labour Party, FRELIMO, SWAPO, BDP Botswana, and Communist Party of Vietnam. Relations with progressive parties in West Africa and Latin America remain weak and the subcommittee is currently developing a strategy to establish relations with progressive forces in these areas.
- With regard to party-to-party relations with parties from the developed North, the ANC has to really to be more pro-active, and this will require financial resources.
- Apart from strengthening relations and reaching out to new friends, there are some serious questions we need to consider. Admittedly, the ANC is not and has never been a communist organisation. However, the ANC has always been anti-imperialist in nature and pro-working class. The need to define “*progressive policies*” is therefore imperative and urgent so that we know when we choose friends what criteria to look for. It does not help us that we are forced to embrace parties simply because we are affiliated to the same international organization.

Former Liberation Movements

- The ANC continues to participate in the Former Liberation Movement meetings to strengthen and consolidate relations. The Secretaries-General meet twice a year and the Leaders meet once a year. The meetings take place on a rotational basis.
- The Leaders of the Southern African Former Liberation Movements (FLMs) met in February 2013 at Freedom Park in Tshwane. Their meeting was preceded by meetings of the Secretaries-General and the Wings/Leagues (Veterans, Women’s League and Youth League) of FLMs. The outcomes of the Leaders meeting were as follows:
 - In strengthening and consolidating relations the Leaders of FLMs adopted further strategies

for the implementation of the project on the historical heritage of FLMs.

- Agreed on working together in realizing the objective of building the FLMs political school in Tanzania, as it is an important initiative in retaining the legacy and heritage of our liberation. Significant progress on the building of the political school has been made in that funding has been obtained and land for the construction of the school has been allocated in Tanzania.
- The Leagues/Wings in their meetings resolved on a number of issues that informs their common programme.
- A meeting took place in Tanzania where the Secretaries General went to view the land donated by the Tanzanian government for the establishment of the joint political school. The meeting also agreed on the establishment of the technical committee, which will be chaired by the former Secretary General of CCM to work out the design, curriculum and building time frames for the school.
- The next meeting of Secretaries’ General and Head of Organisations was scheduled in Maputo for 2014, to be hosted by FRELIMO, but due to the Mozambican and Namibian elections as well as the ZANUPF conference it has been postponed to 2015.
- An urgent meeting of Secretaries’ General was convened by CCM and hosted by the ANC in Johannesburg to process developments regarding the joint political school in 2014.

Building a Global Progressive Movement: Socialist International (SI) and the Emergence of the new “Progressive Alliance” (PA)

- Since the hosting of the XXIV Socialist International (SI) Congress the SI has undergone substantial reforms in its composition and representation. However, post-congress, a new entity, “*The Progressive Alliance*” has emerged led by European members of the SI. The move increasingly seems like an attempt to create a new organisation to replace the SI.
- In engaging the key proponents of the establishment of the PA on what defined it, we have been informed that it was a networking structure advocating for the transformation of SI.

- The programmes and activities often reflect differently as being in direct opposition with SI. The PA has already established its headquarters in Leipzig. Thus far the PA has held meetings in Italy, Portugal, Norway, The Netherlands, United Kingdom and Germany as well as a meeting of the Africa Group coordinated by SDP Cameroon.
- The ANC has agreed to meet with the key European Parties leading the PA as an attempt to convince them to do things differently and rather invest in ensuring that the full transformation of SI.
- Secondly, these European parties have reduced their membership to observer status that implies a significant decrease in their membership fees contribution and this has put severe resource constraints on SI.
- Our position as the ANC may put us in a precarious position as it may lead to our isolation – the Europeans are aggressively courting members on the Continent.

Socialist International (SI)

- The ANC remains committed to the Socialist International despite the challenges faced by the organisation. The ANC has deployed representatives to the SI Presidium, SI Ethics Committee and SI Africa Committee namely: Comrade President Jacob Zuma as a Vice-President, Comrade Secretary-General Gwede Mantashe and Comrade NEC Member, Ebrahim Ebrahim as Deputy Chair, respectively. The deployees have been actively participating in the various meetings of the SI.
- The last ANC representatives that attended the SI Council meeting in Mexico resolved that the format of SI meetings has to change if it is to be impactful and the ANC is in the process of working on a proposal in this regard.
- There was significant progress in the SI Africa Committee and a call for reforms of the organization's operations. The SI Africa Committee has appointed a Working Group to look into the proposed reforms made at the meeting in Tanzania in 2014 and there is already work in progress.

PILLAR IV:

Transformation and Global Governance

- The ANC, through party-to-party meetings continentally and internationally, as well as its engagements in regional forums (Former Liberation Movements, SI Africa Committee, the African Left Network) and other international forums, advocates for UN Reforms, with special emphasis on reforms of the UN Security Council.

IMF and World Bank

- The ANC continues to advocate for reforms of these institutions as part of our policy positions. However, in the same breath, the ANC supports alternatives to these institutions such as BRICS Bank and Alba-TCP, amongst others.

The International Criminal Court

- The 53rd Conference resolved that as much *“as the ANC does not condone impunity, authoritarian and violent regimes, it is concerned about the perception of selective prosecution of Africans and urges the ICC to also pursue cases of impunity elsewhere, while engaging in serious dialogue with the AU and African countries in order to review their relationship”*; and called *“on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which has referred some African cases to the ICC, to recognise the work done by the AU, its RECs and individual African countries to promote the peaceful end to and settlement of conflicts on the continent, the peace agreements signed and commitments made in regard to post-conflict justice.”*
- This has not happened. Instead the ICC has continued to attack African countries. In addition to this, the ICC arrogantly insists on African countries to execute ICC warrants of arrests which are not recognised by the African Union. South Africa was not spared by this arrogance when President Al-Bashir visited our country for the June 2015 Summit of the African Union to the point that the ANC decided on reviewing South Africa's membership of this organisation.
- In taking this decision, we reaffirmed our unwavering commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights on the continent of Africa and beyond. We further noted that South Africa, correctly, had been a vocal proponent of the establishment of the International Criminal Court.

- We believed, as we still do, that an independent and objective instrument was needed to bring to an end the heinous crimes against humanity and the violation of human rights which were then very prevalent on the Continent.
- We believed, as we still do, that those who committed such crimes must be prosecuted and punished by an impartial body empowered by international cooperation to defend the universal values of justice. The matter relating to the President al-Bashir therefore is of major concern to the African National Congress and we view the allegations levelled against him in a serious light.
- It is our view however that the ICC has gradually diverted from its mandate and allowed itself to be influenced by powerful non-member states. We perceive it as tending to act as a proxy instrument for these states, which see no need to subject them to its discipline, to persecute African leaders and effect regime change on the continent. It is being used as a court against Africa, deliberately oblivious to the fact that Africa countries themselves were vocal in their support for the necessity of such a mechanism, with for example, Senegal being the first country to ratify the Rome Statute.
- South Africa was always a staunch supporter of the establishment of the International Criminal Court and one of the first signatories of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. It remains committed to a system of international justice “to ensure that the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole must not go unpunished and that their effective prosecution must be ensured by taking measures at the national level and by enhancing international cooperation.”
- South Africa will continue to promote and encourage regional and international initiatives to deal with such crimes. We are a member of the Assembly of States Parties established by Article 112(1) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. We are also a member of the United Nations, the African Union and other international bodies. We take our international responsibilities and obligations very seriously.
- South Africa is involved in peace keeping missions in many African countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. South Africa is also actively involved in ensuring that the fragile peace process underway in Sudan and South Sudan holds, in the interests of the people of those sovereign states and other sovereign countries and the African continent.
- South Africa has invested a great deal of her financial, military, technical and human resources towards achieving peace, security and prosperity on the African continent. The benefits of these investments are slowly being realised in the countries in which South Africa is active. These countries include Sudan and South Sudan.
- Despite being a member of the Assembly of State Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, South Africa has to balance its obligations to the ICC with its obligations to the African Union and its obligations to individual states, including those in Africa, in terms of the international treaties which it has concluded.
- South Africa notes that even Permanent Members of the Security Council which are not signatories to the Rome Statute on the International Criminal Court may participate fully in discussions on the ICC and referrals by the Security Council of a situation in a country to the ICC. Those countries have taken steps to ensure that their officials and military personnel will not be subjected to the jurisdiction of the ICC.
- There is no national interest value for South Africa to continue being a member of the ICC. The manner that we were treated around the al-Bashir incident is consistent with the cheeky arrogance that Africa has experienced in its interaction with the ICC. Continuing to be in the ICC especially when the big powers who are calling the shots are themselves not members, gives it the legitimacy it does not deserve. The West dominates the ICC through the influence they command within its structures and the huge financial contributions they make to its budget. In return, they use the ICC as their tool for regime change in Africa.
- Africa must build its own alternative to the ICC so that international crimes like genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, continue to occupy the attention of our continent. We must operationalise the African Court of Justice and Human Rights that will have a mandate to handle international crimes on our continent.

PILLAR V: Policy Development

- The ANC continues to lead and guide government in policy development and implementation through national conference resolutions, among others. The details of these policy issues are discussed in detail under the Governance Component below.

The Draft White Paper will soon be tabled for discussion by ANC structures including the Sub-Committee.

Parliamentary Diplomacy

- The ANC continues to guide assisting parliamentarians deployed to international forums.

Business Code of Conduct

- We have not done enough work in this area; however the matter will be referred to the Economic Transformation Committee to integrate it into their work.

Economic Diplomacy

- The ANC should intensify its activism in this area. This must also include aspects of skills development in order to deal with the triple challenges of poverty, inequality and unemployment in South Africa.

National Development Plan and Vision 2030

The ANC has identified the following areas of International Relations that need to be realigned with the ANC's International Relations policies as we promote a more radical approach to Internationalism on the continent and in the globe:

- ❑ Page 28 Paragraph 1 under *demographics*;
- ❑ Page 31 Paragraph 2 under a *changing Global Economy*;
- ❑ Page 32 Paragraph 3 under *Africa's development* with greater focus on infrastructure development and industrialisation on the continent to facilitate the promotion of inter-continental movement and trade
- ❑ Page 33 Paragraph 1 & 3 under *Climate Change*
- ❑ Page 237 Paragraph 4 under *Integrate national institutions responsible*
- ❑ Page 241 Paragraph 1 under *Clarity on national interest*
- ❑ Page 242 Paragraph 2 under *Move from regionalisation...*
- ❑ Page 244 Paragraph 1 under *SADC & SACU*
- ❑ Page 253 Paragraph 2 & 7 under *South Africa in the word*

- The revision should concentrate on the ideas rather than paragraphs; and before finalisation, there should be broad consultations.

Xenophobia

- The ANC and the ANC-led government continue to create opportunities for awareness programmes amongst South Africans regarding the international migration of people continentally and globally in order to create the necessary understanding and tolerance amongst South Africans towards particularly asylum seekers and refugees. These awareness programmes should be utilized to prevent any future xenophobic attack.

PILLAR VI: Campaigns

AFRICOM

- The campaign to engage all member state on the continent not to host these military bases continue; however, the question that should be posed is whether this is still preventable because in certain places on the continent AFRICOM has already established its footprint in the form of training soldiers and other newly devised mechanisms? The ANC has to deal with these realities and develop new strategies to take this campaign forward.

Africa Day

- The ANC observes that there is growing awareness about the importance of this day and that the AU anthem and flags are beginning to appear in SA institutions.
- ANC structures need to become more proactive in promoting this day, i.e. 25 May, every year, given its significance.

Mandela Day

- As we celebrate nature and content of former President Nelson Mandela, the ANC should continue to educate society principles and norms and values that Tata Madiba represented. ANC structures and ANC-led government continue to play an increasing role on Mandela Day. The day is celebrated across all 9 provinces in the 54

regions. We have also witnessed an increase in the celebration of this day in the international and continental arena.

Capacity building and Coordination as an extension of the POA

■ *Capacity and work of the International Relations Department:*

- The ANC should continue to transform the International Relations Unit into a full-fledged department as per the decision of the 53rd National Conference. There has been some progress in the Unit as some vacant positions have been filled. However, there is a need to establish an International Relations Institute to allow International Relations to have a stable funding stream to run our programme, develop policy, conducting research and broaden the scope and foot print of ANC IR work especially in the continent and the Global South.
- Key capacity building tasks for the Department of International Relations and Cooperation are discussed under the Governance Component.

■ *Alliance Programme on International Relations*

COSATU and the SACP participate as full members in the ANC NEC Subcommittee on International Relations where they are able to share their programmes and raise areas requiring the ANC and ANC-led government's intervention. Certain programmes between the ANC and its Alliance partners are coordinated together, especially those on international solidarity matters.

■ *ANC Participation in International Organisations*

The policies for ANC participation in international organisations is currently being drafted would soon be processed for consideration by the NWC and NEC.

■ *Capacity and resources in the ANC, Government and South African Civil Society*

- Inadequate and insufficient human and financial resources to implement ANC International Relations part of the organisational part of the POA remains order of the day.
- The ANC NEC International Relations (IR) Subcommittee is in the process of relooking at the Unit's organogram with the view to making a proposal for improvement. However, we must adhere to the resolution from conference

to change the IR Unit into a fully-fledged department.

- The speedy building of International Relations structures in Provinces would further assist in enhancing ANC IR capacity. When Provinces have a better understanding of ANC International matters in all their structures, the IR Unit would have gone a long way towards integrating IR work in ANC structures at all levels, to the branch.
- Training of cadres in areas of language and understanding of International Relations issues is also imperative if the broader objective of the ANC is to be attained. COSATU has developed International Relations Practitioners Course with a course manual to train its representatives and affiliates deployed to this area. The ANC had participated in the first training course and should engage COSATU to allow more cadres to participate.
- A broader organisation to have an annual political school on International Relations should be established.
- Better Coordination between all structures of the ANC and the Alliance Partners, the Leagues and MDM structures would bring the ANC closer to attaining the goal of pro-activity in the global arena. Inclusive in this is also creating better coordination between the ANC and the ANC Parliamentary Caucus.
- The partnering with "ANC-friendly" civil society groupings in certain projects in terms of the implementation of the POA would further improve the implementation of the ANC's International Relations programme.

GOVERNANCE COMPONENT

The government's foreign policy implementation overview must be seen as a reflection of our overall foreign policy journey, with a sharp focus on both what we have done in the past 20 years, as well as what still needs to be done in the next five years of the current administration. South Africa's foreign policy finds expression from mutually reinforcing principles through the following pillars:

- Strengthening and prioritizing the African continent as a centrepiece of our foreign policy;
- Strengthening regional cooperation through a strong SADC;

- Creating a strong South-South Cooperation with emerging countries of the south;
- Enhance partnership with countries of the North in order to accelerate our socio-economic development; and
- Participation in institutions of global governance to strengthen multilateralism, including the transformation of the global system and its institutions.

In the implementation of our foreign policy, these pillars remain critical in guiding our foreign policy actions for the benefit of our domestic priorities. Our domestic priorities are premised on the need to support South Africa's National Development Plan (NDP). But how do we make use of our foreign policy engagements to support the NDP's vision 2030 – that of creating a prosperous state where poverty, unemployment and inequality are a thing of the past? We do this by focusing on the following:

- Defending and advancing our national Interest;
- Enhancing our foreign policy development and implementation;
- Cadreship development;
- Agenda 2063;
- Strengthening the South;
- South Africa's leadership in international organisations for the African Agenda and the transformation of global institutions; and
- International Solidarity.

National Interest

- Over the past few years, we have been trying to assert our national interest. National interests are by definition selfish. They are about how we must survive and prosper as a nation. Some are "core" like sovereignty and territorial integrity; and other are "secondary". We have to constantly fine-tune the balance among our national interests, Pan-African obligations, and international commitments around a shared / collective vision of a better world.
- Our missions abroad have come to understand the great importance our country attaches to national interest – which our national interests come first. In the past 20 years, since 1994, our government has ensured that Ambassadors understand fully their various roles, and what they need to do in

foreign land in order to advance our country's national interests. We are convinced that today our Ambassadors understand our domestic priorities. This we also amplify through our annual heads of mission conference. This conference seeks to redefine our foreign mandate, and remind our Ambassadors of their role as representatives of the President. This becomes a great opportunity to reflect and take stock of diplomatic engagements with our partners, in the advancement of our national interest.

- We must continue to sharpen our concept of national interest as recommended in the NDP.
- Another important element in the enhancement of our national interest abroad is the creation of a strong economic diplomacy strategy. Some amongst the important elements underpinning economic diplomacy are as follows:
 - Market and brand South Africa globally;
 - Investment promotion;
 - Skills and technology transfer;
 - Promotion of joint ventures between South African and foreign companies; and
 - Tourism promotion.
- We believe in the importance of building national consensus on the core elements of our foreign policy. This consensus must be shared among all sections of our people and across political parties on non-partisan basis. In this regard, our government has made use of Public Diplomacy as a tool to enhance participatory democracy, communicating important messages to the public about matters of national interest. Our Public Participation Programmes (PPP) has proven to be effective in reaching out to the masses of our people, sharing what we do. Through our PPPs, we have since strengthened our relations with various key stakeholders such as NGOs, civil society organization, interest groups and the ordinary men and women of this country.

Enhancing our foreign policy development and implementation

In the conduct of our country's foreign policy, South Africa constantly reviews its foreign policy and strategy in order to ensure alignment with the current global challenges. Our country recognizes that, in order to respond adequately to such ever changing global challenges, there is a need for a constant review of our

approaches. In this regard, the following actions are being undertaken:

- The White Paper on South African foreign policy - Building a better world: The diplomacy of Ubuntu is to be discussed within the ANC and will be served before parliament as well. The White Paper is intended to strengthen our foreign policy using the African philosophy of Ubuntu.
- The SA Council on International Relations (SACOIR) is being established to serve as a sounding board on our foreign policy and non-state input into what we do. This body, whose role will be advisory, is comprised of civil society representatives, business, academics and labour; and will meet regularly to help government in the development and implementation of our foreign policy.
- We are processing a Foreign Service Bill to address the peculiarities of the Foreign Service in our country. This is part of repositioning of our Foreign Service for its alignment with the future we envisage for our foreign policy through capacity development and constant renewal of personnel. The Foreign Service Bill will create a single foreign service for the country in order to end the current fragmented Foreign Service system, leading to improved efficiency, cost-effectiveness and enhanced service delivery.
- The National Development Plan enjoins us to strengthen our policy research capacity. This will be done, building on our existing policy research unit at DIRCO.
- We are establishing a Centre for Early Warning (CFEW) which will ensure proactive action and advisory, as we all as rapid response to conflict or disaster. This initiative is in keeping with the call by the African Union for the operationalisation of an African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) in order to redouble its efforts to detect potential conflict situations before they erupt. Given that the African Continent is our key foreign policy priority the Centre for Early Warning will give a sharp focus on Africa, ensuring that we receive information and advice well in advance about crises situations on the continent, and initiate interventions in order to prevent or limit the effects of these conflicts.
- The establishment of the South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA) is in progress. The creation of SADPA will ensure more efficiency in the deployment and disbursement of South Africa's development and humanitarian assistance.

Cadreship development

A strong foreign policy relies on a strong cadreship. After 1994, we deployed cadres at the former Department of Foreign Affairs, with others sent abroad to represent our country. Some of these cadres will be retiring soon and others are already retired. We therefore have to renew our diplomatic cadreship on continuous basis. The following are our actions in this regard:

- The Diplomatic Training, Research and Development (DTRD), that is responsible for training our diplomats, is being turned into a fully-fledged diplomatic academy.
- Our existing internship and cadet programme has been consolidated into a Johnny Mkhathini Ubuntu Diplomatic Corps to improve its outcomes and impact.
- Training and internship must be based on a progressive curriculum and training programme that is rooted in ANC politics and revolutionary teaching.

African Union (AU) Agenda 2063

- Africa has undoubtedly transformed from where it was in 1963 when we formed the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to lay the foundations for the African Union we are proud members of today.
- South Africa's foreign policy is driven by the vision to achieve an African continent that is prosperous, peaceful, democratic, united and assertive in defence of its interests in world affairs. This is in line with Agenda 2063.
- Agenda 2063 will impact SADC, especially the pace and direction of the integration of our region. Our approach to the SADC region must therefore aim at consolidating bilateral relations with our neighbours, and strengthening SADC as an institution. In particular, we must:
 - Strengthen regional integration in our SADC neighbourhood by discharging our responsibilities towards the full implementation of our Free Trade Area and concluding the current review of the SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. The SADC-EAC-COMESA tripartite trade negotiations must reach finality as they are an important step towards the realization of the African Free Trade Area by 2017.
 - Peace and political stability in our region will remain a priority. We are encouraged by the

proactive and stabilizing effect that resulted from the deployment of the SADC Intervention Brigade in the Democratic Republic of Congo where the negative forces there are either on retreat or have been defeated. In this regard, we have operationalised the Tripartite Agreement between South Africa, Angola and the DRC in support of the Peace and Security Framework Agreement for the Great Lakes Region.

- ❑ We will galvanize political support for major infrastructure projects in our region, notably the Lesotho Highlands Water project Phase II, and the Grand INGA in the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- For the rest of Africa, in the context of Agenda 2063, we must:
 - ❑ Continue to strengthen bilateral relations with African countries through structured bilateral engagements to advance South Africa's interests throughout the continent;
 - ❑ Intensify our work in supporting the African Union, including the AU institutions we host; namely, the NEPAD Secretariat, Pan-African Parliament and the African Peer Review Mechanism headquarters.
 - ❑ Strengthen Economic Diplomacy to increase trade and investment opportunities for South Africa;
 - ❑ Give dedicated attention to the North-South Corridor, and other NEPAD-driven Infrastructure Projects on the Continent championed by South Africa;
 - ❑ Ensure speedy provision of Humanitarian assistance where needed to alleviate human suffering on the continent;
 - ❑ Implement the African Diaspora programme adopted at the AU Summit we hosted in 2012;
 - ❑ Continue peace-building and conflict prevention efforts in conflict situations in support of multilateral institutions; and
 - ❑ Re-invigorate our Post-Conflict and Reconstruction and Development strategy in African countries emerging from conflict.
- The African Union Peace and Security Council celebrated its tenth anniversary, and we look back with pride at what it has achieved. South Africa has assumed its two-year membership of this organ which will be used to focus on the restoration of constitutional order in the Central African Republic, and stability in the DRC, Libya, Somalia and South Sudan.

- The operationalisation of the African Peace and Security Architecture remains a critical element in providing the African Union with the necessary capacity to respond to our challenges of peace and security. The establishment of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC), championed by South Africa, is an interim mechanism to enable the African Union to respond to emerging security situations while the African Stand-By Force is being operationalised.
- Overall, peace and security challenges in Africa fall into the following categories:
 - ❑ Political instability like in Lesotho;
 - ❑ Full scale civil war like in South Sudan;
 - ❑ Rebels and other negative forces like in the DRC;
 - ❑ Unconstitutional change of government;
 - ❑ Secessionist movements like in Mali; and
 - ❑ The scourge of religiously motivated acts of terrorism.
- Our role as South Africa is in preventive diplomacy to prevent a potential conflict from developing into a conflict; mediation like we are doing now in Lesotho; peace keeping; peace enforcement like we are doing in the DRC as part of FIB/MONUSCO. South Africa is fully seized and part of the continental campaign to silence the guns once and for all.

Strengthening the South

- It is generally accepted that the international balance of forces are gradually shifting in the direction of the countries of the South. South-South Cooperation is important in South Africa's foreign policy architecture. Our approach to South-South Cooperation is anchored on South-South forums like the BRICS, IBSA and FOCAC and multilateral bodies such as the NAM and the G77 plus China, as well as the network of bilateral relations we have established with countries of Asia and Middle East, and Latin America and the Caribbean. The key elements of this cooperation are the promotion of political and diplomatic relations, enhancing trade, investment and other economic relations, and collaboration on global issues for a better world.
- The 6th BRICS Summit hosted by Brazil reaffirmed our core vision to bring about a more democratic, multipolar world order. South Africa, as the previous Chair, successfully brought to fruition all the key

outcomes adopted at the 5th BRICS Summit. As such, in Brazil, the Agreement establishing the New Development Bank and the Treaty for the creation of the BRICS Contingent Reserve Arrangement were signed.

- SA leadership in international organizations for the African Agenda and the transformation of global institutions
- How SA exercises leadership in international organizations must have four elements to it, namely:
 - The election of South Africa to strategic structures and strategic positions in international organisations;
 - Deployment of South Africans in strategic positions;
 - South Africa championing and leading in a strategic issue of global significance in international organisations; and
 - South Africa hosting strategic international meetings, including playing a leadership role in ensuring that such meetings produce a progressive outcome.
- Reform of the structures of global governance, including the United Nations Security Council, must remain a key focus, including on how to ensure that the African Common Position, known as the Ezulwini Consensus, advances the reform of the UN. South Africa's multilateral activities are inextricably linked to South Africa's own domestic priorities and those of the African continent. In this regard, the following are the key priorities:
 - Two critical negotiations will reach their conclusion in 2015; and these are the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on the basis of the Durban Plan for Enhanced Action agreed at COP17/ CMP7; and the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We will continue to call for the acceleration of efforts and resources to ensure the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) up to 2015 and beyond.
 - On sustainable development, a key process emanating from Rio+20 was to recommend to the United Nations General Assembly a set of possible Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The process to develop these goals has concluded with South Africa's robust participation.
 - On the Post-2015 Development Agenda,

which emanates from the MDGs, South Africa is active in the intergovernmental processes taking place within the United Nations where all nations participate on an equal basis to craft the successor goals to the MDGs, and informed by Rio Principles, in particular the principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities. We are informed by the African common position whose essence is that the global post-2015 Development Agenda must give adequate attention to: *"the development of productive capacity underpinned by value addition, technology and innovation, and infrastructure development; people-centered development with a particular emphasis on youth empowerment and gender equality; natural resources and disaster risk management in the context of sustainable development; peace and security; and a truly inclusive and transformative global partnership."*

- Continue to fight for the Durban Legacy that came out of the 2001 World Conference against Racism that we hosted in Durban. The implementation of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action is far from satisfactory.
- In the G20, South Africa – also a Co-chair of the G20 Development Working Group (DWG) – continues to address development bottlenecks and help developing countries achieve growth.
- South Africa will continue to insist that as much as work is being done on non-proliferation, the issue of disarmament also requires progress and movement in the context of the alienable right of states to the peaceful uses of the atom.

International Solidarity

- International solidarity will continue to inspire our approach to world affairs. As such, we support the struggle for the right to self-determination of the people of Palestine and the Western Sahara. The economic embargo on Cuba has to be lifted.
- Cuba is an established strategic partner of South Africa in Latin America and the Caribbean and both countries continue, in a programmatic and systematic manner, to work towards the attainment of their respective foreign policy objectives. The year 2014, marks 20 years of fruitful relations with Cuba. Ties of culture, history, shared struggles and common aspirations, join Cuba to South Africa and the Continent of Africa. There are over 30 (thirty) signed bilateral agreements in place between the two countries covering vast

areas of cooperation for example arts and culture, defence, education, science and technology, health services, housing as well Home Affairs. The Joint Consultative Mechanism (JCM) and the Joint Bilateral Commission (JBC) are the two main instruments utilised by the two countries in the conduct of bilateral and political relations.

- South Africa reaffirms its solidarity with the people of Western Sahara in search of their right to decolonisation and self-determination, through a UN supervised referendum with the option of independence.
- Our history and support for the Palestinian struggle for freedom is one that is also linked in our historical and shared struggles. Our own history of Apartheid therefore demands that as South Africa we are required and morally obliged to support the Palestinian fight for freedom, equality and the right to self-determination. As part of South Africa's contribution to international diplomatic efforts towards the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, President Zuma appointed Comrades Zola Skweyiya and former Mr Aziz Pahad as Special Envoys to the Middle East to convey his grave concern over the then escalating violence, the civilian displacement and the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip. The Special Envoys have travelled to the region including Palestine, Israel, Egypt, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia to convey the President's message of concern. President Mahoumed Abbas paid a historic State Visit to South Africa. South Africa has pledged US\$1million towards humanitarian assistance in Gaza.

- South Africa supports the International Year of Solidarity with Palestine (2014) as declared by the UN. South Africa's commitment to the question of Palestine, together with this UN declaration, formed part of South Africa's consideration for hosting the Palestinian Heads of Mission Conference in Cape Town, as well as the Palestinian Solidarity Conference held on 2 May 2014.

6. CONCLUSION

- A discussion of South Africa's international relations is incomplete without a reflection on the leadership role that is expected of us on the continent and globally. However, our sense and approach to such leadership must not be that of a bully or hegemony, but a member of a collective. We must lead in the following ways:

- By asserting the independence of our foreign policy; taking positions that are principled and correct.
- Speak out on African issues to defend our continent and collective interests.
- Champion progressive issues.
- Stand up for justice in the world.
- Our leadership must be political, not mechanical, driven by collective and shared interest, not by selfish interests.

QUESTIONS

SELECTED QUESTIONS THAT THE ANC CADRE SHOULD CONSIDER FOR DISCUSSION IN PREPARATION FOR THE 2015 NGC

1. *Our foreign policy and practice must reflect our understanding of national interests, balanced with our pan-African and south solidarity and broader international cooperation. What precisely does “national interests” mean in the pursuit of our international agenda?*
2. *The African Union has adopted the Agenda 2063 framework document – “The Africa We Want”. What mechanisms can we use to domesticate Agenda 2063 for all South Africans; and how do we popularise it so that South Africans take ownership of Agenda 2063?*
3. *South Africa is one of the founding countries of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD), which the ANC played a critical role in formulating and championing, to the extent to which the NEPAD Agency is located in Midrand. Is it important for the ANC once again to lend its voice to the promotion of Africa’s development programme, and if so how? Given that South Africa’s intra-African trade is universally low in comparison to, to other regions of the world, what can be done to both strengthen and deepen intra-African trade in the coming years so as to ensure that regional integration becomes a reality?*
4. *We are in a period of moving from the (largely unachieved) MDGs to the Post-2015 development agenda and sustainable development goals (SDGs), of which there are currently an unwieldy 17 potential goals listed and being negotiated. What is important for Africa when we discuss sustainable development? How can we ensure that the Africa Common Position on the post-2015 development agenda has pride of place in the SDGs?*
5. *What is the significance of the BRICS to the international balance of forces? How important is the decision of the establishment of the New BRICS Development Bank and the establishment of the first regional office in South Africa?*
6. *The reform of the UN system and the global governance architecture more broadly is a matter of global fairness and justice. Is it time to think more broadly about South Africa’s formal positions (for example the Ezulwini Consensus, amongst others), in order to ensure that the reform process comes to fruition?*
7. *In 2008 and most recently, we saw an explosion of “xenophobic” violence (attack on foreign nationals), in South Africa. What could be the causes and the how can the ANC address and respond to these challenges on the matter?*
8. *The rise of terror groups on the African continent and the Middle East present a dual challenge of local grievances combined with international strategies and allegiances. How do we understand the root causes of these terror groups with a view to combat these threats in the long term?*

ANNEXURE 1

**HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
ON OUR FOREIGN POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

1. The period between the fifteen and nineteenth centuries saw the rise of the phenomenon of imperialism and colonialism throughout the whole world. An epoch characterized by heightened forms of struggle by our people in the former colonies and semi colonies against colonial territorial conquest and dispossession.
2. Throughout this epoch the role of the conquered territories within the imperialist and colonial system has been to supply raw materials to the industries of the industrial metropolis and to provide a market for the manufactured goods from the metropolitan industries.
3. Therefore the scramble for territorial conquest and dispossession of our people in the former colonies and semi colonies has been part of the worldwide phenomenon of imperialism and colonial expansion. In the African continent and our own country, the wave of territorial conquest and dispossession gave impetus to the subjugation of many African Kingdoms and Chiefdoms
4. The 1884 Berlin conference was a historic event of a far-reaching political significance, which altered the course of the development of human race. It provided a platform for the world superpowers to partition many parts of the underdeveloped world, including our own continent, for the purposes of serving the political and economic interests of the colonial powers.
- 8.5. It was during this period of history that European voyages of exploration and expedition sailed throughout the world to expand their sphere of influence and socio economic hegemony. This was a moment in the development of imperialism and colonialism, when for the first time in history, the world-renowned explores Christopher Columbus and Vasco Da Gama reached the shores of the Americas and the East Indies respectively.
6. The tidal wave of the movement for the scramble of the world was accompanied by the cruellest forms of human rights violations, which forced millions of the indigenous people into commodities of the lucrative slave trade. The world was a witness to the massive disintegration of its population perpetuated by the colonial powers into the acrimonious world of slavery.
7. Millions of our people throughout the world endured atrocities as they faced the adversity of the scramble by the forces of imperialism and colonialism. Many of our people in the former colonies and semi colonies were conquered mainly because of lack of sophisticated weaponry.
8. Barbaric acts of genocide led to the extermination of millions of the indigenous people of the world. Millions of our people were forcefully imported from the African continent to work as slaves in most of the countries in the American hemisphere.
9. In our own country, millions of people from India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Madagascar, and many other islands in the East Indies, were forcefully imported to work as slaves in the Cape colony and Natal. Historical records prove that many of the enslaved people across the world died of hunger and disease in the slanderous hands of the colonial masters.
10. As a result of the strategic geo political location of the Cape colony, the Dutch East Indian Company instructed Jan van Riebieck to establish a refreshment station at the Cape in order to provide voyages of ships to the East Indies with fresh food and water.
11. The establishment of the refreshment station at the Cape was a turning point of fierce struggle by our people against the forces of imperialism and colonialism. Like many other people of the world, the indigenous people of our country found themselves having to wage struggle against intrusion, territorial conquest and expansion by the colonial masters.
12. At the same time the strategic location of the Cape colony and its prospective influence on the world map, exacerbated tensions between the Dutch and the British colonial powers. This

led to many of the Voortrekker community migrating into the hinterlands of our country, in protest against the laws imposed by the British administration.

13. The movement of the Voortrekkers into the hinterlands sparked a wave of frontier and tribal wars across the breadth and length of our country. The scramble for the dispossession of land and livestock led to wars, which dominated the South African political scene for centuries to come.
14. The contradictions of the colonial interest between the Dutch and the British colonial administrations led to the establishment of the first Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.
15. These contradictions steered the Afrikaner nationalism, which was against the domination of the British administration and the struggle for the control of the economy after the discovery of gold and diamond that led to the outbreak of the Anglo Boer war.
16. The catastrophic war between the Afrikaner and English-speaking people led to the total destruction of the entire socio economic base of the Afrikaner community. The war indeed became one of the major contributors to the poor white problem immediately after the establishment of the Union of South Africa.
17. After the most destructive battle between the English and the Afrikaner speaking people, protracted negotiations led to the peace treaty of the Vereeniging in the year 1902. The thrust of the negotiated settlement was fundamental towards the establishment of the Union of South Africa under the British dominion.
18. The formation of the Union was a catalyst towards the systematic segregation of the vast majority of the black people of our country from the political and socio economic decision-making processes. The black majority was marginalised from becoming meaningful participants and architects of the birth of the Union of South Africa.
19. The participants at the peace treaty of Vereeniging rejected the inclusion of the non-racial franchise clause in the draft constitution of the Union of South Africa. The unfolding events prompted the black people of our country to forge for a formation of a political movement that would champion the wishes and aspirations of the majority.
20. The peace treaty of the Vereeniging was the main architect of the formation of the union of South Africa. The strategic desire was to find common grounds to unite both the British and the Dutch colonial interests against the black people who constituted the majority of the population in our country.
21. The painstaking event saw the forebears of our movement resonating with the defeated African Kingdoms and Chiefdoms, as well as other enlightened sections of our society from the western missionary education, to demand for the inclusion of the African people in the formation of their nation state. It was the culmination of these episodes of historical events, commencing with the conquest and dispossession of our African tribes by the colonial settlers, to the last horrendous subjugation of the Bambatha Rebellion, with the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 that led to the formation of the ANC in 1912.
22. Unity of purpose amongst the sections of Africans from various persuasions, including those from our neighbouring countries, saw the need for the formation of a political movement, which will take forward our struggle against imperialism and colonial domination.
23. The period before and after the formation of the Union of South Africa saw various deputations, presentations and petitions to the British Queen, urging her to persuade our white compatriots to include the black majority into the political decision making processes. This is indicative of how our movement understood the importance of diplomacy and peaceful means of resolving the political problems in our country, at its most embryonic stage of development.
24. In 1917 the victory of the Bolshevik party in Russia ushered in the triumph of the great October socialist revolution that was the momentous epoch making the event that saw the establishment of the first ever-socialist state in the history of mankind.
25. The great October Socialist Revolution was an outstanding historical event of our modern times. It marked a decisive turning point in the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and colonialism.

26. The victory of the great October socialist revolution became an epicenter of struggle of the people of the world to fight against imperialism and the emancipation of the colonised people. It became a political instrument to formulate the principles, strategies and tactics of the working class struggle nationally and internationally.
27. One of the most important questions before the world communist movement was its dialectical relationship with the nationalists' movements of the oppressed people in the colonies and semi colonies. The role and contribution of the Communist movement towards the liberation of the people of the world from the bondage of imperialism and colonial domination.
28. In 1928 the Communist international instructed all Communist parties of the world to establish relationships with nationalist movements in the colonies and semi colonies. Communist parties were instructed to work with proletarian parties in the colonies and semi colonies, providing moral and material support to the cause of their struggle against imperialism and colonialism.
29. As early as 1915, the leadership of the international socialist league in South Africa was already grappling with the most important question of internationalism and solidarity. The departure point was that internationalism should not only aim at unity with the Russian, Italian, and German Social Democrats, but also to embrace unity of all sections of the working class in South Africa, Black and White. They argued strongly that internationalism, which does not concede the fullest rights, which the native working class is capable of claiming, would be a sham.
30. The presidium of the sixth congress of the second international in 1928 characterised the South African situation as a British dominion of a special type. This was premised out of the most profound analysis that the character of the South African economy was such that the British imperialism occupied the principal positions of our economy with the participation of the South African white bourgeoisie.
31. In other words the British imperialism carried the economic exploitation of our country with the involvement of the white South African bourgeoisie. The oppressed people of our country did not only suffer from capitalist exploitation and colonial domination, but also from racial discrimination.
32. As a consequence, the sixth congress of the international made a clarion call for the establishment of an independent native South African Republic, as a stage towards workers and peasant republic with full and equal rights for all races. A correct theoretical preposition of our understanding of the national democratic revolution.
33. From the beginning, our struggle for national liberation has been shaped and influenced by the revolutionary principles and traditions of internationalism and solidarity. Our struggle for national liberation has always assumed an internationalist character.
34. Inspired by the traditions of internationalism and solidarity, the ANC has always mastered the theoretical grasp that the struggle of the people of our country is part of the struggle of the people of the world. That our struggle is essentially about the liberation of our people against imperialism and colonial oppression and exploitation.
35. The forebears of our national liberation movement recognised that the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in South Africa was tantamount to the defeat of colonialism in Africa and the rest of the colonised world. Hence, they were enthusiastic to join the international progressive forces in the fight against imperialism and colonialism.
36. The posture of the ANC on internationalism emanates from the period as early as the turn of the last century. Before the formation of the South African Native National Congress, Cde Pixley ka Seme took public platforms against imperialism and colonialism, calling for democracy and renewal of Africa in public speeches and publications.
37. It was in that context that in 1927 Cde President Josia Gumede attended the Anti- Imperialism conference in Brussels as the delegate of the ANC. The conference demanded the complete overthrow of imperialism and capitalist domination, the protection of freedoms of speech and assembly, and that the right to education to be extended to all peoples.
38. On his return from Moscow in 1928 Cde President Josia Gumede said *"I have seen the*

new world to come, where it has already begun, I have seen a New Jerusalem". In his Presidential address to the congress of the ANC in 1930, he said "Soviet Russia was the only real friend of all subjected races and I urge congress to demand a South African native republic with equal rights for all and free from foreign and local domination".

39. The birth of the South African Communist party and trade union movement also helped to infuse into our struggle body politics that was hitherto dominated by African nationalism, a new ideological perspective informed by the scientific revolutionary Marxist Leninist theory.
40. This again further engraved the South African liberation struggle into internationalism, highlighting the importance of solidarity to ensure furtherance of the local and international struggle for the common values of freedom, equality, democracy, peace and development.
41. The events that were to follow the various strikes in the South African mines after the end of the First World War and the reliance on South Africa's manufactures during the Second World War, helped us simultaneously to graduate from mere mining and agriculture into a manufacturing economy.
42. This had its own consequences, as the working class grew quantitatively and so did its high level of political consciousness. Our scientific Marxist Leninist revolutionary theory continued to play its pivotal role as a guiding tool of our struggle.
43. Throughout the years of our struggle, the leadership of the ANC has been committed to a revolutionary transformation of society. The ANC collaborated with other progressive forces galvanising them into mass campaigns, in defiance of oppressive colonial and Apartheid racist laws.
44. In 1941 the ANC galvanised the African people to join the Allied Forces into a war against Hitler, as a symbol of our struggle against the tide of racist supremacy and fascism in the world. It was done in earnest with the full hope that by the end of the war, the world powers would work towards the achievement of peace and common friendship amongst the nation states.
45. 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.
46. 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. A 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.
47. Our movement facilitated the historic congress of the people that adopted the Freedom Charter in the year 1955. During this historic gathering, our people included in the charter, the idea of a *"free and a better world for all"*.
48. It is the freedom charter that informed the idea of a free and a better world *"There shall be peace and friendship"*.
49. Our moral standing on these basic tenants for 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.
50. It is important to note that the Freedom Charter was built on the 1943 African Claims Document, as well as in the spirit and letter of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights by the United Nations. This was the blue print of the social, economic and political values that were espoused by the whole of humanity post the Second war period.
51. Where the Universal Declaration on Human Rights was antithetical to the World War, the Freedom Charter was antithetical to apartheid's hegemony in South Africa.
52. On the international centre stage, the ANC made various representations to the United Nations, calling for its intervention against Apartheid South Africa. It was for this reason that in 1966 the UN General Assembly declared Apartheid as a crime against humanity.

53. This created the necessary momentum for the countries of the world to isolate South Africa on the basis of violation of fundamental human rights. The campaign was centered on mobilization of the world for political, economic and diplomatic isolation of the Apartheid South Africa.
54. The ANC pushed for a strong international solidarity against apartheid, resulting in the establishment of anti-apartheid movements in all regions of the world. There was a great intensification of the mobilization of ordinary people, students, and the trade union movements, and 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 racial chauvinism.
55. 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.
56. The ANC also co-operated with the broader struggle against colonialism in Africa, recognizing 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.
57. 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. It suffices to elucidate that President OR was given a status of the head of state at all OAU meetings.
58. The political leadership role of the OAU was fundamental in contributing towards the liberation of most of the African states. The OAU went to an extent of establishing a liberation committee, which provided moral and material support to national liberation movements still waging struggle against colonial powers.
59. The OAU liberation committee was instrumental in assisting most of the liberation movements to defeat the unholy alliance between Portuguese and white South African colonialism in the Southern African region. In Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa.
60. Many countries in Africa, particularly Southern Africa, paid a heavy price in the destabilisation campaigns by the apartheid state and its allies using brutal military and economic measures to subvert the struggle led by our national liberation movement. Frontline states, which provided refuge for ANC cadres were invaded and destabilised, and their economies blocked by the apartheid regime.
61. The Matola raid of 1981 in Mozambique, the Maseru raid of Lesotho in 1982, the Gaborone raid in Botswana in 1985, attacks on ANC Headquarters in Zambia and other attacks and assassinations in Zimbabwe and Swaziland, and many other parts of our continent and the world.
62. The battle at Cuito Cuanavale by the combined forces of the Russian, Cuban and the Angolan Military, and the units of the military wings of the SWAPO and ANC against UNITA and the South African Defence Force, cannot be forgotten for how it tilted the balance of forces in our country, the Southern African region, the continent and the world.
63. Even though the whole period spanning the Cold War era resulted in intransigency by western countries over apartheid, ordinary people and various important social figures took stances against apartheid in solidarity with the liberation struggle led by the ANC. A number of international platforms were in support of the ANC struggle for liberation, apart from the OAU.
64. Some of the European and Scandinavian countries that were led by social democrats aligned to the Socialist International also assisted us morally and materially. Artist such as the famed Bono also took a stance against apartheid, helping organize the Release Mandela concerts in places such as London.
65. We will forever remember the courage, the tenacity, selflessness, and heroic contribution by some of the outstanding world statesmen such as the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palma who sacrificed for the noble cause of the struggle for the liberation of our country.
66. The President of the ANC Cde OR Tambo had to say the following after his assassination: *"The murderer's gun that fired the fatal shot was aimed directly against the ANC and our people as well!"*

67. Our campaign for the mobilization of the international community gathered so much attention that by the late eighties the ANC had 20 diplomatic representative offices in Africa, 14 in Europe, and 4 in the North America and the Asian countries respectively. Our movement essentially had more international diplomatic presence than the apartheid regime.
68. Today our democratic government led by the ANC has the presence of the diplomatic after the USA. We are the second biggest for obvious that the city of New York, is the host of the UN General Assembly.
69. More importantly our struggle was interwoven with the international cause for the promotion of the values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a result many African countries adopted the ANC struggle anthem "*Nkosi Sikelela I-Afrika*" as their national anthem post-colonial independence.
70. With this enormous international support, the ANC was able to protect our struggle from the enemies of our revolution. Thanks to the profound and tireless exemplary collective leadership of President OR Tambo.
71. We should also contextualise the period of our armed struggle from the perspective of internationalism and solidarity. Our armed struggle was to be unthinkable without the moral and material support of the international community.
72. Many countries of the world became second homes to the leadership of the movement banished into exile by the racist apartheid regime. This interconnection of solidarity made the people of the world the integral part of our struggle for freedom and equality.
73. The process of negotiations in the late 1980 was a culmination of intense pressure from our people and the international world. Thanks to the visionary leadership of our movement for making the world understand that the Apartheid regime was a crime against humanity.
74. The collapse of the Berlin wall and socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern European States influenced our transition towards the negotiated political settlement in our country. The cause of events in the world changed tremendously in favour of the US led imperialism.
75. At the same time the unbanning of our national liberation movement and the release of our political prisoners was the victory of the struggle of our people and the world. The 1994 democratic breakthrough was indeed a celebration of the struggle of the progressive world movement.
76. The adoption of our democratic constitution with the fundamental bill of rights symbolised the cause of our struggle for freedom and equality to the people of the world. Our constitution borrowed heavily from constitutional experiences of various countries, again highlighting our social, economic and political values as integral to the rest of the world.
77. The struggle led by the ANC is rooted in internationalism and solidarity. Our common vision is to build the world of peace and tranquillity. We want peace in the Middle East, in the Great lakes, Sudan, Palestine, Libya, Somalia, and many other parts of the world.
78. From the roots of its historical formation, the ANC firmly believed that our cause for national liberation would achieve its objectives, when all its formations, including the women and youth, continue to occupy the forefront tranches of our struggle. Our youth and women formations made tremendous contribution towards the isolation of the racist Apartheid regime both domestically and internationally.
79. The aftermath of the formation of the Women's International Democratic Federation after the Second World War, saw Cde Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi, representing South African women in general and ANC women in particular, in all conferences organised by the federation. This added the voice of the ANC in its struggle against colonialism and imperialism internationally.
80. As a result, the ANC Women's Section – as it was known during the years in exile, represented the women of the continent in both the Bureau and Secretariat of the WIDF until the end of the cold war in Berlin where it was headquartered. Subsequently the headquarters were moved back to Paris in France.
81. It is important to mention that the ANC Women section was a founding member of the Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO), the organisation that preceded the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

82. Through PAWO the ANC Women Section was able to highlight the challenges facing the South African people. It was able to highlight the problems of triple oppression confronting the women of our continent.
83. Throughout the history of our struggle, the ANC youth league participated in youth and student organizations across the world. As member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY), All Africa Student Union (AASU), the ANCYL brought to the attention of the international community the plight of the struggle of the people of our country.
84. It is equally important to bring to the fore the most important question that the ANC was also inspired by Pan African movement which emerged at the turn of the 20th century. Alongside conferences of the communist international in the period between world wars, ANC leaders also attended some of the 7 Pan-African Conferences that knitted together a pan-African internationalist agenda around rights of the oppressed, mostly black people, solidarity, anti-imperialism, the land rights, unity of Africa and reform of international political economy.
85. This is why ANC's internationalism is anti-imperialist and pan-Africanist in its outlook. Without this acknowledgement, this commitment to African Renaissance that Piriwele ka Seme well articulated in 1906, which Albert Luthuli and OR Tambo and also Thabo Mbeki constantly emphasized, becomes incidental rather than fundamental to the evolution of ANC's internationalism.
86. Internationalism and international solidarity has been an important political pillar in the history of our struggle for freedom and equality. The ANC always understood that our struggle is an integral part of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

ANNEXURE 2**ECONOMIC GROWTH, JOBS AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT****INTRODUCTION**

■ The ANC's international relations policy is informed by the Freedom Charter *"there shall be peace and friendship"* and bases its international relations on forging relations to carry forth its vision of attaining a better Africa and a better world that is humane, just, equitable and free. The ANC's International relations further moves from the premise that its foreign policy is an expression of the domestic policy. Therefore, the ANC, in pursuit of its international relations objectives aspires to ensure peace on the continent and the globe while pursuing South Africa's national interests. However, South Africa's national interests is not narrowly focused on South Africa but includes ensuring peace, stability and development through working collectively with political parties, progressive organisations and progressive individuals and governments of countries, towards the development and progress of the people on the African continent.

■ To ensure that international relations work is focused the ANC International Relations Programme of Action (POA) is based on six pillars namely:

- ❑ Building a better Africa and World inclusive of peace building, post-conflict reconstruction and development
- ❑ Continental and International Solidarity
- ❑ Party-to-Party, Intra-party and Multiparty Relations
- ❑ Transformation of the Global Governance
- ❑ Policy Development Issues
- ❑ Campaigns

■ As mandated that all ANC NEC Subcommittees should focus on the main theme of *"Jobs, economic growth and youth development"* for the ANC's NEC Lekgotla, the contribution from the ANC NEC on International Relations is as follows:

▼ JOBS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

At the ANC 53rd Conference we adopted the document *"The second phase of transition from Apartheid colonialism to National Democratic Society"* in which it emphasizes the following; *"should be characterised by more radical policies and decisive action to effect thorough-going socio-*

economic and continued democratic transformation, as well as the renewal of the ANC, the Alliance and the broad democratic forces." In the light of this shift in emphasis, we need to reiterate that ANC and government was mandated to implement Economic Diplomacy in South Africa as stipulated by the International Relations resolutions of the 52nd Conference below:

"Conference noted the advent of democracy has created new opportunities for South African business both in Africa and in the world, particularly in retail, mining, construction, engineering, bank services, communications services, agriculture, agri-processing etc.

It further noted that this opportunity whilst welcomed brings it new challenges in the relationship between South Africa and other African countries. Therefore:

The conference endorses the idea of strengthening economic capacity in South African embassies to assist South African businesses to gain access to available business opportunities abroad and on the continent; at the same time to encourage African countries to engage in intra-African trade and take advantage of positive economic developments on the continent. This will encourage trade and investment amongst African states and in the South, thus supporting national and continental interests, and further resolves that:

- ❑ *The ANC, through government, should ensure that the intensification of economic diplomacy leads to changes of colonial patterns of economic relations, and creates possibilities for equitable and balanced North-South relations, transformation and beneficiation of African natural resources, sustainable flows of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and market access for products from the South to generate employment, and contribute to poverty eradication."*
- ❑ *Therefore, South Africa's Economic Diplomacy should be accelerated to ensure that job creation benefits both locals of the countries of which South African businesses operate as well as create opportunities for employment of South Africans in those countries at these businesses.*
- ❑ *Government must develop a policy geared to safeguard companies on risks involved*

in investing in the continent and south-south markets as a guarantee scheme and provide capital for those projects which government has interests as a way of growing our economy and creating job opportunities. Government (i.e. PICC - Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission) should further fast-track the Infrastructure Roll-out Programme on programmes that connects South Africa to the rest of Southern Africa. Regional Economic Communities (REC's) should develop the model adopted by governments on the continent which looks at regional integration, economic development, infrastructure development and people-to-people movement in the continent with particular priority focus on Southern Africa.

- ❑ South Africa has been given the opportunity to Chair the African Union (AU) North-South of the continent to develop roads, railway and ports, including projects as articulated in NEPAD. Funding for this has been made available and South Africa has made its contribution to the Pan-African Fund. Other countries that have not made their contributions as yet should be encouraged to do so. It is further important for South Africa to fast-track the implementation of projects under our Chairpersonship, as the finalisation of this would promote intra-trade between countries markets and encourage initiatives moving toward free-trade agreements. This will positively contribute towards development in Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the continent.
- ❑ South Africa is facing intense competition in infrastructure projects on the African continent, particularly because our BRICS partners give cheap credit to their companies which South Africa should learn from and develop our own responsive programmes that would assist us in attaining our developmental goals. In addition, South African companies ought to pay attention to increasing the quality of their products, and those doing business abroad should be encouraged to source their products from South Africa in order to boost local production and increase employment opportunities.
- ❑ South Africa must take a conscious decision by developing a policy, legislation, regulation and guidelines to export South African skills into the region, continent and the rest of the world where opportunities presents itself. for example, that gives rise to exportation

of labour enmass to other developed and developing economies. For example, since the early 1990s South Africa has had an excess of nurses that have ventured into finding employment in the continent and other countries abroad. Similarly we should encourage our lecturers and other areas of labour to begin to seek employment in countries of the continent primarily and secondary in other countries abroad.

- ❑ We encourage South African's to take jobs in multilateral institutions as approved by the cabinet Secondment Policy on incentives.

▼ **YOUTH DEVELOPMENT**

- African History and Liberation History should be part of the Foundation phase subjects at schools as we want to produce proudly African citizens in South Africa. It should be a prerequisite that schools should be encouraged to fly the South African Flag, SADC Flag and African Union Flag as well as sing the South African, SADC and African Union Anthem; as building consciousness amongst young people to develop the passion towards taking opportunities in the continent.
- There is a need to promote Portuguese, French, Spanish and Arabic in schools so that young people could be encouraged to work for the international institutions where South Africa is a member, such as the United Nations (UN), African (UN), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and so forth. Opportunities must be created for South African's as well as to access exchange programmes and this would further contribute to the development of our domestic tourism and Skills in general.
- DIRCO in partnership with other departments should be creative in setting up programmes for South African youth to explore the continent and the world in terms of education and business as a way of increasing the South African youth's knowledge on Africa and the World.

Scholarships and Training Opportunities

- Government should develop a programme to encourage young people to study abroad with particular reference to targeting the countries that could assist in fast-tracking skills that are rare in South Africa, with specific emphasis on Southern Africa, the continent and BRICS countries and the rest of the world by using government

scholarships, scholarship raised elsewhere and utilise learning institutions on the continent for children to obtain their qualifications.

- DIRCO should better communicate, coordinate and follow-up the scholarship and internship programmes availed from their heads of South African Missions, foreign embassies accredited to South Africa and international agencies. A conscious programme should be developed to ensure that all scholarship and internship programmes are taken up by youth in South African. The information received by DIRCO should also be given to the ANC to disseminate to its constituencies and there should be a clear drive from constituencies to identify cable South African youth that could be put into these programmes. The ANC and government should also actively encourage its own cadres and citizens to participate in such programmes. Recruitment should target school-going, post-school and out-school as a priority but also those that are already in the industries as a promotion of continuous learning due to continual technological and skills changes in the globe.
- Government should set aside a certain percentage of the scholarships it provides to South Africans to study internally and reallocate it to students wanting to study abroad based on the Cuban-South African training programme that is a success.

▼ SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

- The country Councils such as the Engineering, Medical Board, Legal Board must expedite the accreditation of specialized skills so as to create opportunities for these specialists to seek employment in the continent and the international. These will allow South Africans to acquire more skills and knowledge that is required to develop our country. We should ensure that all specialists in the various fields of employment are correctly accredited at the various Councils such as the Engineering Council, Medical Board, Legal Board, etc. This would also then create the opportunities for these specialists to seek employment in the continent and the international arena.
- South Africa must develop skills of its citizens

in the required areas so that the South Africans could take advantage of job opportunities on the continent, South Africa must develop its citizen skills level.

Migration Issues

- The policy on dual citizenship needs to be reviewed to making a thorough analysis of the pros and cons and developing a policy option that would take South Africa forward..
- Migration laws should be reviewed in line with international laws and standards but with the view to protect the integrity and sovereignty of the country.
- Regulation of businesses had been delegated to municipalities post apartheid. The legislation on business and companies must be amended to bring back the powers from municipalities to the National government to enable the government to deal with issues of the elicited economy.
- Sectoral determination of salaries should be regulated across the board whether one is a South Africa or Foreign employees to ensure that all people in the country contribute to South Africa's tax base, except for those subjected to double taxation as well as ensure that all workers enjoy labour rights as enshrined in the South African labour laws.

FIGHTING CRIME, PEACE AND STABILITY

- Issues trans-national crimes must take a centre stage by insuring that we coordinate efficiently and effectively with international security bodies, we are members of, such as INTERPOL. Crime strategy to deal with International Syndicates on counterfeit goods, human trafficking, protection of endangered species, poaching of marine resources, amongst others, will have a positive impact as these crimes directly affects job creation issues.
- We need to analyse and review the new crimes that are arising from transnational crimes that is domesticating itself and having a negative impact on economic and job growth.

Let's go into a festival of ideas!!!

AMANDLA!!!!