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Clark to chair Commonwealth
Committee on Southern Africa,
Abuja, Nigeria, May 16-17, 1990.
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News Release

Secretary of
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No. 093

May 9, 1990.

CLARK CHAIRS COMMONWEALTH COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IN ABUJA, NIGERIA MAY 16-17, 1990

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, today announced that he will chair a meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, in Abuja, Nigeria on May 16 and 17.

The major theme of the Abuja meeting will be the Commonwealth's role in support of a peaceful negotiated settlement in South Africa. "I am particularly pleased that Nelson Mandela has agreed to participate in our discussions and provide his insights on the way ahead for South Africa," noted Mr. Clark. Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs was the first Western Foreign Minister to meet Nelson Mandela following his release in February. This will be their second meeting.

En route to Nigeria, Mr. Clark will meet in Dublin with Irish Foreign Minister Gerard Collins on May 11 and, in Athens, with South African Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha on May 13, and with Greek Foreign Minister Antonis Samaras on May 14.

During his meetings with Mr. Collins, who is currently serving as the Chairman of the European Community Foreign Affairs Council, and with Mr. Samaras, Mr. Clark will emphasize the importance Canada places on maintaining international sanctions against South Africa. "Sanctions have played a crucial role in bringing the parties together to discuss a negotiated settlement. They must be maintained until there are signs of clear and irreversible change," stated the Minister.

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Canada

In Athens, Mr. Clark will meet with Mr. Botha, who is in Europe for other meetings, to discuss the current situation in South Africa and in the region. They last met in August 1987 in South Africa just prior to the Vancouver Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting.

"It will be useful to have a first-hand briefing about the South African Government's position as I prepare for the deliberations in Abuja," said Mr. Clark.

For more information, media representatives may contact:

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news release

Date APRIL 20, 1990

90-23

For release

CANADA ANNOUNCES \$200,000 IN EMERGENCY AID FOR
VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NATAL PROVINCE

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Right Honourable Joe Clark, and the Minister for External Relations and International Development, the Honourable Monique Landry, today announced that Canada will provide \$200,000 in emergency assistance to victims of violence in South Africa's Natal province.

"Canada is deeply concerned about the violence in Natal. It has created enormous suffering for the people there and poses a serious threat to efforts to secure a peaceful settlement in South Africa," stated Mr. Clark. "Solutions to the violence require intensive work by all the parties concerned, including the South African Government. We continue to urge all parties to exercise maximum restraint and to work together to find peaceful solutions."

The province of Natal, particularly the area around Pietermaritzburg, has been the scene of horrific and senseless violence among Zulus of different political affiliations for the past three years. That conflict has claimed more than 3,000 lives. It is estimated that as many as 16,000 people are seeking temporary shelter in and around Pietermaritzburg at present.

Canada's \$200,000 contribution, funded through the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) International Humanitarian Assistance program, is in response to two emergency appeals. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will receive \$100,000 channelled through the Canadian Red Cross. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) will also receive \$100,000 channelled through the Canadian Council of Churches. The ICRC and the Pietermaritzburg Council of Churches (on behalf of the SACC) will manage the distribution of the assistance, which will be in the form of food, blankets and other emergency provisions to those forced to flee their homes.

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Canada's aid to victims of the Natal violence complements Canadian efforts to encourage dialogue in South Africa. In Natal, for example, Canadian funds are being channelled through the Canadian Labour Congress towards the important reconciliation work of the Pietermaritzburg Crisis Centre.

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STATEMENTS
AND
SPEECHES



DÉCLARATIONS
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90/5

Statement in the House of Commons by
the Right Honourable Joe Clark,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
on his visit to Southern Africa

Ottawa, Ontario
March 7, 1990

A week ago today, I had the distinct privilege, on behalf of Canada, to meet with Mr. Nelson Mandela on his first voyage outside South Africa since he was confined to prison 27 years ago. I want to report to Parliament on our conversations, and also on my brief visit to Namibia, in whose struggle for independence Canada has played so vital a role.

Lusaka, Zambia is the headquarters of the African National Congress in exile. Mr. Mandela came to consult with his National Executive, some of whom he had never met. He wanted also to meet those countries and institutions which have played a leading role in the struggle against apartheid. The Prime Minister, whom I represented, was one of the first invited to Lusaka, which is a sign of the respect that Canada has won among the people on the front lines of the fight against apartheid. That is a tribute to the resolve of people throughout this House and across the country. It creates a responsibility for Canadians to continue our leadership in new circumstances which, while more promising than the decades of impasse on apartheid, are also more challenging and complex.

The House knows the changes which have swept South Africa in recent months:

- the historic Harare Declaration of the African National Congress which accepted the desirability of peaceful, negotiated change in South Africa;
- the election as President of South Africa of F.W. de Klerk, a man who seems committed to initiating real change;
- the unbanning of the African National Congress;
- and the triumphant release of Nelson Mandela from prison on February 11.

The stage is now set for historic progress towards a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa. But we have only just begun. The state of emergency is still in force. Political prisoners remain detained. The pillars of apartheid remain. As Kenneth Kaunda said in Lusaka, Mr. Mandela is now free, but he is free only to live in an apartheid system.

I think it important that Canadians understand the spirit in which Nelson Mandela approaches this phase of events in South Africa. He referred to his meetings with President de Klerk, and the Ministers of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, and said he is convinced that they are true reformers who seek a new social contract in South Africa. But, he noted, these are but three men who face the same party structure responsible for the development and maintenance of the repressive regime of apartheid. They deserve to be encouraged, but neither he nor the world could ignore the history of the National Party or the forces of retrenchment which lie in waiting. Mr. Mandela believes that pressures must be maintained until real change occurs. Expressions of intent are not enough to warrant relaxation of pressure.

Mr. Mandela was unambiguous on this issue: the greatest assistance which could be offered by the outside world to the ANC is to maintain sanctions. Indeed, he spoke of intensifying sanctions, and I have asked him to indicate where and how this should occur.

Commonwealth Heads of Government, in Kuala Lumpur last year, agreed that Commonwealth pressure would remain unyielding until there was "evidence of clear and irreversible change." The Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers, which I chair, will meet in Nigeria, in May, to assess the evidence of change. The African National Congress has agreed to work with us in that process.

The headquarters of the African National Congress will return to South Africa and the organization, unbanned, will lead the effort to secure a non-racial democracy in South Africa. Thousands of ANC members and followers will have to be re-located inside South Africa. Offices will have to be established. A new infrastructure must be built. And the ANC, at the same time it is negotiating, will also have to focus on equipping the black leadership in South Africa for the responsibilities of economic management and political governance.

The ANC asked me for Canada's direct assistance in meeting the costs of its re-integration into political life inside South Africa. I noted the firm policy of successive governments of Canada not to support political parties in other countries. We will, naturally, continue to support specific humanitarian, education and other programs which meet the needs of the ANC. A delegation from the African National Congress will come to Ottawa within a month to discuss specific areas of cooperation.

But I also made the point that there are thousands of private citizens in Canada who would want to support the return home of the ANC. This resource should be tapped, and I have initiated discussions with representatives of the three parties in Parliament to identify individuals and strategies which can be offered to the ANC to help them secure substantial private Canadian support.

A great challenge facing the ANC is to level the playing field as it approaches negotiations with the government. The government will be able to draw on all the wealth, expertise and resources which apartheid has put at its disposal. The ANC is dispossessed and disadvantaged in these terms. Successful negotiations will require a greater equality of resources and expertise. That is an area where Canada can help.

Finally, the ultimate success of a non-racial South Africa will depend on the capacity of both blacks and whites to exercise both political and economic power. Economic exploitation lies at the heart of apartheid and, by and large, black South Africans have been shut out of the experience of running industries and businesses. Therefore, I told Mr. Mandela that we will look urgently at additional programs to provide potential black leaders of industry with practical experience in running large corporations in both the private and public sectors.

In their telephone conversation February 13, the Prime Minister invited Mr. Mandela to visit Canada. He has suggested that it might be appropriate for Nelson Mandela to address this free Parliament. Mr. Mandela looks forward to coming to Canada, to express directly his appreciation of the support of Canadians.

The impression I took away from two days of meetings is of a man who is strong, serene, wise and generous. He is a person of principle, but also of practicality and flexibility. To emerge from prison after so long a punishment and to retain an understanding of the concerns of his jailers is extraordinary. Mr. Mandela disproves the notion that history is made only by impersonal forces. The course of South African history will be determined in large measure by this man - and by his counterpart in Pretoria.

Canada will maintain sanctions until there is clear evidence of irreversible change in the apartheid system. But we intend also to encourage President de Klerk in his courageous and moderate course. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has written to me suggesting that Canadian experience might be particularly helpful in developing negotiated solutions for South Africa. I have responded by proposing that Mr. Ted Lee, the Head of our Legal Branch, and Canada's former Ambassador to South Africa, visit the region to assess areas where Canada's expertise might be of use. I made it clear to Mr. Botha that any expertise we might offer must be available to all parties in the negotiations. Mr. Lee will be in South Africa in early April to consult with the government, the ANC and other relevant parties.

The nature of the South African challenge has changed. The opponents of apartheid outside South Africa must be as sensitive and generous in encouraging the process of change as Nelson Mandela has been in leading it. Canadian non-governmental organizations have brought great honour to Canada in their fight against apartheid. I will be meeting with them within the next two weeks to discuss how Canadians together can best pursue the fresh prospect of finally ending apartheid.

After my meetings in Lusaka, I paid a brief visit to Namibia, which will celebrate its hard-won independence on March 21st. Canada will be represented at the independence celebrations by my colleague, the Minister for External Relations and International Development and by a small all-party delegation from Parliament. For years, Namibian independence was a hostage to apartheid; now Namibia is leading the way for its neighbour, South Africa. It is a remarkable example of a successful transition to a non-racial democracy, the holding of free elections, the drafting of a constitution without peer in Africa. The Namibian success points to what is possible when reason overcomes emotion and compromise replaces prejudice.

During my conversations with President-elect Sam Nujoma and his Ministers-designate, I expressed both Canada's congratulations and our intent to continue to contribute to the development of a stable and prosperous Namibia.

Mr. Speaker, when I was called to the platform to welcome Nelson Mandela to Zambia, President Kaunda said that Canada, though far away, had earned the right to be considered a "Front Line State" in the battle to end apartheid. Because we are a Western democracy, a diverse society, a successful economy, our role may be even more important in this sensitive new phase of the campaign to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

CANADA AND THE COMMONWEALTH RESPONSE TO APARTHEID

Canada has played a leadership role during the past five years in the Commonwealth and in other international forums in combatting apartheid. Few Western countries have moved as far on sanctions. Equally, few countries offer as high a level of aid to the victims and opponents of apartheid. Our list of voluntary as well as mandatory sanctions, numbering over 30, touches on all aspects of our relations with South Africa. They are the genesis for many, if not most, of the Commonwealth and UN sanctions. With the exception of the Nordic countries, the Commonwealth sanctions represent the most extensive and meaningful package of measures instituted by any country, institution or geographical region.

Prompted by Canada, the Commonwealth introduced a program to counter apartheid in 1985 at the Nassau Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). Commonwealth Heads, excepting Britain, expressed the belief that economic and other sanctions are an effective means of pressuring South Africa to change and must remain an essential part of the international community's response to apartheid. As described below, the Commonwealth, during the subsequent five years, added greatly to the 1985 sanctions.

NASSAU, October 1985

Against the backdrop of political violence in South Africa, concerted economic action was first taken during the Nassau CHOGM. The Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa, which the CHOGM adopted, introduced a tightening of the arms embargo, an end to government support for trade activities, a voluntary ban on the sale of Krugerrands and a voluntary ban on new loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies. The Nassau Accord also provided for the establishment of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons (EPG).

Canadian Response:

In addition to these sanctions, Canada also launched a significant program of bilateral assistance for victims and opponents of apartheid. Additional Canadian sanctions, introduced in July 1985, included a ban on air links, and restrictions on official contacts with South African Government officials.

LONDON, August 1986

Nassau was followed by a mini-CHOGM held in London. At this meeting, with the exception of the United Kingdom, all governments present (Canada, Australia, Bahamas, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe) agreed to a further list of measures. These included bans on new investment in South Africa, promotion of tourism to South Africa and the import of agricultural products, uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa.

Canadian Response:

Canada went even further, announcing that no government contracts would henceforth be entered into with majority-owned South African companies, the voluntary ban on new bank loans to South Africa would be extended to the private as well as the public sector and consular facilities in South Africa would be withdrawn.

VANCOUVER, October 1987

The year between the London mini-CHOGM and the Vancouver Summit was marked by increased repression in South Africa under a State of Emergency. Internationally, action was taken across a wide front: the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was enacted in October 1986; EEC sanctions were announced in September 1986; and the Nordic countries brought in a near total boycott in December.

The Commonwealth Heads meeting in Vancouver resulted in the Okanagan Statement and Programme of Action on Southern Africa. It reaffirmed the Commonwealth's determination that apartheid must be dismantled if even greater human tragedy was to be averted. Heads of Government did not propose new sanctions but, with the exception of Britain, agreed that the "wider, tighter and more intensified application" of sanctions must remain an essential part of the international community's response to apartheid. The CHOGM also initiated the Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa (CFM), composed of the Foreign Ministers of Canada, Australia, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and chaired by Joe Clark.

Canadian Response:

The Okanagan Statement as well as the CFM were Canadian initiatives.

KUALA LUMPUR, October 1989

The Commonwealth Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur at a time of increasing change in South Africa. President de Klerk campaigned for the September 1989 elections on a reform platform and subsequently acclaimed his victory, albeit with a reduced majority, as a mandate for "orderly" reform. He pledged that the "door to a new South Africa is open".

Just prior to the Kuala Lumpur meeting, President de Klerk freed eight senior political prisoners, including Walter Sisulu, applied a new and welcome tolerance to peaceful political protest, and spoke in more concrete terms about the requirement for fundamental reform.

In this more hopeful situation, the Commonwealth agreed to give President de Klerk "running room" of approximately six months to demonstrate, in substantive ways, his stated goal of dismantling apartheid.

In its statement entitled "South Africa: The Way Ahead", the Commonwealth agreed that where there had been movement in South Africa, more was required. It determined that existing sanctions would be maintained and (with the exception of the United Kingdom), pressure increased by way of: urging banks and financial institutions to limit export credits to terms of 90 days; calling on governments to take South Africa "off cover" for official trade credit and insurance purposes; and encouraging the UN to strengthen the arms embargo. Commonwealth Heads of Government also endorsed the establishment of an independent agency to review and report on South Africa's international financial links.

Canadian Response:

Canada had instituted all of the financial sanctions agreed to at Kuala Lumpur prior to September 1989. In addition, we extended the ban on high technology items and tightened our policy on sports contacts and on contracts with majority South Africa-owned companies. Canada has also agreed to provide \$50,000 per annum towards the operation of the Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Links.

Canadian Assistance in South Africa

Canada's concerns for the disadvantaged population in South Africa are both developmental and humanitarian. Canada has for several years maintained a program of development assistance aimed at providing educational and training opportunities to black South Africans that might not otherwise be available.

Canadian assistance is provided multilaterally and through programs that involve non-governmental organizations and institutions. More than \$8.96 million Canadian Official Development Assistance was disbursed for these programs in 1988/89 through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). In 1989/90, total disbursements are expected to be approximately \$7.56 million. None of the monies provided through CIDA is received by the South African government.

Canadian Education Program for South Africa (CEPSA)

Canada instituted a program of educational assistance in South Africa in 1985. As a result of an evaluation early in 1989, a second phase of this program was approved with a budget of \$14.7 million. The CEPSA program is made up of four major components: (i) internal scholarships; (ii) the Canadian Education Fund; (iii) labour education; and (iv) in-Canada education and training.

(i) Internal Scholarships:

CIDA currently supports two separate internal scholarship programs for black students in South Africa. Under the first program, administered by the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria, a total of \$1.3 million is being channelled through the Educational Opportunities Council (EOC) to assist undergraduate study and academic-bridging support programs which are designed to bring the academic standards of disadvantaged students up to university requirements. The second component is a \$1.5 million scholarship program, known as the Educational Program for South Africa (EPSA) administered by World University Service of Canada (WUSC).

(ii) The Canadian Education Fund:

The Canadian Education Fund is a special fund administered by the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria. It supports small-scale initiatives in adult education, alternative schooling, teacher upgrading, literacy, bridging, student support services and leadership training.

(iii) Labour Education:

Funds are being provided to the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) to contribute to training programs for South African labour organizations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU).

(iv) In-Canada Education and Training:

Under this initiative, a consortium of individuals representing NGOs, universities, community colleges and the private sector formed the South Africa Education Trust Fund (SAETF). Chaired by Archbishop Scott, SAETF provides assistance to black South Africans for both long and short-term training in Canada. A total of \$6.8 million is being provided to SAETF by CIDA.

Canada Fund for Local Initiatives

In addition to these four main components, the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria also helps fund local projects through the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives. The emphasis here is on community development and self-help projects organized and implemented by South African communities and organizations.

Special Programs

Support to disadvantaged groups in South Africa is also provided through CIDA's Special Programs Branch (SPB). In 1986, a special fund was created to help Canadian NGOs provide legal and humanitarian assistance to black South Africans. SPB's NGO and Institutional Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS) Divisions also support projects in education, community development, small-scale agriculture, water and health care.

Multilateral Programs

CIDA's Multilateral Programs Branch contributes funds to support three initiatives: the Nassau Fellowship Program of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation (CFTC); "Scholarships for Victims of Apartheid" of La Francophonie's Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation (ACCT); and a program for the education of blacks outside South Africa managed by the United Nations Education and Training Program for South Africans (UNETPSA).

Business Cooperation Branch

The Industrial Cooperation Division of the Business Cooperation Branch provides funding to the Canadian Exporters' Association to run a project entitled "Canadian Assistance to Black Business in South Africa" (CABBSA). Using a budget of \$1.1 million, this project makes South African business consultants available to assist black entrepreneurs in improving various aspects of their business operations.

CIDA Disbursements for Projects in South Africa

	1988-89 (Actual)	1989-90 (Estimated)
Canadian Education Program for South Africa (CEPSA):		
Internal Scholarships	\$245,720	\$270,000
Canadian Education Fund	\$1,658,266	\$1,672,500
Labour Education	\$404,990	\$366,500
South African Education Trust Fund (SAETF)	\$425,539	\$609,643
Administration	<u>\$133,778</u>	<u>\$63,469</u>
CEPSA TOTAL	\$2,868,293	\$2,982,112
Canada Fund	\$550,929	\$417,500

Special Programs Branch

NGO Division:

Humanitarian & Legal Assistance Fund	\$2,265,400	\$2,246,100
Responsive Program	<u>\$518,502</u>	<u>\$237,875</u>
Sub total (NGO)	\$2,783,902	\$2,483,975

ICDS Division:

Humanitarian & Legal Assistance Fund	\$700,000	\$495,000
Responsive Program	<u>\$631,883</u>	<u>\$638,160</u>
Sub total (ICDS)	\$1,331,883	\$1,133,160

SPECIAL PROGRAMS TOTAL	\$4,115,785	\$3,617,135
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Multilateral Programs Branch

CFTC Nassau Fellowships	\$500,000	\$450,000
ACCT Bourses en faveur des victimes d'apartheid	\$175,000	\$175,000
UNETPSA	<u>\$350,000</u>	<u>\$300,000</u>
MULTILATERAL TOTAL	\$1,025,000	\$925,000

Business Cooperation Branch

Canadian Assistance to Black Business in South Africa	\$396,000	\$378,000
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SOUTH AFRICA TOTAL	\$8,956,007	\$8,319,747
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February 1990

CANADIAN SUPPORT FOR THE PROMOTION OF DIALOGUE
AND NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT A NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA
AND EFFORTS TO COUNTER PROPAGANDA AND CENSORSHIP

The key objective of Canadian policy with regard to South Africa is to help bring about an end to apartheid and the creation of a non-racial democracy through negotiations. Canadian efforts are two-pronged. Economic and other sanctions are designed to pressure the South African Government to take steps that will result in irreversible change. At the same time Canada has a number of programs designed to assist victims of apartheid, promote dialogue and negotiations about a non-racial future and counter South African propaganda and censorship.

In their October 1987 Okanagan Statement, Commonwealth Heads of Government declared: "we believe that we should take advantage of any opportunity to promote real internal dialogue." Following the August 1988 meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa (CFM), Canada launched a major fund to promote dialogue among South Africans about a non-racial, democratic future. The scope and funding of this program has increased significantly since then, from \$640,000 in 1988/89, to \$1 million in 1989/90 and \$1.8 million this year. In 1991/92 \$2.3 million has been earmarked for the Dialogue Fund.

Dialogue projects, which are designed by and for South Africans, include assistance to the alternative press, funding for events bringing together South Africans of different races to learn about each other and discuss a common future, support for human rights and professional organizations trying to break down the barriers of apartheid, promotion of the idea of a non-racial future through the arts and popular culture and assistance for discussions between the ANC and primarily white South Africans. Increased emphasis is being given to projects which will more directly assist the process of negotiations, such as the provision of constitutional expertise and funding for research, conferences and seminars on issues and options for a post-apartheid South Africa.

Commonwealth Heads of Government also noted in the Okanagan Statement the need to expose the truth about apartheid and declared that the Commonwealth should give high priority to counteracting South African propaganda and censorship. Canada prepared a strategy on that subject and presented it to the CFM in Toronto in August 1988. At that time Canada also announced the establishment of the \$1 million Canadian Action Plan to counter South African propaganda and censorship. Since then Canada has supported a number of anti-censorship activities in South Africa and projects aimed at informing Canadians about the realities of apartheid.

NAMIBIA

Canada, with France, FRG, UK and USA, sponsored United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 in 1978, providing for Namibia's transition to independence from illegal South African occupation through UN-supervised elections. It took another ten years and a series of "parallel accords", before the final obstacles to implementation were overcome in December 1988 through a USA-mediated regional settlement, including Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.

Namibia's transition began tragically in April 1989, with a final flare-up of the long bush war between nationalist guerrillas and South African-controlled forces, when the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) had only begun to deploy. However, military stabilization was followed by a general amnesty and repeal of apartheid laws, the release of political detainees, the return of 42,000 refugees, and the registration of some 701,000 voters. UNTAG expanded to 7500 military, police and civilians, the largest operation in a generation, and played a crucial role in creating conditions for free and fair elections.

The elections in November, with an impressive 97 per cent turnout, produced a 57 per cent majority for the South West Africa People's Organization. All parties demonstrated a strong commitment to reconciliation, making possible the unanimous adoption in February of an exemplary constitution that provides for entrenched human rights, an independent judiciary, regular multi-party elections and the absence of preventive detention and the death penalty.

After independence March 21, the new government led by President Sam Nujoma joined the Commonwealth, the United Nations and other organizations, while UNTAG departed with its mission accomplished on time and under budget. Namibia's transition stands as a persuasive demonstration to South Africans of the feasibility of fundamental change through a peaceful, democratic and negotiated process. The new nation looks to the future with hope and confidence while addressing several challenges: national development, law and order and external security, and negotiations on the vital port enclave of Walvis Bay still held by South Africa.

CANADIAN ACTION

Canada played a leading role in implementing the settlement plan it had helped to devise. We advanced 80 per cent of our \$15 million UNTAG assessment to get the operation off to a fast start. Over 500 Canadian Forces personnel served in UNTAG in two rotations, later joined by 100 Royal Canadian Mounted Police members, 50 election supervisors from the federal and provincial electoral institutions and the national political parties, and 12 fingerprint and computer experts. The government established a diplomatic observer mission in Windhoek, while our UN mission remained active in the search for solutions on the Security Council. Four Parliamentary observers went to Namibia in September, as well as a Commonwealth team with a Canadian member, and a number of independent NGO observers throughout the process. Some \$3.9 million of development and humanitarian aid was provided, including \$2 million for the UN refugee repatriation, and 4000 ballot boxes were supplied for the elections.

Namibia's independence was marked in the House of Commons and across Canada, while an all-party Parliamentary delegation travelled to Windhoek for the celebrations. The government has announced the opening of a High Commission, the lifting of all economic sanctions, the normalization of trade promotion and financial activities, and the exemption of Namibians from visitor visas. Relations were set off to a good start with visits by both Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark and Minister for External Relations and International Development Monique Landry.

Canadian development assistance in the first year of independence will reach 4 to 5 million dollars, led by \$1 million each for immunization through UNICEF and for Commonwealth technical assistance. Bilateral aid will be concentrated in the agriculture, health and education sectors in northern Namibia, and will be delivered mainly through Canadian and local NGOs. Given Namibia's security needs, Canada has agreed to provide police training assistance through the Commonwealth, and modest military training.

Canada has supported the early reintegration of Walvis Bay into Namibia at the UN Security Council and elsewhere. We have urged both parties to hold early and productive negotiations on the issue.

CANADIAN ASSISTANCE TO MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC)

South Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

Canada strongly supports SADCC's objective of reducing Southern African economic dependence on South Africa and increasing regional integration in Southern Africa. In 1988-89, our total assistance to the region through all channels was \$ 180 million. A similar level of assistance will be disbursed in the current financial year. In 1988-89 \$89 million went to individual SADCC countries as direct bilateral assistance, and an additional \$30.5 million went to these countries through SADCC's regional programs. The four sectors of concentration for Canada's programming in Southern Africa are: food and agriculture, energy, transport and communications and human resource development.

Angola

Canada does not have a formal bilateral aid program with Angola, but approximately \$6.1 million in bilateral assistance was disbursed in FY 1988/89, chiefly in food aid. Another \$7 million was allocated for food aid to Angola in FY 1989/90. A further \$2 million was provided for emergency relief operations in Angola carried out by such organizations as UNICEF and the League of Red Cross Societies.

In addition through Partnership Africa-Canada (PAC), CIDA's Africa 2000 program is contributing \$583,000 to a large community development program to assist displaced persons in the shanty-towns of Luanda. PAC also has approved a contribution of \$6.8 million over several years for "Program Angola", an integrated rural development and health project being undertaken by a consortium of 18 Canadian NGOs under the umbrella of the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC).

Botswana

Canada's bilateral development assistance to Botswana in 1988/89 totalled \$1.25 million, spent on bilateral programs chiefly offering technical assistance in the areas of transportation, mining, education and water resources. Botswana also benefitted substantially from SADCC projects in agriculture, education and energy. CIDA contributed about \$280,000 towards NGO projects in Botswana in the same fiscal year.

Lesotho

Bilateral development assistance in recent years has been approximately \$3 million annually with additional CIDA funding through Canadian NGOs and multilateral agencies. The program focuses on the University of Lesotho, small business development, low-income housing, forestry and a dairy processing project which has substantially encouraged private production.

Malawi

CIDA has undertaken a variety of bilateral projects in human resources, transportation, health and agriculture, and has contributed to the work of Canadian NGOs. Bilateral assistance in 1988/89 was \$8.79 million and support for NGOs was \$792,000. Canada also contributed \$3 million worth of food aid and \$1.42 million in humanitarian assistance to help refugees from Mozambique.

Mozambique

Development assistance to Mozambique for 1988/89 was estimated at \$34 million. This included \$20.71 million in food aid and \$2.4 million for bilateral projects. Through the SADCC program, substantial Canadian assistance was provided for the rehabilitation of the Limpopo and Nacala Railways (\$7.0 million). Cooperation Canada Mozambique (COCAMO), a consortium of 20 Canadian NGOs under the auspices of CCIC, is funding a large emergency relief and development project in Mozambique's northern Nampula province.

Swaziland

Bilateral aid in recent years has been about \$2 million annually with additional CIDA funding through NGOs and multilateral agencies. The program focuses on rural water supply, the University of Swaziland, technical and vocational education and dairy development. Swaziland faces reduced Canadian aid spending as a result of the CIDA budget cuts but is better able than most countries to absorb them as a result of its new-found relative prosperity.

Tanzania

Tanzania is the largest single recipient of Canadian development assistance in Africa. It amounted to \$40 million in 1988/89. Major projects have been in the energy, agriculture and transportation (railways) sectors, and balance-of-payments support. Petro-Canada International Assistance Corporation (PCIAC) is also active in Tanzania. The CIDA program in Tanzania is one of the nine major programs that have been decentralized to the field.

Zambia

Canada's development assistance program in Zambia for many years was directed towards Zambia's transportation and training needs. The emphasis shifted more recently to capital projects and lines of credit designed to ease Zambia's difficult balance-of-payments situation. Following Zambia's 1987 break with the IMF and the World Bank, Canada met existing aid commitments, but did not initiate new projects pending Zambia's adoption of an internationally acceptable structural adjustment program. In 1989, Zambia initiated such a program to which Canada has responded with two balance of payments support projects valued at \$5 million and \$30 million, and with renewed planning in the social sectors.

Zimbabwe

Canada's development assistance to Zimbabwe dates back to a \$50 million pledge made at the 1981 conference on reconstruction and development (ZIMCORD). Aid disbursements to Zimbabwe from Canada in 1989/90 were \$16.45 million, excluding direct aid flows under the SADCC program, accounting for approximately \$28 million. Extensive use is made of lines of credit which ease foreign currency pressures in Zimbabwe, support Canadian private sector activities and generate local funds for further programming. Major activities in rural and human resource development are being executed by Canadian NGOs which received approximately \$1.6 million from CIDA in 1989/90. Plans are well advanced also for a Natural Resources Management Program which will include environmental policy and regulatory assistance. The CIDA program for Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana and SADCC has been decentralized to Harare.



Canada

CANADIAN ACTION ON SOUTH AFRICAJuly
1985

- The Canadian Government adopted the following measures to demonstrate opposition to apartheid and to pressure the South African Government to bring about fundamental change and enter into genuine negotiations with black leaders towards the establishment of non-racial, representative government:
 - ° strengthened the voluntary "Code of Conduct Concerning the Employment Practices of Canadian Companies Operating in South Africa";
 - * ° tightened the Canadian application of the UN Arms Embargo to include sales of sensitive technology to the Government of South Africa and its agencies;
 - * ° applied the voluntary UN embargo on imports of South African arms;
 - + ° abrogated the Canada-South Africa Double Taxation Agreement;
 - ° terminated the use of the Programme for Export Market Development (PEMD) for the South African market;
 - ° terminated insurance to Canadian exporters to South Africa provided by the Export Development Corporation;
 - ° issued public guidelines severely limiting sporting contacts between Canada and South Africa;
 - ° announced the termination of toll-processing of Namibian uranium;
 - * ° introduced a voluntary ban on the sale of Krugerrands and other South African gold coins;
-
- * Subsequently adopted by the Commonwealth at Nassau, in October 1985.
 - + Subsequently adopted by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Review Meeting, August, 1986.

- monitored and severely restricted official contacts, especially in sensitive sectors.

September
1985

- The Government adopted the following further measures:
 - * ◦ introduced a voluntary ban on new loans to the Government of South Africa and its agencies;
 - + ◦ introduced a voluntary ban on the sale of petroleum and petroleum products to South Africa;
 - + ◦ applied an embargo on air transport (cargo and passenger flights) between Canada and South Africa and subsequently banned all air links;
 - established a National Register of Anti-Apartheid Measures to record voluntary actions taken by individual Canadians, private organizations and other levels of government to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid.

September
1985

- The Canadian Government established a special fund of \$1 million to provide support to South African political detainees and their families. In each subsequent year the allocation has grown by \$500,000.

October
1985

- Commonwealth Heads of Government issued the Commonwealth Accord on Southern Africa at Nassau providing for the specific measures already taken by Canada and establishing the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons (EPG) to seek ways of "dismantling apartheid and erecting the structure of democracy in South Africa";
- Archbishop Edward Scott agreed to participate in the EPG.

February
1986

- A declaration of the Francophone Summit on Southern Africa was presented by Canada and adopted unanimously.

May
1986

- A \$7 million bilateral education assistance programme for black South Africans was launched, with components in both Canada and South Africa.

June
1986

- The Prime Minister asked Bernard Wood, Director of the North-South Institute, to visit a number of Commonwealth countries to prepare for the next Commonwealth meeting;

June
1986

- In response to the South African Government's attacks on neighbouring states, which effectively ended the EPG initiative, the Canadian Government adopted the following measures;
 - o appointed an additional officer at the Canadian Embassy in South Africa to facilitate cooperation in the labour sector;
 - + o ended Canadian Government procurement of all South African goods and services and invited provincial governments to follow suit in areas under their jurisdiction;
 - + o introduced a ban on the promotion in Canada of tourism to South Africa;
 - o cancelled non-resident accreditation to Canada of the four Washington-based South African attachés (Science, Labour, Mining and Agriculture).

August
1986

- Commonwealth Heads of Government held a Review Meeting in London to consider the EPG report. Canada joined with others to ban new investment in South Africa and the import of agricultural products, uranium, coal, iron and steel from South Africa. Canada announced that no government contracts would be entered into with majority-owned South African companies; extended the voluntary ban on a new loans to South Africa to the private as well as the public sector; and withdrew consular facilities in South Africa except for those services provided to our own nationals and nationals of third countries to whom we render consular services.

January
1987

- The Prime Minister visited Zimbabwe and met with a number of leaders of the Front Line States at Victoria Falls.

April
1987

- The Canadian Government provided more than \$5.8 million during the fiscal year (1987/88) to victims of apartheid in South Africa.

August
1987

- The Secretary of State for External Affairs visited Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa. Mr. Clark held talks with Foreign Minister Botha on South Africa's intentions to initiate fundamental change and enter into dialogue with black leaders;
- The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs met with Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, in Ottawa.

September
1987

- The Francophone Summit at Quebec issued a resolution on South Africa. Canada pledged \$350,000 towards the scholarship fund for South Africans set up by the Francophonie;
- As a result of the success of the \$7 million Canadian education programme to date and the high demands placed on it by South Africans and Canadian, an additional \$1.2 million was approved, including \$500,000 for labour education.

October
1987

- At Vancouver, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Mulroney, Commonwealth Heads of Government issued the Okanagan Programme of Action on Southern Africa which, inter alia, established the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa for the purpose of furthering Commonwealth objectives on combatting apartheid. It is chaired by the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada;
- \$500,000 was provided to the newly created Commonwealth Nassau Fellowship Programme for black South Africans who qualify for university or technical college education but lack the necessary funds.

February
1988

- The first meeting of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers (CFM) took place in Lusaka, Zambia. A work programme was approved, including a mission on security needs of the Front Line States, two economic studies related to sanctions, and the development by Canada of a strategy to counter South African censorship and propaganda.

April
1988

- Assistance to victims of apartheid substantially increased during this fiscal year to approximately \$7.8 million.
- Over \$30 million was committed to the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) for the fiscal year, as well as another \$100 million in bilateral aid to the individual countries of the region to help counter destabilization.

July
1988

- Canada tightened its policy on sports contacts by refusing visas to individuals travelling on South African passports and seeking entry into Canada to participate in sports events or activities.

August
1988

- The second meeting of the CFM took place in Toronto. The Committee reviewed an interim report on the impact of sanctions, studies on South Africa's international financial links and security requirements of the Front Line States, as well as a Canadian strategy to counter South African propaganda and censorship.
- The Committee put forward practical proposals to widen, tighten and intensify the application of existing sanctions, including in the financial sector.
- The CFM agreed that the proposals in the Canadian strategy to counteract South African propaganda and censorship would be the basis for a practical Commonwealth response to the challenge. Canada committed \$1 million to a Canadian action plan to this end.

- At Toronto, Canada organized an anti-apartheid cultural festival as well as a public forum on censorship and propaganda.

September
1988

- The Government announced the following actions to widen, tighten and intensify the application of Canadian sanctions:
 - ° tightened the ban on Government contracts with majority South African-owned companies to apply to: grants, contributions and sales; sales to all clients in South Africa, except to serve our objective of reaching into South Africa; and Crown Corporations.
 - ° the Secretary of State for External Affairs met with representatives of Canadian banks who agreed not to increase trade credits to South Africa and agreed to raise with other foreign bankers directly involved, the Canadian preference for the shortest possible loan rescheduling terms.
 - ° extended the ban on sales of high technology items on the Export Control List to private sector end-users in South Africa.
- The Government announced it would spend \$1.6 million over two years to promote dialogue among South Africans through grants to organizations. A portion of these funds are committed to projects outlined in the Canadian Action Plan on countering South African propaganda and censorship, since censorship remains a serious impediment to dialogue, and a free press plays a key role in promoting dialogue.
- Dialogue projects funded to date have fallen within five categories: assistance to the alternative press and anti-censorship activities; workshops, conferences and events bringing together South Africans of different races; support for human rights and profession organizations trying to break down the barriers of apartheid; promotion of the idea of a non-racial future through the arts and popular culture; talks between the ANC and white South Africans.

- The Government also announced in September that Canada would provide assistance to help rebuild the bombed-out headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and other human rights groups. Since then the Government has provided \$100,000 to this end.
 - The Government announced it had agreed to respond to requests for assistance towards the protection of infrastructure projects in southern Africa, which may include, for example, clothes fuel, spares parts, communications equipment, food and balance of payments support. To date \$2 million have been committed for security assistance on the Nacala railway rehabilitation project and another \$2 million for the Limpopo railway rehabilitation project.
- December
1988
- The Government announced that it would help implement the UN Plan for Namibian independence in all aspects and would assist in the development of independent Namibia.
- January
1989
- The Government provided \$10,000 to the Special Research Bureau in The Hague to help finance its monitoring of the UN oil embargo.
- February
1989
- The third meeting of the CFM took place in Harare. The Committee agreed that sanctions were having an increasing political and economic impact on South Africa. In the Committee's view, sanctions remained the most effective, peaceful path to the ending of apartheid and thus it renewed the commitment to continued international pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid.
 - The Committee, noting that financial sanctions constituted one of the most powerful sources of pressure, reiterated their call to the international financial community to toughen the conditions for rescheduling.
 - The Committee gave special consideration to the question of destabilization, receiving a preliminary report - commissioned at its request by the Commonwealth Secretariat - from independent experts, and agreed to its immediate

release. The Committee also welcomed the draft strategy paper submitted by Canada on trade and investment promotion in the Front Line States.

- The CFM stressed that Namibia was the sole responsibility of the United Nations and that the Commonwealth looked to that body to bring Namibia to independence through free and fair elections under its effective supervision and control.
- The Committee gave particular attention to the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa and, based on proposals submitted by Canada, called for specific measures to be taken by the UN Security Council and the 421 Committee.
- The Government announced that it would provide nearly \$1 million to assist refugees and displaced persons in Southern Africa.
- The Government also announced the contribution of \$1 million for the Namibian Repatriation Program to help Namibian refugees return home in time for the UN supervised pre-independence elections.
- The Canadian Government announced that South Africa would be added to the Area Control List and specified that the control on exports included all high technology products, computers, software, telecommunications equipment, aircraft, helicopters, and four-wheel-drive vehicles. This action was consistent with agreements reached at Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meetings.
- The Government announced that Canada would participate in the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) created to supervise Namibia's one-year transition to independence. External Affairs had already presented a check for \$11.9 million, in late February, as early payment for the bulk of Canada's assessed share.
- Later in March, the Government announced it would open its own Observer Mission in Namibia, distinct from UNTAG.

March
1989

- With Government sponsorship, the University of Regina was host to an international conference on South African propaganda and censorship and the risks and challenges it poses to the domestic and international media.
- During the 1988-89 fiscal year ending March 31, the Government spent over \$600,000 on projects designed to promote dialogue between all races in South Africa encouraging progress towards a non-racial future. The Government spent another \$1 million for the 1989-90 fiscal year in dialogue-related projects. A portion of these funds was committed to projects outlined in the Canadian Action Plan on countering South African propaganda and censorship.

June
1989

- Canada tightened the ban on sporting contacts with South Africa; the policy was extended to include all sporting contacts between Canadians and South Africans whether they take place in Canada, in South Africa or in a third country. In addition to amateur representative team and individual sports, the revised policy now applies to individual sports persons, including professionals.
- While maintaining the sport boycott, the Canadian Government, with anti-apartheid organizations and like-minded governments, agreed to explore ways of helping to promote dialogue and break down racial barriers within South African sport and, by extension, in South Africa as a whole.
- Elections Canada donated 4,000 metal ballot boxes worth over \$100,000 for the Namibian elections in early November. Also, the UN selected a Canadian, Harry Neufeld, to be its senior electoral computer expert.

August
1989

- The fourth meeting of the CFM took place in Canberra. The Committee reaffirmed that financial sanctions applied by the private sector were among the most effective forms of pressure.

- They called on international lending institutions to exert the "maximum possible pressure" on South Africa in the rescheduling of its debt. The CFM ministers agreed to dispatch a delegation of senior officials to convey this sentiment to member banks of the committee negotiating the 1990 rescheduling arrangements.
 - Ministers noted that South Africa was using trade financing as a balance of payments cushion. They therefore appealed to all financial institutions to impose tougher terms for trade financing, including the reducing of credit to ninety days. They also called on banks to ensure that loans (or profits from) to firms under South African control not be transferred to South Africa.
 - The CFM also agreed to communicate with the UN on the need to strengthen the arms embargo.
- October
1989
- Minister Clark wrote to all major Canadian commercial banks, requesting their cooperation in instituting all of the financial bans agreed to in Canberra. He also requested they convey to their international banking counterparts the decisions of the CFM.
- October
1989
- A Canadian official participated in the CFM officials mission to principal European and American banks which urged their compliance with CFM measures.
- October
1989
- The Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. They issued the Kuala Lumpur Statement which agreed to a call for the wider international application of all financial measures agreed to in Canberra. It also endorsed the establishment of an independent agency to monitor South Africa's links with the international financial community. Finally, the Commonwealth heads of government determined that upon evidence of "clear and irreversible" change in South Africa, they would consult with international financial institutions to examine how resources could be mobilized to rebuild the South African economy.

CANADIAN ACTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

May 1990

TRADE RELATED	FINANCIAL / INVESTMENT	SPORTING CONTACTS	OTHER ACTIONS
<p>No Canadian government promotion of trade with South Africa.</p> <p>II — IMPORTS</p> <p>— Mandatory Bans on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) all agricultural products b) uranium c) coal d) iron products e) steel products f) arms from South Africa <p>III — EXPORTS</p> <p>— Mandatory Bans on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) all arms and munitions of war b) all high technology and other sensitive equipment such as computers c) telecommunications equipment d) aircraft and aircraft parts, including helicopters e) four-wheel drive vehicles <p>Voluntary Ban on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) petroleum and petroleum products <p>IV — OTHER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) voluntary ban on sales of Krugerrands b) ban on all air links with South Africa c) discontinued Export Market Development grants for South African market d) discontinued insurance to Canadian exporters to South Africa (provided by the Export Development Corporation) e) voluntary ban on tourism promotion to South Africa f) termination of Canadian government contracts grants, contributions and sales to South African majority-owned companies g) termination of Petro Canada's sulphur exports to South Africa h) termination of Canadian Government procurement of South African goods and services (limited exception for CIDA and Canadian Embassies activities in Southern Africa.) 	<p>I — Abrogation of Double Taxation Agreement.</p> <p>II — Voluntary ban on new corporate investment in South Africa.</p> <p>III — Voluntary ban on new bank loans (both public and private sectors) to South Africa.</p> <p>IV — Capped trade credits to South Africa, and Canadian banks requested to make loan rescheduling terms as short as possible.</p> <p>V — Establishment of a Code of Conduct for Canadian companies in South Africa.</p>	<p>I — Canada's policy governs all sporting contacts between Canada and South Africa. This applies to sport contacts between Canadians and South Africans at professional and amateur levels and in individual and team sports whether they occur in Canada, in South Africa or in a third country.</p> <p>II — Denial of visas to individuals travelling on South African passports seeking to enter Canada to participate in a sport event or activity.</p> <p>III — Sport associations are required to suspend members who participate in sport events in South Africa.</p> <p>IV — Sport associations are required to decline invitations to, protest or withdraw from competitions in third countries involving South Africans.</p> <p>V — Sport associations are required to seek the suspension of members of their international federation who participate in sport events in South Africa.</p> <p>VI — Sport associations' compliance with Government policy on sporting contacts is tied to Government funding.</p>	<p>I — Provision of assistance to the victims of apartheid in South Africa (\$8.32 million in 1989/90). Major areas include: education and skills training for disadvantaged South Africans in their own country or Canada; legal and humanitarian aid to political detainees and their families; assistance for small scale community projects involving Canadian and local NGOs; labour education; and assistance to refugees in neighbouring countries through multilateral agencies.</p> <p>II — Creation in 1988 of a major program to promote dialogue and negotiations about a non-racial, democratic South Africa. The scope and funding of the Dialogue Fund has increased significantly since then: 1988/89 — \$640,000; 1989/90 — \$1 million; 1990/91 — \$1.8 million; 1991/92 — \$2.3 million.</p> <p>III — Since the creation in 1988 of a \$1 million Canadian Action Plan to Counteract South Africa Propaganda and Censorship, assistance has been provided to the alternative press and to anti-censorship activities in South Africa as well as to projects aimed at informing Canadians about the realities of apartheid.</p> <p>IV — Provision of security assistance to the Front Line States towards the protection of infrastructure projects (i.e. fuel, clothes, spare parts, communications equipment, food and balance of payments support). (Over \$4 million committed to date.)</p> <p>V — A tripling of funding for Canada's global Military Training Assistance Program between 1988 and 1990, a substantial proportion of which will go towards training of military personnel from the Front Line States.</p> <p>VI — Ending the issuance of visitor visas by our Embassy in Pretoria and requiring all South African visitors to Canada to apply in person for a visa outside South Africa.</p> <p>VII — Restrictions on contact between officials of the two governments.</p> <p>VIII — Cancellation of non-resident accreditation to Canada of South African diplomats (in particular, Science, Labour, Mining and Agriculture attachés).</p> <p>IX — Maintenance of an Anti-Apartheid Register for Canadians to publicly demonstrate their opposition to apartheid.</p>

Southern Africa: the Way Ahead the Kuala Lumpur Statement

South Africa

1. Heads of Government continued to view the system of apartheid in South Africa as a serious challenge to the values and principles of the Commonwealth and reaffirmed that its total eradication remained their shared responsibility and common goal.
2. Heads of Government reviewed the situation in South Africa against the possibility that significant changes in approach on the part of the South African regime, for which the Commonwealth had striven for so long, may yet prove to be within reach. In recent weeks, the regime had accepted a degree of peaceful political activity by the black majority and on the eve of this Meeting had released from prison eight political leaders.
3. However, they noted that the state of emergency remained in force; the ANC, the PAC and many other organisations remained banned; Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remained incarcerated; many more continued to be detained without trial; and executions in political cases had not stopped. There had also been no action to indicate that the new South African Government was prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid, especially the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Bantustan 'homelands' policy and the system of separate education.
4. Heads of Government agreed that such encouraging signs as there had been were very much the product of a combination of internal and external pressures. In this context they welcomed the role now being played by the Mass Democratic Movement in its sustained, disciplined and peaceful opposition to apartheid. They attached importance to acceptance of peaceful demonstrations and political manifestations as a test of the sincerity of the new Government and its professed desire for change.
5. In considering the way forward, Heads of Government reiterated their preference for a negotiated and peaceful settlement and in this context reaffirmed the continuing validity of the EPG's 'Possible Negotiating Concept'. Among other measures, that Concept calls for
 - **On the part of the (South African) Government:**
 - (a) Removal of the military from the townships, providing for freedom of assembly and discussion and suspension of detention without trial.
 - (b) The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees.

- (c) The unbanning of the ANC and PAC and the permitting of normal political activity.

On the part of the ANC and others:

Entering negotiations and suspending violence.

They noted with satisfaction the strong preference for the path of negotiated and peaceful settlement also inherent in the 1989 Harare Declaration of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Organisation of African Unity on Southern Africa endorsed by the Non-Aligned Movement at its Belgrade Summit last month. It is agreed on all sides that the South African Government and the authentic representatives of the majority population should come to the table prepared to negotiate the future of the country and its people in good faith, in an atmosphere free of violence from either side.

6. Heads of Government had recognised in their Nassau Accord that the constitutional system was a matter for all the people of South Africa to decide. They continued to believe that the Commonwealth's role in this regard was essentially to facilitate the opening of negotiations between the South African authorities and authentic black leaders.

7. They agreed that the only justification for sanctions against South Africa was the pressure they created for fundamental political change. Their purpose was not punitive, but to abolish apartheid by bringing Pretoria to the negotiating table and keeping it there until that change was irreversibly secured. In this respect Heads of Government noted that leading personalities in the South African Government had themselves acknowledged the increasing pressures on the South African economy, and that those pressures would not be diminished until fundamental political change had taken place.

8. Heads of Government, other than Britain, also acknowledged that the impact of sanctions had begun to influence the policies of the South African regime. The effectiveness of sanctions in this regard had also been demonstrated by the Report on Sanctions commissioned by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa and prepared by a group of independent experts which was before the Meeting. They considered that the Report had made a significant contribution towards public understanding of the issues, and that its recommendations would need to be considered in the light of developments in South Africa and the region.

9. In considering what further steps they might take to advance the prospects for negotiations, Heads of Government expressed the view that this was not the time to consider any relaxation of existing sanctions and pressures. That would have to await evidence of clear and irreversible change. In the meantime, they agreed that all existing sanctions and measures should be maintained, and they called upon the wider international community to do likewise.

10. They also agreed, with the exception of Britain, that such measures should be tightened, and decided in this context

- (a) to develop new forms of financial pressure on the Pretoria regime by seeking to intensify and extend financial sanctions, in particular by

- calling on all relevant banks and financial institutions to impose tougher conditions on day-to-day trade financing, specifically through reducing the maximum credit terms to 90 days; and
 - calling on relevant governments to make trade credits harder to get by taking South Africa "off cover" with official government agencies for official trade credit and insurance purposes,
and agreed that their Chairman should communicate these decisions to the relevant financial institutions and to other governments; and
- (b) to support the initiative developed by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa to strengthen the arms embargo, and continue to pursue it at the United Nations in the 421 Committee.

11. Heads of Government recognised the importance of South Africa's dealings with the international financial community and therefore, with the exception of Britain, endorsed the establishment of an independent agency to review and report on South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicise factual information on financial flows to, and policies towards, South Africa. They welcomed the offer of the Government of Australia to provide substantial initial funding.

12. Heads of Government noted that the longer apartheid remained in South Africa, the greater the challenge that would face a future government in rebuilding the South African economy. In particular they noted that the resumption of international lending to South Africa would not be automatic and that an international effort to assist in the mobilisation of resources would probably be necessary. They agreed to ask appropriate international financial institutions, and in particular the IMF, to examine now how resources might be mobilised upon evidence of clear and irreversible change.

13. Heads of Government welcomed increasing instances of dialogue among South Africans across the racial divide. They were encouraged by the proposals for negotiations, many elements of which reflected Commonwealth concepts, which had been advanced by leaders of the black majority. In this regard, they agreed to continue, individually and collectively, to take advantage of all opportunities to promote dialogue among South Africans.

14. They agreed that the Commonwealth should continue to provide support to the victims and opponents of apartheid within South Africa. Of importance were educational programmes, including in particular the Nassau Fellowships, legal and humanitarian assistance to detainees and their families, support for the trade union movement, and economic and social development programmes including low-cost housing projects.

15. They attached importance to the work of the newly established Commonwealth network of non-governmental organisations, "Skills for South Africa", to provide high-level training and work experience for victims of apartheid and so contribute both to the process of change in South Africa and the development of the skills required in a post-apartheid society. They undertook to provide support and resources to assist in the implementation and co-ordination of this work.

16. Heads of Government reaffirmed the continuing high priority of the Commonwealth effort to expose the truth about apartheid and to counter South African propaganda and censorship. They welcomed the Commonwealth strategy prepared by the Working Party set up as part of the Okanagan Programme of Action. They noted that a number of countries had already implemented and funded national action plans. They stressed the particular importance of the support being given to the embattled alternative press and other groups in South Africa resisting censorship.

Namibia

17. Heads of Government welcomed the implementing of Resolution 435, and looked forward to the holding of free and fair elections leading to the emergence of a genuinely independent Namibia. They reaffirmed their full support for the United Nations Secretary-General, and the UN's efforts to ensure the integrity of the Settlement Plan. Heads of Government looked forward to welcoming a free Namibia into the Commonwealth.

18. They noted that the Report of the Commonwealth Observer Group on Namibia had identified a number of areas of urgent need if an independent Government emerging from the Resolution 435 process was to be able to govern effectively. They accordingly called for the provision of a special and enlarged multilateral package of assistance in addition to bilateral aid. To this end they requested the Commonwealth Secretary-General to send a small team of experts to Namibia as soon as practicable after the elections to advise on possible Commonwealth assistance.

19. Heads of Government also noted that the Report drew attention to what the Group had viewed as moves by the South African Government to retain a continuing ability to destabilise an independent Namibia, and they were of the view that any steps taken by South Africa to this end would inevitably call into question its declarations of good faith in respect of these and other matters, and particularly its expressed desire now to seek peaceful co-existence with its neighbours.

20. Heads of Government called on all the parties to the Resolution 435 Settlement Plan and all political groups within Namibia to fully meet their respective responsibilities and obligations, including full co-operation with the UN authorities, to conclude the process of bringing into being a free, independent and stable Namibia.

21. Heads of Government expressed their concern that a post-independence Namibia be able fully to realise its economic potential and contribute to the development of the larger Southern Africa region. In this respect, they expressed the hope that the early re-integration of Walvis Bay into Namibia in accordance with Security Council Resolution 432 (1978) would be able to be achieved, noting that compliance with this by South Africa would be a convincing demonstration of its good faith and commitment to the long-term viability of its newly independent neighbour.

Other Developments in the Southern African Region

22. Heads of Government noted that notwithstanding international condemnation, South

Africa's campaign of destabilisation against its neighbours had resulted in untold misery and destruction and was graphically documented in The Destabilisation Report.

23. Despite some welcome improvement in the security situation in the south-west of the African continent, Heads of Government observed that the MNR's murderous activities continued on a major scale in Mozambique and elsewhere; and destabilisation remained a major factor in the region's security crisis. Heads of Government unreservedly condemned South Africa's support for the MNR and other acts of destabilisation. Heads of Government reiterated the view, however, that only the eradication of apartheid in South Africa would enable the region to develop in peace.

24. Special efforts were needed to strengthen and develop the economies of Southern Africa so as to relieve them of South African economic domination. Heads of Government considered that the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), deserved particular support and encouragement. To that end, they mandated the Secretary-General to carry out an Action Plan in consultation with SADCC, the AFRICA Fund, the Preferential Trade Area and the interested states in the region and elsewhere, to promote trade and investment in the Front-Line and neighbouring states. In the provision of assistance to SADCC countries, efforts should also be made, where possible, to purchase capital goods and services from within the region thus stimulating regional production, employment, trade and transportation.

25. Heads of Government identified a continuing need for assistance to the Front-Line States. While there had been significant contributions in this area by a number of Commonwealth and other governments, much remained to be done to meet the security needs identified in the special report by General Olusegun Obasanjo, commissioned by the Vancouver Meeting.

26. Heads of Government welcomed the successful establishment of the Special Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique, which had augmented bilateral contributions from Commonwealth countries including those of the Front-Line States. Heads of Government recognised the importance of continuing contributions to the Fund in view of Mozambique's key geographical position and its role in Southern Africa.

Continuing Review

27. With the exception of Britain, Heads of Government commended the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers established by the Okanagan Statement for its reports, and agreed that it should continue with its work, under the chairmanship of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs; that the Foreign Minister of Malaysia be added to its members; and that it report again when Heads of Government next meet. They expressed the wish that it reconvene in April, some six months after the new administration in Pretoria took office.

*Putra World Trade Centre, Kuala Lumpur
22 October 1989*

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