

N4M/029/0117/2

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

# THE HARARE COMMUNIQUE

October 1991





(P7)

### South African Economic Studies

29. Heads of Government recognised the valuable contribution made by the Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance and looked forward to the continuation of its work.

### Namibia

(P3)

### \* South Africa

18. Heads of Government welcomed the important changes that had taken place in South Africa in the last 20 months since the initiatives taken by President de Klerk. These were a vindication of the long years of implacable opposition to apartheid by the democratic opposition forces, and in particular:



of the tenacity and courage of the liberation movements. These developments had also vindicated the Commonwealth's pre-eminent role in leading international action in support of the struggle to end apartheid. The developments had brought into sight the goal of the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democracy in a united and non-fragmented South Africa.

19. Heads of Government urged all the parties in South Africa to move as quickly as possible to constitutional negotiations. Expressing the hope that the recent tragic escalation of violence would not further set back this process, they strongly condemned this violence and called upon the South African Government as well as on all the parties in South Africa to bring it to an end as a matter of the utmost urgency. In this context they viewed with grave concern both revelations of covert Government funding of political organisations and the mounting reports of the involvement of elements within the security forces in perpetrating acts of violence. They welcomed the Peace Accord and called for its full implementation as quickly as possible.

20. While the terms of a constitutional settlement were for the people of South Africa themselves to determine, Heads believed that the Commonwealth must remain ready to assist the negotiating process in ways that would be found helpful by the parties concerned. They therefore decided to request the Secretary-General to visit South Africa at the earliest possible opportunity in order to explore with the principal parties concerned ways in which the Commonwealth could assist in lending momentum to the negotiating process.

21. On his return, the Secretary-General would report his conclusions to the Ten Heads of Government previously concerned with the High-Level Appraisal, and to the President of Zimbabwe, Chairman of the current Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. Heads authorised this Group to consider and determine the necessary follow-up action in the light of the Secretary-General's mission.

### Sanctions

22. Heads of Government expressed the hope that the stage would be reached when the situation in South Africa would justify reconsideration of their sanctions policy against South Africa. They recalled that the purpose of sanctions had always been to bring about a peaceful end to apartheid through the promotion of negotiations between the Government and the acknowledged representatives of the black majority. In recognition of the crucial role sanctions had played in bringing about the changes thus far, they agreed to continue to use effective forms of pressure to assure a successful final outcome to the conflict in South Africa. Accordingly (subject to the proviso in the following paragraph) they endorsed the programmed management approach, elaborated by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, linking any change in the application of sanctions to the taking of real and practical steps to end apartheid. In respect of the different categories of sanctions, subject to the same proviso, Heads of Government agreed as follows:



23. The British Prime Minister stressed the importance of foreign investment in restoring growth to the South African economy and the need for decisions now if the current economic decline was to be halted in time for the inauguration of South Africa's first majority government. It is for this reason that, while agreeing with the lifting of "people sanctions" and the maintenance of the arms embargo, he did not agree with the recommendation of the Committee on the time scale for lifting economic and financial sanctions.

24. Heads of Government were encouraged by the recent considerable progress in the evolution of a unified and non-racial sports movement in South Africa and welcomed the decision of the International Olympic Committee to grant recognition to the National Olympic Committee of South Africa. They agreed to continue to encourage these developments and, where appropriate, to provide assistance. They stressed the need for each sporting code to provide assistance to sportsmen and women disadvantaged by apartheid. They agreed that restrictions in respect of a particular sport be lifted when the following criteria have been met;



- the formal endorsement of the achievement of unity by the appropriate representative non-racial sporting organisation in South Africa;
- readmittance to the relevant international governing body;
- agreement of the appropriate non-racial sporting organisation within South Africa to resume international competition.

25. Commonwealth governments would continue to be guided in these matters by the National Olympic Committee of South Africa and other appropriate representative non-racial sporting organisations. In particular they welcomed the achievement of cricket in this regard and expressed the strong hope that the International Cricket Conference would accept South Africa's entry in the forthcoming World Cup.

#### **Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa**

26. Heads of Government, recognising that the education and training of members of the deprived majority to occupy strategic positions in the transition period and beyond would be crucial to progress, welcomed the Report of the Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa, Beyond Apartheid. They looked forward to a significant role for the Commonwealth in addressing the Report's priorities and strategies in partnership with the wider international community. They agreed to assist in meeting the human resource development needs of post-apartheid South Africa on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which could include a voluntary multilateral Commonwealth Programme for Human Resource Development in South Africa. An immediate start should be made to support training and placements within South Africa as well as continuing training and placements outside South Africa.

27. Heads of Government attached importance to an increased role for the Commonwealth network of non-governmental organisations, Skills for South Africa, in the implementation of the Expert Group's recommendations. They called for increased bilateral Commonwealth and other programmes in this area and requested the Secretary-General to bring the Expert Group's Report to the attention of the international community and to explore the possibility of convening, in collaboration with the United Nations, an international donors' conference.

#### **Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa**

28. Heads of Government decided that the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa under the continuing Chairmanship of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs should remain ready to meet as and when necessary until the completion of the implementation of their recommendations.





# PATRIOTIC/UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

STATEMENT 26 / 10 / 1991

## Joint Approach on Constitutional Process with regard to Negotiations

The Patriotic/United Front Conference, held in Durban, South Africa, from October 25-27 1991 agrees:

### 1. TRANSFER OF POWER

The transfer of power from the minority regime to the people is the main objective of our struggle. In pursuance of this objective an All-Party Conference/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/PCAM) will have to be convened as soon as possible.

### 2. PURPOSE OF THE APC/PCAM

The purpose of the APC/PCAM would be to work out modalities of transferring power to the people. The modalities must centre around the establishment of an elected Constitutional Assembly based on one person one vote with all eligible voters voting on a common voters' roll; constitutional principles within the framework outlined in the UN/OAU Declarations; Interim Government/Transitional Authority; the role of the international community; re-incorporation of the Bantustans and a definite time-frame.

### 3. CONVENORSHIP

3.1 The APC/PCAM must be convened by an independent and neutral convenor, and not the regime. The PAC and ANC must agree on an acceptable convenor.

3.2 A meeting should be held within the next few weeks with the regime and other interested parties to discuss the date, venue and an independent convenor for the APC/PCAM.

### 4. APPROACH TO PROCESS

4.1 On issues where there is agreement at this or future meetings of the Patriotic/United Front actions and positions will be underlined by the principle of unity in action and unity of purpose as a Front. On issues where consensus has not been reached endeavours to find common ground will continue. Should consensus not be reached organisations can act independently.

4.2 The Patriotic/United Front shall be reconvened after six months for the purposes of reporting and further consultations and joint planning.





# PATRIOTIC/UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

## DECLARATION ADOPTED AT THE PATRIOTIC/ UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE HELD IN DURBAN ON THE 25 - 27 OCTOBER 1991

We, women and men, together as equals, assembled under the banners of political, labour, women's, religious, youth, professional, sports, cultural and business formations as well as organisations of traditional leaders;

Experienced in diverse ways of engaging in the struggle against apartheid and minority rule;

Repositories of true democratic values and champions of human rights in our country gathered together in this conference of the Patriotic/United Front in Durban on 25 - 27 October 1991:

Reaffirming our commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, unfragmented and unitary country;

Recognising that through struggle our country has reached a point where transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole now is the most urgent necessity of struggle;

Convinced that the de Klerk regime cannot be, and is not the agent of democratic change;

Resolved together to seize this moment in history to ensure the speedy establishment of national democracy.

Believing that a democratic order can only be ushered in through a mechanism in which our entire nation elects by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly that drafts and adopts a democratic constitution which shall constitute the basis for unifying our divided and tortured land around a common patriotism;

Recognising that the de Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate, and totally discredited and does not enjoy the trust of our people, and that it has unilaterally embarked upon the restructuring our economy and shaping our social life in order to perpetuate, in a new guise, the old social order based on white privilege and black impoverishment;

Pledging ourselves to ensure that these designs shall be defeated, we demand that the regime ceases such action forthwith and acknowledges it has no right to unilaterally take such measures;

Commit ourselves to create the necessary mechanism to harmonise our approach to socio-economic transformation;

Condemn the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) and call upon all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November 1991 and all other forms of united action on this and other issues;

Noting that de Klerk's constitutional proposals are intended to entrench minority privilege and the current power structure and represent nothing else but a dying order which seeks to give itself a veto power over the future of our country.

Noting further that the violence raging throughout our country today has been initiated and sponsored by the apartheid state, including the use of foreign mercenaries, and that it has the power to stop it, we demand that it does so forthwith; Further that there should be the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries from our soil;

... our inherent desire for peace and



establishment of a genuine democratic order;

Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community;

Sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching for their lost ones and concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage;

Call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our traditional chiefs;

Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including helping in the creation of self defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the victims of violence.

### NOW THEREFORE

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist upon the establishment of an Interim Government/Transitional Authority to ensure that the de Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over state power and resources;

Commit ourselves to a sovereign Interim Government/Transitional Authority that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, state media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation;

DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a All Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/PCAM) which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which shall effect the transfer of power;

CONFIRM our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the Constitutional Principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the Constituent Assembly, realise the establishment of the IG/TA, ensure the re incorporation of the bantustans, define the role of the international community and agree upon the time frame to bring about a democratic order.

Resolve further that the joint liaison committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-Conference follow up as well as look into ways and means, including the establishment of a Consultative Forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process.

Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles;

DEMAND that the regime complies with these requirements forthwith;

AND PLEDGE to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.

United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities and independence, v assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate future, a truly democratic order in which every individual is assured a place and a say as an equal in which non sexism, non racialism and democratic majority rule shall be non negotiable and be realised in practice.

To this end and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for united action and widening the areas of common understanding;

And call upon our people wherever they are to join and engage in this process emanating from this Conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself.

These declarations are the agreements arrived at between the co-convenors of this conference



Recommendations to the NEC

This Seminar convened in terms of the resolution of the 48th. National Conference of the ANC submits the following to the NEC:

This Seminar taking into consideration the decision of the NEC dated July 31st that the major obstacle to the establishment of a democratic non-racial no-sexist South Africa is the continued existence of the apartheid regime, and that urgent steps need to be taken to convene the All Party Congress as a step towards removing the South African regime and installing an Interim Government of national unity according to agreed transitional arrangements and modalities of a transition to a democratic order;

Recommends to the NEC that

1. With regard to Phase 1 A of National Conference Resolution on Sanctions, people to people sanctions should now be lifted as follows:

air links;

tourism;

visas;

culture - except against organisations and institutions that continue to practice apartheid;

sport - with the approval of the appropriate body provided that united non-racial controlling sports organisations have been established and that development programmes for sportsmen and sportswomen disadvantaged by apartheid are in place;

education- except against organisations and institutions that continue to practice apartheid, and with the exclusion of scientific exchanges as these have been used as a cover for military and security technological transfers.



2. With regard to Phase 1B we recommend that following the installation of an Interim Government of national unity, other sanctions excluding those mentioned in 3 below and including diplomatic isolation, gold coins, trade, trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial sanctions may be lifted at the request of the Interim Government.

3. With regard to Phase 1 C we recommend that all remaining sanctions including the restrictions on the export of computers, technology and scientific exchanges which could be of relevance to the army and the police or are of military nature, the oil embargo and the arms embargo should be lifted on the adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of free and fair elections for a non-racial Paliament and a representative government.

4. That the NEC urgently carries out national and international consultations to consider the implications and implementation of this resolution.