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ANC NATIONA RENCE LY 1991 DURBAN

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON

THE FOREIGN poucy OF THE ANC

13848th National Conference oftheANC.meetinginDurban.SouthAfricafrmn2-61uly 1 1, i

Reaffirming that the Freedom Chartet. the basic policy document of th ANC, constitutes the 51m 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 (Kabwe. 1985 and Johannesburg 1990).

Further recalling the decisions of the ANC-sponsoned World Conference Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa (Amsha, Tanzania. 1987),

Further reaffmning that both the Harm Declaration of the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southem Africa define the basis of an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict. and therefore outline the parameters within which the telatiom between South Africa and the wodd can be nonnalised.

Recognising that the conduct of the ANCis foxeign policy must take into account the realities of the contempomry intemational relations. characterised by:

- a.) A general universal tendency towards the establishment of political system whose features include multi-pmy 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-powets and the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact the latter which is also being phased out,

Cognisant that the resolute stmggles waged in South Africa by the ANC and the test of the democratic fomes. supported by the international community, have resulted in a shift in

the balance of political forces inside South Africa - a citeumstame which is currently re

defining South Africa's relations with the nest of the world commtmity, Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the undetstanding that South Africa is in a critical phase of transition from apartheid to a non-tacial. non-sexist , and that the white minority regime has been compelled to adopt the political agenda of democratic forces, as outlined in the Harare and UN Declarations, which envisage the following strategic stages:

- a.) the removal of obstacles to negotiations,
- b.) the establishment of inten'm measmec to oversee the process of transfmtion Policy I

from apartheid to a new democratic order,

c.) the adoption of a democratic constitution, the democratic election of a parliament and the establishment of a new government;

Also aware that these victories by the forces of democracy, including prevailing on the legimetotepealthe so-calledlegislativepillarsofapartheid. havegtvennsetoatendency among a gnawing number of countries towards the premature hfung of sanctions against the idregimeasatewardforthemeasures undertaken byF.W.deKlerk;

Reaffirming that the main thrust of our foreign policy must be the attainment of the . objectives of the Harare and UN Declatations. viz mobilising the world community to assns $^{+}$

towards the eradication of apanheidas well as helping to move the pmeess of .y negotiations or wani towards the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa, Now resolves as follows:

1. On Sanctions

The primary objective of sanctions as a weapon was to end apartheid. Since, despite the measures undertaken by the regime, apartheid is still in place, the mternattonal commumty must continue to utilise this weapon to pressure the regime to move towards a new non-racial, democratic South Africa.

In light ofthe erosion of sanctions by a number of counuies. it is essential that the sanctions weapon not be lost. The international community should be timed to haten to the viewofthedemocratic foreesandnot seektorewardtheapanheidregtme. Sancuonsmust dtetefmebeutilisedcreativelyin ordertoartestthiserosionantipushdteplpcessof negotiations forward and thus attain the objective of a democrauc South Africa. Accordingly, sanctions should continue to be used as a weapon. In this regard. various sanctions should be lifted in step with the strategic objectives listed below. each one of

which is critical to the process of msformation:

- a.) the removal by the regime of obstacles to negotiations as stipulated in the OAU and UN Declarations, as well as the taking of effective measures by Pretona to end violence.
- b.) the installation of an interim government according to "agteed transitional

arrangements and modalities...of the transition to a democratic order" (UN Declaration),

c.) the adoption of a democratic constitution. and the holding of elections for a non-racial parliament.

In this connection the NEC is hereby mandated to determine the ptecise formulation of this

process. in broad consultation intemall and in coordination with the anti-apanheiq forces world-wide. These forces include the AU, UN. as well as non-governmental antl-apattheid and solidarity fences.

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2. On the mobilisation of anti-apartheld forces

The anti-apanheid movement world-wide has greatly assisted in creating an extensive world constituency of anti-apattheid forces that have governments to place the issue of apartheidontheirpohtical agenda. 'I hey have also served as mimportants mnce of material assistance. t

Dining the period of transition from apartheid to democracy. the mle of the apartheid movement world-wide will be highly critical in strengthening the hand of the democratic forces. in this regard the anti-apartheid movement has the task to sensitise the internat ional

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, the Charter of the United Nations.

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

Conference recommends the convening in South Africa, within a year, of a conference of anti-apanheid forces world wide to address the issues raised above.

3. On the mobilisation of financial and material assistance

The international community should be mobilised to assist the ANC and its allies - a forc ϵ

that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa - by providing mteria 1

and financial resoumes to realise the following objectives:

- a.) To empower the anti-apmheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context the people's army. Umkhonto we Sizwe. needs to be assisted in onder to facilitate its integration into a new national army that will defend the country while upholding the principles of sovereignty of nations, international peace and security, and thus guaranteeing regional stability,
- b.) To assist in the evolution of development policies that will address the socioeconomic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research,
- c.) To assist post-apmheid gouth Aftica to eliminate the socio-economic inequalities. In this regard the ANC must encourage initiatives such as the establishment of a South African Development Bank, along the same lines as the Bank of Reconstmction and Development with regard to Eastern Europe.
- 4. Regional and International Cooperation
- The ANC, in pursuance of the objective of a democratic South Africa. must protnote regional and international cooperation to meet the following paupeetivea:
- a.) To actively promote the objectives of democracy, peace. stability and Draft Rucltiou on Foreign Polk, 3
- development to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation among the people of Afn'ca as well as Pan-African solidarity. Such a policy will enable the new democratic South Africa to seek membership of and contribute effectively to the work of the Southern African Development Coordination COnfetence (S.A.D.C.C.), as well as the Preferential Trade Agreement for East and Southern Africa (P.T.A.),
- b.) To establish relations with all countries with the objective of joining such_intemational organisations as the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Ahgned Movement and the United Nations.
- c.) To work towards the continued membership of the International Monetary Fund, seeking membership of the World Bank, as well as the Lome Convention and the African Develoth Bank,
- d.) to commit itself. together with the regional and international community, to promoting programmes of environmental conservation,
- e.) To commit itself to help mate a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to womote the objectives of Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear-ftee zones, and areas that would also be free of foreign 'military forces and bases. ANC must te-affirm its commitment to ensuring that South Africa and its people will live with the rest of the world in conditions of peace, friendship and cooperation and to ending the pariah status of South Africa, qu/I Resolution on Foreign Policy 4