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ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE: JULY. 1991. DURBAN. SOUTH AFRICA.

RESOLUTION ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ANC.

THE 48TH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ANC, MEETING IN QORQAN. SOUTH AFRICA FROM 2 - 6 JULY, 1991:

REAFFIRMING THAT THE FREEDOM CHARTER, THE BASIC POLICY DOCUMENT OF THE ANC, CONSTITUTES THE FIRM FOUNDATION FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE ANC'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS;

RECALLING THE FOREIGN POLICY GUIDELINES ELABORATED AT AND ADOPTED BY THE ANC NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCES AT KABWE, 1985 AND JOHANNESBURG, 1990;

FURTHER RECALLING THE DECISIONS OF THE ANC-SPONSORED WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID. FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA HELD IN ARUSHA, TANZANIA IN 1987;

FURTHER REAFFIRMING THAT BOTH THE HARARE DECLARATION OF THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON APARTHEID AND ITS DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA DEFINE THE BASIS OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICT, AND THEREFORE OUTLINE THE PARAMETERS WITHIN WHICH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE REST OF AFRICA SHOULD BE CONDUCTED. THE ANC'S POLICY VISION

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TAKE INTO ACCOUNT 7:3

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RELATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, CHARACTERISED IN PART BY:

A) A GENERAL UNIVERSAL TENDENCY TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
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ITICAL SYSTEMS WHOSE FEATURES INCLUDE MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY,
RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS AND MOVEMENT AWAY FROM
CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMIES:

B) A TENDENCY TOWARDS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE COLD WAR AND
A DEPARTURE FROM THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE
BASIS OF A BI-POLAR WORLD ORDER, DOMINATED BY THE CONFLICTING
INTERESTS OF THE SUPER-POWERS AND THE TWO MILITARY BLOCs, NATO
AND THE WARSAW PACT, WHICH LATTER IS BEING PHASED OUT:

COGNISANT THAT THE RESOLUTE STRUGGLES WAGED IN SOUTH AFRICA BY
THE PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ANC AND THE REST OF THE
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, SUPPORTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,
HAVE RESULTED IN A SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF FORCES INSIDE SOUTH
AFRICA. A CIRCUMSTANCE WHICH IS LEADING TO THE REDEFINITION OF
THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD:
AWARE THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST

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BE INFORMED BY THE

UNDERSTANDING THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS ENTERED A CRITICAL PERIOD IN
THE STRUGGLE TO END THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND ESTABLISH A
NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEKIST DEMOCRACY AND THAT THE WHITE MINORITY
REGIME HAS BEEN OBLIGED TO ACCEPT THE DEMAND FOR GENUINE &
NEGOTIATIONS. AS OUTLINED IN THE EARLY AND UN DECLARATIONS.
WHICH. THROUGH OTHERS. ENVISAGE THE FOLLOWING STRATEGICAL STAGES'

A) THE REMOVAL OF OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATIONS:

3) THE ACCEPTANCE OF INTERIM MECHANISMS TO OVERSEE THE

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PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM APARTHEID TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC ORDER:

C) THE ADOPTION OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION, THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTION OF A REPRESENTATIVE PARLIAMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW GOVERNMENT;

ALSO AWARE THAT THE VICTORIES SCORED BY THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES INCLUDING THE FACT THAT THE REGIME HAS BEEN OBLIGED TO REPEAL THE SO-CALLED LEGISLATIVE PILLARS OF APARTHEID. HAVE GIVEN RISE TO A TENDENCY AMONG A GROWING NUMBER OF COUNTRIES TOWARDS THE PREMATURE LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST THE APARTHEID REGIME AS A REWARD FOR THE MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE DE KLERK REGIME; COGNISANT OF THE FACT THAT WAYS AND MEANS SHOULD BE FOUND BY WHICH TO ARREST THE PROCESS OF THE EROSION OF SANCTIONS TO ENSURE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT DOES NOT LOSE THIS WEAPON, WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED UNTIL A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN ADOPTED;

REAFFIRMING THAT THE MAIN THRUST OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST: THE ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES CONTAINED IN THE HARARE AND UN DECLARATIONS, KENYATTA. MOBILISING THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO ASSIST US IN THE SPEEDY ENDICITION OF APARTHEID AS WELL AS HELP TO MOVE THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD TOWARDS THE HEATICH OF A NON-RACIAL : DEMON-SEXIST. DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA; NOW RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS:

. ON SANCTIONS.

THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF SANCTIONS IS TO END APARTHEID. SINCE. DESPITE THE MEASURES WHICH THE REGIME HAS BEEN COMPELLED TO TAKE, APARTHEID IS STILL IN PLACE, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST CONTINUE TO UTILISE THIS WEAPON TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON THE REGIME TO EXPEDITE FORWARD MOVEMENT TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THE OBJECTIVE OF A NCN-RACIAL DEMOCRACY:

BECAUSE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE SANCTIONS WEAPON IS NOT LOST, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE URGED TO LISTEN TO THE VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND NOT SEEK TO REWARD THE APARTHEID REGIME. SANCTIONS MUST THEREFORE BE USED CREATIVELY IN ORDER TO ARREST THE EROSION THAT HAS OCCURRED, PUSH THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD AND ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE OF A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE.

ACCORDINGLY, SANCTIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE USED AS A NECESSARY FORM OF PRESSURE. SPECIFIED GROUPS OF SANCTIONS SHOULD BE USED TO ACHIEVE THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES LISTED BELOW, EACH ONE OF WHICH IS CRITICAL TO THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION:

A) THE REMOVAL BY THE REGIME OF OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATIONS.

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AGREED TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND MODALITIES ON THE TRANSITION TO A DEMOCRATIC ORDER;

C) THE ADOPTION OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION AND THE HOLDING OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS FOR A NON-RACIAL PARLIAMENT AND A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

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IN THIS CONNECTION, THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN:

CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES, . TO DETERMINE THE PRECISE FORMULATION OF THIS PROCESS, ACTING IN BROAD CONSULTATION INTERNALLY AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE ANTI-APARTHEID FORCES WORLD WIDE. THESE FORCES INCLUDE THE OAO, THE UN AS WELL AS NON-GOVERNMENTAL ANTI-APARTHEID AND SOLIDARITY FORCES; "

2. ON THE UOSTISARZOU OF ANTI-APAXRAZXN FORCES.

THE ANTI-APARTEEID MOVEMENT WORLD-WIDE HAS GREATLY ASSISTED IN CREATING AN EXTENSIVE WORLD CONSTITUENCY TEAM? HAS COMPELLED GOVERNMENTS TO PLACE THE ISSUE OF APARTHEID ON THEIR POLITICAL AGENDAS. THIS CONSTITUENCY HAS ALSO SERVED AS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF MATERIAL MEETINGS.

DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM APARTHEID TO DEMOCRACY, 73"

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ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE TO BE HIGHLY CRITICAL IN STRENGTHENING THE 7.1" E

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FORCES. IN THIS REGARD. THE ANTI-APARTEEID MOVEMENT HAS THE TASK 73 SENSITISE 753 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TOWARDS THE SOLUTION"

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OF ASSISTING THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO EFFECT THE

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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. CONFERENCE RESOLVES THAT, WITHIN A YEAR, A CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT SHOULD BE CONVENED IN SOUTH AFRICA TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES.

3. ON THE MOBILISATION OF FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE. 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 US 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. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE, CVKHCV"q Viv

WE SIZE, NEEDS TO BE ASSISTED IN ORDER TO FACILITATE ITS FUTURE

1: "... w-n-uv- L:;R ATION INTO A NEW NATIONAL ARMY THAT WILL DEFEND "u- "AUNTE! L. a. iv

AND THE DEMOCRATIC ORDER, WHILE UPHOLDING THE PRINCIPLE OF THE

SOVEREIGNTY OF NATIONS, REGIONAL STABILITY AND INTERNATIONAL
PEACE AND SECURITY;

8) 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.

9) ON REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

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THE ANC, IN PURSUANCE OF THE OBJECTIVE OF A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH
AFRICA, MUST PROMOTE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO
MEET THE FOLLOWING PERSPECTIVES:

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A) FURTHER TO ADVANCE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF
THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO
A NON-RACIAL AND NON-SEXIST DEMOCRACY;

B) ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE THE OBJECTIVES OF DEMOCRACY, PEACE,
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, STABILITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY, A
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WELL AS PROMOTE IN-AFRICAN SOLIDARITY AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
CO-OPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES, COMMITTED TO THE VIEW THAT SOUTH
AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLE WILL LIVE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD IN

CONDITIONS OF PEACE. FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION.

C) TO PROMOTE PROGRAMMES DIRECTED AT THE pacmamou OF "rm:
ENVIRONMENT;

D) TO HELP CREATE A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR AND OTHER WEAPONS
OF MASS DESTRUCTION. IN THIS REGARD, TO SEEK TO PROMOTE iTHE
OBJECTIVES OF AFRICA AND THE INDIAN OCERN AS NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES
AND AREAS THAT UOULD ALSO BE FREE OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES AND
BASES. 4

E) TO WORK TOWARDS THE ADMISSION OF THE DEHOCRATIC5500TH
AFRICA IN SUCH ORGANISATIONS AS THE SADCC, THE PTA, THE OAU, THE
ADE, THE LONE CONVENTION, THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEEENT AND THE
REESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD BANK, THE IMF AND THE
UNITED NATIONS.

5. ON ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS.

CONFERENCE RESOLVES THAT THE NEC SHOULD REACTIVATE THE COMMISSION
ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, BEARING IN MIND THE NEW SITUATIONY TO
ENSURE WIDER PARTICIPATION WITHIN THE MOVEEENT WITH REGARD TO
DISCUSSION OF FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS.

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ANC SHOULD ESTn ELISE SUB- -COMMITTEE ON INTEPNATIC5AL AFFAIRS
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