



18 October 1985

We the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth have heard with deep sorrow and anger this morning that the South African regime has carried out the execution of Benjamin Moloise in the face of the worldwide appeals for clemency to which we added our collective voice only yesterday.

Another young life has been tragically lost in a country whose Government has little regard for the sanctity of life of the majority of its people.

Our thoughts go out to Benjamin Moloise's mother and family at this moment of loss.

Repelled by the mounting crimes against humanity of which this killing is only the latest evidence we resolve to redouble our support for the struggle to hasten the end of the abomination of apartheid.

Nassau

18 October 1985

The Nassau Declaration on World Order

1. On the Fortieth Anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, we the Commonwealth Heads of Government assembled at Nassau, ~~seek to~~ ^{remind} recall all countries and peoples ^{to} the ~~central~~ importance of the United Nations ~~as the foundation for an international political~~ system in which all ^{should} participate and from which all ^{should} benefit. In the world of today and of tomorrow, international co-operation is not an option but a necessity.

2. We believe that on this Fortieth Anniversary of the United Nations our world society should take stock of its considerable achievements as well as its failures, and allow hope and encouragement from the former to strengthen resolve in redressing the latter. Yet these very achievements ^{make} ^{positive} make the more disturbing the recent moves away from multilateralism and internationalism; from a world governed by fair and open rules towards unilateral action and a growing ascendance of power in all spheres - economic, political and military, ~~unrestrained by the norms that should and must govern relations between nations.~~ We warn that a return to narrow nationalisms, both economic and political, in a climate of tension and confrontation between nations heightened by the nuclear arms race, ^{invites} again the ^{danger} ~~source of war~~ from which the world set out to rid itself at San Francisco ^{in 1945.} We issue that warning mindful that the nuclear threat imperils all peoples and nations and the very survival of our human species.

3. This retreat from international norms and principles ^{which should govern relations among nations} increases the threat to the sovereignty, independence ^{and} territorial integrity of States. In particular, we are concerned that the world community face up to the nature and needs of the very smallest states in the family of nations, many of them among our membership, and respond to their particular vulnerability with imagination and resolve.

4. As a Commonwealth of ~~a thousand million people~~, ^{1/2} whose great majority ^{of whose people} live in poverty, we believe it to be imperative that the world community redoubles its efforts to enlarge the prospects of social and economic advance for three-quarters of the human race. We recognise the progress achieved in developing countries in the last four decades through domestic effort and international support but believe that the present condition and prospects of most of their people, as well as the disparities that divide the world's rich and poor, are a daily reminder of the world's failure to use its collective resources to secure more equitable progress for all. In a global community of increasing interdependence between nations, which has the resources to meet the needs of all, only partnership and collective effort will give a fresh thrust to growth and development for all. There is thus a pressing need to rebuild the consensus on international co-operation for development within the United Nations system and to revitalise multilateral institutions to meet the needs of our contemporary global society.

5. We recognise that the United Nations and its institutions are not without imperfections, but are convinced that the solution lies not in their rejection but in their rejuvenation; using the system ^{effectively} is as important as changing it. We therefore welcome the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General to enhance the effectiveness of the world body and its capacity to prevent and resolve conflicts and pledge to work with him to this end.

6. We hope that all nations will demonstrate the desire to seek consensus and the will to negotiate constructively which are crucial to the ^{success} ~~effective-~~ness of global institutions. We believe that the Commonwealth's way of doing business, of seeking consensus based on equality and justice between nations, serves as an example for all.

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7. Therefore, as leaders of a Commonwealth comprising a third of the world's nations, and mindful that obligations devolve upon us separately and collectively:

- We commit ourselves and our nations to work tirelessly in the pursuit of a world marked not by disorder and the use of competitive power but one governed by the principles of collective international co-operation and respect for the rights of all ^{nations and} peoples as the necessary foundation for lasting peace and assured economic and social development;
- We reaffirm our commitment to the principles and precepts of the Charter of the United Nations and to the goal of strengthening the United Nations system as the central instrument of peace, security and co-operation among nations.
- We rededicate ourselves to the principles of self-determination, multiracialism, human freedom and equality, and co-operation between nations in the service of international understanding, development and world peace, which have guided the Commonwealth throughout its evolution.
- We pledge ourselves to play a full part in rebuilding a consensus on international co-operation for development and concerted action to confront the crucial issues of international economic inequality.
- We call upon the world community to construct a framework of common security based on mutual trust and shared interest. All nations have a stake in disarmament. We therefore look for urgent agreement on reversing the arms race and on significant reductions in nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.
- We invite all nations and peoples to join in a universal effort to fulfill these objectives.

8. Believing that the theme of the Fortieth Anniversary celebrations, the "United Nations for a better world", expresses a profound need as well as a ~~truth~~ ^{truth} ~~hope~~, we place the Commonwealth's proven qualities of understanding and bridge-building across the divides of race, religion, and economic and political systems, at the service of the United Nations and of all efforts to make it more effective. We do so convinced that in the future of the United Nations lies the future of ^{humanity.} of/

UK Draft Declaration On South Africa .

Heads of Government join together in condemning South Africa's policy of apartheid, its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia and its aggressive raids into neighbouring countries.

While recognising that a process of political and social change is beginning to take place in South Africa, Heads of Government believe that its pace is inadequate, its direction uncertain and its scope incomplete. Urgent action is required if the goal of peaceful transformation is to be achieved.

An indispensable first step is to establish dialogue between the South African Government and genuine representatives of all black people in South Africa leading to their rapid inclusion in the central political process. Only through dialogue can ~~the~~ peaceful establishment of a genuine non-racial democracy in South Africa come about in conformity with the principles of the 1979 Lusaka Declaration on Racism and Racial Prejudice.

Heads of Government therefore call on the South African Government to respond, to prove its commitment to constitutional change and to create a climate of confidence which will facilitate dialogue by:

- taking rapid action to abolish apartheid legislation;
- unconditionally releasing Nelson Mandela and other acknowledged political leaders in detention;
- ending the State of Emergency;
- ending detention without trial;
- ending forced removals;
- giving common citizenship to all South Africans regardless of race.

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The Commonwealth cannot prescribe 'constitutional arrangements for so diverse and complex a population, nor the method of achieving them, so as to secure an acceptable society in South Africa. That must be for all the people of South Africa to decide together.

The goal must be a fair society in South Africa, at peace with itself and secure in the widespread economic prosperity and social welfare which its abundant resources should promote. Such a South Africa would be a welcome member of the international community, of the comity of African nations and, should it wish, of the Commonwealth.

Heads of Government are therefore determined themselves to assist in any way they can the process of change in South Africa. They accept that the countries of the Commonwealth have many different links with South Africa. These spring from historical association, geographical propinquity and economic involvement. The diversity of these links with South Africa provides opportunities for influence and for action. Each Commonwealth government must determine how best it can use the instruments at its disposal to promote change in South Africa. Institutions and private companies too must examine their practices and must intensify their efforts to achieve the shared aim.

Thus, Heads of Government believe that there must be a multiple approach to this intractable problem and that this must include both measures to signal their seriousness of intent and positive steps to promote dialogue and the well being of the black community.

First, all countries must reiterate their total rejection of the system of apartheid and their conviction that it must be brought to an end.

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Second, a firm and unambiguous political signal must be sent to the South African Government through the introduction and application of specific measures. All Heads of Government are agreed on the following:

The intention behind these measures is to persuade the South African Government of the urgent need for fundamental reform. Heads of Government hope that the programme outlined above will quickly result in concrete progress whereupon the restrictive measures would be lifted.


In addition to the agreed action above individual governments may choose to adopt further measures from among the following:

Third, a Commonwealth Code of Practice for businesses with interests in South Africa should be established and adopted. Business houses from the various countries concerned should be encouraged to join together themselves in working out a strategy to urge the South African Government to dismantle apartheid and to improve the economic well being and influence of the black community.

Fourth, those Commonwealth Governments with diplomatic representation in South Africa should consult with the Commonwealth countries which border South Africa on how dialogue can best be promoted.

Fifth, in addition a group of eminent Commonwealth persons with appropriate experience will be asked to advise on the possible options for constitutional change in South Africa. The intention would be that they would formulate political concepts which would command general support within South Africa and which would guarantee the achievement of a non-racial democratic society.

Sixth, Commonwealth countries will undertake further positive measures as follows:

1. The establishment of a Commonwealth Fund to be administered by the Commonwealth Secretariat, for the training and higher education overseas of black South Africans.
2. 
3. A programme to increase awareness among the citizens of Commonwealth countries resident in South Africa.

Seventh: With the prospect of a dialogue Commonwealth countries will do all in their power to persuade black South Africans to seek a solution through peaceful negotiation and not by violence.

LIST OF RESTRICTIVE MEASURES

1. A strict and rigorously controlled embargo on exports of arms and para-military equipment to the South African Government.
2. A ban on the export of computers and other sensitive modern technological equipment to the South African armed forces and police.
3. A strict and rigorously controlled embargo on imports of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and para-military equipment from South Africa.
4. An embargo on all military co-operation with South Africa including
 - a) the recall of Military Attaches accredited to South Africa;
 - b) the refusal to grant accreditation to Military Attaches from South Africa.
5. No oil exports to South Africa.
6. No new collaboration in the nuclear sector with South Africa.
7. Vigilant observance of the Gleneagles Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport.
8. Discouragement of all cultural and scientific events except where these contribute towards the ending of apartheid or have no possible role in promoting it.