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**A New Foreign Policy for South Africa:
a discussion document**

- * FOREIGN POLICY belongs to South Africa's people.
- * It mirrors their long relationship with the international community.
- * It reflects the rich tapestry of their international heritage.
- * It demonstrates their desire to live in harmony with their neighbours.
- * It signals their intent to contribute creatively to Africa's future.
- * It beckons them to international service so that their country may fulfil its calling as a responsible global citizen.
- * It summons all South Africans to think beyond the immediate, to reach towards the challenges of the approaching century.
- * These ideals echo the words of the Freedom Charter which proclaims

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

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Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding equal rights, opportunities and status for all; ...

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

The *essence* of South Africa's foreign policy is to promote and protect the interests and values of its citizens. We prize our commitment to peace and to the promotion of human dignity in the far corners of the globe, but recognise that the security of our people and their yearning for a non-racial, non-sexist democracy also lies close to our foreign policy. South Africa is both a trading and maritime nation. Our international relations should actively seek to accentuate the significance of these by promoting the economic interests of all our people.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The events of the past few years have profoundly affected the international community. We believe, however, that the changes which have occurred emphasise the importance of the following six principles which should which will guide our foreign policy.

- * We believe in and are committed to the pursuit of Human Rights which extend beyond the political, embracing the economic, social and environmental.
- * We believe that just and lasting solutions to the problems of humankind can only come through the promotion of Democracy, worldwide.
- * We believe that Justice and International Law should guide the relations between nations;
- * We believe that international peace is a goal to which all nations should strive. Where this breaks down, internationally- agreed peaceful mechanisms to solve conflict should be resorted to.
- * We believe that our foreign policy should reflect the interests of the continent of Africa

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* We believe that South Africa's economic development which our foreign policy must pursue, depends on growing regional and international economic cooperation in an interdependent world.

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has become a less rather than more secure place. Throughout the globe, new conflicts are surfacing. Individually and collectively they present the international community with new challenges. At the same time, the end of the Cold War and increasing global interdependence has opened up new opportunities.

The demise of the East-West conflict has, in our view, deepened the importance of creating just relations between the underdeveloped South and the industrialised North. South Africa occupies a unique position at this confluence of world affairs. We will strive to ensure that increasing global economic interdependence does not further advantage the North at the expense of the South. This goal is important because it touches upon the desire of our people for justice, prosperity, for human rights and for democracy throughout the world. If the gap between the North and the South continues to widen, these ideals will collapse and the world will sink deeper into a new form of bi-polarity. As a country of the South, it is also in our interest to ensure that the position of the countries of the South is not prejudiced in the world economy.

The world struggle for Human Rights has a special significance for South Africa. The struggle to end *apartheid* was a global one and we believe that global change has enhanced the possibility for the victory of the worldwide Human Rights campaign. South Africa must play its part in this campaign.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, the struggle for Democracy has gained added strength. As internationalists, we are moved by this. South Africa will devote its energies to the accomplishment of the democratic ideal throughout the world. We are conscious however that new demands on this democratic ideal have recently emerged. In part, this arises from an apparent rediscovery of self-determination which, in some cases, undercuts the sovereignty of established nation-states. These differing points of view understandably generate tension. Our hope is that this can be creatively settled within recognised national, regional and international force.

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The changing nature of global society has, increased the importance of the United Nations and other institutions dedicated to the search for justice and peace. We recognise that the changing times necessitate the redesigning of international organisations. In accepting the importance of this, we insist that their central role in the maintenance of international law and the protection of the legitimate rights of all peoples, dare not be devalued .

We are conscious that Africa's global position has been acutely affected by the ending of the Cold War. In one sense this is a positive development. Our continent and its people will no longer be pawns in wider international struggles. From an economic perspective, however, the shift in attention away from Africa has grave implications.

We accept unequivocally that South Africa has an African destiny. As the new and latest member of the Organisation of African Unity, South Africa will have the opportunity to contribute towards the issues which affect the African continent. It follows, therefore, that our links with our continent are of particular importance. We however recognise that this alone will not help arrest the declining international interest in the continent. Accordingly, we dedicate our foreign policy, acting together with other African States, to help ensure that Africa's people are not forgotten or ignored by the rest of humankind.

In charting this future, we will strive to contribute towards improving the basic human condition of all Africa's people.

Global change has brought economics and development to the centre of international relations. We are keenly conscious that South Africa's security, the well-being of our people and international peace are linked to economic growth. But growth without development and redistribution will, in our view, damage our international standing. We recognise that our unqualified reinsertion into the regional and world economy is a central part of our foreign policy. We will become a player in international economic fora and will seek to pursue our national objectives as well as seek to advance the interests of the South in these fora.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

The end of *apartheid* and the transition to a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa will not terminate our quest for human rights. South Africa will immediately become a fully-fledged and vital member of that section of the family of nations who hold human rights issues central to their foreign policy. We will accordingly, accede to all international treaties and conventions which protect human rights and seek to meet all obligations which derive from such accession. (A list of those consentions to which we will immediately accede is attached as an Appendix).

In pursuit of our policy we will actively participate in a range of multilateral fora. Amongst these, we regard the Commission on Human Rights and the Third Committee of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly as particularly importance.

We accept the importance of regional efforts to deal with human rights questions. Therefore, we look forward to acceding to the 1981 African Charter on Human and People's Rights - the Banjul Charter.

With regard to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), we will sign the Optional Protocol which allows individual South Africans to petition the Human Right Commission.

We will accept the provisions of Article 36, paragraph 2 of the International Court of Justice which will oblige us to accept the rulings of the ICJ.

We will take seriously our wider obligation on the human rights front. To this end, we should, co-operate fully with such international groups as Amnesty International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Geneva-based Commission on Human Rights (CHR), which seek to monitor and promote human rights. We believe our own country should never again become the focus of international attention on human rights violations.

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International transformation, in our view, has heightened the importance of human rights in global society. The momentous events in eastern and central Europe - not to mention those in our own country - have underlined the general commitment of humankind to respect for the rights of the individual.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Although a new item on the international agenda, as a responsible international citizen, South Africa dare not avoid grappling with the future of the environment.

We accept both the spirit and the recommendations of the 1987 Bruntland Report which was issued by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development.

We recognise that it is poor, weak societies, at the margins of the global system, who are closest to the most debilitating effects of environmental destruction. The only way of preventing further environmental setbacks is to seek the equitable transfer of resources from the North to the South.

Consequently, we ~~cautiously~~ welcome the outcome of the Rio United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED). Much work remains to be done. The two Conventions which were opened for signature at Rio require ratification: without the support of major powers, they will be rendered ineffective. Agenda 21 represents an important step forward but the journey is far from over.

We therefore applaud the recommendation of the UN General Assembly on the establishment of the High Level Commission on Sustainable Development. This will be an important follow-up to the momentum reached at Rio. We are also concerned that the UN General Assembly should expeditiously proceed with the adoption of an international convention on desertification, particularly in Africa, before June 1994. We hope that our people's voice can be added to Africa's in highlighting the urgency of tackling this and other environmental issues.

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Particular mention needs to be made of the threat to the atmosphere. If neglected, it will do irrevocable damage to the planet. We are of the opinion that a democratic government should accede to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer and the 1989 Declaration of The Hague on the preservation of the atmosphere. In addition, we will support the work of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

This is linked to South-North relations; in these questions, our loyalty lies essentially with the South. We will, therefore, strongly support the cultivation amongst countries of the South of an interest in climatic questions.

In the spirit of African co-operation and recognising the intrinsic importance of the issue, we will associate ourselves with the OAU-backed Bamako Convention on the Movement of Hazardous Waste. This proclamation departs from the so-called Basel Convention on the Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes, urging a common African position on the issue. We believe that the United Nations should be strengthened to contribute practically to dealing with environmental issues. In sum, our policy on the global environment:

- * Seeks to support effective standards on the environment and to back these with sound international environmental law;
- * Will strive for the co-ordination of economic and environmental decision-making in international institutions, especially financial ones;
- * Believes that sustainable development should become the cornerstone of global policy towards the South; and
- * Will seek to strengthen the role of national, regional and continental non-governmental organisations concerned with these issues.

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SOUTHERN AFRICA

We share a special relationship with the peoples of the rest of Southern Africa, all of whom have suffered under apartheid.

While South Africa's people experienced discrimination and repression at home, the peoples of other countries fell victim to barbaric destabilisation policies which left nearly 2 million injured or displaced people dead and inflicted damage estimated at \$ 65-billion on the economies of neighbouring countries.

The region sustained us during our struggle and, with our own, its peoples' blood was spilled to end *apartheid*. Our destiny is intertwined with the region's; our peoples belong with each other. Southern Africa is, therefore, a pillar upon which South Africa's foreign policy rests.

Closer regional co-operation and economic integration after apartheid will benefit the entire region. Defining the terms, conditions and principles on which this should be constructed is, however, of fundamental importance.

We are firmly committed to the promotion of greater unity among all the peoples of the African continent and within the Southern African region in particular. We recall with pride the fact that our organisation was an active participant in many of the historic meetings which led to the formation of Pan-African and regional organisations. We are currently fully involved in deliberations both of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Eastern and Southern African Preferential Trade Area (PTA). We have thus been and continue to be an integral part of the processes defining the principles of equity, mutual benefit and peaceful co-operation to which the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and regional organisations subscribe. These principles should underlie the reconstruction of Southern Africa after apartheid. More specifically we are of the view that:

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- * The construction of a new regional order should be a collective endeavour of all the peoples of Southern Africa and should not be imposed either by extra-regional forces or any self-appointed "regional power";
- * Militaristic approaches to interregional security and co-operation should have no place in the reconstruction of Southern African regional relations. These should be rooted in a peace-based, development-orientated and mutually beneficial approach to regional co-operation;
- * A democratic South Africa will therefore explicitly renounce all hegemonic ambitions in the region. It will resist all pressure to become the "regional power" at the expense of the rest of the sub-continent. Instead, it will seek to become part of a movement to create a new form of economic interaction in Southern Africa based on principles of mutual benefit and interdependence.

We are conscious of the need for any plan or programme seeking to promote greater co-operation and integration in Southern Africa to take account of the acute imbalances in existing regional economic relations. And we recognise the need for the emergency situations created by apartheid destabilisation to receive priority. These make it essential for any programme which restructures regional economic relations after apartheid to be carefully planned and phased in order to avoid exacerbating existing imbalances.

Any move towards a regional common market or economic community needs to be structured in such a way that it does not either continue to unbalance trade between, or prejudice industrial development in neighbouring states. Special measures should be taken to promote more balanced relations and to respond to the specific needs of the most impoverished countries of the region.

South Africa should avoid any attempt to use regional co-operation or integration as a vehicle for the one-sided promotion of its immediate interests. Instead, the benefits of closer co-operation and integration will be of considerable significance to the efforts of a democratic South Africa to place its economy on a new growth path.

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Nor do we favour promoting the short term interests of South African transport, water or electricity utilities at the expense of projects elsewhere in the rest of the region. We are convinced that the long-term interests of the South African economy will best be served by an approach to regional co-operation and integration which seeks to promote balanced growth and development. Trade opportunities will be much greater in a region which is growing. A co-operative stance within the region will be most conducive to long term acceptance as trade or project partners by our neighbours.

We are of the view, further, that similar principles of co-operation should govern the search for ways to transform exploitative and socially undesirable features of the existing regional economy such as the migrant labour system. This system has been repeatedly condemned as detrimental to development. It is, nevertheless, deeply entrenched and a number of countries have become critically dependent on it for employment and foreign exchange earnings. A democratic South Africa cannot adopt a narrow chauvinistic approach to this issue. It cannot make unilateral changes to a system which so vitally affects the whole region without taking account of the interests of others. Rather we are committed to finding an acceptable regional solution which takes account of the development needs of historic labour reserve areas.

We favour a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa applying to become a member of SADC. We will similarly explore the possibility of affiliating to the PTA and will work both with SADC and the PTA to craft an appropriate institutional basis for deepening mutually beneficial and equitable relations in our region.

At the same time we favour discussions with other members of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and the Common Monetary Area (CMA) to identify the transformations in these organisations that would be necessary for them to become vehicles for the promotion of mutually beneficial co-operation and integration in Southern Africa.

We are open to proposals for the establishment of other institutions to promote regional co-operation and integration in other sphere. We strongly support efforts to help secure the region's future through a common regional security system. This will help to promote a climate of peace and security in the region which is based on a co-operative and non-militaristic approach.

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We are deeply concerned with the increasing marginalisation of Africa. We believe, however, that much of this is imported. Take for example the fact that:

- * The regionalisation of the global economy has underscored protectionism, not in Africa, but in the North.
- * Depressed international commodity prices have enriched, not Africa, but the North.
- * The shift in international investment patterns have encouraged business, not in Africa, but in the North.
- * Mounting debt has benefitted institutions, not in Africa, but in the North.

We believe that Africa is once again the victim of a new and grossly unjust global system. In this regard we believe that it is of critical importance to highlight the debt issue. The debt service payments of developing countries now exceed all resource flows from developed countries. There is, therefore, a net transfer of resources from South to North. Unless the issue of debt relief is dealt with more sympathetically an intolerable burden will continue to be placed on future generations of impoverished people in Africa and the South.

With particular regard to Western Sahara, we support OAU and UN Resolutions which provide for a just solution of this question.

As a littoral state, a democratic South Africa intends to give serious attention to Indian Ocean questions including exploring the possibility of developing mutually beneficial trade and cultural relations. South Africa has a long series of historic links with other Indian Ocean countries. We strongly support the negotiations over the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace (IOZOP) as an issue that is central to the region's security. We would also encourage the promotion of regional cooperation by the improvement in the communications across the Ocean. We will seek observer status to The Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) and full membership of the 1985 Indian Ocean Marine Affairs Co-operation (IOMAC) which provides a framework for dealing with marine resources and environmental issues.

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MIDDLE EAST

The ANC accepts the importance to the world of peace in the Middle East. We welcome the peace agreement and various accords between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) as a first step toward the creation of a Palestinian state and a lasting peace in the Middle East. We welcome, too, the steps currently underway to bring wider peace to the region. Recognising the importance of Islam as a global movement and its long historical link with our people, the ANC will foster links with this community. In particular, we will seek a relationship with the Arab League headquarters in Cairo, and the Organisation of Islamic Conferences (OIC).

ASIA/OCEANIA

This region is rapidly emerging as one of the economic powerhouses of the world. A democratic government should vigorously support extending South Africa's economic relations with Asian countries. We believe we have much to learn from the experience of these countries in both economic and social reconstruction. Our relations with this region will also seek to achieve rapid, mutually agreeable technology transfer, to enable us to modernise our production processes.

The democratic government should acquaint itself with United Nations resolutions on the question of East Timor with a view to adopting its own position on this matter.

Taiwan (the Republic of China) was accorded recognition by the apartheid South African government. A democratically-elected government will have to consider the question once it takes office, bearing in mind both our national interest as well as international practice with regard to this question.

NORTH AMERICA

The United States, Canada and Mexico form an important triangle of countries in a key area of our world. The democratic government will urge these countries, as they move towards the establishment of the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA), to give special attention to the concerns of developing countries, like South Africa.

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WESTERN EUROPE

In mapping out our relations with Western Europe, of particular importance will be our focus on the European Community. The democratic government will seek to negotiate a mutually-beneficial trade arrangement with the EC. This should be based on the recognition of the reality of South Africa as a developing nation which needs to secure reasonable access to global markets. World trade liberalisation must not become a process in which the countries of the South open up their economies only to confront tariff and non-tariff barriers in the market places of the North.

A democratic South Africa will otherwise to expand and develop bilateral relations with the countries of Europe in pursuit of our national interests.

We notice with great disquiet the resurgence of racism in many European countries. Given South Africa's own history, a democratic government will be in the vanguard of an international effort to oppose these developments.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The disintegration of the Soviet Union has generated both threat and opportunity in this important part of the world. These developments continue to emphasise the importance of nuclear disarmament and the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction. We will explore the possibility of establishing relations with all these states if such links will be of mutual benefit to both sides. We are deeply concerned with the many conflicts in these areas. In particular we are concerned with the long-term dangers posed by racist policies of "ethnic-cleansing".

NORTH AMERICA

The United States, Canada and Mexico form an important triangle of countries in a rich area of our world. The democratic government will urge these countries, as they move towards the establishment of the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA), to give special attention to the concerns of developing countries, like South Africa.

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We seek warm bilateral relations with all these countries, building on ties of friendship forged with the peoples of North America in the cause of our liberation struggle. We look forward to the United States playing an important and constructive role in both African and global affairs but, at the same time, we would seek to ensure that the United States, as the role remaining "superpower", cooperates with all other countries, on the basis of equality, to define the new world order.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

The Atlantic Ocean binds South Africa with the countries of Latin America. We look upon them as our near-neighbours and friends and we have noted the recent move towards democracy on that continent. With great interest we have watched the efforts of the governments of the region in tackling their economic problems. We will seek to establish relations with all these countries. This will include establishing friendly relations with Cuba. We express our great anxiety about the continued efforts to blockade Cuba from the international community. We believe that Cuba's right to self-determination is important in the maintenance of international norms and principles.

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TRADE AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Economic relations stand at the very centre of international relations. It is consequently not surprising that trade and foreign investment issues should be a cornerstone of our foreign relations. Gaining access to international know how and new technology through participating in global trading and investment will be one of our prime diplomatic goal.

Our trade policy will aim at enhancing our economic development through the establishment of extensive trade relations with the rest of the world. In this, we will be especially sensitive to the wishes and fears of our neighbouring states. We would not want our own economic priorities to impact negatively on our neighbours.

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We will actively participate in international institutions which govern trade and financial relations in ways which preserve the integrity of policy formulation and implementation. We are concerned, however, that the interests and needs of the South have had only a marginal influence on decisions taken by these institutions and will work to strengthen the voice of the South in multilateral organisations.

We believe that the international trading system as presently constituted needs close scrutiny and reform. We are concerned with the agricultural policies of some of the advanced countries, and the high levels of protectionism. This contrasts with the prescriptions which flow from North-based international financial institutions which call upon countries of the South to open their markets.

We are also worried that the uncertainty of the Multi-Fibre Agreement represents only an opportunity for the North to delay fundamental decisions about restructuring the global economy. We are concerned that a collapse of the Uruguay Round of GATT may lead both to a further round of damaging protectionism in the North, and a general failure to take adequate account of our own interests as well as those of the South.

We will vigorously encourage foreign investment in accord with our goal of promoting growth and development. We will seek to foster foreign investment by establishing a climate of political stability and certainty. Economic growth will require transparent and consistent economic policies. Such investment should take place within the parameters of investment guidelines applicable to both domestic and foreign investors.

The democratic government will cultivate a strong partnership with civil society, in promoting the country's international economic linkages. We hope that non-governmental and community based organisations will be intimately involved in a continuous dialogue on the most opportune ways to ensure that South Africa becomes an important player in the international economy.

THE CHALLENGE OF MULTILATERALISM

The pace and scope of global change has improved the prospects for multilateralism. Increasing economic interdependence, the fragility of the planet's eco-system the rapid changes and the global struggles for democracy, human rights and peace, have underlined the necessity to approach many international questions from a common perspective. Multilateral diplomacy will therefore be an important element in our foreign relations.

The United Nations

Global change has helped to liberate the United Nations from the strait-jacket imposed on it by the Cold War. It can now truly fulfil the role for which it was established.

South Africa's people look forward to their country's returning to the United Nations as a full, active and enthusiastic member of the family of nations in concert. Not only do we believe that the United Nations is legally charged to deal with problems of peace and security, we hope that the United Nations can be encouraged to reach out to deal with other problems which threaten the planet. The Secretary General's recent "Agenda for Peace" document is an important starting point in this discussion.

We hope that the United Nations in this new era will pay increasing attention to the problems faced by the developing countries. We are concerned that, in recent years, the development functions of the UN have withered, as a result of the increasing ascendancy of the Bretton Woods institutions. We are anxious to ensure that the UN regains its pivotal and democratic role in furthering the interests of those at the margins of the global economy. To achieve this, we strongly support extending the initiatives of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

We believe that the United Nations must ensure that equality of sovereignty is the only determinant of power in its deliberating bodies. There should, therefore, be no inequities generated by centres of privilege underpinned by "special" powers.

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We support, consequently, endeavours to democratise the United Nations. This entails reviewing the brief of both the General Assembly and the Security Council. We are concerned that, as presently constituted, the Security Council lends itself to a concentration of power. This suggests that global affairs are run by a small group of powerful countries. We will strongly support efforts to review this position and support.

We are encouraged by the increasing role of the UN in Peace-Keeping, enforcement, and peace making, and will make our own contribution towards the realisation of these goals.

The United Nations Specialised Agencies are central to the United Nations mission. South Africa intends fully to participate in the work of these Agencies.

South-South cooperation and South/North Relations

South Africa stands firmly as a country of the South. We should therefore be deeply involved in developing and sustaining the existing multilateral forums in which the interests of the South are addressed.

The Antarctic

For thirty years South Africa has been a member of the Antarctic Treaty with formal status as an Original Consultative Party.

We will take the special responsibilities which flow from our treaty status and our long interest in the issue very seriously. As good environmental citizens, we will strongly support the comprehensive protection of Antarctica. We urge the development of instruments which will enable the continent to become a "Nature Reserve - Land of Science".

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Refugees

The world is witnessing a tragic rise in the tide of refugees. As good global citizens, we believe that South Africa should be engaged with this problem. We will be strongly supportive of the work of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). We will take our cue on the definition of a refugee from the Convention on Refugee Problems in Africa, which was accepted by the OAU in 1969.

SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

Security and defence issues fall within the realm of foreign policy where they affect, or are affected by, both relations between states and international law. In the past, security considerations often determined South African foreign policy perspectives. New approaches to security and defence should be developed in the context of wider policies on regional and international relations.

Security is not only limited to military matters. It has important political, economic, social and environmental dimensions. Additionally, the security of the state is dependent on meeting the social, cultural, political, economic and human rights needs of its people. Enduring security can be achieved through national and regional efforts to promote democracy, respect for human rights, sustainable development, social justice and environmental protection.

The ANC therefore shares the perspective of the Palme Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues with respect to common security. The Commission argued that countries have become increasingly interdependent and common problems transcend national borders as never before. States can no longer protect their citizens through unilateral military means. They share an interest in joint survival and should begin to organise their security policies in co-operation with one another.

Regional security in Southern Africa will be achieved through adherence to international law, the peaceful settlement of disputes, common security arrangements and region-wide disarmament.

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We believe that the threat or use of force by one state against another is an unacceptable instrument of foreign policy. It follows that to resort to armed hostilities between states represents a failure of foreign policy. A democratic South Africa will also endorse the international resolutions which elaborate on Article 2 (4) of the United Nations Charter. These are the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes; the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States; and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States.

We accept that there are only two exceptions to the prohibition on the use of force by states: international peacekeeping operations and the *right of self-defence* against armed attack, as laid out in the United Nations Charter and interpreted by the International Court of Justice.

A democratic South Africa will become a signatory to the Geneva Convention and Protocols, and will in all respects abide by international law with respect to the conduct of warfare.

A democratic South Africa will be committed to resolving disputes with other states through peaceful means. In partnership with its neighbours, South Africa will promote the establishment of regional forums and systems for conflict prevention and management, and the mediation and arbitration of disputes.

A democratic South Africa will actively pursue the establishment of common security arrangements in Southern Africa in order to build mutual trust, share information and develop a co-ordinated approach to such issues as disarmament, cross-border trafficking in small arms, foreign military involvement in the region, and refugees. South Africa will further promote the adoption of confidence and security-building measures and the formal ratification of a non-aggression treaty in Southern Africa.

We share the commitment of the United Nations to general and complete disarmament under effective international control, as resolved by the General Assembly at the Special Session on Disarmament in 1978. We endorse the recognition by the Organisation of African Unity of the positive relationship that exists between security, development, democracy, stability and peace and will play our role in continental mechanism established to address these issues.

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A reduction in force levels, armaments and defence spending will free funds required for the social needs of the South African people. It will also facilitate disarmament on the sub-continent, easing external debt and releasing resources for development. This will promote both internal stability and regional security.

We will work to strengthen arms control regimes world-wide. This will begin with our membership of the United Nations. We will also join the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament. We have taken particular note of the importance of the Kampala Declaration of 1991 on arms control in Africa.

In the **nuclear** field, a democratic government will honour South Africa's undertakings under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). We see the country's accession to the NPT as a token of our resolve and commitment to help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. We will actively support the efforts to renew the NPT which will be deliberated at the 1995 Review Conference, the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of its signing.

The ANC will strongly support the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the other tier of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. We will strive to become a member of the Zangger Committee which determines the conditions governing the export of nuclear materials and equipment. And, in the same spirit, we will also try to help set the conditions and principles which apply to the transfer of nuclear materials, its equipment and its technology. In pursuit of these goals, we will become active in the Nuclear Suppliers group (NSG).

Our concern for arms control will extend to the **chemical** field. We will honour agreements already entered into and actively assist the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in their efforts to develop a comprehensive Chemical Weapons Convention. Such a treaty, we believe, should ban absolutely and for all time the manufacture, possession and use of these weapons.

International control of **conventional** weapons will also occupy our attention. Through our renewed membership of the United Nations, we will interest ourselves in the United National Expert Group on Conventional Arms Transfers. With our fellow Africans, particularly our neighbours, we will explore the modalities of suitable arms control regimes for the continent.

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We recognise that previous South African regimes have developed an indigenous arms manufacturing capacity. Our position on this industry is open for discussion. We are adamant, however, that South Africa cannot, as in the past, use this facility for destructive purposes. Our position on arms exports should be governed by such important considerations as the standards of responsible global citizenship and the requirements of South Africa's wider foreign policy goals which should have priority over the exclusive considerations of our armaments industry.

SPECIAL MEMBERSHIPS

Our sad political past meant that South Africa's people were unable to take full advantage of the opportunities for membership of international fora which reflect our rich heritage of links with many parts of the world. The democratic government should strengthen the country's international ties to the benefit of all our people.

Commonwealth

We believe that South Africa's return to the Commonwealth will be one of the important symbol signifying the country's isolation.

We therefore believe that South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth will be consistent with the spirit and objectives of the new foreign policy.

Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 7

South Africa has a special link to the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. Our struggle for liberation and justice in South Africa parallels the epic quest of the non-aligned countries for freedom and a new international order.

The Movement and the Group are central institution of the South, in which the democratic South Africa should play its role.

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SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN REPRESENTATION

Apartheid all but crippled South Africa's international relations. The country's formal diplomatic links were largely confined to a number of countries with whom apartheid South Africa had historical links, or with the so-called pariah countries. On the other hand, the liberation movement has representation in a wider group of countries, including several in which there was no official South African representation. This tradition and experience thus needs to be built on in constructing a new foreign service.

The ending of *apartheid* and the emergence of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa will enable the country to establish links with all countries across the globe.

Ability to open diplomatic missions will, however, will, be restricted by economic and individual policy considerations.

With regard to this, we should be guided by the principle that foreign policy of a democratic South Africa should primarily be shaped by the nature of its domestic policies and objectives directed at serving the needs and interests of our people.

Essentially, therefore, our aim will be to garner fruitful political and economic linkages without sacrificing the principles which underpin wider policy.

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THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

This will be a central instrument for the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy. The country needs a professional foreign service which will be independent from the narrow confines of party politics. As far as possible the activities of the foreign service should be open to public scrutiny and public accountability. There should therefore be an open, questioning culture within the Department of Foreign Affairs. Ways should also be found of involving civil society in the formation of foreign policy. Only this can engender a robust exchange of ideas which, ultimately, will produce sustainable policy positions. Modern diplomacy has become an exacting and demanding vocation. It demands, in our knowledge, skilled communication, strong commitment and complete integrity. We therefore foster the required professional ethos for a corps of this calling, anticipating that it will take its place amongst the great diplomatic services of the world.

Trade and other economic issues are central to the modern diplomat. Accordingly, we should ensure that South African representatives abroad will be well skilled in the economic and trade issues which, amongst others, will help drive South Africa's international relations.

Steps will also have to be taken to ensure that, within a reasonable period, the diplomatic corps will be fully representative of South Africa's people, addressing in particular the issues of race and gender discrimination.

As responsible global citizens, the democratic government will encourage South Africans who are willing and able, to pursue careers in the international civil service.