

Declarations
World Trade Centre
Johannesburg
20-21 December 1991

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Introduction

These are The declorotiohs ThGT have been passed
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Declaration adopted CIT The

PaTrioTic/UniTed Front Conference

held in Durban on 25 -27 October

1991

We, women and men, TogetHer as equals, assembled under The banner of
poiiticoi, labour womehâ\200\231s, religious, youTh, professional, sporTs, cuiTurOi and b
usiness

formoTiOhs as well as organisotiOhs of TrodiTionoi leaders;

Experienced in The diverse ways of engaging in The sTruggie ogoihsT oporTheid

Ohd minoriTy rule;

ReposiTories of True democroTic values and champions of human rightS in our
counTry goThered TogetHer in This conference of The chTrioTic/UniTed Front in
Durban on 25â\200\22427 OcTober 1991:

Reaffirming our commiTmehT To The esTobiishmehT of o hOhâ\200\224rociOi, hOh-sexisT,
democroTic, unfrogmenTed and uniTory counTry;

Recognising ThoT Through sTruggie our couhTry has reached 0 poiht where
Transfer of power from The whiTe mihoriTy regime To The people 05 0 whole how is
The most urgehT necessity of sTruggie;

Convinced ThoT The de Klerk regime connoT be, and is hoT, The ogehT of
democroTic change;

Resolved TogetHer To seize This momehT in hisTory To ensure The speedy
esTobiishmehT of noTionoi democracy.

Believing ThoT o democroTic order can only be ushered in Through a mechanism
in which our ehTire noTiOh eieCTs by broportionoi represehToTiOh on The basis of
universal suffrage, o ConstiTuehT Assembly ThoT drafts and odost o democroTic
constiTutiOh which shall constiTute The basis for unifying our divided and TorTured
ichd Ground 0 common poTrioTism;

Recognising ThoT The de Kierk regime is illegal, iiiegiTimoTe Ohd ToToiyy discredited
and does hoT enjoy The Trust of our people, and ThoT H has uniloTeroliy embarked
upon The resTrucTurihg of our economy and shaping our social life in order To
perpeTute, in 0 new guise, The old social order based on whiTe privilege and
block impoverishment-

Pledging ourselves To ensure ThoT These designs shall be defeoTed, we demand
ThoT The regime ceases such ocTiOh TorthwiTh and acknowledges iT has no right To
uniioTeroliy Toke such measures;

CommiT ourselves To creOTE The necessary mechanism To harmonise our
approach To socioâ\200\224economic TronsformoTiOh;

Condemh The ihTroduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) ond call upon oli our
people To support Ohd porticiche fully in The hoTiOhoi sTrike on The 4Th and 5Th
November 199i and oil oTher forms of uhiTed ocTion on This and oTher issues;

NoTihg ThoT de Kierkâ\200\231s constiTutionoi proposals are ihTehded To ehTrehch minoriTy
priiiege and The currehT bower sTrucTure Ohd represehT hoThihg else buT o dying
order which seeks To give iTseif o veTo power over The fuTure of our counTry.

NoTihg further ThoT The violence rogihg ThroughouT The counTry Today has been
ihiTioTed cmd sponsored by The oporTheid sToTe, including The use of foreigh
mercenaries, Ohd ThoT iT has The power To sTop iT, we demand ThQT iT does so
forThwiTh;

Further ThoT There should be The immedioTe Ohd verifiobie expulsion of oil foreign
mercenaries from our soil;

Sharing The agony of Those in sorrow over Their dead and injured and searching or Their lost ones and concerned ThoT The violence has rendered our women and children The main vicTims of The carnage:
 Coll for The hormolisOTTOh of The reloTions beTweeh our people and our rodiTionoi chiefs;
 CommiT ourselves side by side wiTh our people, To bring peace by all means OT our disposol including helping in The creOTioh of selfâ\200\224defehce uniTs Ohd embarkin g
 JpOi-\202 programmes To ossisT The vicTims of violence.
 Now Therefore
 in order To ensure ThoT eTecTiOhs To The constiTuent assembly are Tree and fair we 'hsist Upon The eschlishmehT of Oh lhTerim Government/TronsiTiohol AuThoriTy To ensure ThoT The de Klerk regime does hoT preside over or mohipuloTe The TrohsiTiOh Through The misuse of HS de focTo conTrol over sToTe power and resources;
 CommiT ourselves To a sovereign IhTerim Government/TronsiTionol AuThroTiy ThoT shall OT The very ieosT conTroI securiTy forces and reloTed moTTers, The eiecToroi process, sToTe media and defined areas of budget and finance, 08 well 08 secure ihTerhoTiOhoi porticipoTion;
 â\200\230
 Â¢
 DEMAND The holding as soon as possible of on All PorTy Congress/Pre-ConstiTuent Assembly MeeTihg (APC/PCAM) which shall be brought TogetHer by independent Ohd heuTroI conveyors OS a necessary mechanism To seT ihTo moTiOh The process leading To a democroTicoily electEd COhsTiTuehT Assembly which shall effect The Transfer of power;
 CONFIRM our common undersTondihg ThoT The APC/PCAM shoil underwriTe The constiTutuTiOhol principles, find The modaliTies for drawing up The ConstiTution Through The ConstiTuehT Assembly, realise The esToblishmehT of The lG/TA, ensure The reâ\200\224ihcorporoTiOh of The bonTusTons, define The role of The inTerhoTiOhol commUhiTy and agree upon The Time frame To bring about o democroTic order.
 RESOLVE further ThoT The joint liaison commiTTEE esToinshed by The coâ\200\224conveyors o f
 This conference be moihtoied To fociliToTe posTâ\200\224Conferehce follow up 08 well OS look We ways and means, including The esTobiishmehT of o ConsuiToTive Forum and The convening of o further PoTrioTic/UniTed Front Conference wiThih six monThs in order To involve all The organisoTions goThered here Today ihTo closer consulToTion, joiht ocTion and The drawing in of formoTiOhs sTili ouTside This process.
 OUTRAGED OT The foiiture of The regime To fuliy comply wiTh The demand, endorsed by The whole ihTerhoTiOhol commuhiTy for The uncondiTiohol release of oil poIiTicoI prisoners and for general omhesTy for exiles;
 DEMAND mm The regime complies wiTh These requirements forThwiTh;
 AND PLEDGE To campaign for The immedioTe reolisoTiOh of These oims.
 UniTed by These common posiTions, moihtoihing our speroTe idehTiTies and independence, we. assembled OT This PoTrioTic/UniTed FrOhT Conference how Therefore, seborotely ond colieCTiveiy, dedicoTe ourselves To The fuTure, O Truly democroTic order in which every individual is assured 0 place and a soy OS on equal and in which hOhâ\200\224sexism, hon-rociolism Ond democroTic mojoriTy rule shall b e
 hOh-hegoTioble and be realised in procTise.
 To This end and acknowledging ThoT There remain areas where consensus among us sTiIi needs To be reached, we piedge ourselves To conTihue our search for UniTed ocTion and widening The areas of common undersTOhdihg;
 And call upon our people wherever They are To join and engage in This process emonoTihg from our conference To creOTE cl hoTiOh ThoT will be OT peace wiTh iTselfiiJ
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STaTement of The PaTrioTic/UniTed

Front Conference

The PoTrioTio/Uniâ\200\231red Front Conference, held in Durban, SouTh Africa from OoTober 25 â\200\22427 1991 agrees:

1. Transfer of Power:

The Transfer of power from The minoriTy regime To The people IS The monn obJeCTive of our sTruggle. In pursuance of This objective on Allâ\200\224PorTy Conferenoe/Pre-ConStiTuent Assembly Meeting (APC/PCAM) will have To be convened 03 soon 03 possible.

2. Purpose of The APC/PCAM

The purpose of The APC/PCAM would be To work ouT modolities of Transferring power To The people. The modolities must centre around The esToblishment of on elected ConStiTuent Assembly based on one person one voTe with all eligible voTers voTing on 0 common voTers roll; oonsTiTuTionol principles wiThin The framework outlined in The UN/OAU Declorotions; InTerim Government/TronsiTionol AuThoriTy; The role of The inTernoTionol communiTy; reincorporoTion of The bonTusTons and o definite Timeâ\200\224frome.

3. Convenorship:

3.1 The APC/PCAM must be convened by on independent and neuTrol convenor, inTerested ponies To discuss The doTe, venue and on independent convenorforThe APC/PCAM.

4. Approach To The process

4.1 On issues where There is ogreement oT This or fuTure meeTings of The PoTrioTio/UniTed Front, ocTions and posiTions will be underlined by The principle of uniTy in ocTion and uniTy of purpose as o Front. On issues where consensus hos noT been reoched endeavours To find common ground will conTinue. Should consensus noT be reoched orgonisoTions con ooT independence.

4.2 The PoTrioTic/UniTed FRont Conference shall be reconvened oï-\201er six monThs for The purposes of reporTing and furTher oonsulToTions and joint planning. '4

Declaration of The Conference for
a Democratic Future, December
1989

The struggling people of our motherland stand at the threshold of a new South Africa. Centuries of struggle against the forces of evil and oppression are now bearing fruit. We are certain of our future and through our concerted will, South Africa will be free and democratic.

2. We, the thousands of representatives of organisations from throughout South Africa, gathered here in Johannesburg to plan the next steps of our march to freedom, find our country in a chaotic state in that:

The minority rulers hold on to power against the will of the majority. They perpetrate violence against our people.

The economy is in total ruin.

Rents, high cost of living

Our people have made it clear that:

No minority government is acceptable.

Apartheid must be completely dismantled,

Only a united, democratic, non-racial South Africa is acceptable.

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whatever the cost.

4. Despite its total isolation, the de Klerk regime is fighting back. It has launched its own offensive against our people, movements and our allies abroad.

5. The strategic objective of the regime remains that of reshaping apartheid to make it palatable to the South African people and the international community. More importantly, the clear intention is to protect the privileges of the white minority.

6. We are convinced that the de Klerk government is not interested in creating a democratic South Africa, nor is it interested in genuine negotiations. Clearly de Klerk is buying time to re-order the forces of minority domination and win over some of our people to his fraudulent schemes,

7. De Klerk is presenting proposed "reforms" as his great beginning and coils on

us to de-escalate our struggle and to end international isolation.\230

8. We ask our people and the world community to note that the security forces of the de Klerk regime continue their merciless assault on our unarmed people:

. The "hit squads" remain intact and have been given a new mandate to continue the elimination of our leaders and activists

Over 3000 protesters are serving sentences in de Klerk's jails.

More than 70 owe their lives to the government on Deots Row.

Over 800 remain under de Klerk's restriction orders.

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Emergency:

. Our gallant detainees won their release through the hunger strike.

. Our marches have challenged de Klerk to restrain his "dogs of war".\235.

TO. The campaigns of mass action have attracted thousands of new people into the fold of the anti-apartheid forces. The moral appeal of the democratic movement has never been greater. This moral appeal has even been

extended to the police force where the number of policemen and policewomen, who refuse to be used against their own people, will increase.

ii. We won't end apartheid and exploitation as soon as possible, we won't have democracy as soon as possible if de Klerk can convince us that he is serious about genuine negotiations on the creation of a democratic South Africa, and he has created the necessary conditions for negotiations if we are ready to toll about the creation of a democratic South Africa

12 De Klerk has done nothing which convinces us that he is genuine. There are no actions to back up his vague promises

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The suffering of our people increases daily - unemployment, low wages, high rents

We will continue to resist apartheid, even defy and actively dismantle it,

The oppressed people of South Africa shall be masters of their own history - not de Klerk. The campaigns of mass action by our people have inspired millions of South Africans! Both black and white, we have broken the shackles of the state of

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We cannot end until the clerk is ready. Our struggle to dismantle
apartheid and exploitation and to build a democratic future will go on:

We will continue to mobilise every section of our society - black and white -

to unite and oppose apartheid.

We will build the maximum unity among all anti-apartheid forces.

We will continue to demand that the international community intensify its

efforts to isolate the apartheid government,

We have put the question of political power first on the agenda today, today

we will joinle mop out of programme to intensify our struggle against apartheid

and exploitation to unite our people as never before,

We will not rest until all the people of SA - black and white - govern in
a non-racial,

democratic and united South Africa. LJ

Declaration of The OAU Ad-Hoc
Committee on Southern Africa on
The question of South Africa
Harare, Zimbabwe 200\224 21 August, 1989

1. Preamble

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The people of Africa, singly, collectively and collectively through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all.

We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice.

Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial to themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa.

With regard to the region of Southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes, in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time. Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by South Africa of all the countries in the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion and other means, should end immediately.

We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now, to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the peoples of Southern Africa, our continent and the world at large.

We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa. For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the Pretoria regime must abandon its obnoxious concept of apartheid practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of Southern Africa.

We reaffirm our recognition of the right of all peoples, including those of South Africa, to determine their own destiny, and to work out for themselves the institutions and the system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work together to build a harmonious society. The Organisation of African Unity remains committed to do everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways as the representatives of the oppressed may determine, to achieve this objective. We are certain that, arising from its duty to help end the criminal apartheid system, the rest of the world community is ready to extend similar assistance to the people of South Africa.

We make these commitments because we believe that all peoples are equal and have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or creed. We believe that men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society. No individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their consent. The apartheid system violates all these fundamental and

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universal principles. Correctly characterised as a crime against humanity, it is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa. It has sought to dehumanise entire peoples. It has imposed a brutal war on the whole region of Southern Africa, resulting in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children. This scourge and affront to humanity must be fought and eradicated in its totality.

We have therefore supported and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective through political, armed and other forms of struggle. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interests of all humanity.

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our preference for a solution arrived at by peaceful means. We know that the majority of the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, who have been compelled to take up arms, have also upheld this position for many decades and continue to do so.

The positions contained in this Declaration are also consistent with and are a continuation of those elaborated in the Lusaka Manifesto two decades ago.

They take into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since that Manifesto was adopted by the OAU and the rest of the international community. They constitute a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble effort to end the apartheid system, an objective to which the OAU has been committed from its very birth.

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to help intensify the liberation struggle and international pressure against the system until this system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens.

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder. We are convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and therefore the opening of a new dawn of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in which racism, colonial domination and white minority rule on our continent would be abolished forever. 200\230

11. Statement of principles

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We believe that a conjuncture of circumstances exists which, if there is a demonstration of readiness on the part of the Pretoria regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations. Such an eventuality would be an expression of the long-standing preference of the majority of the people of South Africa to arrive at a political settlement.

We would therefore encourage the people of South Africa, as part of their overall struggle, to get together to negotiate an end to the apartheid system and agree on all the measures that are necessary to transform their country into a non-racial democracy. We support the position held by the majority of the people of South Africa that these objectives, and not the amendment or reform of the apartheid system, should be the basis of the negotiations.

We are determined with them that the outcome of such a process should be a new constitutional order based on the following principles, among others: South Africa shall become a united, democratic and non-racial state.

All its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality, and the nationhood of the country on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised through one person one vote, under a common voters roll.

All shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not in furtherance of racism,

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All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights, South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of law before the law.

South Africa shall have an independent and non-partisan judiciary. There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.

A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations.

III. Climate for negotiations

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Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created. The apartheid regime has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally-acknowledged demand and thus create this climate.

Accordingly, the present regime should, at the very least:

Release all political prisoners and detainees unconditionally and refrain from imposing any restrictions on them.

Limit all bans and restrictions on all proscribed and restricted organisations and persons.

Remove all troops from the townships.

End the State of Emergency and repeal all legislation, such as the Internal Security Act, designed to circumscribe political activity; and Cease all political trials and political executions.

These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place and on essential conditions to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country. The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations.

IV. Guidelines to the process of negotiation

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We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiation should commence along the following lines: '

Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.

Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new constitution by agreeing on, among others, the principles enunciated above.

Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new constitution.

The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order.

The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution: govern and administer the country. as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.

After the adoption of the new constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.

For its part, The international community would lift The sanctions That have been imposed against Apartheid South Africa.

The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of The Organisation of African Unity.

V. Programme of Action

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In pursuance of The objectives stated in This document. The Organisation of

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African UhiTy hereby commiTs iTself To:

Inform governmehTs Ghd ihTerâ\200\224goverhmehTal orgonisoTions Throughout The world, including The Non-Aligned MovemehT, The UhiTed NoTions General Assembly, The SecuriTy Council, The CommonweolTh and oThers of These perspectives, ond soliciT Their support.

MondoTe The OAU Adâ\200\224Hoc CommiTTEE Oh SouTherh Africa, ocTing as The represehToTive of The OAU and ossisted by The FronTITne STGTes, To remain seized of The issues of o poTiTicol resoluTion of The SouTh African quesTion. STep up ollâ\200\224round support for The SouTh African liberoTiOh movemehT and campaign in The rest of The world in pursuance of This objeCTive.

IhTehsify The campaign for mohdoTory and comprehensive soncTions ogoihsT oporTheid SouTh Africa: in This regard, immedioTely mobilise ogoihsT The rescheduling of PreTorioâ\200\231s foreign debT; work for The imposiTion of O mondoTory oil embargo and The full observance by all counTries of The arms embargo.

Ensure ThoT The African conTihehT does hoT relax existiHg measures for The ToTol isoToTiOh of oporTheid SouTh Africa.

COhTihue To moniTor The siTuoTion in Namibia and exTehd all necessary support To Swopo in HS sTruggle for a genuinely independehT Nomibio.

ExTehd such ossisTOhce as The governmehTs of Angola and Mozambique moy request in order To secure peace for Their peoples; and

Render all possible ossisTonce To The FronTlihe SToTes To enable Them To wiThsTond PreTorio's campaign of aggression and desTobilisoTion and enable Them To conTinue To give Their olT-rouhd support To The people of Namibia and SouTh Africa.

We appeal To all people of goodwill Throughout The world To support This Programme of AcTion as a necessary measure To secure The earliesT liquidoTTOh of The oporTheid sysTem and The TransformatioN of SouTh Africa
mm o uniTed, democroTic Ohd hOh-rociol counTry._1

Commonwealth Declaration

dealing with South Africa

18. Heads of Government welcomed The impoernT chdngeS ThoT hod Token place in South Africo in The IosT 20 monThs since The iniTioTives Token by President de Kierk. These were 0 vindicoTion of The long years of impldooole opposition To oporTheid by The demooroTic opposition forces, and in pdrTiculor of The TenociTy and courage of The liberoTion movementS. These developmenTs hod also vindicoTed The CommonweolThâ\200\231s preâ\200\224eminenT role in leading inTernoTional ocTion in support of The sTruggle To end oporiheid. The developmenTs hod brought inTo sight The goal of The erodiooTion of opdrhlheid and The esToblishmenT of d non-rociol democracy in o uniTed ond non-frdgmeneD South Afriod.

19. Heads of Government urged all The ponies in South Africa To move as quickly as possible To oonstiTuTional negoTioTions. Expressing The hope ThoT The reoenT Trogio escoloTion of violence would noT further seT book This process, They sTrongly condemned This violence and called upon The South Afriodn government as well as on oil The ponies in South Africo To bring iT To on end as o moTTer of The uTmosT urgency. In This conTexT They viewed with grove concern boTh reveldTions of oooverT government funding of poliTiool orgdnisoTions and The mounting reporis of The involvement of elements within The security forces in perpeTrdTing ads of violence. They welcomed The Peooe Accord dnd coiled for iTs full implemenToTion as quickly as possible, 20, While The Terms of o constiTuTiondl seTTiemenT were for The people of South Afrioo Themselves To deTerminE, Heods believed ThoT The CommonweolTh must remoin reddy To ossist The negoTioTing process in woys ThoT would be found helpful by The bodies concerned. They Therefore decided To request The Secrerriy-Generdl To visiT South Afrioo CT The eorliesT possible opporTuniTy in order To explore with The principal ponies concerned ways in which The CommonweolTh could dssist in lending momenTum To The negoTioTing process.

21. On his reTurn, The SecreTory-Generol would reporl his conclusions To The Ten Heods of Government previously concerned with The high-level opproisol. and To The President of Zimbabwe, Chairman of The current CommonweolTh Heods of Government Meeting. Heods duThorised This Group To consider and deTerminE The necessary followâ\200\224up ooTion in The light of The Seorerry-Generolâ\200\231s mission.

Sanctions

22. Heads of Government expressed The hope mm The snge would be reoohed when The siTudTion in South Africo would jusTify reconsiderdTion of Their sonoTions policy ogoinsT South Africo. They recollE mm The purpose of soncTions hdd always been To bring dbouT d peooeful end To oporTheid Through The promoTion of negoTioTions beTween The government and The acknowledged represenToTives of The block mojoriTy. in recogniTion of The crucial role sonoTions had played in bringing about The changes Thus for] They agreed To oonTinue To use effective forms of pressure To assure o successful findl ouTcome To The conflicT in South Africo. Accordingly (subjeoT To The proviso in The following porogroph) They endorsed The programmed monogemenT opproooh, elobordTed by The CommonweolTh CommiTTEE of Foreign MinisTers on SouThern Africo, linking any change in The obplicoTion of soncTions To The Taking of reel ond proCTicol sTeps To end opdnheid. in respect of The differenT coTegories of soncTions, subjeoT To The some proviso Heads of Government agreed as follows:

. The arms embargo, applied by The UniTed NdTions ond supported by d ANC briefing vorieTy of specific CommonweolTh measures, should remoin in force unTil 0 documents for new posTâ\200\224opdnheid South Afrioon government is firmly esTdblished, with full CODES

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democrdTic conTrol dnd occouanbillTy;

The most demonsTrobly effeoTive of all soncTions â\200\224 finoncidl sonoTions â\200\224 including lending by inTernoTiondi findncldl insTiTuTions such as The IMF and World Bonk â\200\224 should be lli-\20led only when ogreement is reached on The Text of 0 new democrdTic constlTuTion, unless d conTrory recommenddTon is mode by dgreement dT The proposed All-PdrTy Conference, or by on inTerim government;

oTher economic soncTions, including Trade and invesTmenT measures, should be lifTed when approprioTe TronsiTiondl mechanisms have been agreed which would enable all The pdrTles To bdrTicipdTe fully and effectively in negoTidTions;

people To people soncTions, namely consuldr and visa resTricTions, culTurdl ond sclenTlfic boycoTTs, resTrlOTions on Tourism promoTion and The ban on direct dir links should be liffTed immedidTely in view of progress mode in overcoming obsTdcles To negoTidTlons end The need To give exTerndl support dnd encouogement To democrdTic onTi-opdrTheid orgdnisoTions in SouTh Africa and To permit free inTerdcTion with Them, The ban on air links would be lli-\20led on condiTion ThoT SouTh African Airways (SAA) dnd oTher SouTh African dlrlines proceed with opproprioTe di-\20lirdeive dcTion programmes. The Britlsh Prime Minister sTressed The impoernce of foreign invesTmenT in resTorlng growTh To The SouTh African economy and The need for decisions now if The current economic decline was To be holTed in Time for The inouguroTion of SouTh Africaâ\200\231s first rndjoriTy government. IT is for This redson Tth, while agreeing with The lifTing of â\200\234people soncTionsâ\200\235 and The moinTenonce of The arms embargo, he did noT dgree with The recommenddTon of The CommiTTEE on The Time scale for lifTing economic and finonciol soncTions,

Sponing Contacts with South Africa

24.

25,

Heads of Government were encouraged by The recent considerable progress in The evoluTlon of d unified and non-rocidl sporTs movement in SouTh Africa and welcomed The decision of The lnTerndTiondl Olympic CommiTTEE To gronT recoganion To The NdTionol Olympic CommiTTEE of SouTh Africa. They agreed To oonTinue To encourage These developmenTs and, where dbpropridTe, To provide ossistDnce. They sTressed The need for each sporTlng code To provide dssisTonce To sporTsmen and women disodvoanged by oborTheid. They agreed Tth resTricTions in respect of d poniculdr sporT be lli-\20led when The following criTerid have been meT: The formal endorsement of The dchievement of uniTy by The dpbproprlde represenToTive non-rocidl sporTing orgdnisoTion in SouTh Africa; readmiTTdnce To The relevant inTernoTionol governing body; agreement of The opproprioTe nonâ\200\224rdcidl sporTing orgdnisoTion within SouTh Africa To resume inTerndTionol compeTiTion.

Commonweleh governmentS would oonTinue To be guided in These deTers by The NdTiondl Olympic CommiTTEE of SouTh Africa and oTher approprioTe represeanTive nonâ\200\224rdcidl sporTing orgdnisoTions. In pdrTiculdr They welcomed The dchievement of crickeT in This regdrd and expressed The sTrong hope Tth The lnTerndTionol CrickeT Conference wOuld occePT SouTh Africaâ\200\230s enTry in The fonhcomlng World Cup.

Human resources development for a post-dparTheid South Africa

20,

Hedds of Government, reoognismg Tth The edquTion and Training of members ofâ\200\230The deprived mojoriTy To occupy sTroTegio posiTlons in The AboTTheid SouTh Africo, Beyond ApdrTheid. They looked forward To 0 SignificonTrole for The Commonweleh in addressing The reborTâ\200\231s prioriTies dnd sTroTegles in bonnershib with The wider inTernoTionol oommuniTy. They dgreed To dssisT in meeTing The human resource development needs of post-oborTheld SouTh Africa on d bildTerol dnd mulTildTerdl basis, which could include o volunTory mulTildTerdl Commonweleh Progromme for Human

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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 government organizations, 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,

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, .J

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Commonwealth

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European
Community
Declaration
on the occasion of the start of
negotiations in the framework of
CODESA, 29 November 1991

The Community and its member states warmly welcome the announcement of the
draft for the form of the negotiations in the framework of the Multi-Party
Conference on a new Constitution established by the United, South African and
democratic South Africa. The "Convention on a Democratic South Africa" could
be a landmark in the process of reforms taking place in the country.

They express their hope that these negotiations will be conducted in a spirit of
reconciliation and compromise.

The Community and its member states are convinced that only the negotiated
settlement will bring lasting peace and prosperity to South Africa thus positively
contributing to the general progress of the region.

United Nations General Assembly
Declaration on apartheid and its
destructive consequences in
Southern Africa

We, the States Members of the United Nations,
Assembled at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly, 0 special
session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa, guided
by the fundamental and universal principles enshrined in the Charter of the United
Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹ in the context of our
efforts to establish peace throughout the world by ending all conflicts through
negotiations, and desirous of making serious efforts to bring an end to the
unacceptable situation prevailing in Southern Africa which is a result of the policies
and practices of apartheid through negotiations based on the principles of justice
and peace for all:

Reaffirming our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial and
racial domination or apartheid exist, there can be neither peace nor justice,
Reiterating, accordingly, that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists,
the peoples of Africa will not achieve the fundamental objectives of
justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and
fundamental to the stability and development of the continent

Recognising that, with regard to Southern Africa, the entire world is vitally
interested that the processes in which that region is involved, leading to the
genuine national independence of Namibia and peace in Angola and
Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time, and equally
recognising that the world is deeply concerned that destabilisation by South Africa
of the countries of the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of
surrogates, economic subversion or other means, is unacceptable in any of its forms
and must not occur.

Also recognising that permanent peace and stability in Southern
Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has
been eradicated and South Africa has been transformed into a united,
democratic and non-racial country, and therefore reiterating that all the necessary
measures should be adopted now to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system
in the interest of all the people of Southern Africa, the continent and the world at
large,

Believing that, as a result of the legitimate struggle of the South African people
for the elimination of apartheid, and of international pressure against that system,
as well as global efforts to resolve regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further
movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South
Africa,

Reaffirming the right of all peoples, including the people of South Africa, to
determine their own destiny and to work out for themselves the institutions and the
system of government under which they will, by general consent, live and work
together to build a harmonious society, and remaining committed to doing
everything possible and necessary to assist the people of South Africa, in such ways
as they may, through their genuine representatives, determine to achieve this
objective,

Making these commitments because we believe that all people are equal and
have equal rights to human dignity and respect, regardless of colour, race, sex or
creed, that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own
government as equal members of society, and that no individual or group of
individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent, and
reiterating that the apartheid system violates all these fundamental and universal
principles.

U.N. Resolution 217 A (III)

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Affirming that apartheid, characterised as a crime against the conscience of mankind, is responsible for the death of countless numbers of people in South Africa, has sought to dehumanise the peoples and has imposed a brutal war on the region of Southern Africa, which has resulted in untold loss of life, destruction of property and massive displacement of innocent men, women and children and which is a scourge and affront to humanity that must be fought and eradicated in its totality,

Therefore we support and continue to support all those in South Africa who pursue this noble objective. We believe this to be our duty, carried out in the interests of all humanity,

While extending this support to those who strive for a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa, a point on which no compromise is possible, we have repeatedly expressed our objective of a solution arrived at by peaceful means; we note that the people of South Africa, and their liberation movements who felt compelled to take up arms, have also upheld their preference for this position for many decades and continue to do so,

Welcoming the Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa on the question of South Africa, adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989 and subsequently endorsed by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their Ninth Conference, held at Belgrade from 4 to 7 September 1989, as a reaffirmation of readiness to resolve the problems of South Africa through negotiations the Declaration is consistent with the positions contained in the Lusaka Manifesto of two decades ago, in particular

regarding the preference of the African people for peaceful change, and takes into account the changes that have taken place in Southern Africa since then. The Declaration constitutes a new challenge to the Pretoria regime to join in the noble efforts to end the apartheid system, on objective to which the United Nations has always been committed,

Noting with appreciation that the Commonwealth Heads of Government at their meeting held at Kuoio Lumpur from 18 to 24 October 1989, held with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement inherent in the Declaration adopted at Harare on 21 August 1989, and considered what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations, at

Also noting with appreciation that the Third Francophone Conference of Heads of State and Government held at Dakar from 24 to 20 May 1989, likewise called for negotiations between Pretoria and representatives of the majority of the people with a view to the establishment of a democratic and egalitarian system in South Africa.

Consequently, we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens,

In keeping with this solemn resolve, and responding directly to the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa, we publicly pledge ourselves to the positions contained hereunder, convinced that their implementation will lead to a speedy end of the apartheid system and heralding the dawn of a new era of peace for all the peoples of Africa, in a completely free from racism, white minority rule and colonial domination,

Declare as follows:

i. A conjuncture of circumstances exists/ which, if there is a demonstration of readiness on the part of the South African regime to engage in negotiations genuinely and seriously, given the repeated expression of the majority of the people of South Africa of their long-standing preference to arrive at a political settlement, could create the possibility to end apartheid through negotiations.

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- (o)
- (b)
- (C)
- (d)
- (e)
- (f)

We would Therefore encourdage The people of SouTh Africa, as pdrT of Their legiTimoTe sTruggle, To join TogetHer To negoTioTe on end To The dportheid sysTem and agree on oil The measures Tth ore necessary To Tronsform Their counTry inTo d nonâ\200\224rdcidl democracy. We support The posiTion held by The mojoriTy of The people of SouTh Afriod Tth These objecTives, ond noT The omentment or reform of The dpdrTheid sysTem, should be The goals of The negoTidTions.

We ore oT one with The people of SouTh Africo ThoT The ouToome of such 0 process should be 0 new oonsTiTuTiondl order deTermined by Them dnd based on The ChorTer of The United NdTions and The Universal DeolordTion of Humon RighTs. We Therefore hold The following fundomeanl principles To be of impoernce:

SouTh Afriod shall become 0 uniTed, nonâ\200\224rdoidl dnd democrdTic sToTe; All iTs people shdll enjoy common and equal ciTizenship ond noTionoliTy, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; All iTs people shall hove The right To pdrTicipdTe in The government ond adminisTroTion of The oounTry on The bdsis of universal, equol suffroge, under 0 nonâ\200\224rdcidl voTersâ\200\231 roll, Ond by seoreT bolloT, in d uniTed ond non-frdgme nTed

SouTh Africa;

All shall hove The right To form dnd join any poliTicol pony of Their choice, provided Tth This is noT in furTheronce of racism;

All shall enjoy universolly recognised humdn righTs, freedoms and civil liberTies, proTected under on enTrenched bill of righTs;

SouTh Afrioo shall hove 0 legal sysTem Tth will gudrdnTee equdliTy of oil before The low;

SouTh Africo shdll hove on independent ond nonâ\200\224rocidl judicidry;

There shall be creoted on economic order ThoT will promoTe and advance The wellâ\200\224being of oil SouTh Africans;

A democroTic SouTh Africa shdll respect The righTs, sovereignTy dnd TerriTorioI inTegriTy of oil counTRIES ond pursue o policy of peoce, friendship dnd muTuolly beneficidl ooâ\200\224operoTion with all peoples.

We believe Tth dooePTonce of These funddmentol principles could oonsTiTuTe The basis for on inTernotionolly ocoepToble soluTion ThoT will enable SouTh Africo To Toke iTs rightfUl place 03 on equal pdrTner dmong The world oommuniTy of noTions.

A. ClimaTe for negotiations

5.

- (O)
- (b)
- (c)
- (d)
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We believe Tth iT is essenTidl Tth The necessary clidee be credTed for negoTidTions. There is on urgent need To respond posiTively To This universally ocloimed demand dnd Thus creote This olimoTe.

Accordingly, The present SouTh Africon regime should, dT The leosT:

Reledse oll poliTicol prisoners and derinees uncondiTionolly and refrain from imposing ony resTricTions on Them;

Liï-\201 oll bdns dnd resTricTions on oil proscribed ond resTricTed orgdnisoTions and persons;

Remove all Troops from The Townships:

End The sToTe of Emergency and repeal dll legisldTion, such as The lnTerndl SecuriTy AoTl designed To circumscribe poliTicol dcTiviTy;

Ceose oll poliTicol Tridls dnd poliTicoI execuTions.

These meosures would help creote The necessary climoTe in which free poliTicol discussion con Toke pldce â\200\224 on essenTiol oondiTion To ensure ThoT The people Themselves pdrTiCipdTe in The process of remdking Their counTryT

B. Guidelines To The process of negoTidTions

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(0)

We ore of The view Tth The ponies concerned should, in The oonTexT of The necessary olidee, negoTidTe The fuTure of Their oounTry ond iTs people in good fdiTh Ond in on dTmosbhere which by muTudl dgreement beTween The liberdTion movements and The SouTh Afriodn regime, would be free of

violence. The process could commence along The following guidelines:
Agreement on The mechanisms for The drawing up of 0 new constiTution,
based on, among others, The principles enunoioted above, and The basis for
its adoption;

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(b)

(c)

Agreement on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order;
Agreed transitional arrangements and modalities for the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, and for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections.

C. Programme of Action

9.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

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(g)

10.

In pursuance of the objectives stated in this Declaration, we hereby decide:
To remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;

To step up our support for the opponents of apartheid and to campaign internationally in pursuance of this objective;

To use concerted and effective measures, including the full observance by all countries of the mandatory arms embargo, aimed at applying pressure to ensure a speedy end to apartheid;

To ensure that the international community does not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of this Declaration;

To render all possible assistance to the Frontline and neighbouring States to enable them: to rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South Africa's acts of aggression and destabilisation; to withstand any further such acts; and to continue to support the peoples of Namibia and South Africa;

To extend such assistance to the Governments of Angola and Mozambique so that they may request in order to secure peace for their peoples, and to encourage and support peace initiatives undertaken by the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at bringing about their peace and normalisation of life in their countries;

The new South Africa shall, upon adoption of the new constitution, participate fully in relevant organs and specialised agencies of the United Nations.

We request the Secretary-General to transmit copies of the present Declaration to the South African Government and the representatives of the oppressed people of South Africa and also request the Secretary-General to prepare a report and submit it to the General Assembly by 1 July 1990 on the progress made in the implementation of the present Declaration.

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