Foreign Policy Perspective in a Democratic South Africa

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A (lymocmhc Snlllll Alru-u mll lw non - alligmwl mul will not ul'l'ilialtc t0

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any international militaly blocs; peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding equal rights, opportunities and status for all....

The right of all the people of Africa to independence and self government shall be recognised, and shall lie the basis of close cooperation? The essence of South Atricais 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 comers 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 pol i cy.

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 ()fall our people.

A democratic South Africa will actively promote the objectives of democracy, peace, stability, development and mutually beneficial relations among the people ()fAflrica as a whole, as well as a Pan African solidarity. Grateful for the international solidarity which supported the antiapartheid cause, a democratic South Africa will be in solidarity with all those whose struggle continue. South Africais foreign relations will reflect our domestic character - a constitutional state bound by the rule of law.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA, S FOREIGN POLICY

The events of the past few years have profoundly affected the international community. XVe believe, however, that the changes which have occurred have enabled us to enimciate seven principles which will guide our foreign policy.

- A belief in, and preoccupation with, Human Rights which extends beyond the political, embracing the economic, social and environmental;

A helielithztt just uml lustingr solutions to the prohlems ()l- lllllllim kiiir um ()nlx' (-mne through the lmmiotimi ()l'l)em()eme)l worldwide:

- A heliei thut Justiee uml interiizttimml law should guide the relutiom 1)('hV(t(tH iltltUllS;
- A heliel'thzit international peace is the goal to which all nations should strive.

iVliere this breaks down. ilitemutionullyugret'(1 peaceful mechanisms to solve conflicts should he resorted to:

- A heliellthut our foreign p(ilit')"5h()11ltl reflect the interests ()1lthe c011-tiiient' ()1ij'tli'icu;
- A belief that South Al'riczlls economic development depends (in growing regional and international eemmmie cooperation in an independent world:
- A heliel' that our lbreign relations must mirmr ()m' deep eommitment to the consolidation ()i'u (lemoemtie South Al'riea.

The ending olhthe (Ioltl qui' helped to terminate :1 series ()l'eonlliets. hut new ones are Sltrltlt'lllg throughout the world: individually uml collectively they present the international emmmmity with new challenges. At the smile time increusingr glolml intertlepeiHlenee has opened up new opportunities mul new threats :15 inequalities in international relations heeome more ueeentuutetl.

The demise Oil the lililst-tl'est eoillliet hats enlmneetl the 1nKlenleveloped South 2111(1 the industrialized North. South Allrieu oeeupies it unique position at this emillnenee ()ll world zlllltirs. tVe will strive to ensure that increasingr glohitl economic ilitertlel)e11(leilee does not widen the division between the South and the North. This goal is important because it t(mehes upon the desire 0! our people tor iustietx lkn' human rights and lor (lenioemey throughout the world. If. the gap hetween South and the North Continues to widen. these ideals will collapse and the world will he

plunged into a new hipoiai'ity As 11 001111t11 of the Smith , it is 11130 in our interest to ensure that the position of the countries of the Smith is not prejudiced iii the world ecm101111'.

Although 11 more dangerous place, the world dare not relinquish the c0111111111111 to 11111111111 Rights. This has 11 Special significance For South Africa; our struggle to end apartheid was 11 giohai (me and we believe that 11 change has enhanced the necessity for 111V()1'1(111'ide 1111111111 Rights e11111p11ig11. South Africa should and must play a central role in this eampaign.

In the aftermath of the (101d 111111 1111 international cry has gone torth tor (1ei11()ei'11e1. South Ah'iea will devote its energies to the 11ee()1111111ish111e11t ()tithe (1ei110cratic ideals throughout the world. XVe are conscious, however, that new (1(111111111ds (111 the ideal Otde1110eraey have recently eillei'ged. 111 part, they arise From 1111 apparent rediscoveni of self - (leterniination which in some easex undercuts the sovereignity of established nation - states. These (littering points of Views 1111derst1111d11hiy generate tension. Our hope is that this can he creatively settled within recognised regional and international tbi'a.

The changing nature of glohal society has increased the importance of the United Nations and other institutions in the search for peace. we recognise the times necessitate the redesigning of international organizations. In accepting the importance ()iithis, we insist that their central role in the 11111illteill11llee ()tiinternational law dare not he devalued.

We are conscious that Atrieas (rioh 111 position has heen 11111t111 attett dh) the eildillr ()t the ((11d 11 111 ()111' ((111tillellt and the tie still1 of its pew pie 11iii 110 hmgtr he subject to thel 111g111ie s ()t supei p(111711'11111hl 1111(1)) C(mthet. It will enjoy greater seiti-(leteril'1illati011. From 1111 economic perspective, howeven the shift in attention 11117111 110111 Africa has grave ill1pileations tor the further 111111'gin11lisat1011 ()t'our continent.

A democratic South Aii'icak future is illext1'ieahi'1' illte1't11'illed with that of Africa. As the new and latest member ()I' the Organisation of African Unity, South Africa will have the opportunity to contribute towards the

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intm'nnlimml n-lzllimls. Snulll Mi'ivu'x svvllrit), Hw xu-ll ln-ing nfmu' lwo-plr uml inh'rnnlimlul pmlm- :ln' le linlwtl tn (wmmmiv growth. But Lgl'uwlll u'illluul (lmw-Iulnm-nl :llltl I'mlisll'ilmlitm wilL lmtln (h'lly HHKIUIH :uul Immpm' (lmnumuu-lx: Snulll :Wrimk rrinsm'liun into llw I'vgimml 21ml wm'ltl (mummy is n ('vnlml lmrl U" ilx fmrign pnlim', V1' will lwmmw :I plnu-I' in NW illlt'l'lmtimml (wmmmiv Ilmn 21ml xm'lx t0 ('nlmm'v (mr own sln-ngllls and mu (I(w'lmml ('mnmillllmll (0 HIV Sulllll. HUMAN RIGHTS

'I'hv l'im- Ole mm racial. mm svxisl (h'Inm-rntiv SHlltll Mfiul Hum tlu' :HIu-s ()l' :ll);n'lln'i(l will Iml lvrminuh our (luvs! 1hr lmmgm rights. South AH'iru will immwliulle lnwnm' :1 hull) Hmlgml um! Hlul mvmlwr ()I-tllv Ilunilx ml. nzllium wlm Imhl human rights ixxm's u-ntml lo Ilnvign lmlicy. Smm- ()l' lIn-w slvps WU will lnlw :m' xxmlmliv IHIL in our (Mink 10 ('zumnixv lllllll;lll I'ighlx in our illlt'l'lmlimml rvlnlinns, WV rvqunl llu'm us Mr Imm- llmn this.

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especially in relation to economic and social rights. The second stipulates the obligations of society towards individuals. We believe that this duality is important and creative in safeguarding human rights worldwide. 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 important. We will both immediately accede to, and campaign on behalf of international conventions On the basis of need. There is a whole range of them coveiing important topics such as civil and political rights, economic and social lights, torture, womeifs and childrenis rights, racism and apartheid, refugees, the conduct of war and prisoner - Of war lights. When South Africa accedes t0 the Convention (in Civil and Political Rights of 1966, we shall also accede to the Optional Protocol which will allow the Commission 011 Human Rights to receive individual applications for violations of Human Rights. In addition, we shall become a party to a number of Conventions produced by the International Labour Organisations protecting workers, indigenous people and children. As part Of a general commitment to transparency in foreign affairs, the government will be required to present to the national parliament on an annual basis a list of conventions signed or discussed at the international level plus a statement on the full implications of such conventions for a domestic law.

We recognise the importance of regional efforts to deal with human rights questions. Therefore, we look forward to acceding the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights - the Banjul Charter. Individual South Africans will be able to petition the Human Rights Commission and we will work actively for the strengthening of the African Charter. We will accept the ruling of the International Court of Justice as a statement of intent to settle all interstate disputes peacefully. We will take seriously our wider obligation on the human rights front. To this end South Africa will, co - operate fully with international human rights groups as we believe our own country should never again become the focus of international attention on human rights violations.

Human rights ('onovms will also inHumwv tlw slmpv of'ollr hilutvml rolations. In this wv shall not he svlvctiuo nor. ill(l('('(l. lw ilhllid to misc lllllllklll rights Violations with (-olmtrivs wln-rv our own zuul otlwr inter(isls might lw nvgutiwly ulTvotml. South M 1'im x (-xpvrivnco xx'v lwlitiux shows how (lullluging poliv) (mm In, wlwn Ham's ol' prim-iplv ztrv sucnl Howl to (m-onomiv and political vxpvdivng'.

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rights in global soviet);

THE ENVIRONNIENT

Although 11 now itmn on the introductional zlgvndm as a Hisponsilm' introductional vilixvn. South M 1 im (lure not avoid grappling with the future of 1110 mn'ironnwnt.

South Africa should ucvvpt both tllv spirit zuul tlw rH-onllnmulutions of the 1987 Bruntluml Rvport which was issnul 1)) HIV l'nitvd Nations XVorId(IommissiononICnx'iI'onmmlt11ndl)mvlo1)nwnt,

xw rvvognisv Hull it is pool: wmlk sovit'tivx at llw margins of NW global systrm. who lm- vlosvsl to (he most debilitating vHM-ts olkmironmvntul (lostrlu'tion. The only ml) ol' IH'CVHIHIIQ l'urtln'r mnironmvntul svtlnu'ks is to 5'va tllv P(lllitdhh' transl'm' ol' rmonrcvs lvrom Hu' North to tlw Soulll.

(Ionswlumll1); WC wvlt-omv 11w ()lllCUlIH' of the Rio (nitml Nations ConlmmwvonHu' lCm'ironmvntuml I)('H'I()pnwlltxL'XCICDN w- look Iomunl to llw ratification of HIV two (-onuxntions whivh wvrc olwm'd lor Signutllrv at Rio: without tlw support ()1. major powvrs. tllm' will he rendered invl'llwtiw'. But thv iourmw is lhr from onr. 'l'lu- ANC tlwrvlorv applauds 11w H'commvndution of the UN (lvnvl'ul .vasvay on HIV vstnhlislmwnl of thc High lmu-l Commission on Sustainahlv l)(wvlopm('nt. This Will be an important folloxx'aup to tlw nmmvntum rvuclwd ilt Rio. ou' are also concvmvd Hmt tlw UN (lvnvml 8

Assembly should expeditiously proceed with the adoption all an international convention on (lessertititration particularly in Africa, before June 1.994. 0111' peoples voice will be added to Af'rieais in highlighting the urgency ()lltackling this and other environmental issues.

Particular mention needs to he made of the threat to the atmosphere: it neglected. it will (10 irrevocable damage to the planet. A (lemoemtie government will accede to the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer and the 1989 Declaration of The Hague (m the preservation of the atmosphere. In addition, we will suppmt the work of the Intergovernmental Planet on Climate Change.

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

lVe should also consider ways in which existingr South Africa - based institutions involved ()AU - hacked Bamako C(nn'ention (m the Movement of Hazardous VVilStU. This convention strengthens the Basel Convention on the Trunshmnltlzujv Movements of Hazardous thtes hy urging a common Allriezm position on the issue. We will not allow our country to become 21 (lumping ground tor toxic waste.

We believe that the United Nations should be particularly strengthened to contribute pruetieullx' to dealing with environmental issues. In sum, our policy on the global em'ironment:

- a Seeks to support effective standards on the environment and to back these with sound international environmental law. (I(msitlemtimi will be given to an t(Agentlu 21" for South Africa;
- a Will ensure the co -0r(linziti()n ()tleeonomic 21nd enviroilnlental decision
- making international institutions, especially financial ones;
- 9 Believes that sustainable developmental should become the corner stone of global policy;

o tYill svvk t0 strongthvn the role of national. rvgionul and continmital non - gowrnnwntal organisations (-(mccnu-(1 with these issuvs us well as promote :1greaterawareness 0i()nvimnmmnul issues in internation-ill linzmciul ()rgunisutimis such as tlu- H'm'ld Bank and IMF.
WI! lwlivvv that all citizens ()li South Africa present and l'litlm'. haul) the right to :1 sale and healthy (iin'ironinvnt and to u lilo ()tiwvll bring. As part (it an cllbctive environmental management SyStCHL a democratic South Ali'icu will embrace a holistic approach and encourage trade unions, cm'imiimental organisations. and C(mmiiinities to play 1111 active role in ensuring emimnmvntul protection iii the public interest. SOUTHERN AFRICA

W'e have at special relationship with the peoples of Southern Africa. all of whom have suffered imdvr zipziitheid.

XVhile South Afi'icais peoply experienced discrimination and repression at home. the peoples of other countries loll victim to hurlmric destabilisation polivivs which left Hourly 2 million people (lozidi (lisplucvd millions mom and inllicted damage vstimutod ill 8 (55 - hillion (m thv economies of. nvifrhlnmring countries.

The region sustained us (luring our strugglv and our (lvstim' is intertwined with the region; our pouplvs lwlmig with ouch ()tlwr. Southvm Africa isi tlwrolbnx a pillar upon which South AliiiL-ais lkii'vigii policv rests.

(Ilosor regional co - operation and economic integration alter apzutheid will honvlit tlw vntirv region. DPllllllllg the terms, conditions and princille 011 which this should ho constructed is of. fundamental importance. XVv are lirmh' committed to the promotion ()tigroutm' unitV among all the peoples of the African continent and within the Southeni Aliiczm region in pzuticulur. W'e are currently fully involved in deliberations hoth ()lE the Southern Atrium Development (Iommimitx' (SADC), and the Eastern and Southern African Protbrentiul Trade Are'a (PTA)

A democratic South Africa will he an integral part of the process defining the principles of equity, mutual benefit and peaceful e0 - operation to which the Organisation of 'African Unity (OAU) and Southern African regional organisations subscribe. These principles should underlie the reconstruction of Southern Africa after apaltheid. More specifically we are of the View that:

a The construction of a new regional order m'll he a collective endeavour of all the free peoples of Southern Africa and cannot be imposed either by extra-regional forces 01' any self-appointed regional power"; Militaristic approaches to inter-regional security and c0 - operation should have no place in the reconstruction of Southern African regional relations. These should be rooted in a peace - based, development - orientated approach to regional c0 _ operation; A democratic South Africa should therelbre explicitly renounce all hegemonic ambitions in the region. It should resist all pressure to become the llregional powerv at the expense of the rest of the sub - continent; instead, it should seek to become part of a movement to create a new form of economic interaction in Southern Africa based on pn'nciples of mutual benefit and interdependence.

We are conscious of the need for any plan 01' programme seeking to promote greater co -()peration and integration in Southern Africa to take

mote greater co -()peration and integration in Southern Africa to take account of the acute imbalances in existing regional economic relations. These make it essential for any programme which aims at promoting closer regional economic relations to be carefully planned and phased to avoid exacerbating existing imbalances.

South Afn'ca should avoid using regional co-operation 01' integration as a vehicle for the one-sided promotion of its immediate interests. Instead, it needs to recognise that balanced and mutually - beneficial co - operation and integration can be of considerable significance to the effmts of a democratic South Africa to place its economy on a new growth path.

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(t(l :nul (ixucvrlmtvtl l))';lpurth(li(l (lmtuhilisutimi.
tVt- 119ml to take into account the intvrosts of. llH' rest ()1. the region.
Increasing our trade with the rvgion zlll(l wi(l(-r ('(mtiiwnt should not he
ill tlw ('xpmlsc ()l' industrial (lM'vlopmmit inl 0r trutlv lwtwvmi. ()thvr
(-onntrivs () lvthv region. The lung - tvrm iiitvrvsts (ill South Al'riL-un econ-
omy will host hr smvxl by an approach to i'vgimml c0 - operation and
integration which seeks to promote huluncml growth zllltl (lmvlopnwnt.
Trudc opportunities will be much greater in a region which is growing. A
(-0 - ()pvmtix'v stance within the region will he most conducive to longr -
term acceptance as trade or project partners hy our neighbours.
Similar principles should govern the scurch l'tir ways to transform
exploitative and socially undesirable lbutnrcs ()1. the cc-(mmny such as
migrant luhonr. This system has liven rvpmtvtll'x' condemned as (lotri-
mental. It ism nvvertlwlvsx (lvuply vntrcnchvtl and a number of coun-
tries haw hycomy critically (lypomlynt (m it ltir ymployment untl lbreign
exchange (utmings. A (lmnocmtit- Smith Attica czumot take 21 narrow sell.-
ish approach to the issue. It czumot make unilutm'ul changes to at systcm
which ull'vcts thv whole rvgion without takingr zu-t-(mnt ()l'tho intvn'sts ()ly
otlwrs. Rather we should lx' ('ommittml t0 limling zm aiccvptaMc regional
solution which tulws uu-uunt ()l'thv (lt'i'vlopim-nt nvvtls ()l'histm'it- labour
i'csm'w 211mm
A (lymocrutit'. non - racial 21ml mm - sexist South Al'ricu will apply to
lwcomv u mmnlwr ()ll SAIXT. W' will similarly ('xplmx' thv possiliilitv ()li
ulliliziting to the PTA zuul will work tor lmth organisations to omit 2m
appropriate institutional lmsis lbr (lvvponing mutuztllv lwnvliciul 21nd
(t(illlill))l(t rvlzltions in our region. I
At thy sumo tinw wv ltwour discussions with other momlwrs ()1. the
Soutlwm Ali'icu (Instnms Union (SACU) and tho (Iommon Monetzm'
Arm ((WIA) t0 itlvntilw' the changes in those organisations which will
enable tlwm t0 hvcomv vehicles for the promotion of mutuallx' lwnvticial
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(-0 - ()pcmtion 21ml intvgmtion in Southcm Al'riczl. I

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XVe should also consider ways in which existing South Africa - hused institutions involved in regional issues, such as research zmd scientific work, are transtbrmed into truly Southern African institutions answerable to regional bodies. Believing that a future democratic government should undertake to respect the rights of Southern Aiiriculs workers, we hail the initiative oil the Southern African Trade Union Coordination Council (SATUCC) to (lrzlft 21 Regional Charter of Fundamental XUH'kei's Rights. VVorlx'ers hem neighbouringr countries will thus enjoy the same rights as South African workers to join any union of their choice.

Given that the leundzltion ()i' all South Atriczlls policy must he humzm rights. we will co - ()pemtix'ely 21ml urgently explore the creation of 21 Southern African Convention of Human Rights Regional comention and Court of Rights will assist in the achievement of ('0 - operative policing, and ()f' a Regional Mutual Security structure, to enforce and protect human rights.

AFRICA

The ending ()l'upurtheid was a_joyous moment in the histmy ()l'onr continent. Africa sacrificed much (hiringr the course ()llour struggle. Our people - refilgees and the liberation iiiox'ement - were offered Food, shelter and facilities to enhance the common endeavour to put an eiid, to racist tyranny and ()pplPSSiOI l.

XVith fellow Africans we share :1 vision to trimstbrm our continent into 1111 entity that is free, peaceiill and vilmmt - 21 continent which is eztpuhle given the opportunity to make an abiding (-(mtrilmtion in all lields of human endeavour - particularh iii the sphere of international relations. Accordinglx' we joined the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) with the prime objective to help the organisation in realising its goals (if(leepening the imity Ot Afiiczfs diverse peoples and cultures and advancing their common well being.

South Africa has much to offer the rest of the continent. But we believe 13

that the rest ()iithe (-mitinent has much to ()iiier South Africa. We wiii tiy U) slippierun-nt this two - way process hy increasing ()Iir trading iinks with African C(mntries. XVv rotognise that some steps in this (iirectitm haw already taken place. Vev would not however. want to use the strength ()ie ()me (wmmmic links as a means to (ixtermi PFPSSIII'O on individual African countries or use (me trading position to secure special recognition to gowernment policies within South Africa.

W'o arv in favour ()iipmmoting hoth c0 - operation and rvgionai (mmmmic intvgration in Africa. This step will yield iwnviits in its own right and strengthen the (intiro continvnt in its vxtcmai economic relations. XXI) recognise that scourity questions llll(1(TI)iIl (TOIIOIIliC (mos. Accordingi) we commit ourselves to the mtahiishnwnt of a process of confidence - huidingr (m the continent. XVC wiii takv a particular interest in the nevd to (iowiop a capacity for regional peace - kevping and peace - makingr so that we are able to (imi (m a regional hasis with any potmniai tor C(mtict. A democratic South Africa will participate in (lmviopmvnts in this area. XVI arc (imply (-(mcvrnvti with the increasingr marginalisation ()ti Attica. th hoiim'v, howmm: that much of this is important as illustrated hx' the ibilowing:

Tiw ('(mcmiti'ation ()l' tiw giohai (TOIHHHV into tradingr blocs has undcr-svorvd protectionism, not in Africa hut in the North:

Dopi't'ssvd iiltm'nationai ('(mmmditv prices haw (inrichvd. not Ah'ica. hut thv North;

the shilt in iiltm'natimiai iin'cstnwnt pattm'ns haw vncourach husinvsx not in Ahitat hut in the North;

Mounting,r (ichts has hmwfitvd institutions, not in Africa but in the North.

This is not to say that poor and muimnocratic government has not Charactonsod Africa ()vm' tho past thrvv decades. But the emerging global (${\tt L}$

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economic circumstances are not conducive to the development of democratic cultures in African states. We believe that Africa is once again the victim Ole new and grossly unjust global system. Accordingly, we believe that it is of critical importance to highlight the debt issue. The service payments of developing countries now exceed all resources flows from developed countries; there is, therefore, a net transfer of resources from South to North. Unless the issue ofdebt relief is dealt with more sympathetically an intolerable burden will continue to be placed on future generations of impoverished people in the South.

There is a complex and politically - rich region in North Africa. Our long association with them suggests that we will be able to develop strong links.

As a littoral state, 21 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 historical links with other Indian countries. We strongly support negotiations for the Indian Ocean to be declared a Zone of Peace (IOZOP) as this is central to the regions security. XVe would also encourage the promotion of a regional personality 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.

MIDDLE EAST

A democratic South Africa accepts the importance to the world ofpeace in the Middle East. We welcome the peace agreement and various accords between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) as a first step towards the creation of a Palestinian state and a lasting peace. We welcome too, the steps currently underway to bring wider peace to the region. We understand the importance of a sound and mutually beneficial relationship with the Arab League, the Organisation of Islaniic Conference (OIC), and other important cultural and religious 15

organisations, Thv (-(-()11()mi('iinpm'tzmvv()ith(-i'vgimitoa(humucmtic South Ah'im is rvvognisvd zunl Wi'shall hllihi()ll thi-sv rviutionships. ASINOCEANIA

This rvginn is rapidly (inwrging 215 ()m- 0i? iiH' economiv pmwrhousvs ()i' th('world. Although sumo ()iimn' peupiws umi the liberation mmmnmit haw hiul important links with Asian cmmtrim :uui p(iupim. South Africa under the apartheid rvgimv had had only iimitmi contact with this important region ()i'the world. A (lvmucmtic g(m'mmmlt wiii vigorously seek to (MMKI South Airimk (T(HIOHIIIC rviutimis with Asian countries and regional organisationx iVu lwiivw wv hzm- much to 1mm how the ()xpvrivncv ()iiAsiu hath in (i('()11()IHiCLUl(i social rtm-nnstrllctitni ()ilr reiutions with this region will also sm-k t0 zu-himv: 1 rapid. nmtliuily agreeabh' technology tmnsibr. tn mmhlv us to modvrnizv our production processes.

A (immx-mtic South Airicuk ntiutionx with .Xsiam culinti'ivs will he husod on the hnuiunwntui principles outlined mu'hm: ()Ilr link up With this region must hp u (iynmniv (mp in thv umimt ()Ii Sonth-Sonth relations zuui (h-x'vloplIIan Thv Ustzlhiishmmit ()l' (lipimnzltit whitimls Will hv gm ilulvpvntivnl (lvcixirm lmsml (m 0111' national inh'n'st imth Utnnomit 21nd politiczli

XVESTE RN E U ROP E

In mapping (ml our rviutimls With XVPSU'HI ICIH'HIMK()m'utivntionwilllw Iimisml (m lhv European l'niml ilCl'i. A (hiimx-rutic Smith Miiczl Win smtk h) nvgutiulv:1 llllllill;lii_V v hmwliciui ti'zulv 2lml (-0 - operation agrvv-inmli with the ICU and iiH' nations ()li thv lCuropmm FHW Trudc Agrm'mvnl (liliVIVA). This must hv husmi (m tiw recognition ()lithc rvuiih' 0i. South Aii'im us 21 (imrioping nation which mwds to secure rvusonuhiil access (0 global markets.

A (lemowutit South Airivzl will muimu'our to vxpuml zmd develop bilaterui relations with the collntries of Europe in pursuit ()iiour national illter(xsts. HM-ognising the important role phued in the countries of

Scandinavia in (111(ii11g apartheid. 11 (1011101-1'11tic gm'c1'11111ellt wiii gin) pl11-tic111'111'11tt011t1011 to South Ah'iczlis 1'0111ti0119 with these countries. We notice with great concern 11nd (1i9qniot tho (1111015101100 ()fi1'11ci9111 i11 1111119" pl11't9 ()ii the world, particularly in Europe. (liven 0111' own painful and destructive past timvingy (iil'octiy from the policies ()f'11p111'thcid1 11 (immocrutic and 11011 - racist gowmnwnt i9 11101'11Hy - bound to (10 everythingr in its power to thwart 1111(1 frustrate the ()i'f'ort9 ()i' thoso seeking to impose their (wii, c1'i111i111ii 111111 i111n101'111 ideology. A (imnum'utic South Africa, 119 11 responsible 11101111101 ()f' thv global community is 111.90 hound, in terms of. various UN (10111'011ti0119 1111(1 (lochu'ations to assist in (W'viy way possihiv t0 (11'11(iicl1te the scourge ()fi1'11ci9111. And the ANC is (-0111-mittcd in doing 90.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The collapse of. the Soviet Union 1111.9 generated 11 11111111101' of threats in this important ('01'1101'()fithewm'id.

ch 1111911 ibiiowed the creation of. new states with great interest and will explore the possibility of establishing 11111t11'11iiy honoiciul relations. XV) 111'9 dcopiy concommi with the i111111111111'11hiv cmltiicts in these 1110-119. 111 particular we are concerned with the long - t(11'111) dangers posed by 1'11ci9t policies of (thnic - c1011119i110.

NORTH AMERICA

The Unitvd St11t091 (31111111111 1111(1 vaico Form 1111 i111portlult triangle of countries in 11 rich corner of 0111' world. XVO wiii urge these countries. 119 they move towards the (xstuhii9hn1e11t (1f the North Al11m'ic11 Free Trade A1911 (NAFTA) to frixe special 11tt1ntion to the (011101119 Oi (I(xeioping countries, like South Afiicu.

We seek bilateral relations with 1111 these countrim building (111 tics of fliendship towed with p(OpiOS of Nmth Animicu 111 the course of 0111' liberation 9t1'11ugio XVe look t01w111d to these countiies p11m'110 1111 important 111111 constructiw 1010 111 both Ailiclul 11nd 01013111 11tillil'9. A demomut-17

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trade and financial relations in ways which presewe the integrity of policy fbrmulation. 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 and to promote their (lemoemtisation. We believe that the international trading system as presently constituted needs close scrutiny and reform. We are concerned with the policies of some of the advanced countries and the uneven process of trade liberalisation. This must not become a process in which the countries of the South open up their economies only to confront tariff and non - tariff barn'ers in the market places of the North.

We are concerned with both that a failure to finalise the Uruguay round of GATT may lead to a further round of dzunaging protectionism in the North, and by the general failure of these negotiations to take adequate account of our own interests as well as those of others in the South. We will vigorously encourage foreign investment in accordance with our goal of promoting growth and development. XVe will seek to foster foreign investment by establishing a climate of political stability and eertainty without sacrificing our autonomy. Economic growth will require transparent and consistent economic policies.

We will cultivate a strong paitnership with civil society, in promoting the countlyis international economic linkages. We encourage non - governmental, community - based organisations, and trade unions to become 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 interdependency, the fragility of the planets eeo - system and the rapid increases in technology have underlined the necessity to approach many international questions from 19

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THE UNITED NATIONS

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The United Nations Specialised Agencies are 11111111111 11) the United Nations 111issi011s. South Africa intends to t'11H1' participate in the work 111111 debates 11111111111 these Agencies.

SOUTH-SOUTH CO-OPERATION AND SOUTH-NORTH

RELATIONS

South Africa stands iil'1nll' '11s 11 1101111t11 111 the South. 1111 are therefore 1111111111 conscious of the ill1p111't1111ce 11i'11111'11111piilg 111111 sustaining multi

strengthening (11.111111till1tel'111 111111 which 11111110111111 the 1111t11111s oi the South.

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Nations High (I(mlmissioner lbr Refugees (UNHCR). We will take our (-ue (m the definition of. relugees limn the (Iom'ention (m Refugee Problems in Allrieat which was accepted lw the ()Ali in 1969. SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

Security and (lelenee issues fall within the realm ()l' foreign policy where they alleett ()r are allleeted h): lmth relations between states aml international law. New approaches to security and defense should he developed in the context ()flwitler policies on regional and international relations. Secun'ty is not only limited to militan matters; it has important political, economiu social and environmental dimensions. Additionally the security of the state is dependent on meetingr the social cultural political. economic and human rights needs of its people. Enduring security can he achieved through national and regional ellbrts to promote democrat); respect for human rightst sustainable development social justice and environmental protection.

lVe share the perspective ()l' the Palmv (I(mimission on Disarmament aml Security Issues with I'espeet to emmmm seeurit): The (I(mimission argued that countries have lieeome increasingly intei'tlepemlent and eommon problems transcend national lmrtlers as never before. States ean no longer protect their eitixens through unilateral militaiy means. They share an interest in joint sniVix'al aml should liegin to organise their seeurity policies in eo-operation with each other.

Regional security in Southern Al'riea will he pursued through adherence to international law the peacelill settlement ()1'(ll51)1lt6& common seemity arrangements and region - wide (lisannament.

W'e believe that the threat or use (it three hx' one state against another is an unacceptable instrument of toreign policy It follows that resort to armed hostilities between states represents a failure of foreign policy. A (lenmeratie South Africa will endorse international resolutions com eemlng Article 2 (4) ()t' the United Nations Charter. These are the 22

Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes; the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and (Jo-operation Among States; and the Declaration on the Inadmissibility Of Intewention in Domestic Affairs of States.

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 Intemzltimml Court ofjustice.

A democratic South Africa will become a signatoxy t0 the Geneva Convention and Protocols, and will in all respects abide by international law with respect to the conduct ()fwzu'f'are.

A democratic South Africa will be committed to resolving disputed with other states through peaceful means. In pzutnership with its neighbours, South Africa will promote the establishment of regional fora and systems for crisis prevention and management, and the facilitation, mediation and arbitration of conflicts.

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

We are open to proposals for the establishment of institutions to promote regional security co-opention. XVe strongly support efforts to promote increased militaly co-operation between the states of' the region. And we favour the creation of an interstate Committee for Defence and Security which could be inempomted into the existing structures of the SADC. This will help to create a climate of peace and security in the region which is based on a co-Operzltiye 21ml non-militaristic approach. 23

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mont and its tcclmology. In pursuit olltlicso goals, we will become uctiw in tllO Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSC).

()ur concern lor urms control will also extend to the chemical livld. W'o will activCly assist the (1011mm (Ionl-vrmico on Disurnmmont in tlwir efforts to develop a comprolwnsivv (lemicul lVoupons Comvntions. Sucli 21 treat); we believe, should lmn absolutely and lol' all timv tlic mzumlllctnro, possession and use of tlwso weapons. le should also work to assure the lnuming olll)iological weapons.

International (illorts to control conventional wvupons will also occupy our attention. Through our renewed membership ()lltllC United Nations. wc will intorvst oui'sle'os in the United Nations Export (lronp on Conventional Arms Tmnslbrs. Without Follow Aliiczuis, particularly our nciglilxmrs, we will ('xplorv the modalities ol suitable arms control regimes for tho continvnt.

VVO recognise that previous South Ali'icun regimes have d(wvlopcd an indigenous arms manufacturing capacity. This indushy is a matter for rCilSSOSSIHOHt.

0111' position on arms (ixports should lic governed by tllC followingy important considm'utions: the standards ol responsible global citizenship and the rvquircments of South Ali'icsz wider lorvign policy goals will haw priority ovvr considerations of tllC m'munwnts industry within the South Aliicun (xconom);

SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP

Our political past meant that South Aflriculs people were unable to tulw lull zulvzuitagy of the oppoinnitics for membership of international lom WillCll reflect our ricli heritage of links with many parts of the world. A democratic government will lortiliv international tivs to the lwnvlit of all OlIT pOOple.

COMMONWEALTH

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tion and experience thus needs to he built on in constructing a new foreign SGI'VlCG.

The ending ()fapartheid and the emergence ()f'non-racial, iioii-sexist and democratic South Africa will enable the C()llntl')' to establish legitimate links with countries across the face of the globe.

Our freedom of movement in this regard, however, will be restricted by economic and individual policy considerations. It is unlikely that South Africa will he in a position to establish a representation with every country us budgetmy constraints will xitiate against this.

Our policy Conference of December 1991 noted that:

iiThe foreign policy of 21 democratic South Africa will be primarily shaped by the nature of its domestic policies and ()hjectixr'es directed at sewing the needs and interests ()fits people."

Essentially; therefbre. decisions ahout levels and form of representation will be informed 1)V our basic quest to advance our socio-economic and political interests.

THE DIPLOIVIATIC SERVICE

This stands at the centre of South Africzfs f(n'eign policy. XVe believe that the countiy needs a professional diplomatic sewice which will he independent from the narrow confines ()fpzu'ty politics. XVe helievet too, that as far as possible. the activities of the fbreign senice should be open to public scrutiny zmd public accountability. We will encourage an open, questioning culture within the Department of Foreign Affairs. Only this can engender a robust exchange of' ideas which, ultimately, will produce sustainable policy positions.

We have taken careful note of the recent experiences which have shaped diplomatic sewices in other parts of the world. In palticular, we are concerned that our professional diplomats should not live a privileged life. They must master a range of managerial skills; without these, we believe, the modem diplomat, and South Africa, will he handicapped.

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With thanks to Fricdcrich Erbcrt Stiftung December 1994 Pmm ./ In (hr/r/m I m Plum / x