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AFRICA - GENERAL

AFRICAN CHARTER FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION ARUSHA, TANZANIA 12 TO 16 FEBRUARY 1990

PREAMBLE

1. The International Conference on Popular Participation in the Recovery and Development Process in Africa was held, in Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania from 12 to 16 February 1990, as a rare collaborative effort between African people's organizations, the African governments, non-governmental organizations and the United Nations agencies, in the search for a collective understanding of the role of popular participation in the development and transformation of the region. It was also an occasion to articulate and give renewed focus to the concepts of democratic development, people's solidarity and creativity and self-reliance and to formulate policy recommendations for national governments, popular organizations and the international community in order to strengthen participatory processes and patterns of development. It was the third in a series of major international conferences organized by the Economic Commission for Africa in collaboration with the rest of the United Nations system to contribute to the implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, 1986-1990 (UN-PAAERD). It came as a sequel to the Abuja International Conference on Africa: The Challenge of Economic Recovery and Accelerated Development held in 1987, and the 1988 Khartoum International Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development. It is important to note that the initiative for the Conference came from the submission of the NGOs to the Ad Hoc Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly on the mid-term review and assessment of the implementation of UN-PAAERD in September 1988.

2. The Conference was organized under the auspices of the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on the Follow-up on the Implementation of the UN-PAAERD at the Regional Level (UN-IATF) and with the full support and warm hospitality of the government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania. The ECA Conference of Ministers responsible for Economic Development and Planning adopted Resolution 664 (XXIV) at its twenty-fourth session in which it

supported this Conference and urged member states of the Commission, the international community, NGOs and the United Nations system to support and actively participate in it. The Conference was attended by over 500 participants from a wide range of African people's organizations - including, in particular, non-governmental, grass-roots, peasants, women and youth organizations and associations, trade unions and others - as well as representatives of African Governments, agencies of the United Nations system, non-African non-governmental organizations, regional, sub-regional and intergovernmental organizations, bilateral donors, multilateral organizations as well as specialists, both from within and outside Africa. The Conference was opened by H.E. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania. Opening statements were also made by the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, the representative of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, the Secretary-General of the organization of African Trade Union Unity and representatives of the Non-Governmental Organizations, African Women's Organizations and the Pan African Youth Movement. The Conference would like to put on record its appreciation for the full support and warm hospitality of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

3. The Conference was organized out of concern for the serious deterioration in the human and economic conditions in Africa in the decade of the 1980s, the recognition of the lack of progress in achieving popular participation and the lack of full appreciation of the role popular participation plays in the process of recovery and development.

4. The objectives of the Conference were to:

- (a) Recognize the role of people's participation in Africa's recovery and development efforts;
- (b) Sensitize national governments and the international community to the dimensions, dynamics, processes and potential of a development approach rooted in popular initiatives and self-reliant efforts;
- (c) Identify obstacles to people's participation in development and define appropriate approaches to the promotion of popular participation in policy formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development programmes;

- (d) Recommend actions to be taken by Governments, the United Nations system as well as the public and private donor agencies in building an enabling environment for authentic popular participation in the development process and to encourage people and their organizations to undertake self-reliant development initiatives;
- (e) Facilitate the exchange of information, experience and knowledge for mutual support among people and their organizations; and,
- (f) Propose indicators for the monitoring of progress in facilitating people's participation in Africa's development.

5. We, the people, engaged in debate and dialogue on the issues involved over the span of five plenary sessions and fifteen workshops during the five-day long International Conference. In the light of our deliberations, we have decided to place on record our collective analysis, conclusions, policy recommendations and action proposals for the consideration of the people, the African Governments and the international community.

1. ASSERTING THE ROLE OF POPULAR PARTICIPATION

6. We are united in our conviction that the crisis currently engulfing Africa, is not only an economic crisis but also a human, legal, political and social crisis. It is a crisis of unprecedented and unacceptable proportions manifested not only in abysmal declines in economic indicators and trends, but more tragically and glaringly in the suffering, hardship and impoverishment of the vast majority of African people. At the same time, the political contest of socio-economic development has been characterized, in many instances, by an over-centralization of power and impediments to the effective participation of the overwhelming majority of the people in social, political and economic development. As a result, the motivation of the majority of African people and their organizations to contribute their best to the development process, and to the betterment of their own well-being as well as their say in national development has been severely constrained and curtailed and their collective and individual creativity has been undervalued and underutilized.

7. We affirm that nations cannot be built without the popular support and full participation of the people, nor can the economic crisis be resolved and the human

and economic conditions improved without the full and effective contribution, creativity and popular enthusiasm of the vast majority of the people. After all, it is to the people that the very benefits of development should and must accrue. We are convinced that neither can Africa's perpetual economic crisis be overcome, nor can a bright future for Africa and its people see the light of day unless the structures, pattern and political context of the process of socio-economic development are appropriately altered.

8. We, therefore, have no doubt that at the heart of Africa's development objectives must lie the ultimate and overriding goal of human-centred development that ensures the overall well-being of the people through sustained improvement in their living standards and the full and effective participation of the people in charting their development policies, programmes and processes and contributing to their realization. We furthermore observe that given the current world political and economic situation, Africa is becoming further marginalized in world affairs, both geo-politically and economically. African countries must realize that, more than ever before, their greatest resource is their people and that it is through their active and full participation that Africa can surmount the difficulties that lie ahead.

9. We are convinced that to achieve the above objective will require a re-direction of resources to satisfy, in the first place, the critical needs of the people, to achieve economic and social justice and to emphasize self-reliance on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to empower the people to determine the direction and content of development, and to effectively contribute to the enhancement of production and productivity that are required. Bearing this in mind and having carefully analyzed the structure of the African economies, the root causes of the repeated economic crisis and the strategies and programmes that have hitherto been applied to deal with them, we are convinced that Africa has no alternative but to urgently and immediately embark upon the task of transforming the structure of its economies to achieve long-term self-sustained growth and development that is both human centred and participatory in nature. Furthermore, Africa's grave environmental and ecological crisis cannot be solved in the absence of a process of sustainable development which commands the full support and participation of the people. We believe in this contest that the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP) - which was endorsed by the twenty-fifth Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in July 1989, and by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1989 and by the

Forty-fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations which invited the international community, including multilateral, financial and development institutions, to consider the framework as a basis for constructive dialogue and fruitful consultation – offers the best framework for such an approach. We also wish in this regard to put on record our disapproval of all economic programmes, such as orthodox Structural Adjustment Programmes, which undermine the human condition and disregard the potential and role of popular participation in self-sustaining development.

10. In our sincere view, popular participation is both a means and an end. As an instrument of development, popular participation provides the driving force for collective commitment for the determination of people-based development processes and willingness by the people to undertake sacrifices and expend their social energies for its execution. As an end in itself, popular participation is the fundamental right of the people to fully and effectively participate in the determination of the decisions which affect their lives at all levels and at all times.

II. PROMOTING POPULAR PARTICIPATION

11. We believe strongly that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all as well as to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits. Therefore, there must be an opening up of political process to accommodate freedom of opinions, tolerate differences, accept consensus on issues as well as ensure the effective participation of the people and their organizations and associations. This requires action on the part of all, first and foremost of the people themselves. But equally important are the actions of the State and the international community, to create the necessary conditions for such an empowerment and facilitate effective popular participation in societal and economic life. This requires that the political system evolve to allow for democracy and full participation by all sections of our societies.

12. In view of the critical contribution made by women to African societies and economies and the extreme subordination and discrimination suffered by women in Africa, it is the consensus of the participants that the attainment of equal rights by women in social, economic and political spheres must become a central feature of a democratic and participatory pattern of development. Further it is the

consensus of this conference that the attainment of women's full participation must be given highest priority by society as a whole and African Governments in particular. This right should be sought for and defended by society, African Non-Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Development Organizations as well as any non-African Non-Governmental Organizations and Voluntary Development Organizations, Governments and the United Nations system in due recognition of the primary role being played by women now and on the course to recovery and transformation of Africa for better quality of life.

People's Role

13. We want to emphasize the basic fact that the role of the people and their popular organizations is central to the realization of popular participation. They have to be fully involved, committed and indeed, seize the initiative. In this regard, it is essential that they establish independent people's organizations at various levels that are genuinely grass-root, voluntary, democratically administered and self-reliant and that are rooted in the tradition and culture of the society so as to ensure community empowerment and self-development. Consultative machinery at various levels should be established with governments on various aspects of democratic participation. *It is crucial that the people and their popular organizations should develop links across national borders to promote co-operation and inter-relationships on sub-regional, regional, south-south and south-north bases. This is necessary for sharing lessons of experience, developing people's solidarity and raising political consciousness on democratic participation.*

14. In view of the vital and central role played by women in family well-being and maintenance, their special commitment to the survival, protection and development of children, as well as survival of society and their important role in the process of African recovery and reconstruction, special emphasis should be put by all the people in terms of eliminating biases particularly with respect to the reduction of the burden on women and taking positive action to ensure their full equality and effective participation in the development process.

15. Having said this, we must underscore that popular participation begins and must be earnestly practiced at the family level, because home is the base for development. It must also be practiced at the work place, and in all organizations, and in all walks of life.

Role of African Governments

16. We strongly believe that popular participation is dependent on the nature of the State itself and ability of Government to respond to popular demand. Since African Governments have a critical role to play in the promotion of popular participation, they have to yield space to the people, without which popular participation will be difficult to achieve. Too often, the social base of power and decision-making is too narrow. Hence the urgent need to broaden these; to galvanize and tap the people's energy and commitment; and to promote political accountability by the State to the people. This makes it imperative that a new partnership between African Governments and the people in the common interest of societal and accelerated socio-economic development should be established without delay. This new partnership must not only recognize the importance of gender issues but must take action to ensure women's involvement at all levels of decision-making. In particular Governments should set themselves specific targets for the appointment of women in senior policy and management posts in all sectors of government.

17. We believe that for people to participate meaningfully in their self-development, their freedom to express themselves and their freedom from fear must be guaranteed. This can only be assured through the extension and protection of people's basic human rights and we urge all Governments to vigorously implement the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the ILO Convention No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

18. We also believe that one of the key conditions for ensuring people's participation throughout the continent is the bringing to an end of all wars and armed conflicts. The millions of African refugees and displaced persons are those with least opportunity to participate in the determination of their future. We urge Governments and all parties to Africa's conflicts, domestic and external, to seek peaceful means of resolving their differences and of establishing peace throughout Africa. In situations of armed conflicts, we uphold the right of civilians to food and other basic necessities and emphasize that the international community must exercise its moral authority to ensure that this right is protected.

19. We cannot overemphasize the benefits that can be reaped if, with the elimination of internal strife or inter-country conflicts, the resources spent on defence were to be redirected to productive activities and social services to the people. As rightly noted in the AAFSA (African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-economic Recovery and Transformation), "it is not difficult to imagine what it would mean to social welfare in Africa, with all its positive multiplier effects, if a saving can be achieved in defence spending and non-productive expenditures". We believe that our Governments can make such savings and we call upon them to do so urgently.

20. We are, however, aware of certain situations, particularly, for the Front-line States which continue to face the destabilization acts of apartheid South Africa. This destabilization results in a debilitating diversion of resources that would otherwise have been used to meet radical basic needs of the people in these countries.

Role of the International Community

21. We call on the international community to examine its own record on popular participation, and hereafter to support indigenous efforts which promote the emergence of a democratic environment to facilitate the people's effective participation and empowerment in the political life of their countries.

22. We also call on the United Nations system to intensify its effort to promote the application of justice in international economic sanctions, the defence of human rights, the maintenance of peace and the achievement of disarmament and to assist African countries and people's organizations with the development of human and economic resources. We also call on the United Nations system to implement its own decision to have at least 30 per cent of senior positions held by women. Special efforts are needed to ensure that African women are adequately represented at senior levels in United Nations Agencies, particularly those operating in Africa.

III. POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

24. On the basis of the foregoing, we lay down the following basic strategies, modalities and actions for effective participation in development.

A. At the level of Governments

1. African Governments must adopt development strategies, approaches and programmes, the content and parameters of which are in line with the interest and aspirations of the people and which incorporate, rather than alienate, African values and economic, social, cultural, political and environmental realities.
2. We strongly urge African Governments to promote the formulation and implementation of national development programmes within the framework of the aforesaid aspirations, interests and realities, which develop as a result of a popular participatory process, and which aim at the transformation of the African economies to achieve self-reliant and self-sustaining people-centred development based on popular participation and democratic consensus.
3. In implementing these endogenous and people-centred development strategies, an enabling environment must be created to facilitate broad-based participation, on a decentralized basis, in the development process. Such an enabling environment is an essential pre-requisite for the stimulation of initiatives and creativity and for enhancing output and productivity by actions such as:
 - (i) extending more economic power to the people through the equitable distribution of income, support for their productive capacity through enhanced access to productive inputs, such as land, credit, technology, etc., and in such a manner as to reflect the central role played by women in the economy;
 - (ii) promoting mass literacy and skills training in particular and development of human resources in general;
 - (iii) greater participation and consensus-building in the formulation and implementation of economic and social policies at all levels, including the identification and

elimination of laws and bureaucratic procedures that pose obstacles to people's participation;

- (iv) increasing employment opportunities for the rural and urban poor, expanding opportunities for them to contribute to the generation of output and enhanced productivity levels and creating better marketing conditions for the benefit of the producers; and
 - (v) strengthening communication capacities for rural development, mass literacy, etc.
4. Small-scale indigenous entrepreneurship and producers co-operatives, as forms of productive participatory development, should be promoted and actions should be taken to increase their productivity.
 5. Intensifying the efforts to achieve sub-regional and regional economic co-operation and integration and increased intra-African trade.

B. At the level of the people and their organizations

To foster participation and democratic development, the people and their organizations should:

1. Establish autonomous grass-roots organizations to promote participatory self-reliant development and increase the output and productivity of the masses.
2. Develop their capacity to participate effectively in debates on economic policy and development issues. This requires building people's capacity to formulate and analyze development programmes and approaches.
3. Promote education, literacy skill training and human resource development as a means of enhancing popular participation.
4. Shake off lethargy and traditional beliefs that are impediments to development, especially the customs and cultural practices that undermine the status of women in society, while recognizing and valuing those beliefs and practices that contribute to development. Rural and urban people's organizations, such as workers, peasants, women,

youth, students, etc., should be encouraged to initiate and implement strategies to strengthen their productive power and meet their basic needs.

5. Concerted efforts should be made to change prevailing attitudes towards the disabled so as to integrate them and bring them into the main stream of development.
6. Create and enhance networks and collaborative relationships among people's organizations. This will have the effect of social involvement capable of inducing social change.
7. People's organizations should support strongly and participate in the efforts to promote effective sub-regional and regional economic co-operation and integration and intra-African trade.

C. At the level of the International Community

We also call on the international community to support popular participation in Africa by:

1. Supporting African countries in their drive to internalize the development and transformation process. The IMF, World Bank and other bilateral and multilateral donors are urged to accept and support African initiatives to conceptualize, formulate and implement endogenously designed development and transformation programmes.
2. Directing technical assistance programmes, first and foremost, to the strengthening of national capabilities for policy analysis and the design and implementation of economic reform and development programmes.
3. Fostering the democratization of development in African countries by supporting the decentralization of development processes, the active participation of the people and their organizations in the formulation of development strategies and economic reform programmes and open debate and consensus - building processes on development and reform issues.
4. Allowing for the release of resources for development on a participatory basis which will require the reversal of the net outflow of financial

resources from Africa to the multilateral financial institutions and donor countries and their use for development purposes and for the benefit of the people.

5. Reducing drastically the stock of Africa's debt and debt-servicing obligations and providing a long-term period of moratorium on remaining debt-servicing obligations in order to release resources for financing development and transformation on a participatory basis.
6. Ensuring that the human dimension is central to adjustment programmes which must be compatible with the objectives and aspirations of the African people and with African realities and must be conceived and designed internally by African countries as part and parcel of the long-term objectives and framework of development and transformation.
7. Supporting African NGOs, grass-roots organizations, women's and youth organizations and trade unions in activities such as training, networking and other programme activities, as well as the documentation, and wide dissemination of their experiences.

D. At the level of NGOs and VDOs

African and non-African NGOs and VDOs (Voluntary Development Organisations) have an important stake in supporting recovery and development efforts and popular participation initiatives and organizations in Africa. They are urged to take the following actions:

1. African NGOs and VDOs and their partners should be fully participatory, democratic and accountable.
2. African NGOs, VDOs and GROs (Grass Roots Organisations) should develop and/or strengthen institutional structures at the regional sub-regional and national levels, such as FAVDO, to bring them together.
3. African NGOs and VDOs should broaden the dissemination of successful African popular participation and grass-roots experiences throughout the continent and the exchange of experience thereon to create a multiplier effect and sensitize policy-makers.

4. The International Conference on Popular Participation is clear in its recognition of the value of the contribution of grass-roots organizations and NGOs to Africa's development and demonstrates that effective dialogue between governments, NGOs and grass-roots organizations is essential and valuable. This Conference recommends that national fora be established to enable honest and open dialogue between African Governments, grass-roots organizations and NGOs in order that the experience of grass-roots participatory development informs national policy-making.
5. Non-African NGOs and VDOs should give increased support and target their operations within the framework of national economic strategies and reform programmes aimed at transforming the structures of the African economies with a view to internalizing the development process and ensuring its sustainability with a particular focus on the human dimension and people's participation.
6. Non-African NGOs and VDOs should give due recognition to African NGOs and participatory, self-reliant development initiatives launched by African grass-roots organizations.
7. Non-African NGOs and VDOs should utilize African expertise to the maximum extent possible with regard to their development work in Africa and advocacy and campaigning work at the international level.
8. Non-African NGOs should strengthen their advocacy work internationally and in their home countries and with regard to bilateral donors and the multilateral system, closely monitoring their response to the African crisis and holding donor governments and agencies accountable for their policies and actions. In particular, non-African and African NGOs should formulate a programme of action geared towards their fullest participation in the end-term review of UN-PAAERD.
9. Co-operation and dialogue between African and Non-African NGOs and VDOs should be strengthened to increase the effectiveness of their interventions at the community level and the building of greater understanding on the part of international public opinion of the real causes of the African socio-economic crisis and the actions that are needed to deal with its root causes.

10. Non-African NGOs acknowledge that their influence as donors is often detrimental to ensuring genuine partnership with African NGOs and VDOs and grass-root organizations and affects the enabling environment for popular participation. In that context co-operation in all its forms must be transparent and reflect African priorities.
11. African and non-African NGOs and VDOs should, in addition to their traditional humanitarian activities, increasingly provide support for the productive capacities of the African poor and for promoting environmentally sound patterns of local development.

E. At the level of the Media and communication

1. The national and regional media should make every effort to fight for and defend their freedom at all cost, and make special effort to champion the cause of popular participation and publicize activities and programmes thereof and generally provide access for the dissemination of information and education programmes on popular participation.
2. Combining their indigenous communication systems with appropriate use of modern low-cost communications technology, African communities and NGOs and VDOs and trade unions and other mass organizations must strengthen their communication capacities for development. Regional and national NGOs should participate in the assessment of Africa's Development Support Communication Needs to be carried out under the auspices of the United Nations Steering Committee and the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on UN-PAAERD.

F. At the level of women's organizations

Accepting that the participation of women in the development field is advanced and strengthened, popular women's organizations should:

1. Continue to strengthen their capacity as builders of confidence among women;
2. Strive for the attainment of policies and programmes that reflect and recognize women's roles as producers, mothers, active community mobilizers and custodians of culture;

3. **Work to ensure the full understanding of men, in particular, and the society, in general, of women's role in the recovery and transformation of Africa so that men and women together might articulate and pursue appropriate courses of action;**
4. **Implement measures to reduce the burden carried by women through: (a) advocating to the society at large, including central and local government levels, the importance of task sharing in the home and community, especially in the areas of water and wood fetching, child rearing, etc.; (b) promoting the establishment and proper functioning of community-based day care centres in all communities; and, (c) striving to attain economic equality by advocating the rights of women to land and greater access to credit.**
5. **Women's organizations should be democratic, autonomous and accountable organizations.**

G. At the level of organized labour

Trade Unions should:

1. **Be democratic, voluntary, autonomous and accountable organizations.**
2. **Initiate, animate and promote mass literacy and training programmes.**
3. **Organize and mobilize rural workers in accordance with ILO Convention 141, which African Governments are strongly urged to ratify.**
4. **Defend trade union rights, in particular the right to strike.**
5. **Assist in the formation of workers' co-operatives.**
6. **Assist in organizing the unemployed for productive activities, such as the establishment of small and medium scale enterprises.**
7. **Give special attention to effective and democratic participation of women members at all levels of trade unions.**

8. Promote work place democracy through the call for the protection of workers' rights to freedom of association, collective bargaining and participatory management.

H. At the level of youth and students and their organizations

Regarding the centrality of the youth and students in Africa's growth and the recovery and development process, the following steps should be taken:

1. Preparation and adoption of an African Charter on Youth and Student Rights to include the right to organize, education, employment and free and public expression.
2. The full democratic participation of youth and students in African society requires immediate steps by Government, popular organizations, parents and the youth themselves to eliminate the major impediments to youth participation, such as frequent bans on youth and student organizations, policy brutality against unarmed protesting students, detention and harassment on campuses, dismissal from studies and the frequent and arbitrary closure of educational institutions.
3. Youth students, Governments and the international community must join forces urgently to combat growing drug trafficking and drug abuse. We also urge Governments to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Illicit Trafficking of Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.
4. The advancement of youth participation in development also requires the protection of Africa's minors against forced military service, whether in national or insurgent/rebel groups.
5. African youth and students should organize national autonomous associations to participate in and contribute to development activities and programmes such as literacy, reforestation, agriculture and environmental protection.
6. Student and youth organizations must also strive to be democratic, accountable, voluntary and autonomous and should co-ordinate their activities with workers', women's and peasant organizations.

7. National youth and student organizations should take urgent steps to strengthen and further democratize existing pan-African youth and student organizations to make them play their roles more effectively in Africa's development process.

IV MONITORING POPULAR PARTICIPATION

24. We proclaim the urgent necessity to involve the people in monitoring popular participation in Africa on the basis of agreed indicators and we propose the use of the following indicators, which are not necessarily exhaustive, for measuring the progress in the implementation of the recommendations of the Charter.

1. The literacy rate, which is an index of the capacity for mass participation in public debate, decision-making and general development processes;
2. Freedom of association, especially political association, and presence of democratic institutions, such as political parties, trade unions, people's grass-roots organizations and professional associations, and the guarantee of constitutional rights.
3. Representation of the people and their organizations in national bodies.
4. The rule of law and social and economic justice, including equitable distribution of income and the creation of full employment opportunities.
5. Protection of the ecological, human and legal environment.
6. Press and media freedom to facilitate public debate on major issues.
7. Number and scope of grass-roots organizations with effective participation in development activities, producers and consumers co-operatives and community projects.
8. Extent of implementation of the Abuja Declaration on Women (1989) in each country.
9. Political accountability of leadership at all levels measured by the use of checks and balances.

10. Decentralization of decision-making processes and institutions.

25. We are convinced of the imperative necessity to follow-up and monitor the implementation of this Charter and to report periodically thereon on progress achieved as well as problems encountered. We accordingly recommend that at the national level a follow-up mechanism on which representatives at high level of Government, trade unions, women's organizations, NGOs, VDOs, grass-roots and youth and student organizations will be members.

26. At the regional level, we propose a joint OAU/ECA Regional Monitoring Machinery on which also, in addition to representatives of these two organizations will be representatives of the network of organizations named above. This regional monitoring group will submit biennial progress reports on the implementation of the Charter to the ECA Conference of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

V CONCLUSION

27. This Conference has taken place during a period when the world continues to witness tumultuous changes in Eastern Europe. Even more dramatically, this Conference has taken place during the very week when Nelson Mandela's release has exhilarated all of Africa, and galvanized the international community.

28. There is an inescapable thread of continuity between those events and our Conference; it is the power of people to effect momentous change. At no other time in the post-war period has popular participation had so astonishing and profound an impact.

29. History and experience both teach that this world never works in compartments. The forces of freedom and democracy are contagious. Inevitably, and irresistibly, popular participation will have a vital role to play on the continent of Africa, and play that role we will.

30. It is manifestly unacceptable that development and transformation in Africa can proceed without the full participation of its people. It is manifestly unacceptable that the people and their organizations be excluded from the decision-making process. It is manifestly unacceptable that popular participation be seen as anything less than the centrepiece in the struggle to achieve economic and social justice for all.

31. In promoting popular participation, it is necessary to recognize that a new partnership and compact must be forged among all the ACTORS in the process of social, political and economic change. Without this collective commitment, popular participation is neither possible nor capable of producing results. We, therefore, pledge to work together in this new partnership to promote full and effective participation by the masses together with Governments in the recovery and development process in Africa.

32. We, the people here assembled, have no illusion that the Charter will be embraced overnight by all of those to whom it is directed. But we are confident that this document is an indispensable step on the road to everything we would wish for the people of Africa.

Done at Arusha
The United Republic of Tanzania
16 February 1990

**THE ABIDJAN DECLARATION ON DEBT RELIEF,
RECOVERY AND DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA
ABIDJAN, IVORY COAST
8 AND 9 JULY 1991**

Parliamentarians from Africa and Northern countries met in Abidjan on 8 and 9 July 1991 to agree on a strategy of action to support African recovery, resolve the African human development crisis, reduce the excessive debt burdens, and strengthen African plans to democratise their societies.

Legislators from different political parties, senior spokespersons on these issues, participated in this unprecedented two-day Roundtable, organised by Parliamentarians for Global Action and the African Development Bank, in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Forum on Debt and Development. The meeting was honoured with the presence of President Masire of Botswana, Chairman of the Global Coalition for Africa.

The parliamentarians agreed that, above all, the promotion of democracy in Africa is the supreme goal. Democracy enjoys a long and cherished tradition in Africa derived from ancient African civilisations and inherited, with imperfection, by modern societies of the 20th century.

The fundamental values of democratic life are universal to humanity as a whole. But no single kind of democracy is applicable to all societies, and no single culture enjoys exclusive insight into democratic truths.

The African parliamentarians expressed their confidence that Africa can achieve its own democratic destiny indigenous to their unique cultures. Democracy in Africa, they believed, is integral to, not consequential upon, the democratic reforms sweeping elsewhere throughout the world.

Colleagues from Northern countries expressed equal confidence and strong support for that endeavour. African democracy must grow in African soil.

Within Africa, participants therefore concluded, democracy enjoyed primacy as the paramount value of their societies. It is not negotiable, or in any way subject to, other governmental policies. Economic reform, including structural adjustment programmes, must be fully transparent, answering to the interests and will of African peoples. Conditionality, whether economic or political, must not be imposed, but rather agreed upon with the free consent of African leaders and

citizenry. It should be applied only as a last resort to encourage and ensure the survival of democracy and protection of human rights.

Popular participation, governmental accountability, and transparency of domestic policy are pre-conditions of good governance and sustainable development. Participants looked to the international community – sister nations and multilateral organisations together – to respect, encourage and support these features of civil society in Africa.

African parliamentarians appealed to their colleagues throughout the continent therefore to maintain the present course of democratic reform. Their societies must respect basic human rights, notably the role of women in national societies, ensure regular free and fair elections, and build strong and enduring political institutions that guarantee freedom of choice to the people. Societies must maintain constant vigilance against all forms and sources of corruption and against excessive military expenditure through, inter alia, a free press and media. Such basic features must be constitutionally safe-guarded, to ensure their long-term viability and protection against the corrosive blight of authoritarianism.

To this end, African parliamentarians agreed to form a task force, to be assisted by colleagues from the North, to monitor the progress of democracy in Africa in the 1990s. Such assistance, it was agreed, should include both technical and financial support through appeals to national governments, private agencies and international organisations.

Participants noted the link between democracy and development. Human rights, civil rights and economic rights are inalienable and indivisible. The tragic *economic plight Africa faces today, one of the most dramatic failures in human history*, is the result, to a large extent, of democratic failures of recent decades, both within Africa and in the decision-making structure of the international community more generally.

Without democracy there can be no social stability for development. Without development, there can be no sustainable democracy. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, are the two cardinal tenets of democracy in Africa, as elsewhere.

The Roundtable was organised in the belief that a necessary feature of the resolution of the chronic debt crisis is political leadership. The central constraint to resolution is political passivity not technical complexity. When the G-7 leaders meet to decide the economic fate of the world for the next year the discrepancy between the human condition in Africa and elsewhere should be one of the top

items on the international agenda.

Dealing with the African debt crisis, particularly for the lowest-income countries South of the Sahara, is among the most pressing development priorities which the international community confronts. Africa as a whole has suffered severe economic decline in the 1980s. Its collective GNP has shrunk from over \$200 billion in 1980 to \$140 billion in 1990. Per capita incomes have declined by 2,2 percent annually over the decade resulting in a cumulative decline of over 30 percent. As a consequence malnutrition levels have increased and, in many countries, infant mortality rates have also risen while essential expenditures on education and health have been reduced sharply.

In response to the African human development crisis, parliamentarians called for acceptance of a minimum goal for economic advance of 1 percent per capita per year. To achieve this annual increase, both domestic savings and external financial flows will be required. Parliamentarians noted that many African governments have already taken steps to increase their domestic savings. To complement and support this action it is essential that Official Development Assistance (ODA) from OECD countries be raised from past levels of 3 percent real growth per year to 5 percent, and that additional debt relief be provided immediately.

Debt is only one of the causes of the severe economic problems Africa is facing. Still, debt itself is an integral element in intensifying the vicious cycle of Africa's decreasing performance and increasing marginalisation. Debt relief is a necessary pre-condition for solving these problems.

Despite the political and technocratic efforts made since 1986 to arrest and cure Africa's debt cancer, the actual results have been very disappointing. Despite the provision of progressively more generous terms for debt relief the African debt situation is now worse than it has ever been. Sub-Saharan Africa's debt has increased from \$72 billion in 1982 to nearly \$163 billion in 1990. Africa debt service accounted for only 4 percent of output in 1982 but 8 percent in 1990 and even those ratios obscure the fact that if Africa had met its scheduled obligations in 1990, debt service payments would have absorbed 15 percent of output and nearly 60 percent of the region's export income. Low-income Africa's debt problem is worse than that of any other developing region because of its much weaker capacity to repay.

At present levels of domestic savings and international commodity prices, low-income Africa cannot undertake essential reconstruction, modernization and

expansion of its capital stock out of domestic resources to any significant degree. Foreign capital inflow is therefore needed to initiate economic recovery and to help sustain it thereafter. But such capital inflow will not take place until the present debt situation is satisfactorily dealt with. This is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for progress to be made.

Debt relief needs to be complemented by domestic efforts and policies dedicated to: the resumption of the human resources development and economic growth; encouraging the participation of African citizens and its private sector to play a larger productive role in development; and improving social conditions.

As a first priority, decision-makers in the industrialized countries should adopt a coherent debt strategy for Africa which would provide substantial relief for all types of African debt owed to bilateral, multilateral and private creditors.

Prompt action on providing debt relief for Poland and Egypt well beyond the Toronto Terms demonstrates that rapid and large scale debt reduction for low income Africa must be equally possible if the same political will is exercised.

As a second priority, emphasis should be put on support for the current democratization process in Africa. Democracy, developed in the African social and cultural context, is equally vital to the continent's development. An action plan is needed to seek internal and external support for African efforts to renew pluralism in their societies and to ensure the empowerment of ordinary citizens.

The Conference agreed on the following action programme.

Action Plan on Debt:

1. After almost 10 years of debt crisis management, a coherent framework for debt reduction and relief has not yet emerged. In order to facilitate prospects for returning to a trajectory of sustainable long-term development Africa's debt service payments must be reduced dramatically. Such a reduction can only be achieved by a comprehensive package which addresses all forms of debt: bilateral, multilateral, and private. The aim of the new debt strategy must be to restore growth and development, complemented by appropriate domestic policies of reform.

2. The Conference urges Heads of Government and Finance Ministers to use the occasion of the London Economic Summit in July 1991 to agree to implement fully the "Trinidad Terms" as a next important step to reduce bilateral

debt levels and as an expression of clear political will to substantially reduce African debt levels. The adoption of Trinidad Terms would represent a positive step towards a more effective solution. Subsequently the proposal of Dutch Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk to cancel all bilateral official debt to those least developed countries which are severely debt-distressed and to other low-income countries pursuing strong economic reform programmes, should be adopted. A two-thirds reduction in the stock of official bilateral debt of Sub-Saharan countries, proposed under the Trinidad Terms, should be the immediate objective of creditor governments. They should be prepared to increase this to the full stock (100 percent) of bilateral debt in particular cases where this may be justified to restore prospects for sustainable development.

3. Where only a two-thirds reduction in debt stocks is achieved the Trinidad Terms should be enhanced either (a) by reducing interest rates applied to the residual rescheduled debt stock to intermediate, below market levels for the lowest-income countries, and/or (b) promoting the tradeability and conversion of residual official debt stocks through innovative mechanisms aimed at financing environmental, social and selective privatization programmes of high development priority in low-income Africa. The total stock of debt should be extended to severely indebted countries (including Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Congo) not eligible under present criteria for access to such terms. Extended terms for debt relief should be introduced for country groupings, which permit levels of debt reduction commensurate with their level of economic distress.

4. The Trinidad Terms can be applied successfully only if necessary legislative instruments and budgetary appropriations all creditor countries permit debt reductions on the basis of equal burden-sharing. The Conference calls on creditor governments and parliaments to establish such conditions. The G-7 Summit and the IMF/WB Annual Meeting should agree that the budgetary costs of extending Trinidad Terms to low-income Africa would be additional to existing aid budgets. Except for donor countries which exceed the UN target of 0.7 percent ODA to GNP, debt reduction should not be financed out of existing aid budgets.

5. Debt relief negotiations are not simply a technical financial exercise, but are an integral part of arranging funding for development. Therefore the working practices and procedures of the Paris Club should be changed in order to facilitate debt and expedite the negotiation of reduced levels of bilateral debt and debt service. In the case of African countries, debt relief negotiations should be conducted at Consultative Group meetings which are convened by the World Bank with the participation of the IMF to determine medium-term external financing requirements to support a particular country's economic reform programmes and

development efforts. The Paris Club's role would be to ratify the substantive conclusions reached at Consultative Group meetings on the debt relief to be provided to individual debtors. Greater transparency is needed in both Paris Club and Consultative Group meetings.

6. The Conference calls on IMF Member Governments to adopt a policy of "zero net transfers" to the region for at least the 1991-1997 period. Between 1986-90 the IMF had extracted over three Billion Dollars by way of debt service collections from low-income countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Debt service obligations to the IMF pre-empt too large a proportion of total debt service to permit adequate payments to other creditors or the financing of essential imports. It is urgent to expand the facilities available for some African debtors to clear their arrears with the IMF, the cost of which should not be borne by aid budgets. The Fund's present exposure in low-income Africa should be wound down through means such as a one-time emission of a small amount of SDR's to permit a write-off of IMF claims, or a sale of a small fraction of the IMF's gold reserves to achieve the same objective. Given the long-term financing needs of low-income countries in Africa the Conference believes that the Fund's financing role in low-income Africa should be modified over the medium-term although the IMF should continue to play a policy advisory role.

7. The World Bank's commendable efforts to help low-income African countries cope better with debt service burdens on IBRD loans, should be improved by (a) enabling an up-front reduction in IBRD obligations through appropriately structured IDA-financing; (b) expanding IBRD and IDA lending in countries such as Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Senegal where net transfers from the Bank are negative; and (c) an expansion of IDA resources commensurate with Africa's urgent needs for expanded concessional financing from external sources. A similar approach should be adopted by the African Development Bank with Member Governments being willing to expand substantially the soft loan funds of the AFDB.

8. The private debt problem of African countries is underestimated and requires the urgent attention of banks and governments around the world. Although long-term commercial debt accounts for less than 16 percent of the stock of Sub-Saharan debt (excluding Nigeria) it absorbs nearly 30 percent of total debt service arrears on commercial banks loans. They also impair the access of African countries to trade finance. Commercial banks should therefore agree to debt reduction similar to debt reductions granted by governments. In addition to other measures taken to facilitate commercial bank reduction they should be more cooperative in using the Special Debt Reduction Facility set up by the World Bank

to reduce commercial debts. The Conference calls on the Members of the World Bank Group to exert maximum efforts in removing internal operating obstacles for wider use of the Special Debt Reduction Facility before the terminal date of June 30, 1992.

9. Creditor governments should stimulate a process of parallel debt reductions by both commercial banks and official creditors. Where necessary, regulatory and tax regimes in the home countries of creditors banks should be realigned so as to encourage banks to actually reduce debt against which extensive provisions have already been made. Tax relief provided to banks at the time that they provisioned against non-payment of debt owed by low-income African countries should be withdrawn if such debt is not cancelled within 3 years. Creditor governments should stimulate the funding of social and environmental programmes through debt conversions which employ commercial as well as official claims to debtor governments.

10. We call on all industrialized nations to set specific time-targets to provide at least 0.7 percent of their GNP by way of official development assistance before the end of the present decade. In particular, the OECD donor nations should commit themselves to expanding the resources available to IDA and the AFDF in order to permit these institutions to increase their net financial transfers to low-income Africa by at least 5 percent per year in real terms without compromising financial transfers to low-income countries in other developing regions. Return of flight capital and renewed private investment are also essential for African recovery.

11. In making decisions on exchange rates and interest rates the G-7 should take into account the interests of the developing countries. In the current environment of low commodity prices and high interest rates a significant reduction of interest rates would contribute to resolving the debt problem of Africa.

SOUTHERN AFRICA - COMMONWEALTH

COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING HARARE, 16-22 OCTOBER 1991

COMMUNIQUÉ

Introduction

1. Commonwealth Heads of Government met in Harare from 16 to 22 October 1991. Of the 47 countries which attended 43 were represented by Heads of State or Prime Ministers. The President of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe, was in the Chair.

2. Heads of Government sent a message of felicitation to Her Majesty the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. They particularly welcomed the opportunity of meeting in Harare at a critical state in progress towards ending apartheid in South Africa, a long-standing Commonwealth concern. They expressed deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting and the warm welcome and generous hospitality of the Government and people of Zimbabwe.

3. Recalling the offer of Commonwealth membership extended to Namibia at their Meeting in Kingston in 1975, Heads of Government warmly welcomed their colleague President Sam Nujoma from Namibia whose country had joined the Commonwealth in 1990.

4. Heads of Government expressed their grief at the death of Rajiv Gandhi and observed a minute of silence in his memory.

The Future of the Commonwealth

5. Heads of Government had before them the **Report on the Commonwealth in the 1990s and Beyond** prepared by ten of their number under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Malaysia. The Report formed the centrepiece of their discussions.

6. Heads of Government were unanimously of the view that the fundamental principles enunciated by Commonwealth leaders at Singapore in 1971 remained relevant 20 years later and that the Commonwealth should reaffirm its full and continuing commitment to those principles. Any appraisal of the Commonwealth's

future role should rest on the application of those principles to the contemporary world.

7. They were convinced that, in facing the challenges of the future, the Commonwealth would draw upon its unique strength and character, rooted in its shared ideals, common traditions and language, in its membership which spans nearly one-third of humanity and every corner of the globe and in its ability to fashion a sense of common purpose out of diversity.

8. The discussions of the High-Level Appraisal Group served to identify several areas, some old and others new, which deserved special emphasis on Commonwealth endeavours in years to come. The views of Heads of Government in this regard are contained in a separate document, the **Harare Commonwealth Declaration**. They also endorsed guidelines for the Commonwealth observance of elections, criteria for Commonwealth membership and a strategy for sharpening the Commonwealth image.

9. The High-Level Appraisal reflected the continuing concern of Heads of Government with the situation in South Africa. While recent changes have raised hopes of achieving a free, non-racial and democratic order in South Africa, violence continues to obstruct progress. The Commonwealth has played a leading role in the international campaign against apartheid. Now that the goal is closer than ever before, Heads of Government considered ways in which the Commonwealth should continue to play a significant role in progress towards a non-racial democratic South Africa.

10. Heads of Government also gave consideration to the adequacy of Commonwealth institutions, including the Secretariat, to fulfil the task ahead. They welcomed the Secretary-General's internal review which had identified a measure of existing resources which could be released for redeployment to priorities identified in the Harare Commonwealth Declaration and endorsed his proposal to institute a management audit, to be undertaken by external consultants, designed to enhance the cost-effectiveness and efficiency of the Secretariat. While commending the proposals contained in the Secretary-General's Strategic Action Plan they considered that these should be further examined by senior officials of the High-Level Appraisal Group in the light of the priorities agreed to at the Harare Heads of Government Meeting, taking into account the management audit and the Secretariat's need for adequate resources to implement these priorities. If it emerged that additional resources were still required, after available resources had been matched to needs, Heads of Government agreed to consider making appropriate contributions.

Global Trends and Prospects

11. Heads of Government welcomed the end of the Cold War which had provided new opportunities and greatly improved prospects for international peace, security and economic development. The end of ideological confrontation had made possible more effective international co-operation in addressing the many problems, old and new, facing humanity. Foremost among these were poverty, hunger, disease and environmental degradation. They expressed the hope that in a new international order these issues would be of central concern.

12. Heads of Government were particularly encouraged by the resurgence of democratic ideals throughout the world. They undertook to use the Commonwealth's common values and practical means to help advance this hopeful development. Nevertheless the emergence of ethnic chauvinism, racial bigotry, and other forms of intolerance was a cause for serious concern, posing grave threats to peace and communal harmony. Accordingly they agreed to do everything practicable, both within their own societies and internationally, to combat discrimination in all its forms and to promote democracy, human rights, mutual tolerance and the rule of law through processes and institutions which have regard to national circumstances.

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 notes 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 "peoples 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.

Angola

33. Heads of Government also welcomed the signing of a peace accord in Angola between the Government and UNITA, and urged the international community to assist in its implementation, including the democratisation process, and in Angola's reconstruction.

Small States

34. Heads of Government recognised that international developments continued to demonstrate the vulnerability peculiar to small states, and they urged support for initiatives at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels that would foster an environment conducive to their security and viability. They reaffirmed their view that small states merit special consideration and support because of their particular problems and should continue to have priority in the Secretariat's development assistance. Noting that current trends in official and private financial flows to developing countries and the erosion of trade preferences could make these states even more vulnerable, they urged that the donor community should continue to take into account their special structural problems and needs.

Belize

36. Heads of Government welcomed Guatemala's recognition of Belize as a sovereign, independent state, and looked forward to the speedy conclusion of a formal agreement which would bring an end to the dispute and foster co-operation between the two states for the benefit of both their peoples and the wider region. They reaffirmed that until a satisfactory outcome is reached, the security of Belize will remain a Commonwealth concern.

Cyprus

36. Recalling the position they had adopted at Kuala Lumpur, Heads of Government reiterated their support for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. They stressed the importance of securing compliance with all of the United Nations Resolutions on Cyprus and in particular, Security Council Resolutions 541 (1983), 550 (1984) and 649 (1990). In this connection they emphasised the need for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces and settlers from the Republic of Cyprus, the return of the refugees to their homes in safety, the restoration and respect for the human rights of all Cypriots and the accounting for those missing.

37. Heads of Government noted the recent developments on the Cyprus problem contained in the latest report of the United Nations Secretary-General to the Security Council and its respective Resolution 716 (1991) setting out the fundamental principles of a Cyprus settlement. Such a settlement will ensure the well-being and security of all Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots alike. They also expressed the hope that, following the Resolution, obstacles to the current efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to find a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem will be speedily removed and thus the convening of the envisaged international meeting will proceed as planned.

38. Heads of Government agreed that the Commonwealth Action Group on Cyprus should continue to monitor developments within the scope of its terms of reference including, in particular, assisting the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General.

Mediterranean

39. Heads of Government expressed support for continuing efforts to contribute actively to the elimination of causes of tension in the Mediterranean and to the promotion of a just and lasting solution to the conflicts and crises in the region, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and relevant resolutions. They once again reiterated that security in the Mediterranean is closely linked to European security, as well as to international peace and security. They noted that regional consultations among Mediterranean states are taking place in order to create appropriate conditions for convening a Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean.

The Middle East

40. Heads of Government, recalling their statement at Kuala Lumpur on the Middle East and reiterating their concern at the dangerous tensions arising from the unresolved problems of the Middle East, especially the Palestinian issue, welcomed the convening of the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid on 30 October 1991. They expressed the strong hope that the Conference would lead to a just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement and contribute to peace and security in the Middle East.

Afghanistan

41. Recent developments have increased the prospects of a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghanistan problem and Heads of Government urged that efforts be intensified to restore peace and normalcy in Afghanistan and enable the Afghan refugees to return to their country. They expressed support for the United Nations Secretary-General's five-point proposal of 21 May 1991 and the initiatives of other states to reach a just settlement in Afghanistan and also appealed for continued humanitarian assistance for the Afghan refugees.

South East Asia

42. Heads of Government welcomed the reconvening of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia (PICC) in Paris from 21 to 23 October 1991, whose objective is to bring about a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian problem through the signing of a peace agreement. In this regard, they

congratulated the Cambodian parties for demonstrating a spirit of compromise and national reconciliation under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

43. As a further means of ensuring peace and stability in the region, Heads of Government noted with approval efforts to establish in South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality and called on all states fully to support these efforts.

Antarctica

44. Recognizing that Antarctica has a critical impact on the environment, Heads of Government welcomed the agreement reached in Madrid on a Protocol for the protection of the Antarctica environment, including a prohibition on mining activities in Antarctica. They reiterated their conviction that every effort should be made to protect and conserve the environment of that unique territory and called on all states to co-operate in this regard.

Terrorism

45. Heads of Government reaffirmed their strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms, including the taking of hostages, as one of the most dangerous and pernicious threats to stability and to human rights. They reiterated their determination to combat terrorism, whether perpetrated by individuals, groups or states, by every means possible through bilateral and multilateral co-operation.

Countering Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking

46. Heads of Government expressed deep concern at the increasing menace of drug abuse and illicit trafficking which represents both a serious obstacle to the process of social and economic national development and a threat to the international community. They welcomed the restructuring of the United Nations drug control system, including the establishment of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme to enhance the international campaign against drug abuse and illicit trafficking, and affirmed their support for the Global Programme of Action adopted by the Seventeenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly in February 1990.

47. They recognised that imaginative approaches were called for if effective responses were to be developed, particularly to reduce the demand for illicit drugs,

and acknowledged that it was imperative for all countries to have appropriate legal frameworks to counter supply. In this regard they undertook to take such steps as might be necessary to become party to the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Illicit Substances, and to implement the Commonwealth Scheme for Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters. They also expressed their support for the Programme of Action adopted by the World Ministerial Summit on Demand Reduction held in London in April 1990.

World Economic Situation

48. Heads of Government reviewed the current world economic situation. They expressed satisfaction that policies pursued by many industrialised countries to keep inflationary forces in check were bearing results; and that many developing countries were maintaining reform policies despite continuing difficult economic circumstances.

49. Heads of Government noted that while the past year had been a difficult one for the world economy, the prospects were now more hopeful in a number of countries. They expressed concern, however, at the external economic conditions which in many respects – for example high interest rates, depressed commodity prices, low volume of financial flows, onerous debt service burdens, continuing protectionism in major markets and inward-looking regional groupings – remained unfavourable to developing countries. They emphasised the importance of pursuing policies that strengthened the forces of recovery in the world economy; and expressed their determination to work through co-operative international action for a more supportive global environment for development. They agreed that any new world order must comprise enhanced development co-operation.

Global Change and Economic Development

50. Heads of Government noted that they were meeting at a time of dramatic change not only in the world political and economic order, but also in ideas about how societies should be organised. They believed that these changes bring both opportunities and problems for all societies. In this context, they welcomed the Report of the Commonwealth Expert Group, *Change for the Better: Global Change and Economic Development*, which had begun to receive a very favourable international reception. They agreed with its central conclusion that change is resulting in an ever increasing interdependence among nations and that there is a growing mutuality of interest in addressing issues such as poverty,

insecurity, environmental degradation, disease and drug trafficking which can be effectively tackled only through development. They also agreed with the Group's view that this required a sustained exercise of political will at national and international levels. They asked the Chairman and the Secretary-General to promote a wide-ranging discussion of the Report; and agreed to take steps at the same time, to promote consideration of the Expert Group's recommendations at high political levels, particularly in specialist economic and regional groupings of which they were members. They also noted that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in mid-1992, which will be attended by many Heads of State, would offer a good opportunity for discussion of many of the issues raised.

51. In relation to specific issues, Heads of Government welcomed the emphasis in *Change for the Better* on improved policies to achieve macro-economic stability, reduced budget deficits, reduced military spending, increased savings and investment, more open trade policies, greater reliance on the private sector, market-oriented economics, human resource development, effective population policies, agricultural reform, sound and accountable administration, participatory political processes and the rule of law. They emphasised also the importance of *enhanced practical support by the developing countries and international institutions* for the developing countries' efforts if they are to succeed. In particular they stressed the need to ensure larger flows of resources including increased aid and debt relief, more open markets, safety nets for vulnerable groups, increased support for structural adjustment, and financial and technological support to make development sustainable.

International Trade and the Uruguay Round

52. Heads of Government deplored the drift towards greater protectionism and further trade discrimination in some industrial countries, particularly when a large number of countries in the developing world as well as in Eastern Europe and elsewhere had embarked on unilateral trade liberalisation programmes. They noted that *more protectionism had led to slower growth in world trade which, in turn, had slowed world economic growth*. Furthermore export growth in developing countries had been constrained by limited access to markets in developed countries. They noted the inconsistency of developed countries urging developing countries to open their economies to market forces while limiting access to their own markets. The loss to developing countries as a result of these trade barriers more than outweighed the flow of aid moneys. Heads of Government called for the multilateral liberalisation of world trade in order to ensure that the world does not

repeat the mistakes of the protectionist 1930s¹ and for enlarged access to world markets for developing countries through a liberalised international trading system to help them to expand their exports and to overcome the difficulties caused by *constrained inflows of aid and other resources from developed countries.*

53. Heads of Government noted that they were meeting at a critical stage in the Uruguay Round. They noted also that there was a growing international momentum for substantial reform of the world trading system. They welcomed the clear commitment by leaders of the Group of Seven industrialised countries at their London Summit to work for an ambitious global and balanced package of results in the Round. Heads of Government called on all governments to show the political will required urgently to translate into action that momentum for reform to achieve a liberalised trading system. They stressed the critical importance of a successful, substantive and comprehensive outcome to the Uruguay Round, laying particular emphasis on achieving a marked reduction in trade barriers and other distortions in agricultural markets. They drew attention to the dangers of protectionism and inward-looking regionalism and to the great contribution which freer trade and its influence on financial flows can make to sustained and sustainable development. The preservation and enhancement of the integrity of the global trading system is a common interest of developing and industrialised countries. They felt that if the Uruguay Round were to fail, this would increase the dangers of protectionism and very considerably reduce the prospects for economic growth and development in the 1990s and beyond, as well as set back the process of economic liberalisation of many countries.

Regional Economic Co-operation

54. Heads of Government welcomed the increasing efforts in many parts of the world to strengthen and expand regional economic co-operation. They expressed the hope that these efforts would promote trade expansion and strengthen a more open and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system. They called on regional trading groups involving major industrialised countries to give special attention to the impact of their regional trade policies on developing countries, including those not in such groups, and to ways in which these countries could take advantage of the opportunities offered. They recognised the need for increased assistance to support regional co-operation among vulnerable countries.

Financial Flows and Debts

55. Heads of Government noted that, despite improvements in financial flows to some developing countries, flows overall remained quite inadequate to support economic recovery in large parts of the developing world, and to address such current concerns as poverty reduction, human resource development and protection of the environment. They therefore called for further debt relief, including cancellation, and increased aid and capital flows, as well as for further measures in developing countries to attract such flows.

56. Heads of Government warmly welcomed the announcement at their Meeting, by the British Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. John Major, of his Government's decision to press ahead with implementation of the Trinidad and Tobago Terms, providing major relief of the debt of low income countries. They were pleased that Canada endorsed the decision. They expressed the hope that Britain and Canada would be joined in this by other Paris Club members and that this action would lead to speedy adoption by the whole Paris Club. They praised the British Prime Minister for his leadership role in tackling the indebtedness problem of the poorest countries.

57. Heads of Government noted the debt relief extended to Poland and Egypt and welcomed the fact that the Paris Club was continuing to examine the special situations of some other lower-middle income countries. Indebtedness to multilateral financial institutions continues to be a particular problem for some countries and further attention needs to be given to the issue by the donor community. They emphasised also the importance of adequate financial support for those countries in difficult circumstances which have avoided debt rescheduling. They welcomed the British Prime Minister's offer to seek wider eligibility under the IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility to include more Commonwealth countries.

58. Heads of Government expressed regret that during the 1980s the aid of most Development Assistance Committee donors had stagnated as a proportion of their gross national product and still fell short of the agreed United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP. They called for renewed efforts to secure expanded official and private flows of finance to developing countries. They welcomed the fact that reduced global tensions are already resulting in cuts in arms expenditure and agreed that this provided significant opportunities for both the industrialised and the developing countries to increase resources for development.

Reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

59. Heads of Government welcomed the profound movement that is taking place in *Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* towards democracy and market-oriented economies. They stressed the importance of its success for world peace and security. They emphasised, however, that support for reform in that region should not be extended in a manner that is prejudicial to developing countries in terms either of market access or of aid flows.

Investment Funds and Capital Markets

60. Heads of Government welcomed the facilitative role the Commonwealth Secretariat is playing in enhancing portfolio investment in developing member countries. They noted with satisfaction that the *Commonwealth Equity Fund* had been successfully launched in 1990 and that its operations had made good progress. They looked forward to an early increase of its capital and wider access for its investment in Commonwealth emerging markets.

61. While recognising the importance of tapping external financial flows for their development efforts, Heads of Government emphasised that the primary source of investment would continue to be domestic. They therefore urged all countries to strengthen their efforts to mobilise domestic savings, which required, among other things, the development of local capital and stock markets.

62. Heads of Government noted the proposal for the establishment of a Commonwealth Bank for Reconstruction and Development and agreed that a preliminary study of the proposal be conducted by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Least Developed Countries

63. Heads of Government expressed serious concern at the deteriorating *socio-economic condition of the least developed countries (LDCs)*. They noted that these countries faced the most formidable structural constraints to development. They pledged their support for effective implementation of the Programme of Action for the LDCs in September 1990. They recognised that, while the LDCs bear the primary responsibility for their own development, the developed countries should commit resources to attain the internationally agreed target for Official Development Assistance to these countries as expeditiously as possible.

Agriculture

64. Heads of Government expressed concern at the continuing severe food problems facing developing countries. They stressed the need for these countries to strengthen their policies and incentives for sustainable agricultural development. They urged the developed countries and the international institutions to adopt supportive trade, aid and other policies which would make external conditions more conducive to developing countries' agriculture.

Environment

65. Heads of Government recalled the Langkawi Declaration on Environment, which set out a comprehensive programme of action for the protection of the global environment and the achievement of sustainable development. In that connection they pledged themselves to work for a successful outcome of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) which many of them propose to attend.

66. Heads of Government welcomed as important contributions to the UNCED process the Report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts **Sustainable Development: An Imperative for Environmental Protection** and the section on environmentally sustainable development of the Communiqué of the First Commonwealth NGO Forum held in Harare in August 1991.

67. Heads of Government agreed to work actively towards the conclusion at UNCED of an effective framework convention on climate change, of a convention on biological diversity, of a statement of principles for a global consensus on the management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forest, and appropriate follow-up action thereafter. They agreed that action to tackle these problems would require the participation of all countries. They attached particular importance to achieving consensus on measures to facilitate additional flows of financial resources and environmentally sound and appropriate technologies on fair and favourable terms to developing countries, as a contribution towards the achievement of both national and global environmental and developmental goals. They undertook to co-operate closely in elaborating a realistic and achievable action programme under Agenda 21, which should take account of the different needs, responsibilities and capabilities of developed and developing countries and address action at national, regional and international levels. In all these areas, they stressed the need for effective, democratic and cost-effective institutional arrangements at all levels to deliver the actions agreed at UNCED.

68. Heads of Government took note of the concerns expressed by small states about the adverse consequences for them of climate change, their vulnerability, and the belief that their interests were not receiving adequate attention in the UNCED preparatory process. They agreed that the concerns of these countries should be reflected, as appropriate, in all UNCED's decisions and asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to assist in promoting more effective consideration of the interests of Commonwealth small states by organising consultations and providing them with technical support at important preparatory meetings for UNCED.

69. Heads of Government welcomed the decision that key elements relating to women's critical contributions to sustainable development should be addressed at UNCED as a distinct issue and in the course of all the substantive work, particularly the proposed action programme under Agenda 21. They believed that greater recognition should be given to the vital role played by women in fostering sustainable development and to the need to alleviate the constraints which prevented them from making more effective contributions to environmental management at all levels.

70. Heads of Government also took note of a number of proposals on the *environment and related problems*. These included a convention to control dumping of hazardous, toxic and other wastes from ships; measures to protect small island countries against sea-level rise; entrusting the United Nations Trusteeship Council to hold in trust for humanity its common heritage and its common concerns; the setting up of an international environmental tribunal; and the adoption of a code of conduct governing international environmental behaviour.

71. Heads of Government expressed concern at the continuation of large-scale drift-net fishing and the threat this posed to marine resources. They urged all countries to comply with United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 44/225 and 45/197 and welcomed the prohibition of fishing with long drift-nets in the South Pacific.

Natural Disasters

72. Heads of Government acknowledged the adverse impact of natural disasters on economic growth and development. They welcomed the increasing international attention given to problems posed by disasters and urged better national preparedness and relief measures; the strengthening of international mechanisms with a view to providing timely, adequate and co-ordinated assistance; and the devotion of greater attention to the medium-term implications of disasters in the

lending policies of the international financial institutions.

Commonwealth–Government of Guyana Programme for Sustainable Tropical Forestry

73. Heads of Government welcomed progress already made in implementing the Commonwealth–Government of Guyana Programme for Sustainable Tropical Forestry in pursuance of the offer of the President of Guyana to set aside an area of tropical forest for a pilot project, under Commonwealth auspices, on sustainable utilisation and conservation of species. They were pleased at the Commonwealth role being played in this important international project. They were encouraged that several governments, agencies, institutions and non–governmental organisations, inside and outside the Commonwealth, had expressed interest in the Programme, and looked forward, in particular, to early final approval of initial funding for it by the Global Environment Facility. Considering that the Programme had significant potential to benefit the wider international community, they urged all potential donors to mobilise additional resources to facilitate its early implementation. They called on all Commonwealth countries to give urgent consideration to providing further financial and other support to the Programme in order that the Commonwealth could continue to play a major role in it.

Management of Tropical Marine Ecosystems

74. Heads of Government welcomed the Australian Government's initiative to make available its expertise in managing tropical marine environments to assist its Commonwealth partners and other tropical and sub–tropical states in managing these environments.

Women and Structural Adjustment

75. Heads of Government endorsed the Ottawa Declaration on Women and Structural Adjustment which Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs prepared at their meeting in October 1990. The Declaration is attached as an Annex to this Communiqué.

Child Survival and Development

76. Heads of Government welcomed the Plan of Action for Survival, Protection and Development of Children in the 1990s adopted by the World Summit for Children and committed themselves to the achievement of its goals. These included targeted reduction of infant and maternal mortality; the achievement of health and education for all by the year 2000; sustaining and improving immunisation levels; and ratification and implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. They stressed that these specific actions for children should be pursued as an essential part of wider national and international development objectives including poverty alleviation, human development and environmental protection. They emphasised that the Commonwealth provided a framework for collaboration to put children first, particularly through co-operation programmes devised to enhance health and literacy levels among children.

77. Heads of Government noted with interest the call by the Organisation of African Unity for the convening of an international donors' conference on assistance to African children in 1992.

Commonwealth Non-Governmental Organisations

78. Heads of Government noted the valuable contribution which private individuals, private associations and voluntary bodies of many kinds make to the Commonwealth's well-being. They welcomed the consideration by business groups throughout the Commonwealth of the possibility of establishing a Commonwealth Association of Business Organisations which they thought could help to develop the trade of Commonwealth countries and facilitate their promotion of investment and transfer of technology. Recognising the valuable role played by centres of research and study of Commonwealth affairs, such as the Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London, they welcomed a proposal to establish a Commonwealth Issues Research Network to promote research and information exchanges by academics throughout the Commonwealth on subjects of importance to it.

79. Heads of Government expressed their continuing support for the work of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council and looked forward to the further development of co-operation between the Secretarial and the CTUC.

Next Meeting

80. Heads of Government accepted with great pleasure the invitation from the Government of Cyprus to hold their next Meeting in Cyprus in 1993.

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