

**DRAFT RESOLUTION ON
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE ANC**

The 48th National Conference of the ANC, meeting in Durban, South Africa from 2-6 July 1991,

Reaffirming that the Freedom Charter, the basic policy document of the ANC, constitutes the firm foundation for the conduct of the ANC's international relations,

Recalling the foreign policy guidelines elaborated at and adopted by the ANC National Consultative Conferences (Kabwe, 1985 and Johannesburg 1990),

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

Further reaffirming that both the Harare Declaration of the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa define the basis of an internationally acceptable solution of the South African conflict, and therefore outline the parameters within which the relations between South Africa and the world can be normalised,

Recognising that the conduct of the ANC's foreign policy must take into account the realities of the contemporary international relations, characterised by:

- a.) A general universal tendency towards the establishment of political systems whose features include multi-party democracy, respect for individual human rights, and movement away from centrally-planned economies,
- b.) A tendency towards the disappearance of the Cold War and a departure from the conduct of international relations on the basis of a bi-polar world order, dominated by the conflicting interests of the super-powers and the two military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact - the latter which is also being phased out,

Cognisant that the resolute struggles waged in South Africa by the ANC and the rest of the democratic forces, supported by the international community, have resulted in a shift in the balance of political forces inside South Africa - a circumstance which is currently re-defining South Africa's relations with the rest of the world community,

Aware that our foreign policy must be informed by the understanding that South Africa is in a critical phase of transition from apartheid to a non-racial, non-sexist democracy, and that the white minority regime has been compelled to adopt the political agenda of the 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 interim measures to oversee the process of transformation

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 regime to repeal the so-called legislative pillars of apartheid, have given rise to a tendency among a growing number of countries towards the premature lifting of sanctions against the apartheid regime as a reward for the measures undertaken by F.W. de Klerk;

Reaffirming that the main thrust of our foreign policy must be the attainment of the objectives of the Harare and UN Declarations, viz mobilising the world community to assist towards the speedy eradication of apartheid as well as helping to move the process of negotiations forward 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 international community must continue to utilise this weapon to pressure the regime to move towards a new non-racial, democratic South Africa.

In light of the erosion of sanctions by a number of countries, it is essential that the sanctions weapon not be lost. The international community should be urged to listen to the view of the democratic forces and not seek to reward the apartheid regime. Sanctions must therefore be utilised creatively in order to arrest this erosion and push the process of negotiations forward and thus attain the objective of a democratic 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 transformation:

- 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 Pretoria to end violence,
- b.) the installation of an interim government according to "agreed 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 precise formulation of this process, in broad consultation internally and in coordination with the anti-apartheid forces world-wide. These forces include the OAU, UN, as well as non-governmental anti-apartheid and solidarity forces.

2. On the mobilisation of anti-apartheid forces

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

During the period of transition from apartheid to democracy, the role 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 international community towards its obligation of assisting the people of South Africa to effect the transformations which will result in the suppression of the crime of apartheid and the institution of a social order which will uphold the objectives contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations.

Furthermore, 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 apartheid legislation from the statute books.

Conference recommends the convening in South Africa, within a year, of a conference of anti-apartheid 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 force that constitutes the main agent of political change in South Africa - by providing material and financial resources to realise the following objectives:

- a.) To empower the anti-apartheid forces to carry out the tasks of transforming South Africa from an apartheid to a democratic society. In this context the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, needs to be assisted in order 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 socio-economic imbalances resulting from apartheid, through training and research,
- c.) To assist post-apartheid South Africa 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 Reconstruction 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 promote regional and international cooperation to meet the following perspectives:

- a.) To actively promote the objectives of democracy, peace, stability and

development to achieve mutually beneficial cooperation among the people of Africa 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 Conference (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 international organisations as the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Aligned 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 Development Bank,

d.) to commit itself, together with the regional and international community, to promoting programmes of environmental conservation,

e.) To commit itself to help create a world free of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. In this regard, to seek to promote the objectives of Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear-free zones, and areas that would also be free of foreign military forces and bases. ANC must re-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.