

Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

THE HARARE COMMUNIQUE

October 1991



13. Heads of Government recognised that opportunities to promote the ideals which inspired the establishment of the United Nations had never been better. Reaffirming their commitment to the world organisation, they agreed to work together to enable it to discharge the role envisaged in its Charter.

Disarmament

14. Heads of Government warmly welcomed the recent dramatic initiative by the United States, matched by the Soviet Union and Britain to reduce their nuclear arsenals which had greatly enhanced the prospects for world peace. They urged these states to continue their efforts and for other nuclear weapons states to do the same. In this context most Heads of Government called for a permanent halt to all further nuclear testing.

15. Heads of Government noted with concern the continuing dangers of regional and local conflicts. These dangers, and the example of the Gulf War, underlined the need to strengthen international regimes limiting weapons of mass destruction and the need to curb the build-up of conventional weapons beyond the legitimate requirements of self-defence. In this context they noted the recent accessions of several states to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They strongly urged all states to redouble efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in all its aspects. They called for the conclusion of a Chemical Weapons Convention in 1992 and endorsed in principle the proposal to establish a register of arms transfers at the United Nations.

Human Rights

16. Heads of Government reaffirmed their strong collective commitment to the principles of justice and human rights, including the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, equality for women and accountable administrations. They supported the Report and recommendations of the Commonwealth Governmental Working Group of Experts on Human Rights. Recognising that human rights is one of the priorities identified in the Harare Declaration, they requested the Secretariat to give greater impetus to its current activities to promote human rights in all its aspects. Heads of Government recognised the role that non-governmental organisations could play in this area.

17. Believing the International Bill of Human Rights to be the cornerstone of international human rights, Heads of Government reiterated their call to those of their members who have not already done so, to become a party to the International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights.

* South Africa

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

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

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

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

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

Sanctions

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

- the arms embargo, applied by the United Nations and supported by a variety of specific Commonwealth measures, should remain in force until a new post-apartheid South African government is firmly established, with full democratic control and accountability;
- the most demonstrably effective of all sanctions - financial sanctions - including lending by international financial institutions such as the IMF and World Bank - should be lifted only when agreement is reached on the text of a new democratic constitution, unless a contrary recommendation is made by agreement at the proposed All-Party Conference, or by an interim government;
- other economic sanctions, including trade and investment measures, should be lifted when appropriate transitional mechanisms have been agreed which would enable all the parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations;
- people to people sanctions, namely consular and visa restrictions, cultural and scientific boycotts, restrictions on tourism promotion and the ban on direct air links should be lifted immediately in view of progress made in overcoming obstacles to negotiations and the need to give external support and encouragement to democratic anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa and to permit free interaction with them. The ban on air links would be lifted on condition that South African Airways (SAA) and other South African airlines proceed with appropriate affirmative action programmes.

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

Sporting Contacts with South Africa

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

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

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

Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa

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

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

Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa

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

South African Economic Studies

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

Namibia

30. Heads of Government welcomed the independence of Namibia and the interim agreement between the Government of Namibia and the Government of South Africa to establish a joint Administration of Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands pending a final settlement. They urged the early reintegration of these territories into Namibia in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 432 (1978). Noting the importance attached by the Government of Namibia to the Enhanced Commonwealth Programme for Namibia, Heads of Government commended the Programme and reaffirmed their support.

Mozambique

31. Heads of Government remained gravely concerned over the continuing conflict in Mozambique which was still claiming human lives and destroying socio-economic infrastructures. They urged an immediate end to all external assistance, material and otherwise, to the MNR. They pledged their support to the search for peace and urged the international community to do everything practicable to advance the peace process. They called upon the parties to the Rome Agreement of 1 December 1990 to honour its letter and spirit, and commended the Government of Mozambique and the mediators in Rome for their persistent efforts to bring about a comprehensive peace settlement and national reconciliation. In this context they further noted that a protocol had been signed on 18 October 1991 which committed both sides to achieving a general peace agreement as soon as possible. Accordingly, they strongly urged the parties to move expeditiously towards the signing of such an agreement.

32. Heads of Government expressed gratitude to those countries hosting the Mozambican refugees who continue to flee from their country and appealed to the international community to continue to render assistance to them. They noted that the plans for the post-war resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced peoples and the normalisation of life in general laid particular emphasis on the strengthening of institutional capacity to guarantee and promote democratic practices. In this context they commended the Special Commonwealth Fund for Mozambique for its contribution to Mozambique's priority needs which is effectively augmenting the significant bilateral contributions of Commonwealth countries, both developed and developing. They recognised that continuing pledges and contributions would be required to enable the Fund to maintain a full five year programme, including assistance in preparations for multiparty elections and in other aspects of institutional development.