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SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD: A NEW VISION

**Statement Delivered by Aziz Pahad
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A number of things have to be done to move South Africa from where it is today to where it should be tomorrow in the sphere of international relations.

South Africa is the only other socio-political system which has, since the end of the second world war been categorised in international law as a crime against humanity. Consequently the international community has imposed various measures to isolate apartheid South Africa. A new vision for South Africa's relations with the world will have to deal with the consequences of this 30 years reality.

The primary crisis of the foreign policy of the ANC has been to sensitise the world to the injustice of apartheid and its consequences for the oppressed people of South Africa; to mobilise the international community to oppose the apartheid system and to act for its eradication through all-round political, economic, financial, social, cultural and educational pressures; to propagate the democratic perspectives of the ANC and other liberation forces and to raise the necessary material resources to enable the democratic forces to struggle against the apartheid regime.

The very fact that, it is possible to bring together such a distinguished and widely representative gathering in South Africa is an important landmark

in our country's attempts to bid farewell to apartheid and to usher in the new democracy.

It is a matter of proud record that together we have built an unprecedented solidarity movement against apartheid and in support of democracy. It is your tireless and selfless activities in support of our struggle that forced the apartheid regime to open the prisons gates, to unban political organisations, to allow the exiles to return and to seek a negotiated resolutions to the S.A. crisis. You have made it possible for us to proclaim that we stand on the brink of a new dawn. However I hasten to add that we have not yet achieved our objective of a non-racial, non-sexist democratic and united South Africa. We should all remain in our trenches not only to complete this task but to support and consolidate the new democracy.

I believe that a new vision for South Africa's Foreign relations will only become a reality if it is generally accepted that apartheid must be eliminated in its totality and that we bring into being a genuine non-racial democracy. A democracy of a special type as envisaged by some is not a solution but a recipe for conflict, disaster, and continued isolation.

In many ways, a country's constitution is a social vision of what a nation understands itself to be. This vision inevitably must influence our attitude to others and other attitudes to us.

Therefore the most important task facing all of us is to move speedily to establish an Interim Government of National unity, which should ensure that a constitution making body (A Constituent Assembly) is democratically elected, and that within a reasonable time scale a new democratic constitution is written.

This democratic, constitutional framework must seek to achieve several things, inter alia:

- Totally eradicate apartheid.
- Bring about democracy.
- Protect Human Rights.
- Ensure non-discrimination.

- Provide the platforms and institutions where the economic policy and the issue of inequalities caused by the apartheid system can be tackled.
- Restructuring and transformation as state structures.

In the last few days we have briefed you about developments in the negotiations process and the real prospects of genuine elections within a year. The victories scored by us has some consequences which we must appreciate so that we can control the sanctions campaign against apartheid. International pressure has been one of the main pillars of our strategy. Sanctions against apartheid have made a decisive contribution to our struggle for a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

The primary aim of sanctions is to end apartheid. Despite progress made apartheid is still in place, therefore we must continue to utilise this weapon to maintain pressure on the regime to ensure that the process to democracy becomes irreversible.

At the ANC National Conference in July 1991, we concluded that, because it was essential that the sanctions weapon is not lost, we should mobilise the international community to ensure that the apartheid regime was not rewarded prematurely. We therefore propose a phased maintenance of sanctions and resolved that consultations should take place between the ANC, our allies, the broad democratic movement, the international solidarity movement, governments and inter-governmental organisations, to determine the precise formulations of this process.

In October 1991, after widespread consultations the ANC resolved that as a first step:

- 1) People to people sanctions should be lifted.
- 2) After the installation of an Interim Government of national unity and other sanctions, excepting the military and oil embargo, should be lifted.
- 3) The military and oil embargo should be lifted after the installation of a democratic government.

The phased approach helped us to stop the erosion of sanctions and enabled us to creatively use this weapon. The NEC of the ANC meeting last week reviewed developments in the negotiations process, took note of the crisis in the South African economy and the dire consequences of the vast majority of our people and resolved to recommend to the democratic movement of our country and our allies internationally that on the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and the independent Electoral and Media Commissions as well as the enactment of the Transition to Democracy Act, sanctions affecting the following areas should be lifted:

- * diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links.

Further recommends that notwithstanding this decision, no representatives of the white minority regime should be granted accreditation by any international organisation, this being a matter which can only be resolved once the Interim Government of National Unity as established;

Also brings to the attention of the international community that once they are established, the multi-party Transition Executive Council structures will be the appropriate governmental institutions with which to enter into any official agreements;

Calls on the international community to ensure strict observance of the arms and oil embargoes until democratic elections have taken place;

Reaffirms its commitment to do everything in its power to address the burning questions of poverty, unemployment, racial inequalities in the distribution of wealth and income and the social imbalance that are a result of the system of apartheid;

Calls on the investor community, especially the domestic, investors, to respond to the positive climate that will be produced by the lifting of these sanctions, by initiating an investment programme that will create new jobs and enable the country to address the various and urgent socio-economic needs of our people.

We call on all governments, international organisations, financial institutions, and the business world to seriously consider our recommendations. Any premature or hasty lifting of sanctions can have dangerous and negative consequences on the negotiations process and the consequences of this will be disastrous for the future of our country. We call on the international Solidarity Movement to ensure that their governments and business institutions adhere to the wishes of the democratic forces in South Africa.

The International Solidarity Movement must also campaign to ensure that once sanctions are lifted it is not business as usual. This will only help to entrench the inequalities created by apartheid. We will strive to achieve good labour practices and labour relations, we seek to achieve economic growth based on principles of social - responsibility. You can help us to make this a reality.

Let me take this opportunity to outline some elements of the African National Congress's foreign policy perspectives. I do so fully cognisant that we are entering a new and uncharted terrain and therefore there can be no dogmatic or prescriptive answers.

This conference provides a good opportunity for us to discuss the issue so that we are better prepared to enter the new world order. South Africa will achieved a transition to a non racial democracy in a world that has a one of the most fundamental transformation experienced by society. Contemporary international relations is characterised, in part by:

- a) The general collapse of the socialist world and the emergence of a unipolar world.
- b) The general universal tendency towards the establishment of a political systemic whose features include multi-party democracy, respect for individual human rights and movement away from centrally planned economics.
- c) The emergence of 3 basic economic blocks, viz. This sharply puts into focus the issue of North-South relations and South-South relations.

Some consequences of the unipolar world are:-

- a) The disappearance of the cold war and a departure from the conduct of international relations of a bipolar world order dominated by the conflicting interests of the super-powers.
- b) Ethnic conflicts in eastern and central Europe.
- c) Increased competition for scarce financial and other resources.
- d) Tending towards the increased marginalisation of the 3rd world especially Africa. This brings into sharp focus the debate about North-South relations, and South-South Relations.

According to the Bush Administration the basic approach to international relations will be characterised by:

- 1) An overall of the existing alliance system and the development of new coalitions.
- 2) The pursuit of shared political economic and security values, viz, democracy, pluralism, market economies, safety from aggression.
- 3) Co-operative action by the USA, Western Europe and Japan. The basic objective being to control competition between them and to prevent them from drifting apart.

We can't ignore this international framework when formulating our foreign policy perspectives.

Coming closer home, we must accept the reality that South Africa is an integral part of the African continent. The transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy will emphasize this point, as it will end the pretence that South Africa is "an outpost of the Western World" on the African continent.

We can't escape the fact that the fate of a democratic South Africa is inextricably bound up with what happens in the rest of the continent.

We would like to see a continent that is at peace with no violent conflicts between and within the various countries. The apartheid regime has been the instrument of counter revolution. Democratic South Africa will be the instrument of peace and prosperity. We would also like to see all the

people of Africa living under democratic systems of government with constitutional arrangements which ensure respect of government of the fundamental human rights of all citizens. We also like to see an African continent whose component countries should have economies that in other parts of the continent.

We will work to promote the idea that the countries of Africa are bound to a common destiny and that, in the end, one of them can be an island. Rather for each one of us, peace, stability, justice and prosperity in our individual countries does depend on the existence of such conditions in other parts of the continent.

A democratic South Africa will seek to enter into a common regional security system. Some of the elements of such a system would be a conclusion of a non-aggression pact committing the countries not to attack one another and not to become havens for armed groups trying to subvert countries that would belong to the regional security system. Such a pact could go further to commit the member states to aid one another in the event of aggression by other states.

Inter-African relations can only be built on the basis of regional co-operation, as is expressed by such organisations as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADC) the preferential Trade Area for East and Southern Africa (PTA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). South African membership of regional organisations will have to be predicated on the elaboration on an agreement by all countries in the region which will ensure balanced regional development so that the inclusion of South Africa in these organisations does not impact adversely on the economies of other member countries.

We will give serious consideration to issues such as currency convertibility, regional investment code, the creations of Southern Africa Development Bank, infant industry protection, a regional resource beneficiation policy and regional environment and resource management.

The foreign policy of the apartheid regime was an extension of its oppressive and violent nature. Isolated by international solidarity it pursued every means of trying to circumvent it. Where it could, it

appealed to narrow self-interest in order to undermine its isolation. Where it could not it resorted to coercion, destabilisation and military aggression. For this reason, South Africa mutual beneficial will establish relations with all countries and join such international organisations as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Non-aligned Movement the commonwealth and the United Nations.

We will also continue as a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as well as seek membership of the African Development Bank. However, it is our view that relations with financial institutions must be conducted in such a way as to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation, and to promote the interests of all South Africans and the economy.

The new South Africa will therefore move away from the position asserted by the white minority regime that South Africa must be recognised as a regional power. The new South Africa will also reduce the size of its armed forces very sharply so that it ceases to constitute a threat to any other country. This will release resources for development both in South Africa and the other countries of the region. This development will help to emphasise the importance of South Africa of both the OAU and the United Nations as international agencies charged, among other things, with the task of the prevention of armed conflict among states and the promotion of a culture of resolution of disputes by peaceful means.

South Africa will therefore have to make its own contribution to help raise the level of effectiveness of these organisations, both to ensure the democratisation of the system of international relations and to enhance the prestige of these organisations so that they can play their role to protect the interests of smaller countries.

The African National Congress will want to see South Africa as a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as a token of its resolve and commitment to help create a world free of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In this context it will seek to promote the objective of Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear free zones.

We are conscious that concern for the environment, development and growth are issues that are inextricably linked. We cannot fail to grapple with the consequences of issues such as the green house effect, the protection of the ozone layer, the future of the tropical rain forests; land digression, desertification, the disposal of radio active and other hazardous waste and marine pollution.

The ANC is studying the recommendations of the 1987 Bruntland Report, issued by the United Nations world Commission on Environment and Development.

We are also studying the results of the Rio conference on environment and development. We will campaign to ensure that the two conventions introduced in Rio are ratified. Our policies on global environment will be guarded by these conventions.

As the opportunity to construct a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa approaches, so to must our foreign policy address the need to transform that international solidarity into an active and positive force for the construction of the kind of South Africa which we want. At the same time it must strive to harness the goodwill and energies of this international solidarity to augment our own efforts to contribute to the democratisation of international political and economic relations and so to help secure a global context within which a free South Africa will be able to coexist peacefully and to co-operate on a democratic basic with its neighbours in the region and further afield.

CONCLUSION

The basic task of South Africa foreign policy would be to ensure that we live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship, co-operation and prosperity. During the course of the struggle millions of people throughout the world were mobilised and organised as an "International movement of friends of the people of South Africa."

These millions must continue to be mobilised as part of the process of developing relations from people to people and as a resource that will help us to generate the resource we need for reconstruction and development.

The anti-apartheid movement world-wide has greatly assisted in creating an extensive world constituency that has compelled governments to place the issue of apartheid on their political agendas. This constituency has also served as an important source of material assistance.

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of the international anti-apartheid movement will continue to be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. In this regard, the anti-apartheid movement has the task to sensitise the international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, the world anti-apartheid movement should prepare adequately for an important post-apartheid role. Such a role is dictated by the enormous socio-economic inequalities that will remain the legacy of apartheid and that cannot be addressed by a mere removal of apartheid legislation from the statute books.

The programme of action that will adopt should become the international communities election manifestos. Let me take this opportunity to make a few observations.

The international community should be mobilised to assist the ANC and its allies, the force that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa, by providing material and financial resources to help up realise the following objectives:

- a) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. We will require all possible assistance not only to contest the elections but to win it decisively

- b) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research;
- c) To assist post-apartheid South Africa to eliminate these imbalances and meet the expectations of the people. In this regard, the ANC must encourage such initiatives as the establishment of a South African Development Bank along similar lines to the Bank of Reconstruction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.
- d) To initiate a public awareness campaign to expose the true nature of violence and to expose the orchestrate myth of "black on black violence"
- e) To give the democratic forces material and financial resources to deal with issue of violence at grass-roots level.
- f) To campaign for the effective presence of international monitors in South Africa. the task of the monitors should be to ensure that free political activity is possible, to ensure and verify that the elections are free and fair.

Comrades, as we march on the last mile, the ANC and the International Solidarity Movement bear a heavy responsibility. The success or failure of the South African experiment will have repercussions not only for South Africa. but for the whole world.

As we gather today, confident that the obnoxious system of apartheid will soon be reduced to the dustbins of history, the spectre of neo-fascism, chauvinism tribalism and racism is rearing its ugly head in many parts of the world.

Apartheid South Africa was a haven and inspiration for such reactionary tendencies; democratic South Africa must be their grave digger. I am confident that together we can rise to this challenge.